UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
Santa Barbara

The Atusparia Revolution:

Political Economy, Race, and the Making of Modern Peru, 1885-1900

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in History

by

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September 2023

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the University of California, Santa Barbara, and the History Department for providing the necessary funds to travel abroad and visit the archives in Peru. The Departamental Dissertation Fellowship allowed me to travel to archives and libraries in Lima and Huaraz; I am lucky to have met such a wonderful group of professionals at the Biblioteca Nacional del Peru, the Archivo Histórico Militar, Archivo de la Nación, and the Archivo Departamental de Ancash. *Gracias!* The Department of History at UCSB also provided the perfect intellectual atmosphere to mature as an academic and human being. Either through their activism, teaching, or comments on earlier versions of this project, I will always be indebted to professors Stephan Miescher, Sears McGee, Sarah Cline, Cecilia Mendez, Erika Rappaport, Juan Cobo, Manuel Covo, Alice O'Connor, Evelyn Laurent-Perrault, Salim Yaqub, Kate McDonald, and Sherene Seikaly. At Georgia College & State University, a huge thanks to Aran McKinnon, Craig Pascoe, Stephen Auerbach, and Stephanie Opperman, who helped me during the first years of my graduate school career.

A special thanks goes to my doctoral exam and dissertation committee. Thank you for all your support and encouragement. Thank you for taking me under your wing. To Professor Miroslava Chavez-García, who served as a committee member for my doctoral exams, and encouraged me to always think beyond politics and economics. To Paul Spickard, my dissertation chair, thank you for always believing in me even when I did not. You have inspired me to be better every day, as a father, scholar, and husband. Christopher McAuley, the most down-to-earth intellectual I know, and dissertation committee member, shaped much of the line of inquiry of this project. I'll never forget your response when I asked about "new" trends in the scholarship. To Charles Walker, who from UC Davis supervised the completion of this dissertation, I appreciate your willingness to work with me and your comments on my drafts. We have come a long way since our initial Zoom conversation! Thank you, Chuck.

This project could not have been completed without the support of colleagues, friends, and comrades who have contributed through their comments and insights. At UCSB, I am blessed to have met such a wonderful group of academics. Whether it was in the hallway, the UCen, the picket line, or walking home, I always felt enriched by our conversations. I would like to thank Andreína Soto Segura, Serge Ferrari, Christine Khrlobian, Maria del Pilar Ramirez Restrepo, Rana Razek, Kendall Lovely, Salma Shash, Doug Genens, Neil Johnson, Emma John, Janna Haider, Donna D. Anderson, David McIntosh, Thelma Patnett, Christopher McQuilkin, Isidro Gonzales, Raymok Ketema, and Tannishtha Bhattacharjee. A huge thanks to my football (not soccer!) family as well. What started as a pastime for a group of historians and scholars in the humanities, it quickly became an interdisciplinary endeavor. Sam Newall, Wendy Cui, Robert Kwapisz, Samridhi Maheshwari, and Camilo Abbate

Granada, thank you for helping me find the balance my mind and body needed to complete this manuscript.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family. My parents, Mario A. Tumen, and Gladys Vara, who from a distance were ardent supporters of my intellectual endeavors. The conversations that took place on Sundays, when other family members would come to visit us and eat some *seco con frejoles*, have shaped many of the initial questions that have guided this project. To my sister, Melissa Tumen, and her wonderful family, her husband Eric Velasquez, and two children, Cayetana and Joachim, thank you for encouraging me to pursue graduate school. Your PhD. in Microbiology was an inspiration to me and always pushed me to always work harder. To my brother, Edson Tumen, who has been rockin' away in heaven for over a decade, thank you for everything you gave me in life. Our endless nightly conversations will never be forgotten.

My last two words of thanks will be to my beautiful wife, Ivette Bejarano Maldonado, and my son, Mario Tumen. Ivette, thank you for never stop believing in the project and always supporting me even when my path toward the Ph.D. hit a series of speed bumps. I could not have asked for a better mother for our son. Mario, thank you for bringing so much joy into my life. Dude, you are the reason why I completed this project. You are my rock. Our endless coffee dates, where I spent much of my time writing and watching you draw (or rather interpret) the world away, were more than rewarding and fulfilling. They have been the happiest moments of this long, never-ending process. I look forward to watching you grow up. Love you.

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ABSTRACT

The Atusparia Rebellion: Political Culture, Race, and Modernity in Ancash, 1885-1900

by

Mario Esteban Tumen

"The Atusparia Rebellion: Political Culture, Race, and Modernity in Ancash, 1885-1900" investigates political culture in Latin America. My project examines indigenous mobilizations in late nineteenth-century Peru to provide a fresh perspective on how racial and ethnic categories were constructed. My dissertation examines the Atusparia Rebellion of 1885, the largest indigenous peasant rebellion of nineteenth-century Peru. Though scholarship has shown that unfair taxation animated the politics of this short-lived rebellion in the Andean region of Ancash, which was violently suppressed by the military after two months, my research explores why a sector of the press in Peru, a predominantly an agrarian country, reported that this mobilization in the Andes was a peasant communist revolution. Through an examination of newspapers, monographs, and government documents, I contend that narratives about indigenous people as "communist terrorists" were first articulated during the Atusparia Rebellion. In 1885, these representations generated fear among the ruling classes facilitated the exclusion of indigenous people from the democratic process, and justified state violence. Since then, these patterns of racism and violence have become more prevalent in Peruvian politics, most emphatically during Peru's internal armed conflict (1980-2000) and the ongoing political crisis.

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Introduction

This dissertation will examine the Atusparia Rebellion of 1885. The largest rural insurrection in nineteenth-century Peru began in late February when twenty-five community leaders or *alcaldes* from hamlets (*estancias*) around Huaraz, the capital city of Ancash, approached authorities to negotiate a reduction on the *contribución personal*—a tax that had that been inherited from the colonial period. Instead, authorities jailed and tortured these *alcaldes*. Violence soon erupted in the city. On March 3, over five thousand rebels from nearby towns took arms, freed the *alcaldes*, deposed local authorities, and established a provisional government with the support of the local elite. The rebellion soon expanded to most of Ancash, severely threatening the government and ruling classes' view of modernity. The situation was critical. The War of the Pacific (1879-1883) had weakened state authority. Moreover, the government of Miguel Iglesias was already involved in a civil war (1884-1885) in other regions of the country against the forces of General Andrés Avelino Cáceres. Rumors about race wars, class conflict, and communist conspiracies further exacerbated public anxieties in the capital city. Iglesias did not hesitate to respond to events in Ancash. He sent a small army of 500-700 men that landed on the coastal town of Casma on April 12 and subsequently made their way into the highlands. By May 3, the pacification campaign of the army had regained control in most of the region, leaving local ruling classes largely undisturbed and killing several hundred insurgents.

Scholars have long provided various sociopolitical explanations for the causes of the Atusparia Rebellion. While state violence, famines, and land expropriation have been cited as underlying reasons, anti-fiscal explanations have remained a dominant trend in the scholarship. They have argued that the payment of the *contribución personal* no longer

guaranteed the protection of communal landholdings by 1885 as the *tributo de indios* had done during the colonial period. The breach of this social contract, also known as the "colonial pact," prompted people to rebel.[1] However, most influential works on the subject have primarily interpreted events through the lens of rebel leadership and state authorities. The rebels left almost no records, so little has been written about the ordinary citizens from the towns that either participated or were under *de facto* control of the provisional government, leaving several questions unanswered. If these citizens were willing to die for the *contribución personal*, did the tax remain an issue in the region after 1885? If not, what were their material interests, social relationships, and ethnic and class identification, and how did these shape their politics during the rebellion? Did the rebels' goals conflict with the ruling classes' visions of progress, contributing to the collapse of their initial alliance? More broadly, how did the ruling classes in Lima and Ancash make sense of a provisional government spearheaded by an indigenous majority amidst rumors of "communism" during one of the most critical periods in Peruvian history?

By answering these questions, my dissertation provides a historical perspective on a fundamental question: why do people rebel? In the case of Ancash in 1885, I hypothesize that the Atusparia Rebellion was the starting point of an anti-fiscal movement. This initial success was cut short when ruling classes withdrew their support amidst reports of race war, class conflict, and, more importantly, "communism," leading to the movement's collapse and the army's triumph. Nevertheless, the *contribución personal* still sparked grassroots mobilizations after 1885. The "colonial pact" could no longer guarantee the protection of communal land rights in a period marked by capitalist expansion, namely private property.

[1] Tristan Platt, *Estado Boliviano y Ayllu Andino: Tierra y Tributo en el Norte de Potosí* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1982).

As a response, indigenous peasants used jurisprudence, passive resistance, and violence to undermine the legitimacy of the tax, redefining notions of citizenship and race. Their participation in the civil war of 1894-95 culminated in more than a decade of sustained efforts to abolish legislation that had existed for nearly 300 years.

This study will help illuminate contemporary debates about social movements and neoliberalism in Latin America. In the twentieth-first century, the expansion of capital and foreign investment in Latin America encouraged the growth of national and foreign hydrocarbon corporations and industrial agriculture, a similar situation faced by indigenous peasants following the War of the Pacific. This development has occurred in several countries at the expense of indigenous people's land. Nevertheless, these groups have not been marginal actors in this development and have taken steps to defend their land rights, ranging from jurisprudence, passive resistance, and armed insurgency. However, the ruling classes and the public sphere generally interpret these mobilizations as apolitical, anti-capitalist, or part of a communist conspiracy spearheaded by non-indigenous radical Leftists.[2] This research will also help uncover the ideological underpinnings of dominant discourses that have facilitated the exclusion of indigenous people from the democratic process and justified the use of violence from the state.

Placement in Literature of the Field

This project will build on existing literature on the Atusparia Rebellion. However, it will incorporate novel approaches to the study of capitalism, bringing together studies on

[2] Carolina Arrunátegui, "Ideología y prensa escrita en el Perú: el caso Bagua," *Lexis* xxxiv, no. 2 (2010): 16; *El Comercio,* Alan García, "El syndrome del perro del hortelano," October 28, 2007; Moises Arce, *Resource Extraction and Protest in Peru* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014).

race, political culture, and political economy in Latin American history.[3] Existing works have primarily interpreted the rebellion as an anti-fiscal uprising. More recently, Mark Thurner has critiqued this hypothesis and instead has argued that state violence led to the outbreak of violence. Moreover, he posits, the rebellion had local aims, but it was also part of the larger civil war in Peru, casting rebels capable of developing a form of republicanism that drew influence colonial and republican ideas and practices.[4] Nonetheless, these interpretations have primarily rejected the "communist" conspiracies theories. Although these narratives provided painstaking detail on the leaders and events in 1885, scholarship has yet to thoroughly analyze the politics of the rebellion through the peasants' perspective. More specifically, historians have a limited understanding of the material interests, social relationships, and ethnic and class identification of communities before and after the rebellion. This analysis could shed light on why these actors may have decided to take arms in 1885.

By examining legal cases involving communities that participated in the rebellion, my study will address this gap in the scholarship and closely examine the intersection between race, class, and law. A critical analysis of these sources will reveal how these actors defined themselves at the courthouse, a pivotal institution for the administration of justice in rural Peru. As works on the colonial period have demonstrated, racial categories were more fluid than previously assumed. Skin color was not the only determining factor in one's self-

[3] Sven Beckert and Christine Desan, eds., *American Capitalism: New Histories* (Columbia University Press, 2018).

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

identification.[5] As Jesus Cosamalón has argued in his study of census records in republican Peru, education, occupation, money, property, and social networks were also crucial in making identity.[6] Moreover, scholars have also shown that the payment of the *contribución personal*, namely the term *contribuyente* (tribute-payer), was linked to ethnic categorizations in republican Peru.[7] Since all of these variables were often expressed in the court of law, analyzing these litigations will help capture the complexity of these individuals and their social networks, complicating narratives that portray them as a homogenous group of communal indigenous peasants. Instead, my work will unearth the story of men and women who negotiated ethnic categorizations imposed by the state and, at times, opted to identify themselves as property owners (*vecinos*), *agricultores, contribuyentes,* muleteers, merchants, or skill crafters, unveiling their connections to the market and land tenure in late nineteenth-century Peru. This topic has received only scant attention in other regions.[8]

[5] Joanne Rappaport, *The Disappearing Mestizo: Configuring Difference in the Colonial New Kingdom of Granada* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2014).

[6] Jesús A Cosamalón Aguilar, *El juego de las apariencias: la alquimia de los mestizajes y las jerarquías sociales en Lima, siglo XIX* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2017).

[7] Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1978); Christine Hünefeldt, *Lucha por la tierra y protesta indígena: las comunidades indígenas del Perú entre colonia y república, 1800-1830* (Bonn: Bonner Amerikanistische Studien, 1982); Carlos Contreras, "Estado Republicano y tributo Indígena en la sierra central en la post- independencia," *Histórica* 13, no. 1 (July 1, 1989): 9–44; Núria Sala i Vila, *Y se armó el tole tole: tributo indígena y movimientos sociales en el Virreinato del Perú, 1790-1814* (Ayacucho: Instituto de Estudios Regionales José María Arguedas, 1996); Nancy P. Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt, eds., *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, New edition edition (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003); María Luisa Soux, "TRIBUTO, CONSTITUCIÓN Y RENEGOCIACIÓN DEL PACTO COLONIAL. EL CASO ALTOPERUANO DURANTE EL PROCESO DE INDEPENDENCIA (1808-1826)," *Relaciones 115* 29 (2008): 30; Erick D. Langer, "Bringing the Economic Back In: Andean Indians and the Construction of the Nation-State in Nineteenth-Century Bolivia," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 41, no. 3 (2009):

[8] The most comprehensive work on land tenure in nineteenth-century Peru is Nils Jacobsen's account of the region of Puno. See Nils Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition* (Stanford: University of California Press, 1993).

Exploring these legal documents will also reveal clues on indigenous people's struggle to abolish the *contribución personal* in Ancash, shedding light on more significant debates about liberalism in nineteenth-century Latin America. The Indian tribute—the precursor to the *contribución personal*— was the largest source of revenue for the Spanish crown, following silver. Historians had long argued that the payment of the tribute had allowed indigenous communities to assert their vassalage, especially when it involved usufruct rights.[9] This "moral economy," referred to as the "colonial pact" in historiography, became a form of citizenship that indigenous people invoked at the court of law in the newly created republics, especially in the Andes.[10] However, since the tax-protected corporate landholdings and taxed individuals based on perceived ethnic differences, it went against the principles of equality and a universal system of laws that liberal state-makers across Latin America sought to establish in the nineteenth century. More specifically, it deterred the consolidation of private property and, by extension, the expansion of capitalism.[11] Nevertheless, this pact, the argument goes, lost appeal as the century went on as military leaders often collected the tax but did not provide the protection of communal landholdings.[12] The study on the litigations in Ancash will then build on this premise and provide a complete account of the limits of the "colonial pact" towards the end of the nineteenth century as seen from the courthouse. Drawing inspiration from recent works on liberalism, I will show

[9] Brian P. Owensby, *Empire of Law and Indian Justice in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011).

[10] Brooke Larson, *Trials of Nation Making: Liberalism, Race, and Ethnicity in the Andes, 1810-1910* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
[11] Robert Howard Jackson, *Liberals, the Church, and Indian Peasants: Corporate Lands and the Challenge of Reform in Nineteenth-Century Spanish America* (University of New Mexico Press, 1997).

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

instead the complex legal language and practices indigenous peasants used to defend their rights in a court of law in lieu of the *contribución personal*.

However, this narrative also risks providing a fragmented vision of the rebellion. The perspective of ruling classes in Lima and Ancash, and their interpretation of the "indigenous" subject by the end of nineteenth century also shaped the trajectory and discourse of the Atusparia Rebellion. More specifically, the term "indigenous" must be properly unpacked. As Peter Wade argues, post-revisionist works on race must study the "interaction of state entities, social movements, and intellectuals in producing both esoteric and common-sense racial knowledge.[13]" In this regard, historians have long stressed how discourse on indigenous people was often based on neo-Lamarckian notions, opposite to North American and British hardline biological determinism.[14] Recently, however, new literature on labor, eugenics, and *indigenismo* suggests that both were not incompatible in Latin America.[15] This line of inquiry invites one to rethink how "Latin" and "Anglo" influences intersected with

[13] Peter Wade, "Racism and Race Mixture in Latin America," *Latin American Research Review* 52, no. 3 (September 22, 2017): 477–85, 477.

[14] On the United States, see Miroslava Chavez-García, *States of Delinquency: Race and Science in the Making of California's Juvenile Justice System* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011); Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, Revised and Expanded edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996); Paul Spickard, *Almost All Aliens: Immigration, Race, and Colonialism in American History and Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2007). For Latin America, see Carlos Aguirre, *The Criminals of Lima and Their Worlds: The Prison Experience, 1850–1935* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Marisol de la Cadena, "The Racial Politics of Culture and Silent Racism In Peru," 2001, 14; Nancy Leys Stepan, *"The Hour of Eugenics": Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992).

[15] Dan Cozart, "Peruanidad and Blackness in National and Local Perspectives: Popular Literature and Racial Science," *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* 14, no. 2 (May 4, 2019): 194–213; Paulo Drinot, *The Allure of Labor: Workers, Race, and the Making of the Peruvian State* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2011), 37; Arturo Orbegoso, "EUGENESIA, TESTS MENTALES Y DEGENERACIÓN RACIAL EN EL PERÚ," 2012, 14; Stucchi-Portocarrero, Santiago. "Eugenics, Medicine and Psychiatry in Peru," *History of Psychiatry* 29, no. 1 (March 1, 2018): 96–109; Jesús Franco Salazar Paiva, "El proyecto nacional ensangrentado : nacionalismo y civilización en los discursos en torno de los crímenes de Peruvian Amazon Company en el Putumayo," thesis, *Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú*, July 11, 2016.

local knowledge production. First, My work will look at the ideological influences of narratives that positioned indigenous people within discussions on political economy, complicating narratives on "Latin" exceptionalism.[16] Second, I will look at the social construction of the "indigenous" through the intellectual but also the public sphere in Ancash and Lima, building on recent studies that look at the "popularization of science" and influential literature that has helped reposition Latin America at the cutting-edge of scientific production of knowledge rather than the periphery.[17]

Understanding political culture in late nineteenth-century Peru may also explain what this peasant-led rebellion meant for ruling classes following the War of the Pacific. While it is doubtful that "communism" influenced the politics of the rebellion, social anxieties and political decisions based on the "ideological divide between capitalism and its critics" was perhaps more prevalent than previously assumed by the late-nineteenth century, contesting interpretations that encapsulate Latin American politics as a struggle between liberals and conservatives.[18] In Peru, studies on economic policy, labor movements, and, more recently, rural uprisings have recently shown the limits of orthodox liberalism and the popularization

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[16] Walsh, Sarah. "The Executioner's Shadow: Coerced Sterilization and the Creation of 'Latin' Eugenics in Chile." *History of Science*, April 12, 2018, 0073275318755533. https://doi.org/10.1177/0073275318755533.

[17] Nancy Stephan once again paved the path for this literature. However, Julyan G. Peard's study of the *Tropicalista* School best exemplifies approaches that position Latin America at the center of the scientific production of knowledge. See Peard, *Race, Place, and Medicine: The Idea of the Tropics in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Duke University Press, 1999).

[18] Gastón García Cantú, *El socialismo en México, siglo XIX: Gastón García Cantú.* (México: Era, 1969). Odd Arne Westad, *The Cold War: A World History* (New York: Basic Books, 2017), 37. Luis Chavez Orozco, *Prehistoria del socialismo en Mexico* (Mexico City: Departamento de Bibliotecas de la Secretaria de Educacion Publica, 1936); Carlos Rodríguez Braun, "Early Liberal Socialism in Latin America: Juan B. Justo and the Argentine Socialist Party," *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 67, no. 4 (2008): 567–604; Roberto P. Korzeniewicz, "The Labour Movement and the State in Argentina, 1887-1907," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 8, no. 1 (1989): 25–45; Carlos Rodríguez Braun, "Early Liberal Socialism in Latin America: Juan B. Justo and the Argentine Socialist Party," *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 67, no. 4 (2008): 567–604.

of competing ideologies such as socialism and communism to 1917.[19] In this regard, I will examine how intellectuals and the public sphere in Lima and Ancash may have learned and understood these ideas by the end of the nineteenth century despite the absence of strong labor organizations or well-defined socialist political parties. Building on work that has stressed the emphasis of the European Revolutions of 1the 8 in Latin America, and the Paris Commune, I will specifically look at the production and dissemination of knowledge beyond Karl Marx's canonical works, but also the popularization of ideas that in some circles were considered social sciences and alternatives to the capitalist mode of production.[20]

Source Material:

The sources used in this dissertation may be divided into two categories. On the one hand, the first group provides a narrative of the ruling classes, government authorities, and the general public. It is comprised of newspapers, monographs, and government documents. Many of these sources have been collected from archives in Lima, such as the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú (BNP), Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), and Archivo Histórico-Militar del Peru (AHM). Newspapers from Lima, Ancash, and Arequipa, where they reported extensively on the Atusparia Rebellion, help provide a top-down perspective of the historical

[19] Peter Blanchard, *The Origins of the Peruvian Labor Movement, 1883–1919* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1982); Nils Jacobsen, "Pensamiento económico y politicas economicas en el Peru, 1885-1899: los límites a la ortodoxia liberal," in Carlos Contreras and Manuel Glave Testino, *Estado y mercado en la historia del Perú*, 1. ed.. (Perú: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fonde Editorial, 2002); Miguel Maticorena Estrada, *La comuna de Piura y Chalaco: Montoneras, 1883* (Lima: Ediciones Copé, Petroperú, 2014); Nils Jacobsen/Alejandro Diez Hurtado, "Montoneras, la comuna de Chalaco y la revo- lución de Piérola: la sierra piurana entre el clientelismo y la sociedad civil": Antonio Escobar Ohmstede/Romana Falcón (eds.), *Los ejes de la disputa: Movimientos sociales y actores colectivos en América Latina, siglo XIX* (Frankfurt am Main/Madrid 2002), 57–131.

[20] Guy P. C. Thomson, *The European Revolutions of 1848 and the Americas* (Institute of Latin American Studies, 2002); Deluermoz Quentin, "The Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune, 1870-1871: "Global" media events in the nineteenth century", *Monde(s)*, 2019/2 (No 16), p. 159-181. URL: https://www.cairn.info/journal-mondes-2019-2-page-159.htm.

context. These sources are complemented by those found digitally, such as the Archivo Digital de la Legislación (ADL), which houses the most extensive collection of legislations and presidential decrees for the nineteenth century. Moreover, the University of California system has granted me access to the HathiTrust Database and the Latin America Newspapers (LAN) collection, where dailies from the nineteenth century, such as *El Comercio*, arguably Peru's most influential newspaper, can be found alongside other publications from major cities in the Americas.

The second primary source of information for this project is court cases from Ancash, which range from 1885 to 1900. Though this period coincides with the increased commodification of land, the study will primarily focus on the experience of indigenous people, as litigants, in the court of law. Recovering their voices–albeit mitigated by scribes, notaries, lawyers, judges, and other bureaucrats–was emphasized over patterns, figures, and statistics on land tenure in rural Peru.[21] Nevertheless, one does not have to look far to encounter evidence of land expropriation at the hand of influential landlords and malicious bureaucracy in Ancash, so these stories will also be present as well. Some lawsuits have completed documentation, while others have missing files. I will primarily focus on court cases from the AHA and legal petitions from communities asking to reduce or not pay the tribute found at the AGN. On the former, only one handful of documents has been analyzed by Mark Thurner, so I intend to incorporate more court cases into the narrative. I will closely examine the legal self-identification terms indigenous peasants instead of or alongside

[21] For a monumental and detailed work on the expansion of capitalism Puno, see Nils Jacobsen. Nils Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition* (Stanford: University of California Press, 1993). Carlos Aguirre has argued that historians can still "reconstruct, though always imperfectly, the point of view of the subordinate" through mediated legal documents. See Carlos Aguirre, "Tinterillos, Indians, and the State: Towards a History of Legal Intermediaries in Post-Independence Peru," n.d., 33.

contribuyente (such as *vecino, indígena, miserable, natural*), their occupation, social networks, and most pertinently, the source of the law, such as the *Codigo de Civil de 1852*, a document that reflects the country's commitment to liberal jurisprudence, and Peru's first official legal civil code until 1936.

Outline of Chapters:

This dissertation comprises seven chapters: an introduction, five substantive chapters, and a conclusion. Chapter One, "Modernity in the Andes: Political Economy, Land, and Bureaucracy in Ancash, 1885-1900," will explore the region's political economy. I will begin by analyzing Antonio Raimondi's *El departamento de Ancash y sus riquezas minerales* (1871). Building on recent scholarship that has begun to look at canonical Enlightenment philosophers as economic thinkers, I demonstrate that Raimondi's work was an influential model for economic development.[22] Raimondi was an Italian-Peruvian scientist who worked closely with the Peruvian government for nearly half a century; his scholarship received recognition in the Americas and Europe. In *El Departamento*, Raimondi imagined an Ancash where a large-scale mining industry, supported by an extensive railroad system, provided the necessary revenue to improve agriculture, infrastructure, and public services. However, his view of modernity had not succeeded in Ancash by the late nineteenth century. I will show that despite problems in consolidating the railroad's completion, politicians took other steps to modernize Ancash, showing a predisposition to reform, or at least manage, spheres of government that included infrastructure, labor, and education. Through the analysis of

[22] Paul Burton Cheney, *Revolutionary Commerce: Globalization and the French Monarchy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010); Andrew Geoffry Billing, "Rousseau's Critique of Market Society: Property and Possessive Individualism in the Discours Sur l'inégalité," *Journal of European Studies* 48, no. 1 (March 1, 2018): 3–19.

newspapers and official reports, I will demonstrate how contemporaries considered Ancash a valuable commodity, foundational in the visions of progress imagined after the disastrous War of the Pacific (1879-1883). This perspective may help scholars understand what was at stake for contemporaries in Lima and Ancash in 1885, influencing the decisions actors in Lima and Ancash made during the rebellion.

The second chapter, “The Origins of Modern Politics: Making Sense of Radical Ideas in Nineteenth-Century Peru, 1848 - 1895," asks a straightforward question: how did contemporaries understand ideas such as communism and socialism before the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917? In this chapter, I will discuss how despite feeble working-class organizations and socialist parties, citizens in Ancash and Lima had a clear understanding of the threat communism represented to local and national ideas on progress by the late nineteenth century, namely the threat it posed to private property. These interpretations shaped political decisions and were less marginal than previously assumed. I posit that ideas on communism, specifically anti-communism, were well-established in political culture well before 1917. I will begin by looking at newspaper reactions to landmark events in the global history of communism: the European Revolutions of 1848 and the Paris Commune of 1871. I will also pay particular attention to how dailies in Lima and Ancash reported communist political activity abroad. The last part of this chapter will look at how notions of communism matured by the end of the century, paying particular attention to discourse in *La Justicia*, a newspaper from Huaraz directed by Frey Fidel Olivas Escudero, future Archbishop of Ayacucho and an influential figure who had mediated between rebels and the ruling classes during the Atusparia Rebellion of 1885.

Chapter Three, "No! The Indians Are Docile:" Race and Modernity in Peru, 1883-1900," will examine debates in Lima and Ancash about the "Indian Problem." The incorporation of indigenous peoples into nation-states, known as *indigenismo* in the twentieth century, was not new by the end of the nineteenth century. Before the War of the Pacific, Juan Bustamante's *Sociedad Amiga de los Indios*, and to a lesser extent, the *Partido Civil*, were engaged in debates about redeeming indigenous people.[23] By looking at newspapers and monographs, I will show how scientific racism shaped public opinion in Lima and Ancash about indigenous people. More specifically, the chapter will show that intellectuals, politicians, and capitalists often viewed indigenous peoples' capability for modernization through the lens of political economy and communism. By the late nineteenth century, these discourses exposed the political conflicts of a society that sought to rebuild its economic, social, and cultural fabric following the disastrous War of the Pacific (1879-1883). On the one hand, some intellectuals favored the integration of the "Indian" through a social organization based on Western capitalist models. A few even believed indigenous culture was compatible with the country's modernization. On the other hand, a few idealists proposed looking to the Inca Empire and its socialist system for guidance in economic development. They imagined a postcapitalist state where Inca social organization and indigenous labor worked harmoniously to provide public goods for all members of society.

Chapter Four, "Towards a Juridical Definition of the *indígena*: Race, Law, and Republicanism in Ancash, 1885-1900," will look at the relationship between indigenous

[23] Carmen Mc Evoy, *La utopía republicana: ideales y realidades en la formación de la cultura política peruana, 1871-1919* (Fondo Editorial PUCP, 1997); Nils Jacobsen and Nicanor Domínguez, *Juan Bustamante y los límites del liberalismo en el Altiplano: la rebelión de Huancané, 1866-1868* (Lima: SER, 2011); Ulrich Mücke, *Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century Peru: The Rise of the Partido Civil* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004).

peasants and the state primarily through court cases found in the archives of Ancash. It will begin with a legal history of the *contribución personal*, highlighting its relevance in the more extensive history of liberalism in Latin America. The chapter will then examine court cases involving indigenous peasants in Ancash. This analysis will reveal the complex legal language and strategies indigenous people used in the court of law. Supported by neighbors, legal advisers, and, at times, civil servants, indigenous people actively engaged the judiciary system to protect their rights, which often involved communal land and private property. The last section will further examine the documentation and present an ethnography of a legal proceeding. The analysis will recreate litigants' mundane but crucial strategies during a legal proceeding. For the state, lawsuits proved an opportunity to discipline, categorize, and tax its citizens. For indigenous people, negotiating their rights at the court of law reshaped their notions of republicanism and citizenship in a society that often sought to exclude them.

The last chapter, “The Atusparia Rebellion of 1885: Political Culture, Race, and Insurgency in Late Nineteenth-Century Peru,” brings ideas presented in previous chapters and focuses specifically on events that took place from March to September 1885 in Ancash. This chapter will briefly overview the rebellion and explore its various interpretations in scholarship and popular memory through an analysis of national and international newspapers, official reports, and monographs. I argue that although the Atusparia Rebellion was not a communist movement, events in Ancash compelled ruling classes and authorities to entertain the possibility of a postcapitalist society in the Andes. The rebellion also inaugurated the articulation of the indigenous subject as a "communist terrorist," a discourse that in the twentieth century facilitated the exclusion of indigenous people from the democratic process and justified violence against rural mobilizations.

The conclusion examines the legacy of the Atusparia Rebellion. For one, the event is celebrated every year in Huaraz. Numerous streets, businesses, and schools in the department have been named after Atusparia. The rebellion has inspired plays, novels, and monographs. On a broader scale, the narrative of the indigenous subject as a "communist terrorist," anti-communism more generally, and t*erruqueo*, a type of political slander, has recently engulfed Peruvian politics once more. This language of counterinsurgency continues to justify the exclusion of indigenous people from the democratic process and the use of force from the state.

Chapter 1: "Modernity in the Andes: Political Economy, Land, Bureaucracy in Ancash, 1885 - 1900"

Introduction

In 1873, Antonio Raimondi published one of his most well-known works: *El Departamento de Ancachs y sus riquezas naturales.* In this thorough account of the mineral wealth of Ancash, Raimondi, an Italian immigrant who had arrived in Peru in 1850 and who, due to his expertise in the natural sciences, rapidly became known among intellectual circles in Lima, laid out his vision of modernization for Peru. Not unlike other positivist intellectuals in Latin America, Raimondi claimed that the railroad was vital to achieving the economic prosperity of Western countries. In Ancash, where poor roads and rugged topography complicated the large-scale extraction of minerals, a rail line that connected the coast to the Andes promised to revolutionize commodity production in the region. If completed, Raimondi predicted that mining operations would satisfy domestic demand and serve European markets. Given his connections to civil servants, scientists, and capitalists, Raimondi may have expected his recommendations to be taken seriously by government officials. After all, in his reasoning, the country's development largely depended on the industrialization of mining in Ancash. However, when he died in 1890, Raimondi's vision of modernity still needed to be fulfilled. Peru had changed much since 1873. The guano boom (1840-1870s), which had financed much of the spending and subsidies in infrastructure, bureaucracy, and education, was over. The War of the Pacific (1879-1883) had devastated the country. The country only achieved political stability after the civil war of 1884-1885, which was itself interrupted again by another civil war in 1894-1895. By the end of the

century, the railroad was still far from completion, and the department had yet to become the economic powerhouse Raimondi had expected.

This chapter will analyze the political economy of Ancash from 1885 to 1900. The first section will look at the life and influence of Antonio Raimondi in Peru, primarily through his work in *El Departamento de Ancachs* (1873). Raimondi was an autodidact and did not have had formal education in the natural sciences or political economy–one aspect of his thinking that is given more attention in this chapter–but the Italian's positivist ideas about modernity in Ancash, a region where the railroad and mining would dictate much of the economic activity in the region, remained influential well into the twentieth century for Peruvian and foreigner scientists. The following section will cover ideas about modernization in Ancash in the postwar period. Though the railroad was still far from completion by 1895, ruling classes still viewed it as key to the region's political economy. Their visions of modernity, however, also encompassed other spheres of civil society. Unfortunately for these visionaries, their plans were not easily implemented as government authorities sometimes proved largely incapable of tending to their duties with its citizens, particularly the indigenous majority. The third section of this chapter will look at how corruption took shape in Ancash, as seen through the press, citizens, and government authorities. Accusations of abuse of power engulfed civil servants across all levels of government. Despite these problems, however, the department, thanks to the efforts of local authorities, the press, and businesses, managed to make some improvements, or at the very least, maintained order and stability in several spheres of government such as public works, the administration of justice, and the education system.

Modernity in Ancash before the War of the Pacific: Antonio Raimondi as a Political Economist?

El Departamento de Ancash y sus riquezas naturales (1873) was more than just a scientific assessment of the mineral wealth found in the region of Ancash. As scholars have posited, Raimondi's work reflected the country's optimism before the War of the Pacific (1879-1883). Despite some recessions, Peru experienced economic growth since the guano boom of the 1840s, which allowed the government to invest in infrastructure, bureaucracy, and public education. Within this context, Raimondi was undoubtedly not the first intellectual in Peru or Latin America to associate the construction of the railroad with national development. However, he was the first to provide an economic plan for the region based on hitherto scientific methods and reasoning. His work had an immediate impact as local prefects began to include natural resources in their memories as early as 1874.[1] Recently, historians have proposed looking at the economic ideas of Enlightenment thinkers such as Montesquieu and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. These philosophers are more well-known for their contribution to contemporary politics, or as most Western scholarship argues, the remarking of the modern world.[2] As Paul Cheney has argued on the former, scholars do not

[1] Antonio Raimondi, *El departamento de Ancachs y sus riquezas minerales, 1873*, ed. Luis Felipe Villacorta Ostolaza (UNMSM, 2006), 57.

[2] See Andrew Geoffry Billing, "Rousseau's Critique of Market Society: Property and Possessive Individualism in the Discours Sur l'inégalité," *Journal of European Studies* 48, no. 1 (March 1, 2018): 3–19, https://doi.org/10.1177/0047244117744090.; Richard Swedberg, *Tocqueville's Political Economy* (Princeton University Press, 2009); Peter J. Boettke and Adam Martin, *Exploring the Social and Political Economy of Alexis de Tocqueville* (Springer Nature, 2020). Additionally, it was not uncommon for contemporaries to consider historical actors who were not conventional economists as political economists and influential in the public sphere. Nassau William Senior, a prominent figure in nineteenth-century British politics, and who became professor of political economy at Oxford University, had been trained as a lawyer, not a political economist. See Karl Marx's discussion about Senior in Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, Penguin Classics. (London ; Penguin Books in association with New Left Review, 1990). For more on Senior as a political economist, see Gary M. Anderson, Robert B. Ekelund, and Robert D. Tollison, "Nassau Senior as Economic Consultant: The Factory Acts Reconsidered," *Economica* 56, no. 221 (1989): 71–81, https://doi.org/10.2307/2554496.; CHRISTOPHE DEPOORTÈRE, "WILLIAM NASSAU SENIOR AND

usually treat Montesquieu as a political economist. However, his works, which Cheney describes as a "political sociology of commerce," provide a view of progress that seek to reconcile older and newer forms of economic, social, and cultural hierarchies.[3] Though possibly not a political sociology of commerce, *El Departamento*, a 600-page detailed account of Ancash's geography and mineral wealth, certainly raises concerns over the same questions as those thinkers from the Enlightenment. Even if not a "political economist" in the most conventional understanding of the word, at the very least, I would argue that Raimondi's concern over the role of Ancash in the modernization of the country provided a model for socioeconomic development in the region that remained influential well into the twentieth century.

Despite being an autodidact, Raimondi had an illustrious career in Peru. Born in Milan in 1824, he arrived in Peru in 1850. By 1858, he had secured a teaching position as a professor of Natural History at the National University of San Marcos, the oldest institution of higher education in the Americas.[4] He remained tied to academia and maintained a close relationship with intellectuals in Peru and Europe throughout his life.[5] As several authors

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DAVID RICARDO ON THE METHOD OF POLITICAL ECONOMY," *Journal of the History of Economic Thought* 35, no. 1 (2013): 19–42, https://doi.org/10.1017/S1053837212000612.; Kenneth Smith, "The Discovery of Surplus Value: Karl Marx and Senior's 'Last Hour,'" *Journal of Classical Sociology* 17, no. 1 (February 1, 2017): 41–54, https://doi.org/10.1177/1468795X17691386.

[3] Paul Burton Cheney, *Revolutionary Commerce: Globalization and the French Monarchy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010).

[4] Mario Menzel and Wolfram Schultze-Motel, "Studies on Peruvian Bryophytes II. The Mosses Collected by Antonio Raimondi between the Years 1868 and 1879," *Willdenowia* 16, no. 2 (1987): 511–25.

[5] Lizardo Seiner Lizárraga, "Antonio Raimondi y sus vinculaciones con la ciencia europea, 1851-1890," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'études andines*, no. 32 (3) (December 1, 2003): 517–37; Ricardo la Torre Silva and Mérida Aliaga Santa María, *Antonio Raimondi En El Peru* (Lima: s.n., 2006); "Antonio Raimondi y el origen de la historia geográfica del Perú. | Acta Herediana," *Acta Herediana* 56 (Abril -Setiembre 2015 2015): 63–69; Carlos Contreras and Marcos Cueto, "Caminos, ciencia y Estado en el Perú, 1850-1930," *História, Ciências, Saúde-Manguinhos* 15 (September 2008): 635–55; Luis Castro Castro, Pablo Guerrero Oñate, and Carolina Figueroa Cerna, "LA EXPEDICIÓN DE ANTONIO RAIMONDI A LA PROVINCIA DE

have pointed out, Raimondi brought a wealth of expertise in natural sciences, such as botany, mineralogy, geology, and geography, that he had gained in Europe, particularly in the botanical gardens of Milan.[6] Though initially, a participant in the European Revolutions of 1848—a political movement generally associated with the rise of contemporary politics, such as the renewal of political language in the form of socialism and communism—Raimondi became a fervent supporter of capitalism as it had taken place in parts of the more developed West. His detailed account of the numerous mining centers in *El Departamento de Ancash y sus Riquezas Naturales* (1873) was followed by subsequent editions of *El Perú,* his *magnum opus,* a work where he provided extensive details of the natural resources available in every region of the country. Until the War of the Pacific, the government primarily financed his research into the country's interior. In the aftermath of the war, however, the government cut part of his funding, a situation that Raimondi lamented, so he resorted to selling his investments to finance the completion of *El Peru*.[7]

Towards the end of his life, Raimondi became more involved with newly created public and private organizations whose purpose was to modernize the country following the War of the Pacific. By this time, it is also possible that his biggest concern was the continuous reports he had to submit to the director of the *Escuela de Minas* (The National

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TARAPACÁ Y LA CONSTRUCCIÓN ESTATAL DE UN TERRITORIO NACIONAL PERUANO: COMENTARIOS Y TRANSCRIPCIÓN DE SU CUADERNO DE CAMPO (1853-1854)," *Estudios Atacameños,* no. 54 (2017): 111–52; Stephen T. Jackson, "Humboldt for the Anthropocene," *Science* 365, no. 6458 (September 13, 2019): 1074–76. Raimondi was also a "correspondent member" of the Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa. See *Actas das sessões da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa, 1876-1881,* vol. I (Lisbon: Impresa Nacional, 1881).

[6] Clements R. Markham, "Obituary: Antonio Raimondi," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* 12, no. 12 (1890): 763–65.

[7] "Carta de Antonio Raimondi a Pedro Correa y Santiago, sin fecha," in *Epistolario de Antonio Raimondi* (Lima: Asociación Educacional Antonio Raimondi, 1990), 50-51; "Carta de Antonio Raimondi a Pedro Correa, Lima, diciembre 19, 1885," in *Epistolario,* 53-54.

School of Mining), as this took time away from his life's work, *El Peru*.[8] These responsibilities did not deter him from becoming an honorary *Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* member, a scholarly society formed in 1888 composed of notable lawyers, doctors, geographers, engineers, and politicians.[9] Given his role in government in a period marked by political and economic uncertainty, his research on the country's mineral wealth was undoubtedly considered paramount for the reconstruction following the War of the Pacific. He even donated copies of his two most important works to the *Biblioteca Nacional del Perú*, which the Chilean army had previously looted during the war. Before passing in 1890, Raimondi shifted his research toward the mineral wealth in Peru's far-removed jungle regions.[10]

By his death, Raimondi's investigations were known in Peru and abroad. In the Americas, his work was recognized among scientists in Brazil and Chile, men who also sought to understand the natural resources and boundaries within their borders.[11] In the

[8] "Carta de Antonio Raimondi a Pedro Correa y Santiago, sin fecha," in *Epistolario de Antonio Raimondi* (Lima: Asociación Educacional Antonio Raimondi, 1990), 50-51; "Carta de Antonio Raimondi a Pedro Correa, Lima, diciembre 19, 1885," in *Epistolario,* 53-54.

[9] Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, "Tomo II", *Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* 10, 11 y 12 (March 31, 1893): 361-363; Leoncio López-Ocón, "La Sociedad Geográfica de Lima y la formación de una ciencia nacional en el Perú Republicano," *Terra Brasilis (Nova Série). Revista da Rede Brasileira de História da Geografia e Geografia Histórica*, no. 3 (January 1, 2001).

[10] Carta de Antonio Raimondi a Ricardo Palma, diciembre 31, 1883," in Antonio Raimondi, *Epistolario de Antonio Raimondi* (Lima: Asociación Educacional Antonio Raimondi, 1990), 49. Ricardo Palma, one of Peru's most famous writers of the nineteenth century, who also became director of the National Library in the aftermath of the War of the Pacific, also recognized the value of Raimondi's work and did not hesitate to express his to government authorities. "Este mapa tiene hoy doble interés, el de dar a conocer geográficamente la mas apartada región del Perú, y de servir de guía a los buscadores de oro para cuyo explotación se están organizando actualmente tanto en el Perú cuanto en Europa algunas compañías," in "Carta de Ricardo Palma al Director General del Ministerio de Hacienda, enero 7, 1888," in *Epistolario,* 57-58.

[11] Alejandro Bertrand, *Memoria sobre las Cordilleras del desierto de Atacama i rejiones limítrofes* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta nacional, 1885); Biblioteca Nacional (Brazil) et al., *Catalogo Da Exposição Permanente Dos Cifelios Da Bibliotheca Nacional*, Its Annaes. 1883-1884vol. XI (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. de G. Leuzinger & filhos, 1885); Sociedade Brasileira de Geografia, *Catalogo Da Exposição de Geographia Sul-Americana Realizada Pela Sociedade de Geographia Do Rio de Janeiro e Inaugurada Em 23 de Fevereiro de 1889.* (Rio

United States, Raimondi got an opportunity to become a published author. Prior to the publication of *El Departamento* in 1873, Raimondi's work on the regions of Loreto and Puno, located in the Amazon and Southern Peru, respectively, had been published in the academic journal *The Anthropological Review* in 1863.[12] His "On the Indian Tribes of the Great District of Loreto, in Northern Peru," for example, provides some insights into ideas that he would further develop in *El Departamento*. As he provides a geographical account of the area, Raimondi also calls attention to the profitability of mining commodities such as gold.[13] A little over a decade later, his efforts were recognized in the *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*.[14] Given his contributions to the natural sciences, the scientific community in the United States also lamented the passing of Raimond in 1890. The American Geographical Society of New York mourned the loss of a man who devoted "himself to the exploration of the country and the study of geography, natural history, and geology" and "made many contributions to scientific periodicals.[15]"

In Europe, Raimondi had also become a well-respected scholar in the scientific community by the time of his death. His research on biology, natural history, and geography

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de Janeiro Brazil: Imprensa nacional, 1891); José Coelho da Gama e Abreu Marajó, *As Regiões Amazonicas : Estudos Chorographicos Dos Estados Do Gram Pará e Amazonas* (Lisbon: Libâneo da Silva, 1895).

[12] Antonio Raimondy and Wm. Bollaert, "On the Indian Tribes of the Great District of Loreto, in Northern Peru," *The Anthropological Review* 1, no. 1 (1863): 33–43; Antonio Raimondi, "On the Rivers San Gavan and Ayapata, in the Province of Carabaya, Peru," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 37 (1867): 116–51.

[13] Antonio Raimondy and Wm. Bollaert, "On the Indian Tribes of the Great District of Loreto, in Northern Peru," *The Anthropological Review* 1, no. 1 (1863): 33–43.

[14] Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, "Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 1874-1880," second, viii (1881)

[15] "Obituary: Antonio Raimondi," *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* 22 (1890): 623–24.

was known among intellectual circles in Germany, Italy, France, and Britain.[16] Upon his passing, British scholars of the Royal Geographical Society, for instance, had no less flattering words about Raimondi's illustrious career. He had previously been featured in their journal in 1867.[17] He gained further recognition for his works, particularly *El Peru* and *El Departamento*. Clements Markham, a famous British intellectual, who also served as the Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society from 1863 to 1888, was especially captivated by the latter. Much like Raimondi, Markham had traveled extensively abroad, including Peru—where his journeys across the country served as the basis of his celebrated *The History of Per*u (1892).[18] Markham had been impressed with Raimondi's careful study of "mineralogy and geology of the department of Ancash during 1867." For the Englishman, Raimondi's carefully-crafted map "brought out one of the most remarkable features of the Andes.[19]" For

[16] See Antonio Raimondi, "On the Rivers San Gavan and Ayapata, in the Province of Carabaya, Peru," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 37 (1867): 116–51; E. G. Squier, *Observations on the Geography and Archaeology of Peru* (London: Trübner, 1870); L. E Albertini, *Le Pérou en 1878: notice historique et statistique suivie du catalogue des exposants* (Paris: Imprimerie nouvelle, 1878); Charles Wiener, *Pérou et Bolivie. Récit de Voyage Suivi d'études Archéologiques et Ethnographiques et de Notes Sur l'écriture et Les Langues Des Populations Indiennes* (Paris: Hachette & cie, 1880); Damian Schütz [zu] Holzhausen, *Der Amazonas. Wanderbilder Aus Peru, Bolivia Und Nordbrasilien*, Illustrierte Bibliothek Der LaÌnder Und VoÌlkerkunde (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1883); Alfred Wilhelm Stelzner et al., *Beiträge zur Geologie und Palaeontologie der Argentinischen Republik.* (Cassel; Berlin: Verlag Von Theodor Fischer, 1885); H. Guillaume, *The Amazon Provinces of Peru as a Field for European Emigration. A Statistical and Geographical Review of the Country and Its Resources, Including the Gold and Silver Mines ...* (London: Wyman and Sons, 1888); Friedrich Paetel, *Catalog Der Conchylien-Sammlung* (Berlin: Gebrüder Paetel, 1889); Giovanni Petella, *La Natura El La Vita Nella America Del Sud; Impressioni Di Viaggio.* (Roma: Forzani E C., 1889); Herbert Guillaume, *The Amazon Provinces of Peru as a Field for European Emigration. A Statistical and Geographical Review of the Country and Its Resources, Including the Gold and Silver Mines, Together with a Mass of Useful and Valuable Information, with Maps and Illustrations. Pub. by the Author, H. Guillaume.* (London: Wyman and Sons, Printers, 1894); Vincenzo Grossi, *Le Acque Minerali e Termali Del Peru.* (Roma: Bertero, 1895); Ernst W Middendorf, *Peru; Beobachtungen und Studien über das Land und seine Bewohner Während eines 25 Jährigen Aufenthalts.*, vol. III (Berlin: R. Oppenheim, 1895); Vincenzo Grossi, *Appunti Sulla Geografia Medica Del Peru.* (Roma: Bertero, 1896).

[17] Antonio Raimondi, "On the Rivers San Gavan and Ayapata, in the Province of Carabaya, Peru," *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 37 (1867): 116–51.

[18] Christian Fernández, "Discursos imperiales: Clements R. Markham, sus viajes y obras en torno al Perú," *Revista del Instituto Riva-Agüero* 1, no. 1 (2016): 125–63.

[19] Clements R. Markham, "Obituary: Antonio Raimondi," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* 12, no. 12 (1890): 763–65.

Markham, Raimondi's connections with wealthy investors such as the American industrialist Henry Meiggs, who invested a significant amount of capital in railroads in the United States and other parts of the Americas, such as Chile, may have allowed his publication to be of some utility for the Peruvian government in the short-term.[20] "Through the enlightened liberality of Mr. Henry Meiggs," Markham posited, "this portion of his labors was early utilized.[21]"

Markham's prediction on the usefulness of Raimondi's research was correct. The recommendations for exploiting natural resources, as outlined in *El Departamento* and subsequent works such as *El Perú*, became essential for Peruvian industrialists and policymakers. Moreover, the political stability the country experienced during the War of the Pacific (1879-1883), including the Chilean occupation of Lima, did not deter scientists, such as those at the *Escuela de Construcciones Civiles y de Minas de Lima* (The School of Civil Construction and Mines of Lima) from building upon his work.[22] After the international conflict and the subsequent civil war (1884-1885), his investigation on natural resources

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[20] Early works on Henry Meiggs have highlighted his entrepreneurship and contribution to economic development in the countries where he invested in railroad construction. More recently, scholars of political economy have taken a more critical. See Watt Stewart, *Henry Meiggs, Yankee Pizarro*, Duke University Publications (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1946); Vera Brodsky Lawrence, "Henry Meiggs: Maverick Entrepreneur," *19th-Century Music* 9, no. 1 (1985): 27–41; WILLIAM V. BISHEL, "Fall from Grace: U.S. Business Interests versus U.S. Diplomatic Interests in Peru, 1885–1890," *Diplomatic History* 20, no. 2 (1996): 163–83; William Bollinger, "Textiles, Guano and Railroads: The Role of the United States in the Early Development Failures of Peru, 1818-1876" (UCLA, 2012); Edward Dallam Melillo, *Strangers on Familiar Soil: Rediscovering the Chile-California Connection* (Yale University Press, 2015); Matthew Himley, "Extractivist Geographies: Mining and Development in Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth-Century Peru," *Latin American Perspectives* 46, no. 2 (March 1, 2019): 27–46.

[21] Clements R. Markham, "Obituary: Antonio Raimondi," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* 12, no. 12 (1890): 763–65.

[22] Escuela de Construcciones Civiles y de Minas de Lima, *Anales de Construcciones Civiles, Minas e Industrias Del Peru.*, vol. I (Lima: Imprenta del universo, de Prince y Buxó, 1880); Escuela de Construcciones Civiles y de Minas de Lima, *Anales de Construcciones Civiles, Minas e Industrias Del Peru.*, vol. II (Lima: Imprenta del universo, de Carlos Prince, 1882); Escuela de Construcciones Civiles y de Minas de Lima, *Anales de Construcciones Civiles, Minas e Industrias Del Peru.*, vol. III (Lima: Imprenta Carlos Paz Soldán, 1883).

gained even more relevance among intellectual circles as the government sought to reestablish mining operations nationwide to revamp the stagnant economy.[23] Their yearly publications show that Raimondi's writings were particularly influential among *Sociedad Geográfica de Lim*a members.[24] Well into the next century, Raimondi's research remained relevant for archeologists, geologists, miners, investors and government officials in Peru, Europe, and the United States.[25]

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[23] Escuela de Construcciones Civiles y de Minas de Lima, *Anales de Construcciones Civiles, Minas e Industrias Del Peru.*, vol. IV (Lima: F. Macias y Co., 1884); Escuela de Construcciones Civiles y de Minas de Lima, *Anales de Construcciones Civiles, Minas e Industrias Del Peru.*, vol. V (Lima: F. Macias y Co., 1885); Escuela de Construcciones Civiles y de Minas de Lima, *Anales de Construcciones Civiles, Minas e Industrias Del Peru.*, vol. VI (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1887); Julio Villanueva, *Mineral de Montebello: Litigio Sobre Jurisdicción Entre Los Juzgados de Primera Instancia de Sándia y Carabaya, Questión de Demarcación Territorial de Estas Provincias* (Lima: Imp. Calle de Quilca, 1889); Mario C. Rios, *Memoria Que Presenta El Ministro de Justicia, Culto, Instrucción y Beneficencia al Congreso Ordinario de 1891.* (Lima: Imprenta de "El Diario," 1891); Escuela Especial de Ingenieros de Lima, *Boletin de Minas: Industria y Construcciones, 1887-1892* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1892); *Memoria Que Presenta El Ministro de Justicia, Culto, Instrucción Pública y Beneficencia al Congreso Ordinario.* (Lima: Imprenta El Rimac, 1893).

[24] Sociedad Geográfica de Lima., *Boletín de La Sociedad Geográfica de Lima.*, vol. 3 (Lima : Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, 1894); Sociedad Geográfica de Lima., *Boletín de La Sociedad Geográfica de Lima.*, vol. 4 (Lima : Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, 1895); Sociedad Geográfica de Lima., *Boletín de La Sociedad Geográfica de Lima.*, vol. 5 (Lima : Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, 1896).

[25] Raimondi's work remained influential in the Sociedad Geográfica de Lima until 1922. For a few examples, see Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* (Sociedad Geográfica de Lima., 1900), Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, *Boletín de La Sociedad Geográfica de Lima.*, vol. 20 (Lima: Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, 1906), Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* (Sociedad Geográfica de Lima., 1917), and Sociedad Geográfica de Lima., *Boletín de La Sociedad Geográfica de Lima.*, vol. 39 (Lima : Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, 1922). For other publications about Raimondi in Peru, see Carlos R. Granda, *Ligero Estudio Sobre El Cobre En El Peru.*, Cobre En El Peru (Lima, 1901).; J. Leopoldo Torres, *Guia Bibliografica; Descripcion de Las Minas i Oficinas Metalurgicas En El Peru, Clasificadas Por Departamentos, Compilación de Estudios Generales i Locales, Informes de Mineralogiá, Geologiá Esplotación de Minas, Metalurgía, Topografía, Geodesia Legislación, Etc., Insertos En Las Obras i Publicaciones de La Biblioteca, de La Escuela de Ingenieros de Lima*, Sociedad de Ingenieros, Lima. Informaciones y Memorias,v. 11. No. 7. Anexo (Lima: Litografia i tipografia nacional de P. Berrio, 1908); Eugen Weckwarth, *Boletín del Cuerpo de Ingenieros de Minas del Perú: El Antimonio en el Perú*, 68 (La Industria, 1908); Carlos Morales Macedo, *Algunas variaciones anatómicas de los antiguos cráneos peruanos* (Lima: Universidad de San Marcos, 1911); Fermín Málaga Santolalla, *El carbon en el Peru* (Lima: Torres Aguire, 1920); Francisco Alayza Paz Soldán, *Exploraciones y descubrimientos geográficos en los últimos años: disertación* (Lima: Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, 1928). For publications in Europe, see Hans Schwalm-Leipzig, "Klima, Besiedlung Und Landwirtschaft in Den Peruanisch-Nordbolivianischen Anden (Schluß)," *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv* 2, no. 3 (1927): 150–96; Christopher Sandeman, *A Forgotten River; a Book of Peruvian Travel and Botanical Notes* (London: Oxford university press, 1939). For publications in the United States, see Adolph Francis Alphonse Bandelier, *The Indians and Aboriginal Ruins near Chachapoyas in Northern Peru.* (New York: s.n., 1907); Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution: Showing Operations, Expenditures, and Condition of the Institution for the Year Ending* (Washington, D.C.: United

Though he was a genius in his work, Raimondi's positivist views on the reordering of *Ancashino* society, a project based on the construction of a railroad that would connect the coast with the mountains, were arguably shaped by his social connections. In a manner, his thesis on the most ambitious technological and commercial enterprise synthesized the ambitions and aspirations of some of his closest acquaintances. As pointed out earlier, Henry Meiggs, the American capitalist who made much of his wealth in railroad building in California and Latin America, financed Raimondi's research. Ernest Malinowski, a Polish engineer, was another foreign scientist—or at the very least, an expert in the construction of the latest transportation technology—who also supported Raimondi's investigation of the natural resources of Ancash. Malinowski had also made a name for himself in the Peruvian intellectual sphere since the early 1850s when he helped establish the *Comision Central de Ingenieros Civiles* (The Central Commission of Civil Engineers).[26] From 1871-76, Malinowski oversaw the railroad construction that connected Lima to La Oroya, one of the wealthiest mining areas of the country, located in the department of Junín–which hitherto became the largest railroad in the country.[27] It was Malinowski, as Raimondi points out in *El*

States Government Printing Office, 1908); Hiram Bingham, *The Ruins of Choqquequirau* (Lancaster: The New Era Printing Company, 1911); G. M. Wrigley, "Fairs of the Central Andes," *Geographical Review* 7, no. 2 (1919): 65–80; American Geographical Society of New York et al., *A Catalogue of Maps of Hispanic America, Including Maps in Scientific Periodicals and Books, and Sheet and Atlas Maps, with Articles on the Cartography of the Several Countries, and Maps Showing the Extent and Character of Existing Surveys.*, American Geographical Society. Maps of Hispanic America, Publication No. 3 (New York: American Geographical Society, 1932).; Julio C. Tello, "Discovery of the Chav<ín Culture in Peru," *American Antiquity* 9, no. 1 (1943): 135–60; Alfred J. Bodenlos and John A. Straczek, "Base-Metal Deposits of the Cordillera Negra, Departamento de Ancash, Peru," Report, Bulletin, 1957, USGS Publications Warehouse.

[26] Arturo Almandoz and Arturo Almandoz Marte, *Planning Latin America's Capital Cities, 1850-1950* (Psychology Press, 2002), 176.

[27] For more on the life of Malinowski, see Andrzej Dembicz, "Estudios Latinoamericanos En Polonia," *Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y Del Caribe / European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, no. 72 (2002): 179–93; Carlos Contreras and Marcos Cueto, "Caminos, ciencia y Estado en el Perú, 1850-1930," *História, Ciências, Saúde-Manguinhos* 15 (September 2008): 635–55; Nicolás de Ribas, "EL TREN DE LIMA A LA OROYA: CONSTRUCCIÓN E IDEA DE PROGRESO EN EL PROYECTO FERROVIARIO TRANSANDINO DEL INGENIERO POLACO ERNESTO MALINOWSKI (1818-1898)" 14

Departamento, who provided the logistical expertise necessary to map the construction of a railway that would connect the port of Chimbote to the capital city of Huaraz.[28]

In other respects, Raimondi's thesis in *El Departamento* renewed ideas about economic development that dated to pre-Hispanic times. For one, mining had been critical to the political economy of the Inca state, which maintained a close record and supervision of all mining deposits in the empire.[29] In Ancash, silver mining, a seasonal activity, had taken place on both sides of the Cordilleras prior to the arrival of the Spanish in 1533.[30] The collapse of Inca authority left a power vacuum taken by the Spanish, who attempted to impose new forms of social reorganization based on the capitalist mode of production but initially struggled to consolidate their power.[31] It was only after a *visita* (an inspection carried out by a royal official) in 1558 that Spanish authorities became better informed about the peoples and natural resources that existed in the area and make up much of Ancash today. The socioeconomic reforms ordered by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1569-1581) also provided the basis to initiate the exploitation of mineral wealth in Ancash and the rest of the Viceroyalty of Peru.[32]

(2011): 12; Marta Kania, "Positivists, Naturalists, Travelers, But Not Settlers: Poles in Perú in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Polish American Studies* 69, no. 1 (2012): 27–53.

[28] Raimondi, 363.

[29] Tripcevich and Kevin J. Vaughn, eds., *Mining and Quarrying in the Ancient Andes*, Interdisciplinary Contributions to Archaeology (New York, NY: Springer New York, 2013), 13.
[30] Bernardo Regal Alberti, "Las minas incaicas," *Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú*, 1946, 51,67,59, 77,79, https://repositorio.pucp.edu.pe/index/handle/123456789/53553; Nicholas Tripcevich and Kevin J. Vaughn, eds., *Mining and Quarrying in the Ancient Andes*, Interdisciplinary Contributions to Archaeology (New York, NY: Springer New York, 2013), 13.

[31] Antonio Dougnac Rodríguez, *Manual de Historia Del Derecho Indiano* (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1994), 428-432.
[32] The most comprehensive account of the natural resources of the region and its people took place under the Viceroyalty of Francisco de Toledo, who ruled the Viceroyalty of Peru from 1569 - 1581. See Marina Zuloaga Rada, *La conquista negociada : Guarangas, autoridades locales e imperio en Huaylas, Perú (1532-1610), La conquista negociada : Guarangas, autoridades locales e imperio en Huaylas, Perú (1532-1610)*, Travaux de

Although Ancash did not produce large-scale mining operations like the ones found in Potosí and Cerro de Pasco, where complex forms of free and coerced labor developed, the exploitation of mineral wealth remained a critical economic activity in the department for much of the colonial period.[33] Much of the mining activity took place in the provinces of Huallanca, located in the south, and Pallasca found in the most northern boundaries of the department.[34] Among the localities found along the Callejón de Huaylas, Recuay appears to have been the most engaged in this type of commercial activity.[35] The exploitation of mineral wealth, albeit on a minor scale, also occurred in the *Callejón de Conchucos*, a valley on the eastern side of the Cordillera Blanca.[36]

The loss of jurisdiction over Potosi to the newly-created La Plata Viceroyalty in 1776 left Cerro de Pasco as the leading mining region in the Viceroyalty of Peru, closely followed by Ancash in the period leading up to independence. Despite mining productivity in the department, limited innovation occurred regarding information gathering and surveying. While the crown had taken steps to modernize its empire through a series of reforms in the mid-century, including hiring foreign experts to survey areas of government and commerce that required changes in administration and organization, most reports about mineral

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l'IFEA (Lima: Institut français d'études andines, 2012). For more on Toledo, and the impact of his travels and reforms in colonial Peru, see Jeremy Ravi Mumford, *Vertical Empire: The General Resettlement of Indians in the Colonial Andes* (Duke University Press, 2012).

[33] For Potosi, see Peter Bakewell's classic, *Miners of the Red Mountain: Indian Labor in Potosi, 1545-1650* (S.l.: University of New Mexico Press, 1984). For Cerro de Pasco, see Magdalena Chocano, "Circuitos mercantiles y auge minero en la sierra central a fines de la época colonial," *Allpanchis* 15, no. 21 (June 10, 1983): 3–26; John Fisher, "Silver Production in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1776-1824," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 55, no. 1 (1975): 25–43, https://doi.org/10.2307/2512735.

[34] C. Augusto Alba Herrera, *Huarás: historia de un pueblo en transformación* (Ediciones "El Inca," 1996).

[35] Alba Herrera, *Huarás*, 78.

[36] Miguel León Gómez, *Entre quebradas y montañas: una historia regional de Conchucos, siglos XVI-XX*, Primera edición (Lima, Perú : Oneonta, NY: TAREA ; SUNY Oneonta, 2018), 91.

resources remained focused on Cerro de Pasco and Potosí. The Nordenflicht Expedition that first arrived in Potosí in 1789, a group of Prussian scientists led by Baron Thaddeus von Nordenflicht from Sweden spent most of its time between these two provinces, along with the mercury-mining region of Huancavelica.[37] More well-known travel accounts from scientists, such as those from baron Alexander von Humbolt, the German naturalist whom the Spanish crown granted permission to carry out scientific research in the continent in the early nineteenth century, also provided limited information on the natural resources found in Ancash, much less on the means to exploit them.[38]

[37] Rose Marie Buechler, "Technical Aid to Upper Peru: The Nordenflicht Expedition," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 5, no. 1 (1973): 37–77; Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos para la Educación Cultura la Ciencia y la, *Las independencias desde la perspectiva de los actores sociales* (Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura, 2009), 283-294; José Ignacio López Soria, *Tratado del arreglo y reforma que conviene introducir en la Mineria del Reino del Perú para su prosperidad, conforme al sistema y práctica de las naciones de Europa más versadas en este ramo, presentado de oficio al Superior Gobierno de estos Reinos por el Barón de Nordenflicht / José Ignacio López Soria.*, 1. ed. (Lima: Universidad Nacional de Ingenieria, Proyecto Historia UNI, 2007); Helmut Waszkis, *Mining in the Americas: Stories and History* (Woodhead Publishing, 2014), 81-83.

[38] Scarlett O'Phelan y Godoy, "Humboldt, el Perú y sus recursos naturales: entre la plata y el guano," *HiN - Alexander von Humboldt im Netz. Internationale Zeitschrift für Humboldt-Studien* 11, no. 20 (January 1, 2010): 73–82. For another account of Ancash, see Archibald Smith, *Peru as It Is; a Residence in Lima, and Other Parts of the Peruvian Republic, Comprising an Account of the Social and Physical Features of That Country.* (London: R. Bentley, 1839).



"Departamento de Ancachs," by Mariano Felipe Paz Soldan, 1865. *The Callejón de Huaylas* (the Huaylas Valley) is between those two mountain chains. Huaraz, the department's center of commerce and modernity, can be discerned in the middle of the valley and map.. Source: David Rumsey map collection.

Then, based on the latest scientific methods and ideas from Europe, Raimondi's work injected new life into an economic model showing signs of exhaustion by the second half of the nineteenth century. For Raimondi, the entire department was rich and ripe for the exploitation of minerals. The construction of the railroad was to improve the transportation of these commodities from the highlands to the coast. In his view, though, some provinces were richer in mineral wealth than others. For instance, the province of Caraz, located forty-two miles from the capital Huaraz and the first major stop of the railroad proposed by Malinowski, was abundant in coal. Unfortunately, although the area was not isolated from other towns—in fact, several dirt roads linked the coast to this mountainous province—the

routes proved largely inadequate for the mass transportation of commodities. “The roads are often narrow and only apt for mules,” Raimondi lamented.[39] This means of production was non-sustainable, either. According to Raimondi's observations, pack animals also had difficulty making the journey across the Andes. “The continuous ups and downs on the roads wear down the travelers and their beasts,” Raimondi complained.[40]

His assessment of the road system in the department projected a sense of urgency. Except for some routes along the *Callejón de Huaylas*, the center of commerce, most of the roads from the coast to the interior were in poor condition. The railroad was to significantly improve the few navigable roads that existed between the *Cordilleras*, accelerating the transportation of commodities in the region. For Raimondi, completing the rail line that connected Chimbote to Huaraz would allow for the “export of the mineral riches of the department of Ancash.” Moreover, as planned by Malinowski, the Chimbote-Huaraz railroad was to be supplemented with several stations along the *Callejon de Huaylas,* particularly in towns with known adjacent mineral deposits. Given the abundance of mineral wealth in the department then, as Raimondi contends throughout *El Departamento,* the railroad promised to revolutionize economic activity in the department.

The railroad was to unlock the mineral wealth in the department. Among the several minerals that could be used for commercial activity, Raimondi saw coal as the most essential commodity in the department. First, expanding rail lines nationwide would create a demand for this mineral. Then, like in much of Latin America, as economic historian Kendall Brown has summarized the technological changes in the continent, “railroads replaced tremendous

[39] Raimondi, 115.

[40] Raimondi, 16.

amounts of human and animal power with energy generated by steam locomotives burning coal.[41]" Second, when Raimondi carried out his research for *El Departamento* in the 1860s, coal production in Peru was still in its infancy stage.[42] As Raimondi affirms in *El Departamento*, Peru exported most of its coal from Europe. Ancash was well-positioned to fill the country's growing coal demand in his assessment. Though "all districts" were rich in coal deposits, the most significant reserves were located in Caraz, a town that was to have its station along the proposed Chimbote-Huaraz railroad. "The construction of this rail line will bring riches for the country," he argued.[43] His predictions about the economic benefits of coal extended beyond Ancash. He believed that it would be the coastal regions of Peru that would benefit the most from the emerging coal enterprise in Ancash. For Raimondi, the region could provide the "necessary fuel for all of the coastal regions in Peru.[44]"

Other minerals also formed part of Raimondi's economic plan for the department. Gold, silver, copper, lead, tin, molybdenum, antimony, and iron were also plentiful in Raimondi's opinion. "There is an abundance of silver spread throughout the department, though not always in its natural form, except for mines in the provinces of Recuay, Cajatambo, and Huaylas," he warned. Mineral springs and salt deposits were also part of Ancash's mineral wealth. The variety of minerals in Ancash sets it apart from other regions in

[41] Kendall W. Brown, *A History of Mining in Latin America: From the Colonial Era to the Present* (Albuquerque, 2012), 111.

[42] Economic historians have argued that coal deposits in Ancash and Junín were not discovered until the mid-nineteenth century. See Jose Deustua, "Mining Markets, Peasants, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Peru," *Latin American Research Review* 29, no. 1 (1994): 29–54; Carlos Contreras, Jesús Cosamalón Aguilar, and Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, *Economía de la primera centuria independiente*, 1. ed, Serie História económica 14 (Lima: BCRP, 2011), http://www.gbv.de/dms/zbw/715098616.pdf.

[43] Raimondi, 91.

[44] Raimondi, 26.

the country. Although the department did not have a significant mining center like the region of Junín, such as the town of Cerro de Pasco, its unique topography, namely the "two elevated cordilleras that ran through most of the department," he argued, provided Ancash with a variety and abundance of minerals.[45] "There is not a spot in the department where a mineral cannot be found," he reminded his readers.[46] Raimondi considered the numerous hot springs (*baños*), known for their healing properties among citizens in Ancash and Lima, part of Ancash's mineral wealth.[47] The *baños* (hot springs) in Huaraz and Carhuaz, called Brioso and Chancos, respectively, would also benefit from constructing a nearby rail line. "The railroad would help regenerate and bring a little bit of life to these forgotten springs," he commented on the *baños* of Chancos.[48]

While Raimondi's narrative had much to say about exploiting mineral wealth, he said less about the possibility of industrial and agricultural production in the region. Nevertheless, goods such as peppers, maize, rice, alfalfa, fruits, and wheat–a product exported to Cerro de Pasco from the Llamellin district–now part of the Antonio Raimondi province, had achieved moderate success locally and regionally.[49] However, the unavailability of water in most of the departments, according to Raimondi, undermined the value of agriculture. Like most of

[45] Ibid, 27.

[46] Ibid, 27.

[47] Ibid, 45, 54, 256.

[48] Ibid, 12, 43.

[49] Aside from Raimondi, other authors have pointed out the economic connection of Ancash to Cerro de Pasco. See Carlos Contreras, "Indios y Blancos En La Ciudad Minera: Cerro de Pasco En El Siglo XIX," in *Ciudades de Los Andes : Visión Histórica y Contemporánea*, ed. Eduardo Kingman Garcés, Travaux de l'IFEA (Lima: Institut français d'études andines, 2014), 175–222, http://books.openedition.org/ifea/2249. Also Carlos Contreras, *El Aprendizaje Del Capitalismo: Estudios de Historia Económica y Social Del Perú Republicano* (Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2004), http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt9qdw32.

Peru, the coast of Ancash was arid. He recognized that cotton production was more or less viable. However, he stressed that problems with irrigation in vast areas of the department made it difficult for agriculture to become the primary source of economic development. Except for the Rio Santa, which vertically cut through the *Callejón de Huaylas* and descended into the Pacific Ocean, the few creeks and rivers in the interior were insufficient to sustain large-scale agricultural production.[50] Unsurprisingly, he foresaw the railroad as the solution to the lack of water, at least for the *Callejon de Huaylas*, the center of commerce in the region. Although the Cordillera Blanca and its snow caps provided irrigable water for land on the valley's west side, the east side had more limited access to water. "Once the railroad is finished in this beautiful valley," he argued, "it will allow the transportation of industrial pipes that will help bring extra water from the eastern side to the left bank.[51]"

Dreams of Progress: The Railroad, Land, and Labor in Ancash during the Interwar Period (1885-1895)

For Peruvians, the end of the War of the Pacific (1879-1883) and the civil war of 1884-1885 were seen as an opportunity to rebuild the nation and finally modernize it. By the end of the nineteenth century, as in much of Latin America, the ruling classes imagined modernity as the capitalist development that had taken place in the West.[52] This section will examine how locals in Ancash thought about economic development in the region. Scholarship on economic thought in the aftermath of the War of the Pacific has made vital

[50] Raimondi, *Ancash*, 13.

[51] Ibid.

[52] James E. Sanders, *The Vanguard of the Atlantic World: Creating Modernity, Nation, and Democracy in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).

contributions to studies on macroeconomic policy. Recently, for instance, as Nils Jacobsen has shown for Lima, the ruling classes' aspiration for modernity did not necessarily mean the full embracement of free-trade policies, given the air of suspicion regarding foreign capital.[53] My approach is more focused on how different voices within newspapers in Ancash thought about the reordering of society. The completion of the railroad—Raimondi's long dream—was still a priority for the ruling classes in Ancash. The railroad was to help Ancash reach the development that had taken place in Europe and the United States, particularly in the city of Chicago. They imagined an Ancash where a stable proletariat workforce provided the necessary labor for industrial mining in the department. However, as scholars have pointed out about education policies in the early twentieth century, plans to educate indigenous merely sought to turn indigenous people into workers or modern peasants.[54] For some ruling classes in Ancash, who based much of their theories on racial prejudices, not unlike those from Lima, indigenous people could not rise above the worker.

Nearly two decades after the publication of *Ancash y sus riquezas naturales*, the region had yet to realize Raimondi's vision. Despite the difficulties the international and civil war had brought to the region, there was still significant interest from the ruling classes to complete the route laid out by the Polish engineer Ernest Malinowski. As one author in *La Juventud de Ancash* pointed out in a section called "El Ferrocarril (The Railroad)" in 1893, the Chimbote-Huaraz railroad was to contribute to the "physical, intellectual, and moral

[53] Nils Jacobsen, "Pensamiento Económico y Politicas Economicas En El Peru, 1885-1899: Los Límites a La Ortodoxia Liberal," in *Estado y Mercado En La Historia Del Peru*, ed. Carlos Contreras and Manuel Glave (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2012), 250-268.

[54] Jorge Alberto Ccahuana Córdova ,"La Reforma Educativa de 1905: Estado, Indígenas y Políticas Racializadas En La República Aristocrática," *Apuntes* 47, no. 86 (June 2020): 5–32, https://doi.org/10.21678/apuntes.86.880.

progress of the populous Ancash.[55]" In this publication, which spanned four issues in this bi-weekly newspaper, the author reminded people in Ancash about the importance of the railroad. Like others in the past, he posited that it would increase economic activity in Ancash since the roads were still rather inadequate for large-scale transportation of commodities. His observations on the "transportation revolution" that was to take place in Ancash even imagined a supply chain where different technologies worked together towards the production and exchange of commodities. “The merchant would have commodities as soon as he needs them by ordering via the telegraph and then have them being transported via the steamboat and the railroad,” the author remarked.[56]

For the author of "El Ferrocarril," the railroad was to address several of the major problems that plagued the region, as Raimondi had once professed. For one, the rail line construction would promote capital investment from Peruvians and foreigners, a vital aspect of the business model that he considered insufficient.[57] The technology would also significantly reduce travel time across the department for passengers, which included state authorities, workers, local businesspeople, and foreign investors. Like Raimondi, he argued that the railroad would also make these travelers less prone to fatigue and diseases.[58] He expected this enterprise to be relatively inexpensive for the government. Raimondi also sustained this position in 1873. Nevertheless, back then, the project to build the Chimbote-Huaraz railroad had been recently approved. By 1893, a rail line connecting Chimbote to

[55] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, October 1, 1893.

[56] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, September 15, 1893.

[57] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, October 1, 1893.

[58] Ibid.

Suchiman, a small settlement roughly thirty-three miles from the coast, operated daily. With all its limitations, the progress made on this means of transportation inspired optimism in the author of "El Ferrocarril," who did not hesitate to transmit this enthusiasm to the pages of *La Juventud*.[59]

By the late nineteenth century, local intellectuals, like the author of "El Ferrocarril," firmly believed that the railroad construction would have done more than improve commerce in the department. The completion of the project would propel an economic new era in the department. After all, as the author of "El Ferrocarril" trumpeted, the most developed countries in Europe and the Americas had constructed extensive rail lines that allowed for the fast and efficient transportation of commodities. In his view, European countries such as France, England, and Germany were models to follow.[60] The United States was seen as the quintessential capitalist development model in the Western Hemisphere. *La Justicia*, another major regional newspaper, also echoed these ideas. However, they were more specific about what modernity meant in the United States. For *La Justicia*, the city of Chicago represented everything that Ancash could aspire to become. In their view, the railroad fostered economic, social, and cultural development. They stressed how the construction of the railroad, which spanned 396 miles, had allowed the rapid industrialization of a city that, in their opinion, "was soon to become the first in the Americas.[61]" "The city grows every year at an astonishing pace," *La Justicia* trumpeted.[62] According to the authors in this newspaper,

[59] Ibid.

[60] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, September 15, 1893.

[61] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, May 21, 1893.

[62] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, May 21, 1893.

Ancash should have emulated the construction of schools, theaters, churches, publishing houses, streets, parks, and public lighting that distinguished Chicago, in their words, "the most cosmopolitan city in the world.[63]"

If Chicago could develop at astonishing speeds because of its grain, lumber, and meat industries and their relationship to the railroad, Ancash, at least according to ruling classes, was just as capable of building an industry around the most crucial commercial good in the department: the mineral wealth. The mining potential of the region, as Raimondi had previously imagined, was also highlighted in the pages of "El Ferrocarril.[64]" For the author, mining overshadowed all other forms of economic activity in the department. "The mineral kingdom is the real strength of this department," the author of "El Ferrocarril" posited.[65] Other dailies in Huaraz, like *La Autonomia,* echoed the need to take advantage of the abundant metal deposits in the region. "The Callejon de Huaylas produces about 3000-3500 bags of mineral for exportation," a writer remarked in 1886. Given the abundance of mineral wealth, which included metals, salt deposits, and mineral springs, he envisioned a region capable of establishing stable lines of commerce with Europe and the United States. The author also took the time to thank Raimondi and his epistemological contributions in *El Departamento*. Due to the efforts of the "great sage" Raimondi, *La Autonomia* argued, Ancash's riches had become known in Peru and abroad, opening the possibility for the exploitation of minerals on a large scale.[66] For the author of *La Autonomía*—and later, those

[63] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, May 21, 1893. For more on Chicago's growth as a city and industrial center in the Midwest, see William Cronon classic work, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991).

[64] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, September 15, 1893

[65] Ibid.

[66] *La Autonomia*, Huaraz, January 22, 1886.

from *La Justicia*—the money obtained from these enterprises, whether private or public, would not only help industrialize the region but, more specifically, could also help get the country out of debt.[67]

The ruling classes also thought about the economic profitability of agricultural enterprises. As Raimondi had once warned, the region's high altitude and steep topography were the biggest obstacles to overcome for capitalists interested in developing an agricultural industry in Ancash. For the author of "El Ferrocarril," constructing an extensive rail system in the department would help mobilize agricultural commodities like rice, maize, and fruits such as chili peppers from the Callejon de Huaylas to the coast.[68] Though he believed that agricultural production could be profitable for the department—after all, it had economic ties to mining centers like Cerro de Pasco—the author of "El Ferrocarril" still preferred an economy based on the exportation of minerals. "The mineral wealth is the true strength of the department," he reminded his readers.[69] Other authors in *La Justicia* were perhaps more optimistic and ambitious concerning agriculture and its contribution to the local political economy than views found in "El Ferrocarril." For one observer, for instance, agriculture had the potential of being just as profitable as manufacturing and commerce in Ancash.[70]

Local notables and capitalists were in agreement over who should perform the labor of the modernizing projects they had in mind for the department. After all, labor was quintessential for the realization of these economic endeavors. "Labor is not the source of

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[67] *La Autonomia*, Huaraz, January 22, 1886; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, September 30, 1892; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, January 17, 1890.

[68] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, October 1, 1893.

[69] Ibid.

[70] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, March 31, 1893.

poverty," *La Justicia* reminded its readers in 1893.[71] Much like other intellectuals in Latin America, a few authors in Ancash echoed arguments about the surplus of labor in Europe and their profitability in Peru as a cheap labor hand.[72] More often than not, however, the working class (*clase obrera*) that most of the ruling classes imagined was not based on immigrants, whether European or Asian, but instead on those already living in the region. On more than one occasion, *La Justicia* stressed the need to limit immigration and instead rely on "*obreros peruanos* (Peruvian workers).[73]" Although they refrained from attributing racial or ethnic markers to these workers, they strongly suggest that indigenous people would be the bulk of this new labor force. In their view, the transition from *indígena* to worker required government intervention. Since indigenous people were not always willing to join the workforce, they compelled authorities to put people to work forcibly. To solve the labor shortage in the department, the ruling classes proposed that local authorities should "bring people down from the mountains" and have them work at the mines.[74]

The ruling classes also argued that whether coerced or not, these workers should abide by and live by specific rules. If indigenous people required "assistance" in migrating from the mountains, they certainly needed guidance to become the proletariat that would provide the necessary labor to modernize the department. For ruling classes, these workers,

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[71] *La Justicia,* Huaraz, March 31, 1893.

[72] *La Justicia,* Huaraz, March 31, 1893. In the mid-nineteenth century, Ancash could not attract significant immigration labor due to a lack of investment and interest and not because of nationalist ideologies. This approach to labor differs from those of the ruling classes by the end of the century, whose demeanor towards foreigners had been conditioned by the loss of the War of the Pacific. For views on immigration in Ancash, see Carlos Contreras, *El Aprendizaje Del Capitalismo: Estudios de Historia Económica y Social Del Perú Republicano* (Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2004), 189.

[73] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, February 28, 1893; *La Justicia*, March 23, *La Justicia*, Huaraz, March 31, 1893; *La Justic*a, Huaraz, May 31, 1894.

[74] *La Justicia,* Huaraz, February 28. 1893.

o*bservers*, or *peruanos*—terms used interchangeably by the local press— were to live a life that would maximize their performance as workers. First, a "model" worker was to show self-restraint. He was to abstain from vices such as gambling and alcohol. For authorities and scientists, the consumption of alcohol was a real problem for indigenous people. Second, he was also expected to be thrifty. A model worker only consumed the goods needed to live and work. He was to spend little money on superfluous commodities. Lastly, and most importantly, all workers were expected to be loyal and hardworking.[75] In the minds of the ruling classes, the making of the model worker, or the proletarization of indigenous people, would help create a new kind of citizen in Ancash.

The Limits of the Progress: Corruption in Ancash, 1885-1895

The dreams to modernize Ancash were not easily implemented. One of the main problems these reformers faced was corruption. As Carlos Quiroz has previously pointed out, the failures of several spheres of government following the War of the Pacific even led anarchist and public intellectual Manuel Gonzalez Prada to quip his famous "where one applies pressure, pus oozes out" when describing the Peruvian state by the end of the century. Corruption, not unlike previous eras of Peruvian history, was rife in public administration. Drawing on new studies on corruption in Latin America, which call attention to the role of the public debate in accusations of corruption, this section will look at how citizens in Ancash experienced the shortcomings and limitations of their government in the postwar

[75] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, March 23, 1893; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, March 31, 1893; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, March 12, 1895; *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, December 1, 1893; *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, December 16, 1893.

period.[76] Quiroz has pointed out that the rule of the *Partido Constitucional*, who governed Peru from 1886 to 1894, showed signs of exhaustion by the early 1890s due to corruption scandals. Though these accusations may have been politically motivated, the critiques articulated by the social reformers in Ancash were more specific to the realities of the department. For example, newspapers such as *La Justicia*, *La Autonomia*, and *La Juventud de Ancash*, major dailies in Huaraz, called attention to spheres of government such as infrastructure, the administration of justice, and education. In their interpretation, corruption was seen as inherent in the Peruvian political system, and the new reforms brought by the *Partido Constitucional*, under the guidance of Andrés Avelino Cáceres, did not assuage the situation. However, their critiques often pointed towards local government, namely civil servants.

Accusations of corruption were not uncommon in Ancash in the period following the War of the Pacific. Several authors in Lima lamented this trend and saw it as the current administration's failure. "To summarize, Peru is a sick organism: where one applies pressure, pus oozes out," anarchist Gonzalez Prada trumpeted in his critique of public institutions in 1888.[77] Members of *La Juventud* and, to a lesser extent, *La Justicia* would have agreed with Gonzales Padra's assessment. They also criticized the government's need for more attention to some of the problems in the department. Some intellectuals raised concerns over the administration of government funds at a national level. Some observers quickly pointed out that some problems stemmed from the central government in Lima. For one, they argued that

[76] Christoph Rosenmüller and Stephan Ruderer, eds., *"Dádivas, dones y dineros" : aportes a una nueva historia de la corrupción en América Latina desde el imperio español a la modernidad / Christoph ... Ibero-Americana)* (Madrid : Frankfurt am Main, 2016), 11-16.

[77] Manuel González Prada, "Propaganda i ataque," *Amerika. Mémoires, identités, territoires*, no. 17 (December 25, 2017), https://doi.org/10.4000/amerika.8236.

the central government spent too much money on elected officials. In 1893, *La Justicia* compared senators' salaries for their service in Peru to "nations of great importance in Europe." "We all know that senators, even in an impoverished country like Peru, earn about $1500 yearly," *La Justicia* lamented. Compared to Britain, Italy, and Spain, where senators did not receive compensation for their public service, at least for *La Justicia*, the Peruvian government supported a superfluous expenditure.[78]

For local intellectuals, recent reforms from the central government were also causing corruption problems in the department. As part of the *Partido Constitucional*'s plan for reconstruction, they implemented a decentralization program in 1886 and created a new bureaucratic body to oversee this transition: the *Juntas Departamentales*. The idea underlying the project was the economic self-determination of each department, which was now responsible for collecting taxes and financing its expenses. As economic historians have shown, the project could have been more successful.[79] The *Juntas* had little autonomy over departmental treasuries and always met the locals' skepticism, undermining their authority to enforce their new responsibilities. For several *Ancashinos*, it remained unclear how adding a new bureaucracy to exercise fiscal responsibilities would help resolve the problems of Ancash. The *Juntas* and the decentralization plan were rolled back after the civil war of 1894-1895, a policy change that reflected the ruling classes' sentiment about the *Juntas*. "*La Junta Departamental* has been an obstacle for the progress in Ancash," *La Juventud* had commented on October 16, 1893.[80]

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[78] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, April 20, 1893.

[79] Carlos Contreras, "Centralismo y descentralismo en la historia del Perú independiente," *INSTITUTO DE ESTUDIOS PERUANOS*, 2000, https://repositorio.iep.org.pe/handle/IEP/625.

[80] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, October 16, 1893.

The central government was not all to blame for the region's underdevelopment. Intellectuals also looked at the workings of local bureaucracy and did not hesitate to chastise their actions publicly. Accusations of embezzlement, bribes, and abuse of authority involved several scribes, treasurers, judges, subprefects, and even prefects in the region.[81] In the case of the scribes, the misuse of the *papel sellado* (sealed paper), a document used in nearly every legal proceeding and in which a single page could cost litigants from 5 cents to 2 soles, made public news even in Lima.[82] In another instance, citizens in Carhuaz accused the town's treasurer of not paying the municipality workers. They complained to the town's mayor and filed a lawsuit in 1893.[83] A few years before, the sub-prefect of Pallasca had also come under allegations involving public funds. "These actions create distrust in the government," *La Autonomia* lamented.[84] The reputation of Manuel Jurado, ex-subprefect of Huaraz, also came under similar scrutiny in 1889.[85] Other public officials were critiqued for holding important positions but never fulfilling their roles, like the Instructor of the National Guard, who received a salary but "did not set foot in Huaraz for six months," according to *La Juventud* in 1893.[86] Despite these shortcomings, locals accepted that the misuse of public funds had

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[81] *La Autonomia*, Huaraz, January 22, 1886; *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, August 30, 1893; *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, October 1, 1893; *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, October 16, 1893; *El Nacional*, Lima, July 2, 1888; Prefect 1888; Legajo 58- Manuel Jurado por deuda al fisco-Huaraz, June 24, 1889-October 8, 1889 [f16]

[82] *El Nacional*, Lima, July 2, 1888.

[83] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, October 16, 1893.

[84] *La Autonomia*, Huaraz, January 22, 1886.

[85] Manuel Jurado por deuda al fisco-Huaraz, June 24, 1889-October 8, 1889.

[86] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, October 1, 1893.

become a regular part of bureaucratic practices in Ancash. “Only stupid people do not steal from the government,” *La Juventud* remarked.[87]

Local authorities still needed to do much to solve the several infrastructural issues plaguing the region. However, unfortunately, since the time of Raimondi, authorities had done little to improve the roads and canal system in the region. “The canals are dirty, dogs are rotting in the streets, and the roads, even the ones close to Huaraz, such as the one on Secsecpampa, are in terrible condition,” *La Autonomia* remarked in 1886.[88] “We urge the action of the Municipal Inspectors on this matter,” the daily concluded. Illegal trash dumping and open sewage holes threaten the well-being of the citizens of Ancash as well. “We urge municipal authorities to cover that sewage hole,” *La Juventud* expressed years later.[89] The poor infrastructure of the *Baños de Briso* (natural springs), “where many locals went for medicinal purposes, threatened public health.” *La Juventud* asked authorities to intervene and either compel the owners to sell, rent, or entrust the administration of the *baños* in the hands of *La Juventud*. However, local authorities' passivity in a matter of public health made *La Juventud* skeptical about any changes to the department. “Authorities promise infrastructure, but these projects are never fulfilled,” *La Juventud* remarked in August 1893.

The press also questioned the actions of the local police and national guard members. Since their task was to safeguard the order and uphold the law in the department, their outbursts and excesses added to the list of ailments that locals and intellectuals from Lima, like Prada, had detected in the bureaucratic apparatus in Peru. It was not unheard of for

[87] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, October 16, 1893.

[88] *La Autonomia*, Huaraz, January 22, 1886.

[89] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, October 1, 1893.

police forces to participate in acts of corruption. In Francisca's case, for instance, police were complicit in her unlawful incarceration in 1894.[90] Other officials left less paper trail of their crimes. However, there were newspaper reports about stealing food, drink, and even pack animals from some citizens in 1893.[91] That same year, authorities revealed that some members of the police were extracting money from some individuals under the pretext that they were for taxes.[92] Some groups were targeted more than others by the forces of order.[93] "The *índigena* shakes when he sees the police," *La Juventud* remarked in 1893 to point out what social group mainly experienced these abuses.[94] Suspicious jailbreaks and rumors about police officers fighting one another while intoxicated did not impress the citizens of Ancash either.[95] "Always drunk and disruptive...they deserve to be fired," a poet in *La Justicia* remarked about the police in 1893 as well.[96] Increasing reports about the contraband of commodities, particularly milk, and liquors, further exposed the shortcomings of the forces of order in the region.[97]

Other intellectuals were dissatisfied with the educational system in the department. Unlike private institutions in Ancash, public schools, such as El Colegio Nacional in Huaraz,

[90] Juicio de responsabilidad seguido por Francisco Mariño c/. el Juez de Paz de 1ra Instancia de Hummalies-Huaraz, 1894, *Legajo* 77, *Causas Civiles*, Archivo Departamental de Ancash (ADA).

[91] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, August 30, 1893; *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, October 1, 1893.

[92] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, August 30, 1893.

[93] Ibid.

[94] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, October 1, 1893.
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[95] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, August 30, 1893.

[96] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, October 16, 1893.

[97] *La Autonomia*, Huaraz, January 17, 1890; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, March 31, 1893; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, July 12, 1893.

did not enjoy the level of infrastructure or quality of teachers needed to educate children in the department effectively.[98] Although critics sometimes shamed parents for not supporting their children's education, by the early 1890s, members of *La Juventud* believed that the government had not done enough to satisfy the educational needs of the department.[99] In their view, politicians did not invest in education because they wanted "to maintain the masses ignorant so they can do what they want with the country.[100]" For them, then, the question of making primary and secondary education accessible to all citizens in the region was not divorced from political participation at a national level. In their view, an educated citizenry was less likely to perpetuate the cycle of electing politicians who "only wanted to satisfy their own selfish needs.[101]"

Although *La Juventu*d appeared discontent with what the *Partido Consitucional* had done so far concerning education, the newspaper's most acerbic comments were aimed toward local authorities. For *La Juventud*, most centers of education operated in deplorable conditions.[102] For the critics, the *Consejo Superior*, the local government body overseeing this department, needed to do more to remedy the situation. "They do not even visit the facilities!" one commentator said about the *Consejo Superior*.[103] The schools' buildings reflected the negligence of state authorities. Many of these facilities were on the verge of collapse. Moreover, books were only sometimes readily available. Even if students somehow

[98] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, September 15, 1893.

[99] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, September 15, 1893; *La Juventud de Ancash*, November 1, 1893.

[100] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, November 1, 1893.

[101] *La Juventud de Ancas*h, Huaraz, October 1, 1893.

[102] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, November 1, 1893.

[103] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, November 1, 1893.

had access to books, *La Juventud* argued, the absence of a state-wide curriculum raised concerns over the content taught at Ancash's primary and secondary education schools.[104]

For the press, the educational system in the department faced other structural problems. Most schools were understaffed. If teachers were available, only some were qualified to run a classroom.[105] In 1893, *La Juventud* was particularly critical of the schools improvised at local haciendas. At these facilities, the role of the teacher rested on the *capataz* (overseer). For the intellectuals, these teachers only sometimes honored their working hours as teachers. Aside from criticizing their work ethic, *La Juventud* also scrutinized the pedagogy of these *capatazes*.[106] "At the ranchos, students merely learn to repeat, in a mechanical fashion, the few words of Spanish they know," one writer from *La Juventud* remarked.[107] Other dailies, like *La Autonomia*, denounced the lack of transparency at the treasury. In 1890, one author questioned why sometimes parents had to pay one or two soles to the school if public education was free. "Under what pretexts are students being charged one or two soles?" the author asked. He suspected that schools were mishandling the funds.[108] "If students pay daily, the activity is quite profitable," he remarked. He called for authorities to investigate what he believed to be a "crime" in the making.[109]

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[104] Ibid.

[105] Ibid.

[106] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, October 1, 1893; La Juventud, November 3, 1893.

[107] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, October 1, 1893.

[108] *La Autonomia*, Huaraz, January 17, 1890.

[109] Ibid.

Dreams in Motion: The Modernization of Ancash, 1885-1900

Corruption scandals and public mistrust of local government did not completely deter the improvement of certain spheres of government in Ancash. Despite the shortcomings of the central government or the actions of unscrupulous civil servants, *Ancashinos* worked to maintain a sense of order and progress in the department. Though some historians have argued that Peru was "ungovernable" in the aftermath of the War of the Pacific, the developments in Ancash show that this assessment may have been premature.[110] Rather than succumbing to political disorder, *Ancashinos*, which included civil servants, capitalists, and ordinary citizens, made efforts to reorganize the region's social fabric following their vision of political economy. Though the railroad was far from completion, local authorities—with the support of the local press and ruling classes—managed to promote and advance technological enterprises to facilitate the transportation of commodities in the region. At the same, speculation over the expansion of the railroad, which in Ancash was inextricably associated with industrial mining, created speculation over land even in places removed from its circuit, affecting the livelihood of indigenous communities.[111] In any case, *Ancashinos* implemented some of their visions of modernity in education.

The limits of modernization were apparent to *Ancashinos* in the late nineteenth century. The railroad, the technological project that would revolutionize the region's political

[110] Paul Gootenberg, "Fishing for Leviathans? Shifting Views on the Liberal State and Development in Peruvian History," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 45, no. 1 (February 2013): 121–41; Ulises Juan Zevallos Aguilar, *Indigenismo y nación : Los retos a la representación de la subalternidad aymara y quechua en el Boletín Titikaka (1926-1930)*, *Indigenismo y nación : Los retos a la representación de la subalternidad aymara y quechua en el Boletín Titikaka (1926-1930)*, 44.

[111] Historians of science have long stressed the impact of the railroad in places far removed from its sphere of influence. See Eden Medina, Ivan da Costa Marques, and Christina Holmes, eds., *Beyond Imported Magic: Essays on Science, Technology, and Society in Latin America*, Inside Technology (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2014). In the case of Peru, Nils Jacobsen has shown the impact of the commodification of land in the region of Puno. See Nils Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition* (Stanford: University of California Press, 1993).

economy, was still far from reaching Huaraz. The large-scale circulation of commodities, whether minerals or agricultural products, had yet to occur. However, completing other infrastructural projects became a primary concern for people in Ancash. The telegraph, for example, became a priority for the ruling classes in the region. Establishing a line of fast and reliable means of communication between the coast and the highlands, namely Casma and Huaraz, was one of the priorities in the department. "It will work wonders when it is finished," one author of *La Juventud* remarked in 1893.[112] Like other citizens in Ancash, the author did not have to wait long. Telegraph lines were already well-established in Huaraz by 1898. Moreover, the government was close to expanding this service to other towns on the Western side of the Cordillera Negra, like Aija, and districts on the other side of the Cordillera Blanca, such as Pomabamba and Huari.[113]

Aside from the telegraph, efforts to construct roads to facilitate commerce across the coast and highlands were also on the state-makers' agenda in Ancash. Surveying the landscape was one of the first steps taken. In late August 1893, an expedition of notables and scientists traveled from Huaraz to the town of Huari, located on the eastern side of Ancash, across the *Cordillera Blanca.* As *La Justicia* pointed out, the group was composed of local elites, including a well-known landowner named Pedro Villón and an engineer from Lima. The men completed a survey of an "ancient road" that had previously connected Huaraz to Huari.[114] The road promised to facilitate the exchange of commodities from eastern Ancash to the coast. Raimondi had previously warned of the need to construct this road, particularly

[112] *La Juventud*, Huaraz, August 30, 1893.

[113] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, May 20, 1897; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, May 31, 1897; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, June 21, 1897; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, May 21, 1898.

[114] Ibid.

since the journey from eastern Ancash to the coast was taxing on both the worker and the beasts of burden.[115]

More locally, the construction of a bridge on the outskirts of Huaraz also became a priority in 1893. The building of the *Puente Quillcay*, like other projects, however, required money. Local governments in Ancash, cash-strapped and underfunded, could not make such investments.[116] While at first glance this impediment may have conditioned the building of modernization projects in the region, private citizens were more than willing to step in and contribute to improving public goods in the department. The local press generally noted their contributions. For instance, generous donations of building materials from private enterprises such as the *Hacienda Minera Parco*, who entrusted the municipality with a "box of dynamite and 50 pounds of steel," were to facilitate the construction of the Puente Quillcay.[117] The donations of Julio Viscarra, another local notable, who promised to deliver 1000 *arrobas* of quicklime, also allowed for the construction of a bridge and the improvement of streets around Huaraz.[118]

If one is to follow the logic of political economists in the region, these projects were merely a steppingstone toward exploiting mineral wealth. The construction of roads and other means of communication was ultimately aimed at facilitating the production of

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[115] Antonio Raimondi, *El departamento de Ancachs y sus riquezas minerales, 1873*, ed. Luis Felipe Villacorta Ostolaza (UNMSM, 2006).

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

[117] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, August 30, 1893; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, May 21, 1893.

[118] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, September 15, 1893. The *arroba* was a unit of measurement predominately used in countries formerly colonized by the Portuguese and the Spanish. One *arroba* is approximately 25 pounds. See Marc McLeod, "Razing Cane: Making Sense of Arson in the Sugar Fields of Republican Cuba," *Agricultural History* 89, no. 4 (2015): 513–35.

commodities. Given the demand for the exploitation of mineral wealth, local governments in Ancash had made several efforts to regulate the conflict that resulted from competing parties who sought access to the mineral wealth in the department. By the early 1890s, the municipality in Huaraz had already maintained detailed records of the mines in the department through a report called "Padrón de Minas." Local newspapers such as *La Justicia* made this information available to the public.[119] The government was also to receive a share of the profit from mining upfront since investors who intended to exploit state-recognized mines had to pay for mining rights first.[120]

Obtaining a legal permit to work in the mines was only the first step toward exploiting minerals. At times, if someone wanted to exploit the mineral potential of Ancash, they needed to settle legal technicalities at a court of law. These legal disputes were of no short supply in the department by the end of the century. Several reasons point to increased speculation over land. First, citizens may have had more capital to invest in the decade following the War of the Pacific. Their access to cutting-edge mining technology from the United States and Europe gave them the confidence to invest in mining.[121] The availability of dynamite, an essential technology in mining, around Huaraz may have also persuaded investors to invest in this enterprise. For some men, such as Manuel Jurado, Major Sergeant of the Army, former sub-prefect of Ancash, and landowner from Recuay, mining would secure his family's future. In 1889, local bureaucrats accused Jurado of embezzlement.

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[119] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, July 14, 1893.

[120] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, July 14, 1893; *La Autonomia*, Huaraz, May 31, 1886; *La Autonomia*, Huaraz, May 31, 1886.

[121] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, May 6, 1893; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, May 21, 1893; *La Juventud*, Huaraz, December 1, 1893; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, October 22, 1894.

Although he defended himself from the accusations, he insisted on his desire to be left alone and retire from the army due to his advanced age. In his words, he wanted nothing more than to "invest in mining in order to support his minor children.[122]"

Other citizens in Ancash also viewed mining as an opportunity for profit. Juan Loli, another wealthy landowner and politician, was interested in using abandoned coal mines in the provinces of Carhuaz and Huaraz.[123] In 1890, the courthouse also ruled in favor of "miner" Don Alfonso Davelouis, who planned to use two abandoned silver mines in the province of Recuay.[124] In the same province, the success of the company Ticapampa in the mine "Collaracra" appears to have sparked the interest of Esteban Zimic, a man who claimed that his ownership of the mine dates back to 1862.[125] Yungay, located thirty-five miles north of Huaraz, also had its share of conflict. In 1890, *La Autonomia* reported that several residents of the wealthiest town in the region were implicated in a corruption case involving fraudulent mining rights contracts.[126] On the other side of the Cordillera Blanca, reports about abandoned mines containing pyrite sparked the interest of several notables in Pomabamba in 1894, who also sought permission from authorities to extract the mineral.[127]

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[122] Manuel Jurado por deuda al fisco-Huaraz, June 24, 1889-October 8, 1889, *Legajo* 58, *Causas Civiles*, Archivo Departamental de Ancash (ADA), Huaraz, Ancash.

[123] Juan de Mata Peñaranda con Sebastian Solis sobre cantidad de soles-Huaraz, August 13, 1892, Legajo 69, *Causas Civiles*, Archivo Departamental de Ancash (ADA), Huaraz, Ancash.Juan Loli's interest in an abandoned mine in Huaraz was published on a page of La Autonomia, dating from 1886, probably from June. Unfortunately, the rest of the newspaper is missing. The page available was only found on the file because it pertained to the litigation between Penaranda and Solis.; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, September 30, 1892.

[124] *La Autonomia*, Huaraz, January 17, 1890.

[125] Esteban Zimic con la compañia minera de Ticapampa, por pago de 1862, $957, *Legajo* 99, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

[126] *La Autonomia*, Huaraz, January 17, 1890.

[127] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, October 8, 1894.

South of this city, in the town of Chacas, the ownership of the Hacienda Mineral Ticapampa also became a contested issue at the courts in Ancash.[128]

The expansion of private property in Ancash left ample evidence in the regional archives. At least from 1883 to 1896, at least 195 of the total 327 civil lawsuits involved property, whether private or communal, which amounted to roughly fifty-nine percent.[129] In some years, lawsuits over land account for over half of the cases found at the courthouse. In 1890, for example, seventeen of the twenty-six cases brought before the court of Huaraz involved land.[130] The lawsuits implicated people of all social strata, such as *indígenas* (in 1894, indigenous people were involved in eight of the fourteen cases–roughly fifty-six percent), state authorities, the clergy, and the press. The latter played a fundamental role in advertising the sale of private property and maintaining the public informed on cases over land that *Ancashinos* may have considered of particular interest.[131] A case involving Jose

[128] Pedro Páez Carbajal en representación de la empresa minera de Ticapampa, sobre protocolización de una escritura de compra-venta verbal otorgado por Don Domingo Antonio de Ames, May 23, 1900 - June 19, 1900, *Legajo* 99, *Causas Civiles*, Archivo Departamental de Ancash (ADA), Huaraz, Ancash.

[129] The cited numbers are drawn exclusively from Huaraz's Archivo Departamental de Ancash (ADA) catalog. It is important to note that it is not always evident from the descriptions found in the catalog if a lawsuit involves property. The information is only sometimes accurate too. At times, deducing if a lawsuit involved property required a closer look at the case. In the "Juicio de responsabilidad seguido por Francisco Mariño c/. el Juez de Paz de 1ra Instancia de Hummalies-Huaraz (discussed below)," for instance, the primary litigant is an indigenous woman named Francisca, not Francisco. Also, the case description does not indicate that the lawsuit concerns land. The reader only learns this fact as the case progresses. Since this reader did not get a chance to look at all 324 cases individually, the number of cases involving property, private or communal, may be much higher than the estimates I propose here.

[130] These figures and estimates have been taken from the official catalog of the Archivo Departamental de Ancash and my inquiry on the cases. In 1883, for instance, numbers were also high. Ten out of fifteen cases presented before the judge of Huaraz involved property. Half of these lawsuits involved *indígenas*. See for instance Jose Mercedes Izaguirre, representando a Manuela Sacramento Arnao y Maguiña con Francisco Maguiña, sobre restitucion del fundo Pariayacu, November 7, 1883 - February 5, 1885, *Legajo* 50, ADA; Rafael Solis con don Jose Antonio Guerrero sobre desline de terrenos de Huacllan, August 18, 1883 - May 21, 1892, *Legajo* 50, ADA; Testimonio de la escritura de revocacion de la donacion otorgada de las tierras de Arhuay y "Cotoc", don Jose Leonisa Lezcano con Felicitas Ibarra, January 26, 1883 - September 5, 1888, *Legajo 49*, ADA.

[131] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, December 1, 1893; *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, October 1, 1893; *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, August 30, 1893; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, July 12, 1893; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, November 22, 1898.

Benito Gonzales, a miner, *vecino* and originally from Spain, and Mr. Chueca and Mr. Sabrino, both miners from Caraz, gained more than the headlines of *La Justicia* in 1898. After several pages of details about the lawsuit, readers finally learned that the judge ruled in favor of the Spaniard, who was described in the same pages as an "industrious" and "hardworking man.[132]"

The cases ranged from simple sales and inheritances to complex disputes over boundaries, illegal occupation (in the form of squatting), and *division y partición*– the term that legally defined the transformation of communal landholdings into private property. Some cases, like the one involving *indígenas* Jose Julian and Maria Micaela and their associates from Carhuaz, were about the privatization of communal landholdings. Although the privatization of land was not uncommon in the colonial era, the *Código Civil de Enjuciamiento* of 1852, a civil code influenced mainly by liberal ideas, provided *Ancashinos* with a legal framework that favored private property. In the case of Jose Julian and Maria Micaela, the *division y partición* of their community appears to have been by mutual consent.[133] In others, like the case of Francisca Mariña, an *indígena* from the region of Huánuco, disputes over land could turn violent. After spending some time in jail, Francisca was able to hold on to legal claims to her land despite initial attempts by Manuel Sugasti, a landowner and *juez de primera instancia.*[134] At times, as several intellectuals have pointed out, it is difficult to discern to what extent coercion played a role in the transfer of ownership

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[132] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, November 22, 1898.

[133]Jose Julian y Maria Micaela sobre particion y division de los bienes del que fue Manuel y Toribio Coronacion, Carhuaz, November 10, 1894 - November 25, 1905, *Legajo* 77, ADA.

[134] Juicio de responsabilidad seguido por Francisco Mariño c/. el Juez de Paz de 1ra Instancia de Hummalies-Huaraz, 1894, *Legajo* 77, ADA.

when the litigation involved landowners and *indígenas*.[135] Regardless of the reason, the fees associated with the paperwork and taxes applied if a sale took place, more often than not, created significant income for the local treasury. Moreover, as intellectuals in Ancash had pointed out, the money the government made from these transactions, at least in theory, could be used to complete the infrastructure projects they had in mind and modernize the department.

By the time these debates took place, the government had already taken steps to regulate the transition from those who "came down from the mountains" into workers. For example, the January 12, 1890, decree aimed at "preventing vagrancy and alcoholism" in the region.[136] The city of Huaraz, the center of commerce in the department, had more strict legislation that restricted the movement of people. At the capital city, any person older than fifteen was required to carry a pass stating their occupation. Those *logos* (vagrants) and *embryos* (drunks) who did not adhere to these rules and, therefore, "threatened public order" risked a fine of ten pesos and jail time in Huaraz.[137]

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[135] One most well-known critiques of bureaucracy in late nineteenth-century Peru can be found in the novel *Aves sin nido* (1889) by Clorinda Matto de Turner. In the 1920s, Jose Carlos Maritegui, Peru's most famous Marxist in the twentieth century, would also articulate a critique of the bureaucratic apparatus and its role in the privatization of land in Peru. Mark Thurner has more recently pointed out the coercion in cases involving land in Ancash by the end of the nineteenth century. Nils Jacobsen has also raised this concern for the region of Puno for the same period. On the other hand, Carlos Aguirre provides a more critical view of state officials who usually oversaw these lawsuits: the so-called "tinterillos." See Carlos Aguirre, "Tinterillos, Indians, and the State: Towards a History of Legal Intermediaries in Post-Independence Peru," in *One Law for All?: Western Models and Local Practices in (Post-) Imperial Contexts*, edited by Stefan B. Kirmse (Campus Verlag, 2012), 119-151; Nils Jacobsen, "'Liberalismo tropical': cómo explicar el auge de una doctrina económica europea en América Latina, 1780-1885," *Historia Crítica*, no. 34 (July 2007): 118–47; José Carlos Mariátegui, *Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana* (Red-ediciones, 2011); Clorinda Matto de Turner, *Aves sin nido* (Fundacion Biblioteca Ayacuch, 1994); and Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

[136] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, March 31, 1893.

[137] *La Autonomía*, Huaraz, January 17, 1890.

The region had made more advances in education, at least in the province of Huaraz. In the aftermath of the War of the Pacific, the state, local businesses, and the press played a crucial role in expanding and fomenting educational services in the department. For one, the government intended to enforce the new stipulations in the *Reglamento General de Instrucción Pública* (Guideline for General Public Instruction). This decree made primary education mandatory for both boys and girls. Local authorities fined parents and guardians who did not follow this ordinance. Legal guardians who did not send their children to school risked a fine of five soles. In addition, children caught working during regular school hours were to be taken to the local municipality. They were only released after a parent and guardian filed the necessary paperwork and paid a fine.[138] Local businesses had begun increasing their inventory of books as well.[139] The local press also played a fundamental role in building a community that strived toward children's scholastic success in Ancash.

The media's role in educating the children of Ancash went beyond philosophical arguments about progress. Newspapers such as *La Autonomia*, *La Justicia*, and *La Juventud* reminded parents about upcoming examinations, school plays, and award ceremonies. Parents also became informed of additional fees they had to pay to support their children's education during a regular school year.[140] Families with young children who had recently arrived to Ancash, whether they were commoners or capitalist investors, could find accommodation since primary education was available in Huaraz for both sexes.[141] The

[138] *El Pueblo*, Huaraz, February 10, 1890.

[139] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, November 1, 1893.

[140] *La Autonomia*, Huaraz, January 17, 1890; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, July 14, 1893; *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, September 5, 1893; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, December 10, 1894.

[141] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, March 13, 1893.

opening of new schools, private and public, also made the headlines. One case was the San Agustin School, a private primary and secondary education school that began functioning on March 6, 1893. The institution allowed students to study various subjects such as mathematics, sciences, humanities, and theology.[142] Some local notables were involved in this enterprise. Judge Amadeo Figueroa, for instance, taught "Rhetoric and Fundamentals of Faith.[143]" The school appears to have gained popularity in Huaraz since scholarships were given and students were publicly recognized for their scholastic achievements in arithmetic, calligraphy, geography, Peruvian history, reading, and classics–among others–in the pages of some of the most influential news outlets in the region.

Conclusion

In 2006, Gerald Wolfe, president, and CEO of Antamina, the most significant transnational mining company in Ancash, reminded *Ancashinos* about the company's commitment to "bringing development to the department of Ancash" in the latest reprint of *El Departamento de Ancash y sus Riquezas Naturales* (2006).[144] His words about the importance of Raimondi's work and the need to modernize the department may have resonated strongly among the ruling classes in late nineteenth-century Peru. Indeed, *Ancashinos* articulated dreams of progress that emulated capitalist development in other parts of the world, such as in Europe and the United States. Nevertheless, their rhetoric was specific to the realities of the department, and they did not hesitate to critique national,

[142] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, September 10, 1893.

[143] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, February 28, 1893.

[144] Antonio Raimondi, *El departamento de Ancachs y sus riquezas minerales, 1873*, ed. Luis Felipe Villacorta Ostolaza (UNMSM, 2006), 16.

regional, or local administrations. As a result, aspirations to turn Ancash into a modern industrial-mining region remained embedded in the mentality of the ruling classes. Nevertheless, they managed to complete several projects that cast doubt on assumptions about the "ungovernability" of this period. As several scholars have pointed out, this assumption is understandable. After all, the ruling classes in Lima feared political chaos and anarchism would take over the nation in the aftermath of the War of the Pacific. As the next chapter shows, the ruling classes did have reasons to be concerned about the expansion of communism and socialism. Many intellectuals viewed these ideas with great skepticism and believed that they could potentially rival the hegemony of the capitalist mode of production.

Chapter 2: The Origins of Modern Politics: Making Sense of Radical Ideas in Nineteenth-Century Peru, 1848 - 1895

Introduction

The expansion of capitalism in the country, which rested on the consolidation of private property, was closely followed by a "spectre" that haunted ruling classes: communism.[1] Like the West, the European Revolutions of 1848 left irreversible consequences for political culture in nineteenth-century Peru. Despite the absence of a robust working-class organization like other countries in Latin America, ideas about communism circulated widely, and it did not take long for Peruvians to adopt the new political vocabulary and suit it to their realities.[2] After 1848, social commentary among intellectuals and the press increasingly began associating working-class mobilization with violence, disorder, and the expropriation of private property. In short, the destruction of civilization.[3] The Paris Commune of 1871 exacerbated these public anxieties but also redefined interpretations of a proletarian revolution in the public sphere. Until 1871, French utopian socialist Joseph Proudhon, famous for his epithet "*Property is Theft!*" had become synonymous with radical

[1] I am paraphrasing Karl Marx's famous words. Taken from Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, ed. Samuel H. Beer (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts., Inc, 1955), 8.

[2] For Latin America, see Guy P. C. Thomson, *The European Revolutions of 1848 and the Americas* (Institute of Latin American Studies, 2002), 1 - 18. For Peru, see Natalia Sobrevilla, "The Influence of the European 1848 Revolutions in Peru," in Thomson's *The European Revolutions,*191- 216. Miguel Maticorena Estrada also argues that the political sphere was already divided in terms of "Proudhonism" and "proprietors" by 1855. See Miguel Maticorena Estrada, *La comuna de Piura y Chalaco: Montoneras, 1883* (Lima: Ediciones Copé, Petroperú, 2014).

[3] Maticorena Estrada, 136.

ideas in Latin America.[4] After the Commune, the ideas of Karl Marx, particularly the notion of dictatorship, served as points of reference for sympathizers and critics alike.[5] Yet, the Paris Commune also reminded the ruling classes about the dangers of communism and the need for a counterrevolutionary figure to combat such a threat. For the ruling classes in Peru, Adolph Theirs came to represent order, republicanism, and in a larger sense, their vision of modernity for the country. By the end of the century, citizens in Lima and Ancash were more than familiarized with global debates about capitalism and communism, suggesting that they espoused more sophisticated understandings of modern politics than previously assumed.

This chapter will analyze the political culture in Peru from 1848 to 1895 through the prism of communism. Using newspapers, monographs, and other printed material from Lima and Ancash, this chapter seeks to move beyond the discussions about "liberals and conservatives" that have dominated much of nineteenth-century Latin American historiography. Though historians have pointed out that by the end of the century, liberalism, whether as an economic, political, or ideological model–became increasingly under threat by

[4] For other countries in Latin America, such as Argentina and Mexico, historians have suggested that Proudhonism was the dominant socialist thought until the Paris Commune of 1871. See Gaston Garcia Cantu, *El Socialismo En Mexico; Siglo XIX* (Mexico City: Ediciones Era, 1974); Carlos M. Rama, *Utopismo Socialista, 1830-1893* (Ayacucho: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1977). Other scholars have argued that anarchism was far more influential in the public sphere. See John M. Hart, *Anarchism & The Mexican Working Class, 1860-1931* (University of Texas Press, 1987).

[5] For general overviews, see Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, *Transformaciones del marxismo: historia del marxismo en América Latina* (Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, 2001), and Pablo Guadarrama González, *Marxismo y antimarxismo en America Latina* (Universidad INCCA de Colombia, 1990). For Argentina, see Horacio Tarcus, *Marx en la Argentina: sus primeros lectores obreros, intelectuales y científicos* (Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2007); Carlos Rodríguez Braun, "Early Liberal Socialism in Latin America: Juan B. Justo and the Argentine Socialist Party," *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 67, no. 4 (2008): 567–604. For Mexico, see Sheldon B. Liss, "MARXIST THINKERS IN MEXICO: EACH TO HIS OWN REVOLUTION," in *Los Intelectuales y El Poder En México*, ed. Roderic A. Camp, Charles A. Hale, and Josefina Zoraida Vázquez, 1st ed., vol. 75, Memorias de La VI Conferencia de Historiadores Mexicanos y Estadounidenses = Intellectuals and Power in Mexico (Colegio de Mexico, 1991), 359–76, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv513805.22; Barry Carr, "Marxism and Anarchism in the Formation of the Mexican Communist Party, 1910-19," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 63, no. 2 (1983): 277–305, https://doi.org/10.2307/2514710.

competing ideologies such as socialism and communism, it is little understood precisely how these radical ideas coming from Europe shaped political culture in Peru.[6] My work will examine how intellectuals encountered and understood competing ideologies from Europe, the United States, and Latin America.[7] Recent studies on the Age of Revolutions, and the nineteenth century more broadly, have not only begun using the "public sphere" as a category of analysis but have also revealed that the politicization of the public sphere–which is understood as the spread of news and emergence of public spaces where ideas could be debated–went beyond ruling classes but also included enslaved people and indigenous people.[8] Illiteracy did not impede the spread of revolutionary ideas.[9] In nineteenth-century Peru, public engagement with political debates about a postcapitalist society may have been more widespread than previously assumed. These discourses, however, generally reflected the interests of ruling classes and were historically specific, inflected by international and national events.

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[6] James E. Sanders, *The Vanguard of the Atlantic World: Creating Modernity, Nation, and Democracy in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2014).

[7] For an overview of the term in Latin America historiography, see Pablo Piccato, "Public Sphere in Latin America: A Map of the Historiography," *Social History* 35, no. 2 (May 1, 2010): 165–92, https://doi.org/10.1080/03071021003795055.

[8] For recent literature, see Marcela Echeverri, *Indian and Slave Royalists in the Age of Revolution: Reform, Revolution, and Royalism in the Northern Andes, 1780-1825* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Cristina Soriano, *Tides of Revolution: Information, Insurgencies, and the Crisis of Colonial Rule in Venezuela* (Albuquerque: the University of New Mexico Press, 2018); Julius S. Scott and Marcus Rediker, *The Common Wind: Afro-American Currents in the Age of the Haitian Revolution* (London ; New York: Verso, 2018); and Cristina Soriano, *Tides of Revolution: Information, Insurgencies, and the Crisis of Colonial Rule in Venezuela* (Albuquerque: the University of New Mexico Press, 2018).

[9] See Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Ada Ferrer, *Freedom's Mirror* (Cambridge University Press, 2014); Julius S. Scott and Marcus Rediker, *The Common Wind: Afro-American Currents in the Age of the Haitian Revolution* (London ; New York: Verso, 2018); Cristina Soriano, *Tides of Revolution: Information, Insurgencies, and the Crisis of Colonial Rule in Venezuela* (Albuquerque: the University of New Mexico Press, 2018).

Initial Anxieties, Joseph Proudhon, and Debates on Private Property: The European Revolutions of 1848 in Peru

It took a little while for news about the European Revolutions of 1848 to reach and reshape the politics of the Western Hemisphere. But, in the United States, the "Forty-Eighters," and subsequent immigrants from Europe left a lasting impact on nineteenth-century labor mobilization.[10] Similar developments occurred in Latin America, particularly in countries with large-scale European immigration and working-class mobilization like Argentina.[11] In Peru, ideas emerging out of 1848 reshaped debates on the Indian tribute and slavery, both abolished during the Liberal Revolution of 1854.[12] The dissemination of these ideas also changed the political language in the public sphere, at least in regions such as Arequipa, Cusco, and Piura.[13] In Lima, *El Comercio*, one of the most influential newspapers in the country, reports about communism appear to have been more prevalent than previously assumed in the scholarship. For the public sphere in Lima, communism rapidly became associated with the figure of Joseph Proudhon and his epithet *Property is Theft!* On the other hand, civilization and modernity, at least for readers in Lima and later Ancash, would become represented through one of Proudhon's greatest critics: Adolphe Thiers. Though early reports about communist activity around the world piqued the interest of some

[10] See Paul Buhle, *Marxism in the United States: Remapping the History of the American Left*, 2013; Andre M. Fleche, *The Revolution of 1861: The American Civil War in the Age of Nationalist Conflict*, Illustrated edition (University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Timothy Messer-Kruse, *The Yankee International: Marxism and the American Reform Tradition, 1848-1876* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 1998).

[11] See Guy P. C. Thomson, *The European Revolutions of 1848 and the Americas*.

[12] Natalia Sobrevilla, "The Influence of the European 1848 Revolutions in Peru," 191-212.

[13] Natalia Sobrevilla, "The Influence of the European 1848 Revolutions in Peru," 191-212; Miguel Maticorena Estrada, *La comuna de Piura y Chalaco,* 15, 52-53.

observers, it is more likely that they generated fear and anxiety among the ruling classes in Peru.

Peru had been open to debates about radical ideas before the European Revolutions of 1848. Utopian socialism was already known among intellectual circles.[14] Flora Tristan, a French-Peruvian socialist, later credited for her ideas on feminism and working-class mobilization, had traveled the country a decade before her influential *L'Union Ouvrière*, published in Paris in 1843.[15] For readers of *El Comercio*, utopian socialism appears to have remained a point of discussion as events in Europe erupted in 1848. "Icarian Socialism," to be more specific, may have caught the curiosity of some readers in Lima.[16] The Icarians, founded by Etienne Cabet, would be exiled from France during the Revolutions of 1848, and set up several utopian socialist communities in the United States. Common property ownership became a characteristic feature in these social experiments.[17] In *El Comercio*, however, the author was less interested in private property ideas. Instead, the newspaper emphasized the movement's ties to the Catholic Church and the value of labor. Aspiring members of this society were also expected to be "socialists, democrats, philanthropists, and real Christians.[18]" Furthermore, they had to commit to "the cause of women, children, and

[14] Natalia Sobrevilla, "The Influence of the European 1848 Revolutions in Peru," 191-212.

[15] For literature on Flora Tristan, see Marie M. Collins and Sylvie Weil-Sayre, "Flora Tristan: Forgotten Feminist and Socialist," *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 1, no. 4 (1973): 229–34; Leila Gómez, "Mujer Sin Equipaje. El Viaje de Flora Tristán al Perú," *Revista de Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana* 40, no. 80 (2014): 169–86.

[16] *El Comercio*, Lima, May 20, 1849.

[17] Paul Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy* (Princeton University Press, 1984), 56.Donald J. Kagay, "Icaria: An Aborted Utopia on the Texas Frontier," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 116, no. 4 (2013): 358–85; LILLIAN SNYDER, "FAMILY LIFE IN THE ICARIAN COLONY," *International Journal of Sociology of the Family* 13, no. 2 (1983): 83–95; Steve Wiegenstein, "The Icarians and Their Neighbors," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 10, no. 3 (2006): 289–95.

[18] *El Comercio*, Lima, May 20, 1848.

humanity." Men were also required to have a profession, be sober, "have a good reputation," and "be willing to give everything up for the community." More pertinently, the Icarian branch in Spain was to "serve as an escape hatch for the growing proletariat in old Europe." For *El Comercio*, it would be a "new Jerusalem." By adopting "Spanish democratic principles," the Spanish Icarians were different from their French counterparts, a characteristic celebrated by the newspaper.[19]

Subsequent news about Europe was less idealistic and more political. As early as May 9, readers in Lima heard about the *Revolucion en Francia* and the rest of Europe.[20] The political situation in the continent seemed far from unsettling in the coming months. The following year, a conspiracy in the Italian states threatened to unleash a diplomatic crisis.[21] In Rome, still under the tutelage of the Papacy, some rumors pointed towards a plot against the Austrians and the French, "the ally of the Austrians.[22]" "By appealing to Rome's ancient revolutionary zeal," the author continued, "the rebels had made a call of arms within the city.[23]"

A failed coup also disrupted order and commerce in Eastern Europe. For Peruvians, it may have been one of the earliest reports where "suspected" communists threatened the stability of the Russian Monarchy. They also saw how the forces of order dealt with this insurgency. "Russians cannot see a revolution without the death of the Czar," *El Comercio*

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[19] Ibid.

[20] *El Comercio*, Lima, May 9, 1848.

[21] *El Comercio*, Lima, August 8, 1849.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

commented in its opening paragraph. A plot appears to have taken place between May 7th and 8th.[24] The sons of the most prestigious families in St. Petersburg, many of whom worked in the Ministry of Interior and other diplomatic posts, spearheaded this rebellion. Although it was unclear why the plan failed or how the authorities discovered it, eventually, 200 to 300 young men connected to this "communist-socialist" movement either disappeared or were taken to the fortress in St. Petersburg. Russian authorities most likely executed these prisoners for treason.[25]

As the language of radical politics began entering the public sphere in Lima in 1848, events in France, particularly the polemics taking place at the French National Assembly, primarily shaped interpretations of communism in Peru. As *El Comercio* reported, Paris appeared at peace by the end of the year after months of turmoil. Working class mobilization and violence had subsided. Yet, anxieties over socialist activity remained present in the public sphere in France. For socialists, the newly established Second Republic presented an ideal opportunity to advance the interests of the working class. Yet, as *El Comercio* reported, the participation of socialists in the democratic process, namely the plenary sessions of the Constitution of 1848, generated much criticism from the French press and prominent politicians.[26]

Diatribes against socialists were also replicated in the press in Lima. However, most of the criticism was aimed at one figure in particular: Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. In contrast to Pierre Leroux, who was regarded as the "priest of communism given the softness of his

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

[26] *El Comercio*, Lima, November 23, 1848, *El Comercio*, Lima, November 10, 1848.

voice," *El Comercio* described Proudhon as “loud, coldblooded, and doctrinaire” on October 13.[27] Proudhon had already caused controversy in France before his performance at the National Assembly on July 16, 1848. His *What is Property* (1840), where he uttered the famous phrase “*Property is Theft!*,” had long become the subject of much criticism among French intellectual circles.[28] Public opinion in Lima, at least hitherto, may have interpreted socialism similarly. For *El Comercio*, Proudhon’s socialism was “madness.[29]" The author was less than convinced by the socialists' political project. On the contrary, he viewed Proudhon as a merely “charlatan who defended an impossible system.” His campaign against “property, universal suffrage, and the rich," the newspaper stressed, “threatens all social order.[30]” Proudhon’s interrupted speech and abrupt exit from the parliamentary session due to dissent from the audience perhaps reminded readers in Lima that socialism as a political project was far from popular among the French ruling classes.[31]

Heated discussion continued at the National Assembly, mainly when Proudhon had the floor. More than ten days later, readers in Lima became informed about Proudhon's “celebrated project on property.[32]” Proudhon began his speech by reminding the National Assembly that “socialism had gained significant political momentum in the last twenty

[27] *El Comercio*, Lima, October 13, 1848.

[28] Donald R. Kelley and Bonnie G. Smith, “What Was Property? Legal Dimensions of the Social Question in France (1789-1848),” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 128, no. 3 (1984): 200–230; Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *What Is Property?: An Inquiry Into the Principle of Right and of Government* (B.R. Tucker, 1876).

[29] *El Comercio*, Lima, October 13, 1848.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

[32] *El Comercio*, Lima, October 23, 1848.

years.[33]" He also took the time to respond to his critics, namely Adolphe Thiers. Their discussions at the National Assembly were far from friendly. As *El Comercio* pointed out on October 23, the audience responded with whispers and laughs to the verbal exchanges between the two men. Proudhon culminated his speech by defending his thesis in *What is Property?*[34] However, by the end of his prose, Proudhon "recognized that his position was futile.[35]" Proudhon's call for a French Republic that would "guarantee the right to work for all citizens," a political move he thought would "restore the confidence of the government among the increasingly insurgent working class," *El Comercio* warned, "ended in shouts and insults coming from the crowd.[36]"

Whether or not Thiers was among the men who interrupted Proudhon's closing remarks was not evident from *El Comercio*'s assessment of the situation at the French Assembly. Yet, this scenario may not have been difficult to imagine for readers in Lima since the two men had several heated exchanges during the congressional sessions. They were on the opposite political spectrum, particularly on private property. For one, Thiers was often described as a great orator and an influential politician. *El Comercio* described Thiers as a man on the side of the "republic" and the "empire." His meeting with King Louis Philippe I on the night of February 23, a last-ditch effort to save the House of Orleans, did not appear to besmirch his reputation as a Republican and loyalist. He remained a key government

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

[36] "Hace veinte años que el socialismo se [sic] ajita en nuestro alrededor...mi proposición está condenada: lo se" in *El Comercio*, Lima, October 23, 1848.

decision-maker until Louis Napoleon Bonaparte's ascension.[37] Moreover, Thiers's *The Rights of Property: A Refutation of Communism and Socialism* (1848), where he reminded his audience that "time and reason have, in fact, taught all the world that land, as well as other capital, ought to be private property" directly put him at odds with radicals like Proudhon.[38]

It is plausible that Thiers's critique of socialism and communism–and Proudhon more generally– was known by 1849 in Peru. Advertised as "newly arrived" under the name *De la propiedad, del comunismo, del socialismo* in *El Comercio* on August 18, 1849, readers interested in perusing the statesman's most recent treatise on politics and economics in France, an account that also reflected contemporary debates within European ruling classes, were encouraged to stop by the General Library of Don Julio Bailly in Lima.[39] The bookstore did not appear to have a French version of *The Rights of Property* nor copies of Thiers's most celebrated work, *Histoire de la Révolution française*, but other French and Latin texts were sold. The availability of books in foreign languages was not uncommon in Lima since language was not a difficult barrier for *Limeños* to overcome.[40] Ruling classes had commercial links to Europe and often sent their children for an education abroad. Europe would also serve as a primary exile destination for future politicians in the country.[41] For those individuals who perhaps did not have the same sociocultural ties to Europe–such as

[37] *El Comercio*, Lima, October 13, 1848; *El Comercio,* Lima, October 23, 1848; *El Comercio*, Lima, August 8, 1849; Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (Charles H. Kerr & Company, 1907), 25, 37.

[38] Adolphe Thiers, *The Rights of Property: A Refutation of Communism and Socialism* (New York: R. Groombridge, 1848), 83.

[39] *El Comercio*, Lima, August 18, 1849.

[40] *El Comercio*, Lima, March 8, 1848; *El Comercio*, March 17.

[41] Presidents Miguel Iglesias, Andrés Avelino Caceres, and Nicolás de Piérola would spend part of their exile in Europe.

artisans, dockworkers, peasants, and shopkeepers–stores like the ones owned by Mr. Bailly offered conversational guidelines, dictionaries, and monographs in English, Latin, German, and French.[42]

If the public sphere in Lima viewed Thiers as the representative of order and capitalism in the public sphere, Proudhon had the opposite effect. By 1853, he was synonymous with ideas or people associated with communism. In an editorial, an unidentified author delivered several harsh remarks against Pedro González de Candamo y Astorga, one of the wealthiest men in the country. He would later help found the *Partido Civil*, a political party that dominated much of Peruvian politics from the 1870s to the 1920s. Pedro's son, Manuel Candamo, would become president of Peru in 1903.[43] The author appeared concerned with Candamo's business strategy of constructing rail lines. After surveying the land with a team of engineers, Candamo took little time to evict its residents, even if it meant going above the law. "When monopolists try to bypass state authority, and when he finds his power in check, he resorts to usurpation," the report argued.[44] In the eyes of the author, "It was these types of abuses that have inspired Proudhon and his followers to claim that property is Theft![45]" The penman, however, was less interested in defending the ideals of Proudhon than chastising the actions of the Peruvian capitalist. "Property is sacred

[42] *El Comercio*, Lima, August 18, 1849.

[43] *El Comercio*, Lima, September 2, 1852; Ba Michael J. Gonzales, "Planters and Politics in Peru, 1895-1919," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 23, no. 3 (1991): 515–41; Rory Miller, "The Coastal Elite and Peruvian Politics, 1895-1919," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 14, no. 1 (1982): 97–120.

[44] *El Comercio*, Lima, October 29, 1853.

[45] Ibid.

when the proprietor is Candamo, but when it concerns the property of others, his dogma is the communism of Proudhon," the author in *El Comercio* concluded.[46]

The Expansion of the Communist Threat and the Emergence of the Counterrevolutionary Hero: The Paris Commune and its Aftermath in Lima and Ancash, 1871 - 1879

Much like the European Revolutions of 1848, the Paris Commune of 1871 reformulated contemporary understandings about revolutions.[47] For two months, Paris was ruled by a "Revolutionary Government" of the working class until it was brutally suppressed by the republican government, under the guidance of Adolphe Thiers, during *semaine senglante* (Bloody Week) in May.[48] Recent scholarship on the *Commune de Paris* has paid increasing attention to the circulation of information about the event in Europe, Asia, and Latin America and how these ideas may have shaped political thinking and mobilization.[49] In the case of Peru, perceptions about the Paris Commune not only influenced working-class activity but also reminded the ruling classes in Lima and Ancash about the threat that communism represented to the means of production, specifically private property. For most Peruvians, the violence communards displayed against secular and ecclesiastical authorities during their "reign of terror" may have justified the actions of Adolphe Thiers, as well as

[46] *El Comercio*, Lima, November 8, 1853.

[47] See John Merriman, *Massacre: The Life and Death of the Paris Commune*, 1st edition (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2014); Julia Nicholls, *Revolutionary Thought after the Paris Commune, 1871-1885* (Cambridge University Press, 2019); Colette Wilson, *Paris, and the Commune 1871–78: The Politics of Forgetting*, 1 edition (Manchester University Press, 2016).

[48] John Merriman, *Massacre*, 2, 242, 252.

[49] Quentin Deluermoz, *Commune(s), 1870-1871. Une traversée des mondes au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Seuil, 2020).

aggrandized his ethos as a defender of order and capitalist mode of production, an interpretation first espoused by Marx and later by Vladimir Lenin.[50] However, a few observers in Lima may have "supported the commune in principle but not the men leading it."[51]

Initial reports about the Paris Commune indeed highlighted chaos in Paris. The swift German victory in the Franco-Prussian War years had created a power vacuum in the French government.[52] The political situation changed rapidly over the next few days. First, the rise of the Paris Commune on March 18, 1871, exposed the weakness of the provisional government. The escalation of violence in Paris even prompted Bismarck to consider the entry of 80,000 German troops into the city to "put down the rebellion" if the French could not do so on their own, *El Nacional* told its readers on May 2.[53] By early June, *Limeños* were still in awe about European events since, as the newspaper stressed, "Paris was still in the hands of the communists.[54]" Yet, the same report also reassured its readers that their "reign of terror was ending.[55]"

El Nacional was correct about its prediction. The Revolutionary Government of the communards would eventually collapse as the French army forced their way and regained control of Paris by the end of May. The surrender of the Commune was negotiated by

[50] JAY BERGMAN, "The Paris Commune in Bolshevik Mythology," *The English Historical Review* 129, no. 541 (2014): 1412–41.

[51] Words from Victor Hugo about the Paris Commune. Replicated in *El Comercio*, Lima, July 3, 1871.

[52] *El Nacional*, Lima, March 4, 1871.

[53] *El Nacional*, Lima, May 2, 1871.

[54] *El Nacional*, Lima, May 2, 1871.

[55] Ibid.

Adolphe Thiers, who had kept an open line of communication with the communard, as *El Nacional* stressed on several occasions.[56] The newspaper also reported on the violent repression that followed the fall of Paris. By July 3, Limeños heard about how French "newspapers that had previously opposed the Commune had begun to call for an end to the executions.[57]" It appears that the counterrevolutionary violence, namely during the *semaine senglante*, had surpassed the expectations and imagination of even the most critics of the revolutionary government. Nevertheless, European leaders appeared to have been equally perplexed by the excesses of the French republican government and took steps to protect exiled political dissidents. At least Britain and Belgium, *El Nacional* posited, were reluctant to extradite communists within their borders since capital punishment seemed like the most likely fate for exiled communards if they returned to France.[58]

El Nacional's call to end the violence against the *comunistas* reveals the complexity of the legacy of the Paris Commune in Peru. For some authors in the newspaper, the Revolutionary Government of the communards had embodied some of the most radical elements of the French Revolution. *El Nacional* extensively condemned press censorship, forced incarcerations, executions, the destruction of industry, and the elimination of private property that took place while the Commune was in power.[59] On the former, *Le Moniteur Universal*, *L' Univers, Le Specdadeur*, among others, were forced to discontinue printing at some point.[60] The Peruvian press also criticized the disruption of the democratic process

[56] *El Nacional*, Lima, March 18, 1871; *El Nacional*, Lima, April 2, 1871; *El Nacional*, Lima, May 9, 1871.

[57] *El Nacional*, Lima, July 3, 1871.

[58] Ibid.

[59] *El Nacional*, Lima, May 9; *El Nacional*, Lima, June 10, 1871; *El Nacional*, July 3.

[60] *El Nacional*, Lima, June 10, 1871.

through authoritative methods. The prohibition of public forums, particularly *meetings* that wanted to reconcile with the republican government, a democratic solution to an increasingly violent conflict, may have reminded ruling classes in Peru that authoritarian rule was a deterministic outcome of a proletarian revolution.

For some writers in *El Nacional*, however, the violence against the communards was not only seen as excessive but also antithetical to the principles of freedom. If the Commune embodied the most radical elements of the French Revolution, it also stood for justice, equality, and fraternity for some readers.[61] For an unknown author, on July 3, the Paris Commune had indeed "rebelled in the name of justice and civilization." In his interpretation of 1871, the National Guard's takeover of Paris mirrored events "in 1789, when the Third Estate rebelled against the aristocracy and the monarchy." The comparison between the two revolutionary movements transcended the reference to the Storming of the Bastille. "In 1871," the author concluded, "the Fourth Estate—workers and proprietors—have done something similar," inviting its audience to imagine the Paris Commune as a necessary revolutionary movement, a worthy successor of the French Revolution.[62]

Other authors in Lima who may have sympathized with the Commune or refrained from publicly condemning it were less ideological about their recollections of 1871. Nevertheless, their descriptions of events in France invited readers to imagine the Commune as more than a violent insurrection of the working class. On May 2, *El Nacional* commented on how the Revolutionary Government had "ordered elections to take place in all *barrios* on April 5 so they could fill the positions left by sixteen members who recently had resigned."

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[61] *El Nacional*, Lima, July 3, 1871.

[62] Ibid.

Aside from holding elections and "issuing decrees," like the reorganization of the municipal tributary system, the Commune had restored some sense of normalcy within Paris. Unarmed citizens were allowed to roam the city freely. For the first time in weeks, they did not have to worry about their safety when walking to their destinations.[63] Despite the advances of the French army from Versailles, violence had ceased, even momentarily, in Paris. "Rumors about combat taking place within the city were false," the same source added. Before Bloody Week, the Revolutionary Government, "the living body of the proletariat," as Marx once described the movement, may have appeared to control the situation in Paris for readers of *El Nacional*.[64]

News about the possibility of a working-class revolution in Europe was not limited to Lima. In Ancash, *El Ciudadano,* a biweekly publication in Huaraz, also commented on the events. Existing sources suggest that *Ancashinos* were just as informed on the rise and collapse of the Revolutionary Government of the *comunistas*. By September, reports turned their attention to the reorganization of French politics under the guidance of Adolphe Thiers. The politician had previously been elected president by Royalists and Republicans back in February.[65] "The French National Assembly's primary concern was whether or not Adolphe Thiers would have his presidential powers extended," *El Ciudadano* remarked.[66] Readers in Ancash may have interpreted the reaffirmation of Thiers's extraordinary powers as pivotal to the stability of the Republic. After all, according to the newspaper, tensions still ran high

[63] *El Nacional*, Lima, May 2, 1871.

[64] Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France* (New York: International Publishers Co, 1940), 77.

[65] Aaron Schaffer, "Louis Adolphe Thiers," *The Sewanee Review* 24, no. 2 (1916): 201–13; 210.

[66] *El Ciudadano,* Huaraz, October 5, 1871.

despite the cease-fire. Moreover, the army's control of the city did not assuage the threat of violence. For this reason, readers of *El Ciudadano* may have interpreted Thiers's decision to rule from Versailles instead of Paris, much to the disagreement of his closest advisors, as a tactical move, an attempt to avoid provoking the masses, preventing further insurrection and more bloodshed.[67] Yet, at the same time, some readers may have also imagined Thiers's recent actions as consistent with the "flight to Versailles" strategy displayed by the Republican government during much of the conflict in 1871.[68] In either case, Thiers was far from consolidating the Third Republic, at least in the eyes of foreign observers.

La Autonomia, another major daily in Ancash, also commented on the political situation in Paris. In a section called "Latest News from Europe," the newspaper remarked that *Le Figaro*, one of the most influential publications in Paris, was recently involved in a high-profile lawsuit against General Louis-Jules Trochu. The newspaper had questioned his military actions during the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune.[69] While *Le Figaro* did little to camouflage their antipathy for the provisional republican government, their polemic with a highly-decorated General highlighted the existing unresolved political tensions in Paris.[70] However, after a few months of investigation, the newspaper was acquitted of all charges, even though some critics pointed out *Le Figaro* had collaborated

[67] *El Ciudadano*, Huaraz, October 9, 1871.

[68] Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France*, 38, 69.

[69] France Cour d'assises (Seine), *Procès du général Trochu contre mm. Vitu & De Villemessant du Figaro* (Bureau du journal Petite Presse, 1872), 5; *La Autonomia de Ancash*, Huaraz, May 20, 1872.

[70] André Damien, "Thiers et La Commune de Paris : Violence Contre Violence," *La Revue Administrative* 61, no. 361 (2008): 6–20.

with the Revolutionary Government of the *comunistas*.[71] However, other individuals with apparent ties to the Commune did not fare well. *La Autonomia* informed its readers that the arrested communards were much less fortunate than the journalists of *Le Figaro*. In the jails of Versailles, *La Autonomia* stated, "There were at least twenty-two *comunistas* who had been sentenced to death.[72]"

Much like in Lima, further reports about communism coming from Europe associated it with social disorder and political chaos. In Spain, the expansion of the International Workingmen's Association exacerbated existing political tensions. "The *Internacionalistas de españa* [sic] are very active in the peninsula," the *La Autonomía* cautioned its readers.[73] The growing influence of communism unsettled the tranquility of the ruling classes in Barcelona, as they feared that communists were bound to "organize a movement that would establish itself here and the rest of the cities.[74]" These fears added to reports about outbreaks of violence between Republicans and *Carlistas* (royalists). Interrupted telegraph lines and the disruption of electoral processes in several municipalities also alarmed the ruling classes in Catalonia. Although the newspaper was unclear about whether *comunistas* were responsible for the these transgressions on the economic and political life in Spain, *La Autonomía* reminded its readers that the forces of order were ready to intervene at the slightest suspicion

[71] France Cour d'assises (Seine), *Procès du général Trochu contre mm. Vitu & De Villemessant du Figaro* (Bureau du journal Petite Presse, 1872), 54, 48.

[72] *La Autonomia de Ancas*h, Huaraz, May 20, 1872.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid.

of socialist mobilization. “In the districts where there is fear of an uprising, the army is sent,” the newspaper reminded *Ancashinos*.[75]

El Ciudadano also showed that Ancash was not aloof in political debates taking place in Europe. The region may have been aware of how intellectuals in Latin America made sense of events taking place on the other side of the world. Although scholars have written much on the socialism of Francisco Bilbao, a Chilean intellectual of much renown—also the first proponent of the concept of "Latin America"—less is known about the influence of Hector F. Varela.[76] Hector was the son of Florencio Varela (1807-1848), a well-known politician whom Manuel Rosas, the *de facto* ruler of Argentina from 1825 - 1852, tried to assassinate.[77] Hector Varela later founded *La Tribuna,* a prominent newspaper in Buenos Aires. Like Bilbao, Varela also believed that Latin American countries were equal to their European counterparts.[78] More precisely, Varela believed that the decay of European civilization was inextricably linked to the rise of communism. A few weeks after the abdication of Amadeo I in 1873 in Spain, Varela, who was in Paris establishing and running *El Americano,* a weekly that aimed at portraying Latin America as the vanguard of democracy and modernity, condemned the growing expansion of communism in Spain. For Varela, communists were a group that sought to “disturb public order, distribute the property

[75] Ibid.

[76] For literature on Francisco Bilbao and the concept of “Latin America,” see Walter D. Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005) and Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Latin America: The Allure and Power of an Idea* (University of Chicago Press, 2017).

[77] Salvador Garcíaa Castañeda, “El periódico El Americano (París, 1872—74) y la independencia de Cuba,” *Romance Quarterly* 51, no. 4 (October 2004): 257–68.

[78] Neither Bilbao nor Varela were the only intellectuals to challenge European cultural superiority. See James E. Sanders, *The Vanguard of the Atlantic World: Creating Modernity, Nation, and Democracy in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2014).

of others, and live in wretchedness.[79]"Before he arrived in Europe, however, the author had previously visited Lima and other cities in Latin America to gather funds for *El Americano*. His visit caused quite an impression among intellectuals in Lima. “The distinguished American speaker and publicist Hector F. Varela,” *El Ciudadano* informed, “was received with much enthusiasm and praise by locals.[80]”

Back in Lima, subsequent reports about the Commune focused less on its ideological underpinnings. Instead, readers learned about the lives of figures who represented order and republicanism in French politics. Among the public in Lima, one person stood above all: Adolphe Thiers. As *El Comercio* reported, the statesman remained active in politics following the fall of the revolutionary government. The Peruvian press often highlighted his achievements in domestic and foreign policy.[81] His influence extended to other branches of the French government as well. At one point in their career, *El Comercio* remarked, almost every new member of the French ministry of 1878 had served under or worked alongside Thiers.[82] His death and funeral in 1877, along with further commemorations in his honor—including a portrait at the Palace of Versailles and tombstone outside his house placed by workers in Marseille—also received much attention among readers in Lima.[83] His political

[79] Salvador Garcíaa Castañeda, “El periódico El Americano,” 264.

[80] *El Ciudadano*, Huaraz, December 18, 1871.

[81] *El Comercio*, Lima, July 18, 1877; *El Comercio*, Lima, July 25, 1877; *El Comercio*, Lima, July 31, 1877.

[82] *El Comercio*, Lima, January 29, 1878; *El Comercio*, Lima, February 5, 1878.

[83] *El Comercio*, Lima, September 15, 1877; *El Comercio*, Lima, January 3, 1878; *El Comercio*, Lima, March 29, 1878.

decisions during the 1848 revolutions and the Paris Commune of 1871 rarely received criticism from the Peruvian press.[84]

The memory of Thiers and what he represented to French politics in the nineteenth century continued to resonate in the Peruvian press following his passing. At least in the pages of *El Comercio*, Thiers's death overshadowed the memory of other famous figures who died in 1877. Just a few months after his funeral, *El Comercio* compelled its readers to reflect on the important world figures who had recently passed away. Among the list were thirty-nine unnamed English barons, Juan Manuel Rosas (former president of Argentina), Brigham Young (the second president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints), Princess Marie of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, Pomare IV (Queen of the Kingdom of Tahiti), Urbain Le Verrier (a famous French astronomer), and General Nicolas Changarnier (another survivor of the Franco-Prussian War). Yet, for *El Comercio*, "there was only one name that is universally famous among the extensive list of people who have died in the past year: Adolphe Thiers.[85]"

However, the memory of Thiers, a representative of order and republicanism, did not hinder the spread of working-class ideology in Lima. Workers' organizations may have even prompted discussions about a revolution "in the name of justice and civilization," as *El Nacional* had once defined the Paris Commune. On March 20, 1875, *El Obrero* (The Working Man) made its first publication. With the support of some intellectuals, such as Andres A. Aramburu, founder of *La Opinion Nacional*, one of Lima's influential dailies

[84] *El Comercio*, Lima, November 18, 1878; *El Comercio*, Lima, November 30, 1878.

[85] *El Comercio*, Lima, May 6, 1878.

alongside *El Comercio*, *El Obrero* began publishing weekly.[86] Aside from its name, other information in *El Obrero* suggests that it aimed at organizing workers and creating a working-class consciousness in Lima. For one, their use of terms mirrors those found among labor militants and the Left throughout Latin America in the twentieth century. Long before the *Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana* (APRA), the longest-existing political party in Peru, popularized working-class vocabulary, *El Obrero* was already addressing its readers as *compañeros* and *clase obrera,* often in contexts that called for unity and solidarity. Second, *El Obrero* missed no opportunity to remind its readers about the importance of workers in their movement. "The *obrero* was the pillar," it argued, of an industrialized society based on "human rights and democracy.[87]" Without *obreros,* the newspaper trumpeted, "the building would collapse.[88]"

Yet, *El Obrero*'s vision of a working-class movement in Peru differed from the proletariat of the Commune in two fundamental aspects. First, for *El Obrero*, Catholicism was a crucial element in their working-class ideology. More specifically, it could not be divorced from the well-being of a working-class family, the nucleus of their vision of modernity. "Only under God's guidance," *El Obrero* stressed, "the country could raise model fathers and sons that honor their parents.[89]" At the same time, *El Obrero* asserted that the expropriation of private property did not form part of their dogma. Their working-class

[86] *El Obrero*, Lima, March 20, 1875; *El Obrero*, Lima, March 27, 1875.

[87] Andres A. Aramburu helped these workers establish the newspaper. Aramburu was a distinguished journalist in his own right. He was a prisoner of war in Chile during 1882-1883. Aramburu had founded *La Opinion Nacional* in 1873; Carlos Malla Batres, *Diccionario Histórico y Biográfico Del Perú, Siglos XV-XX /,* 1a ed. (Lima, Perú :, 1986), 217-220.

[88] *El Obrero*, Lima, March 20, 1875.

[89] Ibid.

movement, a world where the worker would be at the center of industrialization, was not interested in taking away property from ruling classes and uttering "'death to the rich' like the Commune.[90]"

The role of private property in what would be an industrialized society, albeit one increasingly under pressure by communists and other radicals, also concerned influential intellectuals such as Francisco Garcia Calderon. An attorney, and eventual president of Peru during the Chilean invasion in 1881, Calderon gained notoriety among learned circles with the publication of the first edition of his *Diccionario de la Legislación Peruana* (1860), a work that would become a staple for jurists in the long nineteenth century. For historian Carlos Nunes, the *Diccionario*, which was considerably augmented in 1879 in its second edition published in Paris, was more than a legal reference guide. Garcia Calderon's magnum opus also inquisitively delved into positivist and nationalist jurisprudence, secularization, public administration, and the alienation of property. [91] On the last point, Garcia Calderon defended the right to private property and vehemently opposed communism. "This system cannot be adopted among nations or individuals...without disrupting social order," he argued.[92]

Yet, unlike *El Obrero,* Garcia Calderon distanced himself from communism less on religious grounds than on its theoretical underpinnings. In his view, communism was rooted in the idea of *utilidad publica*, or the public good, a concept he defined as "the common

[90] *El Obrero*, Lima, March 27, 1875.

[91] Carlos Ramos Nuñez, "El Diccionario de la legislación peruana de Francisco García Calderón o la obra de un jurista burgués" in Carmen Mc Evoy, *La experiencia burguesa en el Perú, 1840-1940* (Vervuert, 2004), 107.

[92] Francisco García Calderón, *Diccionario de la legislación peruana* (En los Departmentósitos del autor, 1879), 1820.

interests of a mass of individuals in a given locality, a province, etc." In Europe, he remarked, "Some philosophers have argued that *utilidad publica* is the foundation of law and morality." Yet, while Garcia Calderon did not deny that the common good should sometimes triumph over individual rights, he feared its systematic practice would soon lead to abuse. "The forced expropriation of private property in the name of the common good," he posited, "would corrupt morality and infringe the laws of a country." He warned that applying this theory would lead to the "loss of public morality and the establishment of communism.[93]"

From Proudhon to Marx?: Ideas about Communism during and after the War of the Pacific in Lima, 1879 - 1895

The War of the Pacific (1879 - 1883) was a significant turning point in Peruvian history.[94] Aside from losing the nitrate-rich region of Tarapaca to Chile, the country plunged into a severe economic recession and political chaos. The subsequent civil war (1884-1885) between the *Partido Civil*, led by President Miguel Iglesias, and the *Partido Constitucional*, spearheaded by Andrés Avelino Caceres, created an atmosphere of violence and public anxiety. Despite their political differences, however, both parties envisioned a national reconstruction based on the capitalist mode of production. Their feud over the seat of power, and the eventual victory of the *Partido Constitucion*al, which ruled from 1886 to 1895, coincided with increased fears of communist activity abroad and in Peru. In Lima, authorities did not hesitate to arrest suspected socialists. In addition, local authorities in regions such as Ayacucho, Pisco, and Piura sometimes complained about rural insurgents that displayed

[93] Ibid.

[94] Peter Flindell Klaren, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 183-202.

"communist tendencies.[95]" Although it is a stretch to imagine that these mobilizations were indeed organized socialist movements or "communes" in the Andes, debates in the public sphere suggest that understandings about communism extended beyond violence, disorder, and threat to private property. In Peru, the idea of the "dictatorship" also concerned ruling classes, many of whom still relied on the figure of Adolphe Thiers to make sense of a world that seemed to be heading inevitably towards a proletarian revolution. Moreover, the transition from Proudhon to Marx, at least to regards to how ideas about socialism evolved in Latin America, appears to not have been as smooth since the German political economist had to compete with Russian socialists for a space of representation within the public sphere in Peru.

For readers in Lima in the postwar period, stories about revolutionary activity in Europe may have compelled them to reflect on what a person had to sacrifice to change the status quo. The tale of Jessy Helfman, a Russian revolutionary, was one example of this trend. *El Bien Publico* described Hefman as a Jewish woman from a conservative family. However, the Narodniks' uprising, a failed socialist movement in 1874, radicalized her political inclinations. After this revolutionary experience, the newspaper opined, "she surrendered her body and soul to the principles of socialism.[96]" Helfman remained committed to revolutionary activity—including a plot against the Czar's life--until her

[95] Maticorena Estrada , 139 – 141. Other interpretations on the "Comuna de Chalaco" in Piura have argued that land disputes animated the movement. Socialism had little to do with the uprising. See Nils Jacobsen/Alejandro Diez Hurtado, "Montoneras, la comuna de Chalaco y la revolución de Piérola: la sierra piurana entre el clientelismo y la sociedad civil": Antonio Escobar Ohmstede/Romana Falcón (eds.), *Los ejes de la disputa: Movimientos sociales y actores colectivos en América Latina, siglo XIX* (Frankfurt am Main/Madrid 2002), 57–131.

[96] *El Bien Público*, Lima, March 10, 1885.

capture and subsequent execution in 1882.[97] For *El Bien Publico*, Helfman was among the "unknown heroines, obscure toilers, those who offer up everything for a cause, without asking anything for themselves.[98]"

Interestingly, the eulogy published in *El Bien Publico* was a translation of *Underground Russia* (1882), a work by the Russian socialist Sergey Stepnyak. A well-known figure among intellectual groups in England and the United States, Stepnyak's revolutionary activity forced him to settle for a life in exile in London. Aside from providing narratives on the martyrs of Russian socialism, *Underground Russia* also features Stepniak's views on the state, the radical Left, and peasants in a socialist society. On the latter, he argued that the Russian peasantry and their *obshchina*, communal land-holding communities, were "ready to accept the principles of Federative Socialism in Russia.[99]" Although it is unclear if Stepniak's ideas, particularly those professed in *Underground Russia*, were widely disseminated in Lima, readers eventually learned about his passing in 1895. The death of the "Russian nihilist," as *El Comercio* remembered him, merited a few sentences in the pages of one of the most influential dailies in the country. Stepniak had a funeral in Woking, roughly 23 miles Southwest of London. The ceremony, *El Comercio* informed, was presided over by "John Burns, the known agitator of the working class, and other speakers.[100]"

More recognized "agitators of the working class" were also featured in Lima's newspapers in the aftermath of the War of the Pacific. *El Nacional*, for instance, published an

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[97] AVRAHAM GREENBAUM, "THE UNDERGROUND JEWISH PRESS IN EASTERN EUROPE UNTIL 1917," *Kesher / קשר*, no. 9 (1991): 14e–19e; 15.

[98] *El Bien Publico*, Lima, March 10, 1885. Sergey Stepniak, *Underground Russia: Revolutionary Profiles and Sketches from Life* (Smith, Elder, 1883), 111.

[99] Sergey Stepniak, 26.

[100] *El Comercio*, Lima, December 30, 1895.

ongoing narrative on the history of socialism in Europe that highlighted the political careers of one of the prophets of communism: Karl Marx. In an article named “The Socialists Parties, 1870-1883,” published over several weeks in 1884, *El Nacional* provided an insight into the politics of Karl Marx. More specifically, the daily centered its narrative on the ideological conflicts within the First International, the advocate of the working class.[101] By the end of the 1860s, French, German, and Russian socialists competed to establish superiority within the organization. Regarding the former, the newspaper does not mention who precisely these *"Proudhonianos*" were. However, *El Nacional* does provide a short account of the ideological influences of these French socialists. The ideas of Charles Fourier, Etienne Cabet, and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon had become a staple of French socialism, the *El Nacional* stressed. On the other hand, Germans had a clear ideological leader and dogma. "The German socialists, organized under Marx, are communists," the newspaper argued. Moreover, Marx, whom *El Nacional* described as "very crafty" in the internal politics of the First International, had long distanced himself from Proudhon. For one, Marx's provocative *The Poverty of Philosophy* (1847) was a response to Proudhon’s *The Philosophy of Poverty* (1846).[102]

Aside from the Marx-Proudhon conflict, other fundamental aspects of Marx's communism put German socialists at odds with the French and the rest of the members of the First International.[103] For the newspaper, the dogma of Marx and his followers favored

[101] *El Nacional*, Lima, September 1, 1884; *El Nacional*, Lima, September 3, 1884; *El Nacional*, September 4, 1884; *El Nacional*, Lima, September 16, 1884; *El Nacional*, Lima, September 18, 1884.

[102] Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy* (C. H. Kerr, 1920).

[103] Robert Hoffman, “Marx and Proudhon: A Reappraisal of Their Relationship,” *The Historian* 29, no. 3 (1967): 409–30.

"dictatorship" and "centralization." One person in the International vehemently opposed these ideas: Mikhail Bakunin. Considered one of the most influential figures of anarchism, Bakunin, much like his compatriots Helfman and Stepniak, also led convulsive political life. His initial meeting with Proudhon and Marx in Paris occurred just before the Revolutions of 1848 outbreak. The event radicalized Bakunin's political convictions, *El Nacional* argued. He conferred with Proudhon years later in Brusssels, where Frenchman lived between 1858 and 1862 following his exile from France.[104] Bakunin joined the First International in 1867 and eventually came to odds with Marx on the question of authoritarianism.[105] As *El Nacional* remarked, Bakunin would eventually "launch a campaign against Marx and the general council, against dictatorship and centralization.[106]" For the newspaper, their conflict was inevitable. "It was possible that Bakunin would not have fought against state power so fiercely had he not run into Marx," *El Nacional* stressed. The well-known schism within the First International had "debilitated" the organization, leading to its collapse in 1876. By 1884, it seemed that the deaths of Bakunin and Marx also cast doubts on the possibility of establishing a universal organization that advocated for the rights of the working class. For *El Nacional*, it was yet to be seen whether the *de facto* leader of radical politics in Europe, Peter Kropotkin—another Russian anarchist and eventual enemy of the Bolsheviks—put together the remnants left by Bakunin and Marx.[107]

[104] *El Nacional*, Lima, September 18, 1884.

[105] *El Nacional*, Lima, September 11, 1884; *El Nacional*, Lima, September 18, 1884.

[106] *El Nacional*, Lima, September 18, 1884.

[107] David Shub, "Kropotkin and Lenin," *The Russian Review* 12, no. 4 (1953): 227–34, https://doi.org/10.2307/125955; 227; *El Nacional*, Lima, September 11, 1884; *El Nacional*, Lima, September 18, 1884.

Despite the International Workingmen's Association's disintegration, working-class agitation worldwide did not cease. At least in the United States, where several branches of the organization had previously been established in New York, reports about strikes and violence made headlines in the Peruvian press.[108]"A telegraph from Chicago, dated May 5, 1886, published in *El Comercio*, first provided readers in Lima with an account of what historians would later describe as "a pivotal event in the history of both anarchist and labor movements:" the Haymarket affair. Initially a peaceful protest on May 4 near the Haymarket Square, where about 1,000 anarchists and socialists were having a "*meeting*," the demonstration soon turned violent. According to El Comercio, the situation got out of control after "someone from the crowd yelled 'kill the damn policemen.[109]"' At that moment, a bomb was thrown by an unknown assailant, murdering six policemen and injuring others.[110] The police "valiantly responded" by opening fire.[111] The chaos between rebels and the forces of order led to "forty-five policemen and twelve civilians being seriously wounded.[112]"

Events at Haymarket Square generated further criticism in the public sphere. "The public is outraged about what happened last night," *El Comercio* commented the following day.[113] Political figures in Chicago, such as the "honorable" Elihu Washborne, former

[108] Timothy Messer-Kruse, *The Yankee International: Marxism and the American Reform Tradition, 1848-1876* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 1998), 6 - 46.

[109] *El Comercio*, Lima, May 5, 1886.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Ibid.

[112] Ibid.

[113] *El Comercio*, Lima, May 6, 1886.

Minister to France from 1869 to 1877, were among the first to condemn the events.[114] Washborne was "a man who had witnessed the violence that took place in France during the Commune.[115]" In his memoirs, the statesmen had less than flattering words about the Paris Commune, equating it with anarchy, terrorism, and the expropriation of private property.[116] Yet, despite his experience with socialism in Paris, *El Comercio* reminded its readers, Washborne had never seen such a "terrible crime as the one in Chicago.[117]"

Further labor mobilization around the Great Lakes area prompted further repression from private militias and state authorities. At the factories of Deering and Harvester, based in Chicago, 1,700 workers had stopped working "without any previous warning." The Pullman Car Company did not fare better. At least 3000 employees had ceased operations on the same day. *El Comercio* did not mention any confrontation, but the private militia and the police, "well-armed with *Springfield* rifles," were prepared to face the insurgents.[118] In Milwaukee, violence escalated quickly. At least "1,500 men armed with clubs and other metal objects" had marched to Bay View uttering "Death to the militia!" and "Let's burn down the factories![119]" Although the police initially attempted to "peacefully" disperse the demonstration, Mayor Emil Wallber ordered "his four companies to open fire" on the agitators, leaving "many dead and wounded.[120]" Bloodshed, however, did not appear to

[114] Ibid.

[115] Ibid.

[116] Elihu Washborne, *Recollections of a Minister to France*, vol. 2 (New York: J.J. Little & Co, 1887), 61-92.

[117] *El Comercio*, Lima, May 6, 1886.

[118] *El Comercio*, Lima, May 6, 1886.

[119] Ibid.

[120] Ibid.

discourage worker mobilizations. On the contrary, the local press in Chicago expected "many more strikes" in the factories in the coming days, inviting readers in Lima to imagine more violence between the proletariat and state authorities in the United States.[121]

Aside from informing readers in Lima about the measures capitalist countries employed to suppress working-class mobilizations, debates in the public sphere also called attention to well-known political figures who, in the past, had served as a force of order amidst proletariat insurgency: Adolphe Thiers. The Frenchman remained a topic of discussion in the public sphere in the period following the War of the Pacific. Reports about ongoing labor mobilization in France compelled authors to lament the politics of the Third Republic since "it was yet to have a savior like Thiers.[122]" For Peruvians, he was still remembered as "the great Thiers, president of the French Republic, who suffocated and subdued the Commune.[123]" His decisions and actions were pivotal for restoring peace in Europe following the Franco-Prussian War.[124] Yet, for other writers of *El Comercio*, Thiers was more than just a politician. He was also an esteemed intellectual. Thiers was "among the world of writers and wisemen" of the nineteenth century, such as "Cousin, Guizet, Lamartine" but also "Civoy, Rousse, Dufaure, Arago, etc.[125]" His economic theories, particularly those advanced in *The Rights of Property: A Refutation of Communism and*

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[121] Ibid.

[122] *El Comercio*, Lima, June 6, 1888.

[123] *El Comercio*, Lima, July 15, 1885.

[124] *El Comercio*, Lima, October 3, 1885; *El Comercio*, Lima, October 24, 1885; *El Comercio*, Lima, September 2, 1886; *El Comercio*, Lima, August 5, 1887; *El Comercio*, Lima, November 21, 1887; *El Comercio*, September 11, 1894; *El Comercio*, Lima, October 18, 1895; *El Comercio*, Lima, December 7, 1895.

[125] *El Comercio*, Lima, July 15, 1885.

Socialism (1848), could still be consulted in local bookstores around Lima.[126] It was also not uncommon for excerpts of his other works like the "celebrated *Historia del consulado y el imperio Frances*" to be replicated at length in the pages of *El Comercio.* His *Histoire de la Révolution française*, alongside other works such as Karl Marx's *El Capital* (1886) and Frederich Engels's *El Socialismo: Utopico y Cientifico* (1880), was still available at local bookstores by 1894.[127]

Thiers's influence in Peruvian politics, where he was often depicted as the paragon of order and republicanism, went beyond celebrating his political career and academic accomplishments. At times, much like in 1853 when an unknown author in *El Comercio* compared the actions of mogul Pedro González de Candamo y Astorga to the socialist Joseph Proudhon, intellectuals in Lima attempted to interpret the conflict between capitalism and communism through Peruvian political figures. As the civil war of 1884-85 concluded, supporters on both sides of the conflict, *Civilistas* and *Constitucionalistas*, invoked the figure of Thiers to justify the actions of their respective leaders on the pages of *El Comercio*. On December 3, after losing control of Lima and negotiating a truce, Miguel Iglesias, leader of the *Partido Civil*, left Peru and went to Europe, leaving the country in the hands of Andres Avelino Caceres and his *Partido Constitucional*. For a sympathizer of Iglesias, however, "Mr. Avelino had lost his head," a man driven by "madness and ineptitude," a politician unfit to restore democracy in Peru. "Is he the one who deserves to be remembered alongside

[126] *El Comercio*, Lima, September 18, 1900.

[127] *El Comercio*, Lima, October 3, 1885; *El Comercio*, Lima, December 31, 1900.

Thiers?" The author, who appeared to be a journalist of *La Opinion Nacional*, a pro-Iglesias newspaper censored shortly after his exile, asked his readers on December 23.[128]

Naturally, supporters of Caceres thought otherwise. Not only did they criticize Iglesias, but they were less than pleased about the comparisons to Adolphe Thiers. A few days later, an author of *El Comercio* responded by criticizing Iglesias's willingness to prolong a conflict instead of seeking national reconciliation. The actions of "Thiers of *La Opinion*," as the author described Iglesias, had led to "authoritarianism, destruction, and death.[129]" Public opinion of Iglesias, and to an extent the comparisons to Adolphe Thiers, appears not to have changed two years later. Given his deference to Chileans, many people still depicted Iglesias as a traitor to the country. Moreover, public opinion still regarded him as a tyrant. Yet, rumors about his eventual return to Peru, perhaps preparing a bid for the 1890 presidential election, compelled Caceres's supporters once more to denounce Iglesias and his "stooges," who had the "senseless cynicism to compare him to Thiers, the savior of France."[130]

"Refutación del Comunismo Moderno:" Anti-Communism in Ancash after the War of the Pacific, 1883 - 1895

In Ancash, debates about communism also took place in the public sphere. Although the region was far from being the center of industry, it appears that some intellectuals, namely Fray Fidel Olivas Escudero, an influential clergyman who also played a significant

[128] *El Comercio*, Lima, December 23, 1885.

[129] *El Comercio*, Lima, January 5, 1886.

[130] *El Comercio*, Lima, February 6, 1888.

role in the outcome of the Atusparia Rebellion of 1885, firmly believed that citizens in Ancash should be informed about the dangers of communism, particularly its threat to private property and the establishment of a dictatorship. His position on radical ideas hardly deviated from the teachings of the Catholic Church. More precisely, his rhetoric suggests that, as some historians have argued, the Church had taken a more critical stance towards ideologies threatening the status quo by the end of the century.[131]

The role of the clergy in local politics cannot be understated. Much like other failed and successful political movements in Latin America, such as the Tupac Amaru II rebellion, the Mexican War of Independence, and more recently, the so-called armed conflict in Peru (1980 - 1997), the Atusparia Rebellion was also shaped by the actions of the clergy.[132]Often depicted as a mediator between rebels and ruling classes and a collaborator with the forces of order, Fray Olivas Escudero was not a minor figure in Ancash. The streets, districts, and schools named after him can hardly capture his regional influence.[133] During the War of the

[131] Fernando Armas Asín, *Patrimonio divino y capitalismo criollo: el proceso desamortizador de censos eclesiásticos en el Perú* (Lima: Instituto Riva-Agüero, 2010); 183; 220.

[132] For the Tupac Amaru II rebellion, see Charles F. Walker, *The Tupac Amaru Rebellion*, (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2014); For Mexico, see D. A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots and the Liberal State 1492-1866* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); David A. Brading, *Church, and State in Bourbon Mexico* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). For literature on the Shining Path and its war on the Peruvian state, see Steve J. Stern, *Shining and Other Paths: War and Society in Peru, 1980-1995* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998); Kimberly Susan Theidon, *Entre prójimos: el conflicto armado interno y la política de la reconciliación en el Perú* (Lima: IEP Ediciones, 2004); Christine Lee, "The Ironic Legacy of an Opus Dei Bishop: Native Priests and Andean Catholicism in Postconflict Apurímac, Peru," *Latin American Perspectives* 46, no. 5 (September 1, 2019): 59–72, https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X19854080. For other examples where the clergy played a crucial role in revolutionary movements in Peru, see Manuel Jesús Aparicio Vega, *El clero patriota en la Revolución de 1814* (Multi-Impresos, 1974); Miguel Molina Martínez, "Presencia del clero en la Revolución Cuzqueña de 1814: ideas y actitudes de Francisco Carrascón," *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 36 (2010): 209–31, https://doi.org/10.5209/rev_RCHA.2010.v36.10.

[133] There is a district named in his honor. Here is the official website from the Peruvian government. https://www.distrito.pe/distrito-fidel-olivas-escudero.html. In addition, a school in Pomabamba, Ancash, is named after him.

Pacific, Frey Olivas Escudero was active in local politics. He regularly conferred with the provisional president Nicolás de Piérola in 1881.[134] He assumed several public positions, including the vice-presidency of the *Junta Directiva Central* of Ancash. At one point, he also formed part of a group of intellectuals that believed that federalism would be the best form of government in the country. These men even proposed renaming the country *"Estados Unidos del Peru*," an apparent reference to the United States political system. Fray Olivas Escudero also featured in more quotidian local affairs around Ancash. He regularly contributed to charity.[135] His role as a priest was also highly regarded among parishioners. The sudden illness of his father prompted him to leave Huaraz temporarily, leaving citizens in Ancash without religious guidance, as *La Juventud de Ancash* reported in 1893.[136]

Olivas Escudero himself was not unfamiliar with publishing. Local newspapers regularly advertised his ecclesiastical work.[137] He founded and ran *El Obrero de Ancash* between 1881 and 1882, a weekly newspaper that often criticized the government of Iglesias and the Chilean forces still occupying the country.[138] He returned to journalism ten years later when he founded and served as the director of *La Justicia de Ancash* (1892-1900). Frey Olivas Escudero expressed his religious convictions through this media, encouraging his readers to do the same. He mainly wrote articles on piety, saints, and the Catholic family but

[134] Fidel Olivas Escudeo letter to Nicolás de Piérola, May 11, 1881, Repositorio Nicolás de Piérola, Biblioteca Nacional del Perú.

[135] *La Justicia de Ancash*, Huaraz, February 18, 1895.

[136] *La Autonomía de Ancash*, Huaraz, January 17, 1890; *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, November 15, 1893.

[137] *La Juventud*, Huaraz, November 15, 1893; *La Just*icia, March 13, 1895.

[138] *El Obrero de Ancash*, Huaraz, April 16, 1881; *El Obrero de Ancash*, Huaraz, July 7, 1881.

also delivered his most acerbic remarks against radical ideas.[139] In his view, only faith in Catholicism would restore order and civility, saving it from the "satanic forces" that threatened the country following the War of the Pacific.[140] "A universal catholic movement must meet the universal revolutionary movement," he remarked on Bastille Day 1894, reflecting on international politics and working-class movements in Europe. Olivas Escudero was particularly critical of the confiscation of Church property during the nineteenth century at the hands of liberals, nationalists, and other radical groups. More specifically, the loss of ecclesiastical patrimony in Rome during the unification of Italy, which had debilitated the figure of Pope Pius IX, worried Olivas Escudero.[141]

The Italian pontiff himself was not fond of liberalism either, especially its most radical manifestations. In the *Syllabus of Errors* (1864), arguably his most well-known and influential work, Pope Pius IX reflected on some of the "perils" that Catholics faced in the aftermath of the French Revolution and increasing liberal democratic reforms in Europe. He was less than optimistic about freedom of religion, press, and speech. "It is false that a civil liberty of every form of worship, and the full power, given to all, of overtly and publicly manifesting any opinions whatsoever and thoughts, conduce more easily to corrupt the morals and minds of the people, and to propagate the pest of indifferentism," he sarcastically remarked.[142] Pius was also critical of the expropriation of Church property at the hands of

[139] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, March 13; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, March 31; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, July 14, 1894; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, October 8, 1894.

[140] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, July 14, 1894.

[141] Ibid.

[142] Pius IX, *Quanta Cura & The Syllabus of Errors Condemning Current Errors*, (Vatican: The Great Papal Encyclicals, 1864), 23.

liberals; he condemned the liberal reforms of the Colombian government in 1863. However, he reserved his harshest words for the "pests," as he called communism and socialism, threatening Europe, particularly in Italy. In his first encyclical as a Pope, *Qui Pluribus*, published two years before the 1848 European Revolutions, he defined communism "as a doctrine most opposed to the very natural law," that if established, would lead to the "destruction of everyone's laws, government, property, and even human society itself.[143]" Pius IX argued that these teachings were "misapplying the terms liberty and equality," deceiving workers and guiding them towards "plundering, stealing, and usurping first the Church's and then everyone's property.[144]"

La Justicia's remarks about liberalism also fell along similar lines. Although some intellectuals in Lima had previously pointed out the pitfalls of liberalism, the newspaper took their criticism further.[145] *La Justicia* was particularly critical of the "philosophers of equality and fraternity" and "anyone who thinks they are above God." After all, liberalism had led to the excesses of the French Revolution, such as the expropriation of church patrimony and extreme violence. Moreover, the newspaper reminded its audience that revolutionaries had used the guillotine to "destroy humanity by the hundreds," particularly during the Great Terror.[146] "Is there anyone foolish enough to follow in the footsteps of these snakes or vipers of humanity?" Frey Olivas Escudero remarked in his editorial. He did not seem to think so. At least in Ancash, "the fathers of liberalism," as he described Enlightenment thinkers,

[143] Pius IX, *Qui Pluribus*, 1846, https://www.papalencyclicals.net/pius09/p9quiplu.htm.

[144] Ibid.

[145] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, March 13, 1893.

[146] Ibid.

appeared to have not gained much political traction. In adjacent regions such as La Libertad and Lima, however, the influence of newspapers such as *La Razon* and *Callao*, respectively, did concern the clergyman. In his view, these "liberal" newspapers "belonged in the wretched pit of impiety.[147]"

While Fidel Olivas Escudero reminded its readers about the excesses of liberalism, the clergyman, much like Pope Pius IX, reserved its most acerbic remarks for communism. For Frey Fidel Olivas Escudero, the expropriation of private property was the greatest threat of communism, a system he cataloged as "wicked" and "absurd." Moreover, Frey Olivas Escudero inextricably tied these radical movements to authoritarianism and "the destruction of order and progress.[148]" "Today, private property is under attack by communism and socialism," *La Justicia remarked*. Proudhon's famous epithet on private property did not please Olivas Escudero either. In his opinion, "those who along Proudhon uttered 'property is Theft!' belonged to the scourge of humanity.[149]" For him, the impracticality of communism lay on the basis that "private property was the only incentive for labor and industrialization.[150]" Contrary to what "philosophers" professed, communism would not lead to equality. Since the government would provide and distribute goods and services regardless of a person's labor, workers would not be incentivized to work harder, "undermining the dignity and nobleness of man.[151]" Moreover, it would be impossible to establish communism

[147] Ibid.

[148] La Justicia, Huaraz, October 8, 1894.

[149] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, July 12, 1894.

[150] Ibid.

[151] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, October 8, 1894.

without resorting to authoritarianism. To compel citizens to use their labor to benefit the community, he stressed, "the government would have to supervise and impose the system through force constantly.[152]"

Other reports about communist activity worldwide in *La Justicia* reminded readers that perhaps Frey Olivas Escudero was not mistaken in his diatribe. In Paris, "the hapless Italian anarchist Cesar Giovanni Santo" murdered French president Sadi Carnot, "one of the brightest minds of the century," in 1894.[153] Political violence remained a prominent descriptive feature of suspected communists. In the eyes of the author, however, all radical political movements, which were "rapidly spreading across Europe," such as anarchists, communists, socialists, and even nihilists, should not be distinguished from one another.[154] On the contrary, people in Ancash should consider all these groups a threat since they "pretended to establish a universal system of equality and fraternity with the knife in one hand and a stick of dynamite in the other.[155]" The "nonsense" trumpeted by the "false philosophers and know-it-alls of the century," the penman suggested, "were pushing civilization into an abyss.[156]" The remedy for the communist threat once again did not deviate from the recommendations of Pope Pius IX and Frey Olivas Escudero. "The only way to heal these foul-smelling wounds of the heart," the author remarked, "was religion.[157]"

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[152] Ibid.

[153] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, July 14, 1894.

[154] Ibid.

[155] Ibid.

[156] Ibid.

[157] Ibid.

News in *La Justicia* about political violence involving alleged communists loomed closer to home. Some countries in Latin America also experienced their share of working-class agitation. In the section "*El Anarchismo en America*," *La Justicia* exposed the political violence that had taken place in the Southern Cone. In Argentina, a country with a far more robust working-class mobilization, news about worker radicalism pointed towards a "great anarchy conspiracy" in Buenos Aires.[158] As *La Justicia* remarked in the same paragraph, the movement failed. Yet, the event left a lasting impression on the author, who compared it to European worker mobilizations. For the author, the march had been "like the ones that had taken place in the European capitals.[159]" In Chile, government authorities managed to stop radicals before they carried out their plans. Nevertheless, according to some journalists in *La Prensa de Chile*, a major daily in Santiago de Chile, extremists planned to blow up the symbols of order and modernization in Buenos Aires. Among the targets the conspirators chose were the *Casa Rosada* (the Presidential Palace), the *Palacio del Congreso Nacional Argentino* (the Congressional Palace), the opera house, and the *bolsa comercial* (the Buenos Aires Stock Exchange).[160] The conspirators, which included three Frenchmen, two Austrians, and one Italian, also had President Julio Roca in their sights. However, the men never carried out their plans. Instead, authorities arrested the suspects before carrying out their "criminal plan," *La Justicia* concluded.[161]

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[158] Maxine Molyneux, "No God, No Boss, No Husband: Anarchist Feminism in Nineteenth-Century Argentina," *Latin American Perspectives* 13, no. 1 (1986): 119–45, 140; David Rock, *Politics in Argentina, 1890–1930: The Rise and Fall of Radicalism*, 2009.

[159] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, July 14, 1894.

[160] Ibid.

[161] Ibid.

Conclusion

On May 30, 2021, Jose Pedro Castillo, candidate for the presidency of Peru for the party *Peru Libre*, ratified his commitment to respecting "*propiedad privada*" in front of the international community.[162] The teacher from Cajamarca almost seemed coerced into making this declaration, given the atmosphere of anti-communism that influenced news media in Peru. His humble background and political platform generated comparisons to Cuba and Venezuela. His alleged links to the *Movimiento por la Amnistía y los Derechos Fundamentales* (*MOVADEF),* a remnant of the Shining Path, had caused much anxiety in the public sphere.[163] Yet, interpretations of communism that highlight violence, the abolition of private property, and authoritarianism date back to the nineteenth century, even before the Atusparia Rebellion of 1885. French, German and Russian socialist influences had reshaped the political culture by the end of the century. Moreover, although authoritarianism in Peru was not new, the notion that at some point in their history, Peruvians were part of a civilization notoriously known for its redistribution of goods, mobilization of labor, and centralized rule, may have unsettled some intellectuals, Darwinians, or Lamarckians, who aimed at building a national identity project based on a capitalist mode of production. In the next chapter, an analysis of racial thinking in Lima and Ancash will reveal the complexity of European scientific ideas and how locals adapt them to their realities.

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[162] BBC, June 17, 2021; https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-57511699La. El Peruano, May 31, 2021, https://elperuano.pe/noticia/121820-pedro-castillo-ratifica-respeto-a-la-propiedad-privada-y-a-los-ahorrosssa ;La Republica,Lima, June 1, 2021, https://larepublica.pe/elecciones/2021/06/01/pedro-castillo-ratifica-respeto-al-ahorro-y-a-la-propiedad-privada-pltc/.

[163] *Peru21*, April 25, 2021, https://peru21.pe/politica/los-cinco-dirigentes-del-movadef-que-acompanaron-a-pedro-castillo-peru-libre-segunda-vuelta-conare-plan-de-gobierno-de-peru-libre-sendero-luminoso-noticia/

Chapter 3: "No! The Indians Are Docile:" Race and Modernity in Peru, 1883-1900."

Introduction

On April 10, 1885, citizens in Lima woke up to alarming reports about an indigenous movement in Ancash. The rebels had gained control of most of the department and sought to expand their sphere of influence into the capital city. "The arrogance of these Indian caudillos is such that one of them, Pedro Pablo Atusparia, already dreams of bringing their numerous but disarmed *huestes* to Lima," warned *El Comercio*, one of Peru's leading dailies. [1] For the newspaper, the intervention of the military was needed to subdue the "thousands of wretched" who threatened the government of President Miguel Iglesias, an administration already waging a civil war in other regions of Peru against the *Partido Constitucional* (Constitutional Party) led by Andrés Avelino Cáceres.[2] Calls to send the military from Lima and use violence against the insurgents in Ancash were also advocated on the pages of *El País*, another prominent news media in the country. This time, however, the insurgents were not described as *huestes* but as a movement "having communist tendencies" that had no regard for commerce–like a recently sacked Austrian mine–or private property.[3] Nearly a month later, news about the indigenous rebellion in Ancash was perhaps more optimistic for

[1] *Huestes* was a Spanish term from the Middle Ages used to describe *ad hoc* irregular armies. See J. M. Martínez Pérez et al., "Los Caballos y Las Órdenes de Caballería: Una Visión a Través de Las Siete Partidas de Alfonso X, 'El Sabio', y de Otros Documentos," *Sanidad Militar* 70, no. 4 (December 2014): 309–17; Daniel Alberto Panateri, "Las Siete Partidas: entropía, control y variación: Un itinerario histórico-político de su existencia," July 2016. *El Comercio*, Lima, April 10, 1885.

[2] Ibid.

[3] *El País*, Lima, April 11, 1885.

the ruling classes in Lima. The military had established a favorable position in Ancash and was expected to launch an offensive into Huaraz to suppress the movement. *El País* described the leader as "The Indian Atusparia, delegate of the Prefecture, whom the Indians call Inca King.[4]"

To contextualize these reports, particularly those regarding a movement with Inca and communist tendencies, this chapter looks at the construction of concepts such as "Indian" and "Inca" in the representations of print culture in Lima and Ancash by the end of the century. In addition, scholars of the history of science have long shown that intellectuals in Latin America did not merely replicate scientific ideas coming from Europe, such as biological determinism.[5] Instead, they adapted these dogmas to their realities and sought explanations about racial differences that relied more on social, cultural, and environmental imperatives.[6] The first two sections will explore racial thinking about indigenous people and their relation to modernity in the aftermath of the War of the Pacific. For some intellectuals, indigenous people were violent vagrants and drunkards, far from what would constitute a stable and healthy labor force. Other observers argued otherwise. They viewed indigenous people as capable of becoming the labor force the country needed to modernize. For these men, state intervention was vital in the consolidation of this model of economic development. Unlike some reformers of the 1920s, who argued that indigenous people had to abandon their culture to become workers, some authors in the 1890s did not readily accept that being "indigenous"

[4] *El País*, Lima, May 5, 1885.

[5] Nancy Leys Stepan, *"The Hour of Eugenics": Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992).

[6] Carlos Aguirre, *The Criminals of Lima and Their Worlds: The Prison Experience, 1850–1935* (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005).

was incompatible with becoming a worker or a middle class.[7] The last two sections will analyze how debates about the Inca Empire in the public sphere shaped racial formation when national and global politics became increasingly polarized.[8] As the work of Alberto Flores Galindo has long shown, cultural representations about the Inca, which at times advocated the restoration of Inca rule–a term he called the *utopía andina* (Andean utopia) – dated back to the Spanish conquest.[9] By the mid-nineteenth century, the ruling classes had incorporated Inca symbols into national narratives.[10] However, further inquiry into monographs and newspapers from Lima and Ancash complicates interpretations about the ruling classes' readily acceptance of the Inca civilization into national histories. It shows that ideas about "Inca socialism" reshaped notions about modernity earlier than previously assumed.

[7] For works on the 1920s *indigenismo* see Manuel Burga and Alberto Flores Galindo, *Apogeo y crisis de la república aristocrática: oligarquía, aprismo y comunismo en el Perú, 1895-1932* (Lima, Perú: Ediciones Rikchay Perú, 1980); Marisol de la Cadena, *Indígenas mestizos: raza y cultura en el Cusco*, 1a. ed., Urbanización, migraciones y cambios en la sociedad peruana 19 (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2004); and Paulo Drinot, *The Allure of Labor: Workers, Race, and the Making of the Peruvian State* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2011).

[8] Chapter 2 of this dissertation discusses the impact of socialism and communism in Peru by the end of the nineteenth century.

[9] Alberto. Flores Galindo, *Buscando un inca: identidad y utopía en los Andes : ensayo*, Premio ; 1988 (La Habana, Cuba: Casa de las Américas, 1986).

[10] Cecilia Mendez, "Incas Si, Indios No: Notes on Peruvian Creole Nationalism and Its Contemporary Crisis," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28, no. 1 (1996): 197–225; Mark Thurner, Carmen McEvoy, and Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Forjando La Nación Peruana: El Incaísmo y Los Idealios Políticos de La República Siglos Xviii-Xx* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2022).

Biological or Environmental? Racial Pessimism in the Aftermath of the War of the Pacific, 1883-1900

Much like their Spanish predecessors, political leaders during the national period experimented with several political, economic, and social reforms to integrate indigenous people into the body of polity. These efforts were best expressed in the 1870s when the ruling classes increased efforts to modernize the indigenous majority through education.[11] The War of the Pacific (1879-1883) disrupted this process, along with any optimism inherited from a previous decade. For some ruling classes, indigenous people were to blame for the loss against Chile due to their lack of nationalism or "cowardly nature.[12]" Though historians have long shown that indigenous people made vital contributions to this international conflict in regions like Cajamarca, Junín, and Ancash, it would be equally important, however, to reflect on how this pessimism about indigenous people may have influenced racial thinking among the businessmen, intellectuals, and politicians who most likely "entertained a notion of race that was an amalgam of biological, hereditary, and cultural features such as attitudes, norms, values, customs, language, and morals.[13]" Though it has been pointed out that most of the elite rejected biological explanations about the inferiority of indigenous people, the line between biological or environmental determinism was not readily discernible at times. Moreover, both imperatives did not appear to be

[11] For literature on the "Indian question" in the nineteenth century, see Brooke Larson, *Trials of Nation Making: Liberalism, Race, and Ethnicity in the Andes, 1810-1910* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Antonio Espinoza, *Education and the State in Modern Peru - Primary Schooling in Lima, 1821–c. 1921* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), //www.palgrave.com/la/book/9781137338402.

[12] Ricardo Palma, *Epistolario general: 1846-1891* (Universidad Ricardo Palma, Editorial Universitaria, 2005).

[13] Carlos Aguirre, *The Criminals of Lima and Their Worlds: The Prison Experience, 1850–1935* (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005), 49.

mutually exclusive either.[14] In periods of insurgency, indigenous people seemed inherently predisposed to violence and alcoholism.[15] In other instances, local authorities, secular and ecclesiastical, and other racial groups, who were also viewed with suspicion by the elite, were to blame for the lack of modernization in the department.

The participation of indigenous people during the War of the Pacific (1879-1883) unsettled some observers in Ancash. Like other indigenous people in Peru, people in Ancash took arms–often bearing rudimentary weaponry and under the guidance of ruling classes–and organized *montoneras*.[16] Nationalist sentiments from these communities often accompanied their involvement in the conflict.[17] Their participation did not readily guarantee acceptance from the elite, and at times, discriminatory and racist discourse sought to discredit their

[14] Recent works on the history of science suggest this trend. See Salazar Paiva and Jesús Franco, "El proyecto nacional ensangrentado : nacionalismo y civilización en los discursos en torno de los crímenes de Peruvian Amazon Company en el Putumayo," *Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú*, July 11, 2016, http://tesis.pucp.edu.pe/repositorio/handle/20.500.12404/7104.; Dan Cozart, "Peruanidad and Blackness in National and Local Perspectives: Popular Literature and Racial Science," *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* 14, no. 2 (May 4, 2019): 194–213, https://doi.org/10.1080/17442222.2019.1567055; Santiago Stucchi-Portocarrero, "Eugenics, Medicine and Psychiatry in Peru," *History of Psychiatry* 29, no. 1 (March 1, 2018): 96–109, https://doi.org/10.1177/0957154X17741232. For Chile, see Sarah Walsh, "The Executioner's Shadow: Coerced Sterilization and the Creation of 'Latin' Eugenics in Chile," *History of Science*, April 12, 2018, 0073275318755533, https://doi.org/10.1177/0073275318755533.

[15] Carlos Aguirre's study on criminology has shown that several intellectuals argued for biological determinism on the issue of indigenous predisposition to violence. See Carlos Aguirre, *The Criminals of Lima and Their Worlds: The Prison Experience, 1850–1935* (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005); Paulo Drinot, *The Allure of Labor: Workers, Race, and the Making of the Peruvian State* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2011).

[16] The term *montoneras* date back to the Wars of Independence. Florencia E. Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (University of California Press, 1995). For literature on indigenous people and their role in the Wars of Independence and the making of the early republic, see Paul Gootenberg, *Between Silver and Guano: Commercial Policy and the State in Postindependence Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Charles F. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840* (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press Books, 1999); Cristóbal Aljovín de Losada, *Caudillos y constituciones: Perú, 1821-1845* (Lima; México: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Instituto Riva-Agüero ; Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000); and Cecilia Méndez, *The Plebeian Republic: The Huanta Rebellion and the Making of the Peruvian State, 1820–1850* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2005).

[17] Nelson Manrique Gálvez, *Las Guerrillas indígenas en la guerra con Chile: campesinado y nación* (Lima: Centro de Investigación y Capacitación, 1981); Florencia E. Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (University of California Press, 1995).

contribution to the national effort. In some cases, like in the region of Junín, indigenous participation in the conflict, especially when it threatened the interests of ruling classes who collaborated with Chilean forces, was interpreted as a race war or deemed anti-patriotic.[18] In Ancash, similar racist and classist attitudes from the elite negated "the historical agency of republican Indians.[19]" Even when guided by ruling classes, indigenous people did not seem to escape prejudices. For instance, in 1881, a group of *montoneros* were accused of using extreme violence to subdue Chilean forces in the department. For one observer, the "type of mutilation" carried out by the *montoneros* involved "cutting the ears, hands, and…(because it is known, it is not mentioned).[20]" In all likelihood, the "not mentioned" body parts were the genitals of invading forces.

Racial discourse that cataloged indigenous people as violent resurfaced more forcefully once again during the civil war of 1894/95. On the larger spectrum, the conflict pitted the *coalicionistas*, an alliance between the *Partido Liberal* (Liberal Party) and the *Partido Civil* (Civil Party), against the Constitutional Party–the ruling party of Peru at the time. In late 1894, reports about *Indiadas* on the side of the *coalicionistas* in provinces outside Huaraz raised concerns among citizens.[21] The stories came from observers who lived near these localities or had fled due to the disorder and destruction the rebels had caused. For instance, one citizen claimed that several towns in the province of Dos de Mayo had been sacked and burned by the Indians. Casualties accompanied the destruction of private

[18] Florencia E. Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (University of California Press, 1995).

[19] Mark Thurner, "'Republicanos' and 'La Comunidad de Peruanos': Unimagined Political Communities in Postcolonial Andean Peru," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 27, no. 2 (1995): 291–318, 318.

[20] *El Obrero de Ancash*, Huaraz, August 17, 1881.

[21] *Indiada* was a term generally applied to "insurgent Indians."

property. “At least 50 are dead,” the observer remarked about the recent skirmish in Pachas. “The war between parties has turned into a race war with traits of savagery (*caracteres de salvajismo*).[22]” Political leaders seemed incapable of restraining their followers, like in the “Provinces of Dos de Mayo and Huamalias, where sub-prefects have become the leaders of savages, seeking destruction and desolation in towns.[23]” In some districts, there were rumors about leaders proclaiming a *comuna*, much like the one that briefly ruled Paris in 1871.[24] Other reports were less specific about the alleged political nature of the insurgents. However, they stressed that indigenous violence, like in the town of Llata, was aimed at the affluent and wealthy.[25]

Narratives about insurgent masses continued well into 1895. “The invasions caused by the *indígenas* in the province of Huari are horrible and demand a rapid and exemplary punishment,” *La Justicia* trumpeted on March 25, 1895.[26] These reports came after the civil war of 1894-95 had ended in Peru, including Ancash. The official cease-fire in the capital on March 19 did not immediately lead indigenous people to lay down their arms. Their continuing insurgency may have baffled members of the ruling classes, regardless of political affiliation. Ruling classes in Ancash, particularly those from nearby provinces, voiced their concerns for their property, which ran the risk of falling into the hands of “savage hordes.[27]” Some citizens even compelled the central government of the department to act and

[22] *La Justicia,* Huaraz, December 10, 1894.

[23] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, December 24, 1894.

[24] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, December 24, 1894.

[25] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, December 24, 1894.

[26] *La Justicia,* Huaraz, March 25, 1895.

[27] Ibid.

reestablish order in the region since local authorities and private citizens seemed unable to "bring under control the savage hordes whose only agenda is to pillage and kill.[28]"

Other representations of the indigenous as violent were more critical of political leaders who were blamed for misleading and cajoling indigenous people into the conflict. For some observers, indigenous people were not wholly at fault for the violence and destruction of private property that had taken place in Ancash during the civil war of 1894-95. Instead, ruling classes on the side of the *coalicionistas* were to blame for the lawlessness since they manipulated indigenous people to create chaos and disorder. In a column called "Los Indios," an author of *La Justicia* expounded on this point. In his view, promoting violence against the government among indigenous people was dangerous because things ran the risk of spiraling out of control. "Their intervention in the current political situation can bring devastating consequences for the public order," he opined, as reports on the increasing movement of *montoneras* throughout the department drew comparisons to the Atusparia rebellion. Nearly a decade before, ruling classes had been unable to control the masses, and the author feared a similar situation would occur. "Let us not rattle a wasp's nest. Like in 85, it can immolate even to those who promote it," he concluded.[29] A few weeks before this warning, another citizen of Ancash had also protested against what he considered the manipulation of the masses for political gain. In his view, some unscrupulous men, most likely on the side of the *coalicionista*s, had taken advantage of the ignorance of some of their "brothers," guiding them to commit "savage acts which were detrimental to the whole society.[30]"

[28] Ibid.

[29] *La Justicia,* Huaraz, November 26, 1894.

[30] *La Justicia,* Huaraz, November 1, 1894.

Though several reports pointed out that indigenous people sided primarily with the coalition's forces, Constitutional Party members, known as *constitucionalistas*, also became embroiled in similar controversies. In the months leading up to the election of 1894, *La Juventud de Ancash* accused the government, ruled by the Constitutional Party, of manipulating indigenous people into disrupting the voting process in the region. They denounced that members of the electoral college were intimidated and prevented from holding a session in the town of Recuay. In their view, indigenous people had been "enticed by certain offers" to show their support for sub-prefect Mr. Villón.[31]" As indigenous people entered the town, they vigorously chanted, "Death to the Civil Party! Death to *La Juventud*!" according to eyewitness accounts.[32] The gathering eventually turned violent. However, electoral college members stood their ground and managed to disperse the crowd. Despite the efforts of Mr. Flores, a well-known member of the Constitutional Party, the supporters of Cáceres could not maintain the *Indiada* in the area, and they rapidly fled the area at the first sign of trouble. "Mr. Flores tried to prevent the Indians from leaving by beating them with a stick to no avail," the report stressed.[33]

However, perhaps the most resounding accusation against the government took just a week before Prefect Herrera's defeat in the department on March 17, 1895. Upon his arrival at the Huari, Herrera began to collect *cupos.*[34] When he saw that citizens were unwilling to comply and that an army of Indians under the command of the *coalicionistas* was stationed in

[31] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, December 1, 1893.

[32] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, December 1, 1893.

[33] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, December 1, 1893. *Indiada* is a term generally applied to "insurgent Indians."

[34] Modern usage of "cupos" associates it with extortion money, typically from organized crime.

a nearby district, Herrera took more stern measures. He began extracting, under threat of violence, revenue, and commodities, including firearms and ammunition–from the population. According to the author, these items were used to entice the Indians on the side of the *constitucionalistas*.[35] Violence against citizens and private property soon followed Herrera's arrival into the Huari. "The first victim was Mr. Antonio Vidal, who was taken hostage in his *hacienda* by the Indians and taken to Huari with all his beasts. He ended up paying 800 soles in silver," *La Justicia* reported.[36] The pillaging appears to have scared residents since many fled the town. Violence extended to the nearby town of Eco, where several houses and haciendas had been "burned by the Indians." The newspaper believed that disorder and violence would not stop in Eco and Huari. For the author, Indians would be unable to be restrained. "There are fears, sadly well-founded and imminent, of a mass Indian insurrection if forces do not arrive there," *La Justicia* warned on March 12, 1895.[37]

For several ruling classes, violence and disorder also went in hand with consuming intoxicant commodities. Most intellectuals agreed that drug abuse was more commonplace among indigenous people. *La Gazeta Medica*, Peru's cutting-edge scientific journal based in Lima, often made this association in discussing what they perceived as a social problem.[38] Historians have made similar observations on scientific ideas about alcoholism.[39] In Ancash, newspapers arrived at akin to conclusions. For instance, *La Juventud* posited that alcoholism

[35] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, March 12, 1895.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] La Gazeta; The Sociedad Geografica de Lima also expressed similar views. Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, "Tomo III", *Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* 1,2 y 3 (June 30, 1893): 2,3, 6.

[39] Carlos Aguirre, *The Criminals of Lima and Their Worlds: The Prison Experience, 1850–1935* (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005).

was a "hereditary disease that led to epilepsy, scrofula, and madness, if it did not lead to sudden death.[40]" The newspaper advocated moderate consumption of alcohol, if not its elimination from the public sphere altogether. As a model, they looked to British colonialism in Africa, specifically in Nyassaland, where colonialists lived under specific guidelines to "conserve good health.[41]" Aside from limiting the consumption of red meat and eliminating pork from their diets, the British government also recommended the "reduction of all alcoholic drinks, and if possible, abstention altogether.[42]" At times, alcohol use among indigenous people was cataloged as "something that, without making too much noise, kills them.[43]"

Rhetoric about indigenous people's predisposition to these vices became more visible as the 1894-95 civil war approached. For the ruling classes, the excess use of alcohol and coca always accompanied indigenous insurgency. According to eyewitness accounts of the Atusparia rebellion, rebels also consumed alcohol in excess.[44] In 1893, during subprefect Villón's rally (cited above), members of *La Juventud de Ancash*, the self-proclaimed liberal youth, described seeing "a multitude of beer cans and arrobas of coca leaves heading towards the prefecture (Villóns home)" to guard his residency, and, in a way, celebrate the victory of the Constitutional Party against the Liberal Party at the poll. *La Justicia* also expressed similar sentiments when several *montoneros*, around thirty-two men, looted Yungay and took

[40] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, August 30, 1893.

[41] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, November 15, 1893.

[42] Ibid.

[43] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, La Juventud, December 1, 1893.

[44] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, La Juventud, December 1, 1893.; William W. Stein, *El levantamiento de Atusparia: el movimiento popular ancasshino de 1885 : un estudio de documentos* (Lima: Mosca azul ed., 1988), http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb37095899h.

hostages in Caraz in early January 1895.[45] Upon obtaining favorable terms with the remaining local ruling class, the rebels appeared to have "lent themselves, like usual, to the god Baccus.[46]" Celebrations among the rebels went well into dawn and appeared to have ended in physical confrontations, particularly when they began to compete over the distribution of the goods they had procured from the local citizenry a day earlier.[47]

However, at the same time, newspapers like *La Juventud* appeared conflicted over indigenous people's predisposition to alcoholism. In their view, alcohol abuse may not have been entirely their folly. Whether it was a religious holiday or a post-battle fest, the consumption of alcohol seems to have been encouraged among indigenous people by the authorities, secular and ecclesiastical. Political leaders did not escape criticism, but the Catholic church also received its share of the blame for enticing indigenous people to drink. Like other intellectuals in Lima, some Ancashinos blamed religious authorities for fomenting alcoholism among indigenous people.[48] For instance, the excesses committed during the Villón controversy pointed towards complicity from the clergy. For *La Juventud*, these religious celebrations encouraged alcohol consumption and sexual deviance. In their eyes, the lack of supervision from the priests in these events did nothing more than encourage the most "blind fanaticism" among indigenous people.[49]

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[45] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, January 7, 1895.

[46] Ibid. Baccus was the Greek and Roman God of Wine.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, "Tomo III", *Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* 1,2 y 3 (Lima: June 30, 1893): 2,3, 6.

[49] *La Juventud de Ancash*, October 16, 1893; La Justicia, January 7, 1895.

Though other minorities, such as Asians and Afro-Peruvians, did not have a large population in Ancash, they also became subject to scrutiny in the public sphere. In the case of the former, Chinese store owners had recently experienced a wave of violence and pillage during the lawlessness of the War of the Pacific (1879-1883). Nationalist rhetoric drove anti-Asian sentiments in Ancash and other parts of Peru, as accusations of treason proliferated as Chilean forces made their way from the coast and into the highlands.[50] Though observers in Lima still sought to promote Asian immigration to fulfill labor quotas in agriculture to help rebuild the nation after the war, other news media, such as *El Comercio* and *La Opinión Nacional,* became more suspicious of Chinese labor, touted as lazy and unmotivated. For others, these immigrants were taking away jobs that could go to "*obreros peruanos* (peruvian workers).[51]" The level of civilization these immigrants had attained, compared to those from Europe, also became a matter of scrutiny for ruling classes.[52] The ongoing First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) colored much of their opinions about Chinese backwardness, which they perceived to be rooted in their organizations and system of government. For some authors, unlike Japan, which had taken enormous steps to modernize according to Western models, China was losing the war because it maintained its "ancient Asiatic mode of organization.[53]"

[50] For literature on Asians during the War of the Pacific, see Diego L. Chou, "Los Chinos En La Guerra Del Pacífico," *Revista de Historia de América*, no. 129 (2001): 197–224; Arellano González and Juan Carlos, "EL PUEBLO DE 'FILIBUSTEROS' Y LA 'RAZA DE MALVADOS': DISCURSOS NACIONALISTAS CHILENOS Y PERUANOS DURANTE LA GUERRA DEL PACÍFICO (1879-1884)," *Diálogo Andino*, no. 48 (September 2015): 71–83, https://doi.org/10.4067/S0719-26812015000300008.

[51] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, May 31, 1894.

[52] *El Comercio*, Lima, October 21, 1884; *El Comercio*, Lima, May 11, 1885; *El Comercio*, Lima, December 5, 1887; *La Opinión Nacional*, Lima, April 24, 1884.

[53] *El Comercio*, Lima, July 25, 1894.

Newspapers in the provinces such as *La Justicia* and *La Juventud* in Ancash echoed similar sentiments. China's isolation policies were to blame for their backwardness. For *La Justicia,* their lack of investment in infrastructure, such as the railroad, as European countries had done, was also a cited reason for the lack of civilization among Chinese immigrants.[54] *La Juventud* also advanced this argument. Given their long and rich imperial history, one author posited that China should have developed ahead of European countries, but this expectation had yet to materialize fully.[55] Nevertheless, among both periodicals, *La Justicia* was far more suspicious of the Asian presence in the department. In 1894, they called attention to a story on their front pages titled "Grave Scandal." The controversy had taken place in Huaraz. The reporter was outraged that the city had allowed "an important building in the city" to host a recurring gathering of the Asian colony.[56]" These social meetings were not viewed favorably by *La Justicia*. "They often get together to celebrate their ridiculous and shameful ceremonies at this place," the newspaper warned its readers, almost as if the audience would have known the location of these festivities if they found themselves after hours in Huaraz.[57]

Ruling classes also included Africans and Blacks in their notions about the inferiority of non-white peoples. By the last quarter of the century, it was not uncommon for several newspapers in Lima to argue that Africans had a low level of civilization and that there was a need to civilize them. Events in Europe colored much of how Peruvians may have interpreted the colonization of Africa. As several contemporary scholars have posited, the 'Scramble for

[54] *El Comercio*, Lima, May 11, 1885; *La Opinión Nacional*, Lima, April 24, 1884; *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, September 15, 1893.

[55] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, September 15, 1893.

[56] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, May 31, 1894.

[57] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, May 31, 1894.

Africa" went hand in hand with the racial discourse that justified European presence.[58]At least on the pages of *El Comercio*, authors who reported on the different diplomatic meetings over a year often appeared to have little concern for the subjection of Africans under British, French, or Belgian rule. Instead, their interest lay more on informing the public about the particularities of the diplomats, some of whom were not politicians but well-known explorers such as Henry Morton Stanley, and the ongoing negotiations between different countries, including the United States.[59] "Stanley made a presentation where he provided geographical details of the Congo, which will be published in German," *El Comercio* remarked on December 9, 1884. A feast to honor the expertise of the explorer followed Stanley's presentation.[60] Subsequent meetings were less ceremonial and more politically charged. Nevertheless, intense debates among the several Western powers over the division of territory in Africa extended well into 1885.[61] Nearly a decade later, European colonization of the continent still appeared justified for some observers in Peru. “Despite the centuries that

[58] W. E. B. DuBois, *The Negro* (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2007); Muriel Evelyn Chamberlain, *The Scramble for Africa*, Third edition (London New York: Routledge, 2013); G. N. UZOIGWE, “REFLECTIONS ON THE BERLIN WEST AFRICA CONFERENCE, 1884-1885,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 12, no. 3/4 (1984): 9–22; Paul B. Rich, “Racial Ideas and the Impact of Imperialism in Europe,” *The European Legacy* 3, no. 1 (February 1998): 31–44, https://doi.org/10.1080/10848779808579862.

[59] Edward Berenson, *Heroes of Empire: Five Charismatic Men and the Conquest of Africa*, 1st ed., 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), https://doi.org/10.1525/j.ctt1ppr6w; Justin D. Livingstone, “A Romance of Slavery: Exploration, Encounters and Cartographies of Violence in H. M. Stanley’s My Kalulu,” *Studies in Travel Writing* 21, no. 4 (2017): 349–68, https://doi.org/10.1080/13645145.2017.1406904; Brian Murray, “Building Congo, Writing Empire: The Literary Labours of Henry Morton Stanley,” *English Studies in Africa* 59, no. 1 (January 2, 2016): 6–17, https://doi.org/10.1080/00138398.2016.1173271; James L. Newman, *Imperial Footprints: Henry Morton Stanley’s African Journeys*, 1st ed. (Washington, D.C: Brassey’s, 2004).

[60] *El Comercio*, Lima, December 9, 1884.

[61] *El Comercio*, Lima, October 10, 1884; *El Comercio*, December 13, 1884; *El Comercio*, Lima, December 31, 1884; *El Comercio*, Lima, January 5, 1885; *El Comercio*, Lima, January 7, 1885; *El Comercio*, Lima, January 10, 1885; *El Comercio*, Lima, January 31, 1885; *El Comercio*, Lima, May 21, 1885; *El Comercio*, Lima, June 16, 1885; *El Comercio*, Lima, October 17, 1885; *El Comercio*, Lima, November 7, 1885.

have passed," *El Comercio* echoed in a translation from *La Liberté*, "African races have continued to live in a state of barbarism.[62]"

Similar views on the colonization of Africa were also replicated in the writings of *La Sociedad Geográfica de Lima*. Established in 1888 and composed of lawyers, doctors, geographers, engineers, and politicians, the scholarly society published biyearly on various subjects about Peru's development and modernization.[63] In an article called "The Black Indies: The Travels of M. Stanley," *La Sociedad* informed its readers about the colonization of Africa, a continent they perceived as economically, socially, and culturally backward. For the intellectuals, cultural aspects seemed to best-expressed blacks' inferiority compared to Western peoples, particularly concerning religion. "The fate of the black races will be decided in a battle between European civilization and Muslim faith," the author remarked.[64] For the author, Europe was sure to come out on top.[65] For other observers, blacks were incapable of controlling their basic instincts and had done little to improve their modes of government. "The blacks are big children guided by two passions: women and alcohol," one author decried.[66] The level of civilization in Africa was also judged based on the use of positive law instead of *costumbre* (customs). While positive law, a product of the

[62] *El Comercio*, Lima, August 16, 1894.

[63] Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, "Tomo III", *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* (1894): 2,3, 6.-Ibid, 3; Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, "Tomo II", *Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* 10, 11 y 12 (March 31, 1893): 361-363; Leoncio López-Ocón, "La Sociedad Geográfica de Lima y la formación de una ciencia nacional en el Perú Republicano," *Terra Brasilis (Nova Série). Revista da Rede Brasileira de História da Geografia e Geografia Histórica*, no. 3 (January 1, 2001).

[64] *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima*, "Tomo I," N1, *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* (1892): 266.

[65] Ibid.

[66] *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima*, Tomo I, N1, 269.

Enlightenment and the Age of Revolutions, had spread to all corners of the world, according to the author, it was still vastly unknown in Africa. "In Africa, the blacks have not abandoned their customs yet," he opined.[67]

By the end of the century, negative stereotypes regarding blacks were still replicated in scientific journals in Lima. In 1899, *La Sociedad Geográfica* published excerpts from Antonio Raimondi's work. The most well-known ethnographer of nineteenth-century Peru had less than flattering things to say about Blacks in Peru. In an excerpt of his "Itinerario de los viajes de Raimondi por el Perú," Raimondi impressions of Blacks, based on his travels during the 1850s and 60s, were presented to the public. When describing black populations who lived along the coast of Ancash, namely the province of Santa, Raimondi called attention to their relationship to labor after Peru officially abolished slavery in 1854.[68] "After abolition, the blacks, freedmen, and *bozales* lived in a state of idleness since they only worked when they had nothing to eat.[69]" Now, in the absence of slave labor, the Chinese were the ones who were working the haciendas. According to the author, strength and not intelligence appear to have characterized blacks in the area. "Although they do not have the strength of the blacks, they (the Chinese) make up for it in intelligence.[70]" Similar observations were recorded when the author moved his way up the coast into the province of

[67] *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima*, Tomo III, 1894, No. 3, 231.

[68] Some scholars have posited that the actions of the enslaved, namely through passive and active resistance, played a fundamental role in the abolition of slavery. See Carlos Aguirre, *Agentes de su propia libertad: Los esclavos de Lima y la desintegración de la esclavitud : 1821-1854*, 1. ed edition (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 1993).

[69] *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima*, Tomo IX, No. 9, 1900, 157. Bozales was a term to describe newly arrived slaves from Africa. In the case of Spanish America, it referred to Africans who did not speak Spanish.

[70] Ibid.

Viru, located in the department of La Libertad. Here too, idleness among blacks was a problem. However, in the author's view, *indígenas* ran the greatest risk due to blacks' idleness. “In general, the indigenous are poor and wretched because they are exposed each moment to being robbed or killed by the great number of blacks who live nearby and in idleness,” Raimondi reminded his readers.[71]

Beyond Racial Pessimism: Racial Thinking, Opportunity, and Modernity in Postwar Peru, 1883-1900

Notions on the racial inferiority of non-whites hardly paint a complete picture of racial formation in Peru by the end of the century. Nevertheless, some voices in Ancash sought to reconcile, not unlike their colonial and republican forebears, indigenous peoples' social organization and cultural subjectivities with the capitalist mode of production.[72] As scholars have shown about labor debates before the War of the Pacific and the 1920s, statemakers often assumed that indigenous people had to abandon their “indigenous” identity to modernize and become a worker, a process that Nils Jacobsen has called a cultural ethnocide.[73] Intellectuals in the postwar period, like reformers of the 1910s and 1920s, also

[71] Ibid, 168.

[72] See Carlos Contreras, *El Aprendizaje Del Capitalismo: Estudios de Historia Económica y Social Del Perú Republicano* (Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2004); Jeremy Ravi Mumford, *Vertical Empire: The General Resettlement of Indians in the Colonial Andes* (Durham, NC, 2012); Scarlett O’Phelan, *Un siglo de rebeliones anticoloniales: Perú y Bolivia, 1700-1783*, Segunda edición en español, julio de 2012.., Travaux de l’Institut français d’études andines ; t. 287 (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos : Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2012).

[73] Nils Jacobsen and Nicanor Domínguez, *Juan Bustamante y los límites del liberalismo en el Altiplano: la rebelión de Huancané, 1866-1868* (Lima: SER, 2011), 79.

expected the state to play a primordial role in this social transformation.[74] While *Ancashinos* also believed that the government, whether regional or federal, should guide the department's modernization, some publications in Ancash demonstrate that some citizens did not see a contradiction between being an "Indian" and a worker or even a middle class. To a certain extent, progressive ideas about racial groups were also replicated in representations of Blacks, showing that by the end of the century, Peruvian *indigenismo* displayed early signs of political discourse and scientific thinking that would gain more prevalence in civil society in the first decades of the twentieth century in Latin America.[75]

Whether coerced or not, the ruling classes argued that these workers should abide by and live by specific rules. For Manuel de la Vega, politician and owner of the *hacienda* Vicos in Ancash, indigenous people required "assistance" in migrating from the mountains. Put differently, the state needed to devise a plan to "bring them down from the mountains.[76]" De la Vega would later be accused of fomenting an anti-tax insurrection among indigenous

[74] Peter Blanchard, *The Origins of the Peruvian Labor Movement, 1883–1919* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1982); Thomas Krüggeler, "Indians, Workers, and the Arrival of 'Modernity': Cuzco, Peru (1895-1924)," *The Americas* 56, no. 2 (1999): 161–89, https://doi.org/10.2307/1008111.; Paulo Drinot, *The Allure of Labor: Workers, Race, and the Making of the Peruvian State* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2011).

[75] The increasing political activism that advocated for the rights of indigenous people, whether by indigenous people themselves or third actors, in the 1920s took various shapes and forms. For instance, unlike Mexico, *mestizaje* did not become a state-sponsored ideology nor a prevalent intellectual project in Peru. See Marie-Chantal Barre, *Ideologías indigenistas y movimientos indios* (Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1983); Virginia Q. Tilley, "Mestizaje and the 'Ethnicization' of Race in Latin America," in *Race and Nation* (Routledge, 2004); Marisol de la Cadena, "Silent Racism and Intellectual Superiority in Peru," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 17, no. 2 (1998): 143–64; Laura Gotkowitz, *A Revolution for Our Rights: Indigenous Struggles for Land and Justice in Bolivia, 1880–1952* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2008); Diana Lenton, "Política indigenista argentina: una construcción inconclusa," *Anuário Antropológico*, no. v.35 n.1 (June 1, 2010): 57–97, https://doi.org/10.4000/aa.781. The work of Franz Boas, and his students, including Manuel Gamio, are generally considered fundamental in putting in place ideas about race that challenged dominant narratives about the inferiority of non-whites. See Charles King, *Gods of the Upper-Air: How a Circle of Renegade Anthropologists Reinvented Race, Sex, and Gender in the Twentieth Century*, 1st Edition edition (New York: Doubleday, 2019).

[76] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, February 13, 1893.

people in 1895.[77] In a series of essays named "Nuestra Clase Obrera (Our Working Class)," published in *La Justicia*, he laid out the type of guidance they needed to become the proletariat that would provide the necessary labor to modernize the department. For ruling classes, these workers, or *obreros*, or *peruanos*—terms used interchangeably by the local press— were to live an ethical life to maximize their work performance. First, a "model" worker was to show self-restraint. He was to abstain from vices such as gambling and alcohol. Second, he was also expected to be thrifty. A model worker only consumed the goods needed to live and work. He was to spend little money on superfluous commodities. Lastly, and most importantly, all workers were expected to be loyal and hardworking.[78] In the minds of the ruling classes, the making of the model worker or the proletarization of indigenous people would help create a new kind of citizen in Ancash.

Making modern workers in Peru also required the state's intervention. If these *obreros peruanos* were expected to abide by specific ethical guidelines, the government would facilitate amenities and services for the workers who would guide the country into modernity. These services were inextricably tied to maintaining a stable and healthy workforce for De la Vega. In his interpretation, lacking housing and other services would render the workers susceptible to vices such as drunkenness, idleness, and stealing. For the author, it was very problematic that the government gave incentives such as housing, facilities to adapt to a new environment, and tax breaks for five years, among other benefits, to European immigrants but did not do so for Peruvians. In his view, "Obreros peruanos" should not have to worry

[77] Mark Thurner, "Atusparia and Cáceres: Rereading Representations of Peru's Late Nineteenth-Century 'National Problem,'" *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 77, no. 3 (1997): 409–41, https://doi.org/10.2307/2516710.

[78] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, March 23, 1893; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, March 31, 1893; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, March 12, 1895; *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, December 1, 1893; *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, December 16, 1893.

about renting and should also receive all the benefits prescribed for immigrants. Moreover, the fact that these immigrants came with dangerous ideas such as communism, socialism, and anarchism was particularly distressing for De la Vega. He cataloged the members of Congress who advocated immigration as anti-patriotic.[79]

De la Vega also expected the state to expand the size of the workforce through the regulation of idleness or vagrancy. Policy against idlers had existed since the colonial period. During the Republican era, law stipulations as early as 1839 punished those who did not work, along with gamblers, beggars, and drunks, with jail time.[80] Further regulations were applied to the *Reglamento de Policia* of 1877, now compelling vagrants to be conscripted in the military or Navy or to "perform labor for which they are most suited.[81]" By the late nineteenth century, several observers pointed out that vagrancy was still a recurring and increasing social problem in Peru.[82] In Ancash, laws on vagrancy were reaffirmed through a decree by the prefecture in 1890.[83] Under this legislation, a person was considered a vagrant or "*vago*" if they were over fifteen and unable to provide an occupation pass.[84] If one was considered a *vago*, they risked jail time and a fine of ten pesos.[85] Despite efforts to eradicate idleness, authorities were still not doing enough. In 1893, *La Juventud* complained about

[79] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, February 13, 1893.

[80] Carlos Aguirre (2005), 35.

[81] Reglamento de Policia of 1877, art. 24.

[82] *El Comercio*, Lima, August 6, 1885; *El Comercio*, Lima, December 5, 1887; *El Comercio*, Lima, August 7, 1894; *El Comercio*, Lima, July 6, 1896; *El Comercio*, Lima, December 13, 1897.

[83] *La Autonomia*, Huaraz, January 17, 1890.

[84] *La Autonomia*, Huaraz, January 17, 1890.

[85] Ibid.

debouch gatherings after dark in Huaraz, where "idleness" and "drunkenness" reign.[86] They wanted the subprefect and police to act and put those involved to work so that "not a single man is absent from a workshop.[87]" De la Vega had a more practical solution to the problem. For him, vagrants and drunks should be "sent to work on the mountains," perhaps to work in mining or agriculture.[88] The use of force was not out of the question.[89]

Yet, De la Vega did not see a contradiction between being indigenous and becoming the worker needed to modernize the country. For the author, it also seemed possible that artisans, a position often held by indigenous people or mestizos, could contribute towards national reconstruction. The story of Daniel and Ernesto was particularly exemplary of this line of inquiry.[90] Both men were children of an artisan. Ernesto, a methodical, punctual, and intelligent man, remained in school and eventually became a successful attorney. On the other hand, Daniel decided to follow his father's line and become a *sastre* (tailor). Work ethic alone did not account for his later success as a tailor. One day, Daniel began to save some of his earnings, one cent a day, to be precise. After thirty days, he collected thirty cents. As the newspaper remarked, experiencing the value of saving money "had made the future capitalist very happy.[91]" It changed Daniel's life in the long run. After 15 years, Daniel saved 10,000 soles, giving him greater purchasing power for commodities. Prior to his newly found wealth,

[86] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, September 15, 1893.

[87] Ibid.

[88] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, February 28, 1893.

[89] Ibid.

[90] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, April 20, 1893.

[91] Ibid.

he dressed modestly.[92] Now, he mostly wore fancy clothes, quite possibly of European origin, "lives in a better house, is always clean, and decent.[93]" He has "made his family and *patria* proud," De la Vega remarked. [94]

De la Vega's descriptions of the virtues that made a successful artisan like Daniel, one that contributed towards national development and progress, echoed his earlier views on the working class. For one, a good artisan would possess "sound judgment.[95]" He would be responsible, thrifty, and virtuous, avoiding vices. Like an industrious working class, Daniel did not consume more goods than he needed. For De la Vega, thriftiness was a value that could also be cultivated in the family, as he believed that parents should teach their children to save money from an early age. Daniel also did not consume alcohol, nor did he gamble. "Alcohol is an enemy for Daniel," De la Vega stressed. Daniel appeared to be the ideal artisan and model to follow for those in Ancash and "other nations and families" who wanted to achieve progress.[96] "Who would not want to be like Daniel?" De la Vega trumpeted.[97] Daniel's story appeared as an example of capitalist development for the author. "Capital is made through labor and saving, it grows with accumulation and association, and it dies with wastefulness and luxury," De la Vega concluded.[98]

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[92] Ibid.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Ibid.

At times, newspapers such as *La Juventud* also imagined a world where indigenous people could acquire wealth and respectability. In an essay called "Las Víboras Humanas (The Human Snake)," an author provided a story where two individuals debate the life of Mr. Z. The first person, dubbed as the "human snake," spent all of their time criticizing people around them, Mr. Z. included. The second person, whose name was not given, was an ardent defender of Mr. Z. He did not hesitate to rebuttal the claims of the "human snake." For one, according to the "human snake," Mr. Z's humble background and "Indian" roots would always follow him, a fact that the "human snake" considered shameful. For the critic of Mr. Z, "everyone was going to remember that he used to walk barefooted.[99]" The defender of Mr. Z thought otherwise. In his eyes, Mr. Z was a respectable community member whose wealth was based on "his hard work and sweat from his face.[100]" Mr. Z. had acquired so much wealth that "he could throw money away and not care about it.[101]" Moreover, the author saw no evil in that Mr. Z was indigenous. "What is wrong with being a Peruvian Indian?" the defender of Mr. Z professed.[102]

Ruling classes' optimism over integrating non-whites into the body of polity also extended to blacks. Newspapers in Lima were more vocal about the possibilities of black people in the reconstruction period. For instance, *El Comercio* published a controversy that had erupted in the United States over the first humans who inhabited the Garden of Eden. The public discussion involved a Methodist bishop named Turner. Likely, the newspaper was

[99] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, December 1, 1893.

[100] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, December 1, 1893.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid.

referring to Henry McNeal Turner. Touted as one of the prominent figures of the black nationalist movement in the nineteenth century, Turner worked tirelessly to advocate social justice for blacks in the United States. By the end of the century, he had become increasingly disillusioned with white racism. He advocated immigration to Africa since he suspected that blacks would not achieve equality in the United States.[103] To historian Gregory Mixon, "Bishop Turner served the African American lower class and gave them a voice through his ministry, religious and political organizing, vision, and support for emigration.[104]"

Turner's discourse has recently received attention from scholars, particularly his comments about the possibility of God being Black.[105] His ideas were also expressed on the pages of *El Comercio*, which, although they appeared less than pleased with Turner's thesis, the newspaper decided to share it with its readers, nevertheless. The news media commented on the possibility "that the two people who lived in Paradise were black.[106]" Turner's ideas about a "Black Genesis" appeared to have been presented in several public venues in the United States, drawing much criticism from white religious leaders. "Mr. Turner has argued in several of his conferences, through abundant data and much argumentation, that Adam, along with his ribs, was Black," *El Comercio* remarked.[107] For the newspaper, a pastor

[103] Stephen W. Angell, "A Black Minister Befriends the 'Unquestioned Father of Civil Rights': Henry McNeal Turner, Charles Sumner, and the African-American Quest for Freedom," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 85, no. 1 (2001): 27–58.

[104] Gregory Mixon, "Henry McNeal Turner versus the Tuskegee Machine: Black Leadership in the Nineteenth Century," *The Journal of Negro History* 79, no. 4 (September 22, 1994): 363–81.

[105] Andre E. Johnson, "God Is a Negro: The (Rhetorical) Black Theology of Bishop Henry McNeal Turner," *Black Theology* 13, no. 1 (April 1, 2015): 29–40, https://doi.org/10.1179/1476994815Z.00000000045.

[106] *El Comercio*, Lima, March 7, 1894.

[107] Ibid.

named Huysmans was preparing a rebuttal against Bishop Turner. *El Comercio* expected the pastor to discredit Turner and put any possibility of a Black creation story to rest.[108]

A different publication later that year went much further in its interpretation of Blacks and ideas about modernity. In an article titled "*La Raza Negra* (The Black Race)," taken from the French newspaper *L'Eclair, El Comercio* provided insight into sub-Saharan Africa's social, cultural, and political life. The piece was, in fact, a recollection of Juan Hess's memoirs, "an explorer well-known for his numerous travels across the mysterious African regions.[109]" For *El Comercio*, Mr. Hess's ideas were controversial since he set out to "argue against the deep-seated idea that Blacks could only make rudimentary tools out of wood or produce terrible barbaric musical tunes.[110]" Put differently, Hess set out to debunk notions about black inferiority. In the eyes of Hess, African civilization was no less developed than European societies. Moreover, their artistic crafting, architecture, and music developments impressed Hess. Africans could "edify marvelous temples and objects of devotion that are true gems," he remarked. "Despite their limited resources," Hess contended on music, "Africans were able to create musical tunes full of enchantment and character," melodies that were pleasing even to the "European ear.[111]" "The emotion of love is as well-developed in Blacks as in any other European.[112]" Aside from describing African women as beautiful, Hess pointed out that they exercised significant political power within these societies, citing

[108] Ibid.

[109] *El Comercio*, Lima, June 15, 1894.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Ibid.

[112] *El Comercio*, Lima,

the case of Yoruba princess Efunroye Tinibu as an example.[113] "Blacks' soul is just like ours, goes through the same stages of development and follows the same laws; we should not treat them then as inferior beings," the pages of *El Comercio* concluded, echoing Hess's remarks.[114]

Labor, Community, and Despotism: Early Representations of Inca Socialism in the Public Sphere, 1848 – 1900

Intellectuals in nineteenth-century Peru also looked towards the past to understand indigenous people's "backwardness" and their possibilities in an industrialized society. Historians have shown that the ruling classes in Latin America used the image of a virtuous and heroic pre-Hispanic past to scorn and exclude indigenous people during the nineteenth century.[115] On the one hand, the Aztecs in Mexico and the Muisca and the Inca in Argentina are some examples of civilizations often compared to Rome and Greece from classical antiquity and whose histories became accepted into national narratives. However, on the other hand, the Yaqui Wars in Mexico and the "Conquest of the Desert" in Argentina, two well-known and recorded cases of state violence against indigenous people, exemplify some

[113] Ibid. Aside from wielding significant political power, Tinubu made a reputation for participating in the slave trade. For more on Tinubu, see Ọladipọ Yemitan, *Madame Tinubu: Merchant and King-Maker* (University Press, 1987); Akínwùmí Íṣòlá, *Madam Tinubu: The Terror in Lagos* (Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria), 1998); Nwando Achebe and Claire Robertson, *Holding the World Together: African Women in Changing Perspective* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2019).

[114] Ibid.

[115] See Cecilia Mendez, "Incas Si, Indios No: Notes on Peruvian Creole Nationalism and Its Contemporary Crisis," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28, no. 1 (1996): 197–225; Mark Thurner and Andres Guerrero, eds., *After Spanish Rule: Postcolonial Predicaments of the Americas*, Illustrated edition (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2003); and Rebecca A. Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810–1930* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2007).

contradictions in what has been defined as part of the ruling classes' nationalist discourse.[116] In some cases, like the Inca Empire in Peru, it was believed that the Spanish conquest had disrupted the progress of this civilization. However, more importantly, the Spanish conquest left a long-lasting trauma on the people the Inca ruled over: the indigenous majority.[117] However, narratives about a glorious pre-Hispanic past, epistemologies that became readily accepted into the national culture, may be more complex than previously assumed if one considers political culture after the European Revolutions of 1848. At least in Peru, some early attempts to reconcile ideas about political economy, socialism, and race with Inca social organization date as early as 1852. Some intellectuals and politicians in Peru, like Sebastián Llorente, though an admirer of Inca civilization, largely rejected implementing "Inca socialism" in Peruvian society.[118] The debate extended to intellectual circles in Europe and the United States, generating equal polarization over the practicability of establishing an "Inca socialist" state in modern society.

In 1847, William H. Prescott, a historian, published *The History of the Conquest of Peru,* gaining much praise upon its publication. It took little time for intellectuals to translate it into French, German, Dutch, and Spanish.[119] For one, he has been credited for distancing

[116] Nicole M. Guidotti-Hernández, *Unspeakable Violence: Remapping U.S. and Mexican National Imaginaries* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2011); Evelyn Hu-DeHart, *Yaqui Resistance and Survival: The Struggle for Land and Autonomy, 1821–1910*, 1st edition (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2016); Carolyne R. Larson, ed., *The Conquest of the Desert: Argentina's Indigenous Peoples and the Battle for History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2020).

[117] Narratives about Spanish cruelty and intolerance also called the "Black Legend," date back to sixteenth-century Europe. Mark Thurner, Carmen McEvoy, and Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Forjando La Nación Peruana: El Incaísmo y Los Idealios Políticos de La República Siglos Xviii-Xx* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2022), 43.

[118] Sebastián Lorente and Mark Thurner, *Escritos fundacionales de historia peruana* (UNMSM, 2005), 54-56; Mark Thurner, Carmen McEvoy, and Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Forjando La Nación Peruana: El Incaísmo y Los Idealios Políticos de La República Siglos Xviii-Xx* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2022), 75.

[119] WILLIAM HICKLING PRESCOTT, "AUTHORS IN SCHOOL.—(XXV)," *The Journal of Education* 59, no. 2 (1462) (1904): 21–22.

himself from utopian interpretations of the Inca Empire, like those presented in Garcilazo de la Vega's influential *Comentarios Reales de los Incas* (1609) and providing the first scientific account, at least on the discipline of history, that remained influential in the scholarship until the twentieth century. Prescott, not yet a product of the 1848 European Revolutions, was particularly concerned about the Inca form of rule and social organization. He stressed that to create such a "nation," indigenous people had sacrificed their liberty.[120] In a state where the monarch represented both temporal and divine power, complete submission was necessary for a social organization where labor for the benefit of the community was regulated at a local, regional, and national level. Inca rule had made Peruvians "mild and docile," according to Prescott.[121] Its authoritarian policies of integration, including the forceful relocation of insurgent communities to remote regions in the empire (sometimes up to 10,000 individuals), the expropriation of land from conquered territories, and standardization of a lingua franca–Quechua–had instilled among indigenous people a "slavish submission.[122]" The constant surveillance from Inca authorities, the limitation of movement for commoners–who needed permission to leave their communities–and severe punishment for lawbreakers and unruly populations also unsettled Prescott, who believed that the system established by the Incas "encroaches on the natural liberty of the subject.[123]"

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[120] Ibid, 87.

[121] William Hickling Prescott and John Foster Kirk, *History of the Conquest of Peru; with a Preliminary View of the Civilization of the Incas* (Philadelphia : J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1883), http://archive.org/details/historyofconques01pres.t, 15.

[122] *History of the Conquest of Peru*, 343.

[123] Ibid, 48, 49, 174.

On the other hand, several other aspects of Inca society, beyond discussions on liberty, piqued his interest. For one, he claimed that the Inca had eradicated poverty and idleness. Bureaucratic administration ensured that no man or woman was left wanting food or clothing, no matter how poor. "The policy pursued by the Incas for the prevention of evils that might have disturbed the order of things is well exemplified in their provisions against poverty and idleness,"' he remarked.[124] Agricultural production and the redistribution of resources ensured that famine, "so common a scourge in every other American nation, so common at a period in every country in civilized Europe, was an evil unknown in the dominions of the Incas.[125]" Infrastructure, like storage houses and the extensive system of roads, which he compared to those found in Rome, and the mobilization of labor, a force he primarily credited for the building and maintaining such a vast empire, also fascinated Prescott. "The industry of the people was secured not only by their compulsory occupations at home but by their employment on those great public works which covered every part of the country," he professed.[126]

The impact of Prescott's work on scholarship on the Incas was influential and long-lasting in Peru and abroad.[127] One of the earliest works to draw influence from Prescott's

[124] Ibid, 171.

[125] Ibid, 173.

[126] Ibid.

[127] For a short list of authors influenced by Prescott's research in the nineteenth century, see Manuel de Mendiburu, *Diccionario historico-biografico del Peru*, vol. 1 (Lima: J.F. Solis, 1874); *El Peru ilustrado.* (Lima: publisher not identified, 1887); Jos?? Antonio de Lavalle, *Galeria de retratos de los Gobernadores y Virreyes del Per??: 1532-1824* (Lima: s.n., 1891); Jose Toribio Polo, *Historia nacional: crítica del diccionario historico-biografico del Peru del señor general Mendiburu* (Lima: Impr. de "El Comercio", por J.R. Sanchez, 1891); E Larrabure y Unanue, *Monografías histórico-americanas* (Lima: Impress de Torres Aguirre, 1893); and several publications from *La Sociedad Geografica de Lima.* For a few works in Spanish published in other countries in the Americas and Europe where Prescott is also cited, see José Bernardo Suárez, *Plutarco de los jovenes: Rasgos biograficos de hombres célebres de América* (Paris: Libreria de Rosa y Bouret, 1872); Diego Barros Arana, "Notas para una bibliografia de obras anónimas i seudónimos sobre la historia, la jeografía y la

scholarship was *Antigüeadades Peruanas* (1851). Mariano Eduardo de Rivero y Ustariz, a well-known Peruvian scientist, and Johann Jakob von Tschudi, a Swiss interdisciplinary scholar, led this joint research project.[128] Their work was perhaps one of the first to debate the possibility of establishing an Inca socialist state in modern society. "This administrative organization was, to a certain extent, somewhat similar to the ideas of certain European publicists of the past and present centuries, known under the name of socialists," the authors argued.[129] More specifically, in their interpretation, the Inca empire was described as having a fair system of justice, one with civil codes, where the punishment fits the crime. However, capital punishment was swift and not uncommon. Arts, including music, were highly

literatura de América," *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, January 1, 1882, ág. 5-171; Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Conflicto y armonias de las razas en América* ... (Buenos Aires: S. Ostwald, 1883); Rafael Fernando Seijas, *El derecho internacional hispano-americano* (Caracas: El Monitor, 1884); Francesc Pi i Margall, *Historia general de América: desde sus tiempos más remotos* (Barcelona: El Progreso Literario, 1888); and Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, *Diego de Almagro: estudios críticos sobre el Descubrimiento de Chile* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Cervantes, 1889). For a few publications in English that reference Prescott's work, see American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society at a Special Meeting, Held in Worcester, Feb. 10, 1859.* (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1859); New-York Historical Society, *Proceedings of the New-York Historical Society, on the Announcement of the Death of William Hickling Prescott, February MDCCCLIX.* (New York, 1859); George Ticknor, *Papers Discussing the Comparative Merits of Prescott's and Wilson's Histories, pro. and Con.: As Laid before the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Boston? s.n., 1861); George Ticknor, *Life of William H. Prescott* (Boston: D. Estes, 1863); Mich) Ladies' Library Association (Kalamazoo, *Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Ladies' Library Association, Kalamazoo, Michigan.* (Kalamazoo: Printed at the "Telegraph" book establishment, 1865); William Cushing, "The North American Review.," *North American Review and Miscellaneous Journal*, 1878, v; Joseph Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America from Its Discovery to the Present Time* (New York: Sabin, 1884); Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America* ... (New York: Houghton, Mifflin and co. etc., 1885); Coast Artillery School (U.S.), Albert Todd, and James Chester, *Analytical Catalogue of the Professional Library of the United States Artillery School at Fort Monroe, Va.: 1881 and 1885* (Washington, D.C.: G.P.O., 1886); Justin Winsor, *Aboriginal America.*, Narrative and Critical History of America ;v. 1 (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1889); E. B. Clark, *Twelve Months in Peru* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1891); George A. Dorsey and William Henry Holmes, *Observations on a Collection of Papuan Crania*, Anthropological Series; v.2, No.1 (Chicago, 1897); George A. Dorsey, *A Bibliography of the Anthropology of Peru*, Anthropological Series ;v. 2, No. 2 (Chicago: Field Columbian Museum, 1898; and Peter De Roo, *History of America before Columbus, According to Documents and Approved Authors* (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott company, 1900).

[128] Peter Kaulicke, *Aportes y vigencia de Johann Jakob von Tschudi (1818-1889)* (Lima: Fondo Editorial PUCP, 2001), 11.

[129] Mariano Eduardo de Rivero y Ustáriz and Johann Jacob von Tschudi, *Peruvian Antiquities, by M.E. Rivero, and J.J. von Tschudi, Tr. by F.L. Hawks*, 1853, 81.

developed. There was no idleness or poverty either.[130] "By equal distribution of the land, the Incas avoided pauperism, a terrible evil which devours the European States," the authors stressed.[131] They portrayed a society where an effective bureaucracy processed trials within five days.[132] The Inca also improved the land and grew their fertilizer through the dung of llamas, alpacas, or guanacos. Guano, the most valuable commodity in Peru before the War of the Pacific, was also used effectively for the benefit of the Inca state.[133]

Though the Inca Empire's ability to "amalgamate so intimately such different nations, and form them a whole so compact," the authors agreed with Prescott's ideas about personal liberty and race.[134] They agreed that a political system of total cooperation at a community level, large-scale labor mobilization (particularly forced settlements), and complex communications systems, to name a few, could only exist if individuals submitted their will to the monarch, who had both temporal and divine powers. Though they touted it as "the most extensive empires recorded in human memory," they posited that this type of submission, reinforced through sophisticated webs of surveillance, explained the "docile and submissive disposition of the Peruvians.[135]" On the other hand, Inca's cranial samples had shown "superiority over the other races of the country on the score of intelligence.[136]"

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[130] Ibid,

[131] Ibid, 84.

[132]They drew much of their descriptions from Garcilazo's romantic Cusco-centric interpretation of the Inca Empire.

[133] *Peruvian Antiquities*, 83, Paul Gootenberg, *Imagining Development: Economic Ideas in Peru's "Fictitious Prosperity" of Guano, 1840-1880* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

[134] *Peruvian Antiquities*, 82, 91.

[135] Ibid, 81, 149.

[136] Ibid, 39.

Though they did not go as far as to call the Peruvian character "slavish submission" like Prescott, the authors posited that this type of obedience, where one that values the communal over the individual, allowing for the construction of a welfare state that provided for every citizen could only take root under an "autocratical government.[137]" This welfare state, also a "police" state since communities were constantly under surveillance by the central government, where idleness and poverty did not exist, could only function in a system where the ruler had absolute power in temporal and divine affairs to effectively mobilize labor and redistribute goods in a predominantly agricultural economy.[138] For Rivero y Ustariz and Tschudi, only in a system of production where the "chief of the state was at the same time an absolute monarch and a venerated pope, under a population essentially peaceable and agricultural, was it possible for this socialism to exist.[139]"

Another significant work that attained an esteemed reputation among intellectual circles in Lima and discussed the possibility of an "Inca socialism" in modern society was Sebastian Llorente's *Historia de la Civilization Peruana* (1879). Born in Spain, Llorente migrated to Peru and quickly became part of the political sphere of Peru in the 1840s, namely on the side of the liberal reformers. He quickly gained a reputation as an ardent reformer of the Peruvian educational system. In 1870, he was sent to Europe by the Peruvian government to study the latest educational models. Most likely, he witnessed the rise and fall of the Paris commune of 1871, even from a distant position. His return in 1872 saw him get further

[137] Ibid, 149.

[138] Ibid, 81.

[139] Ibid, 81-82.

involved in educational reform. He began preparing a monograph on the history of Peru that would build on his earlier works on history, race, and political economy.[140]

According to Llorente in *Historia de la Civilización Peruana*, the Inca "could have been considered a socialist utopia" by nineteenth-century standards.[141] Though Llorente highlights Inca in structure, culture, mobilization of labor, and lack of poverty and idleness, agriculture was perhaps the most crucial element in his analysis, an activity he referred to as "the soul of classical Inca civilization.[142]" The abundance of goods that derived from agriculture, such as "maize, potatoes, cassavas, yams, quinoa, bananas, ollucos, ocas, macas, pineapples, avocados, chirimoyas, and other succulent delicacies," and state administration allowed for "millions of men tending to one single man, sharing all the same bonds, labor, ideas, and benefits.[143]" For Llorente, indigenous people were more than content to participate in agricultural labor. Celebrations tied to agricultural cycles were just as crucial as festivities that exalted the victories of the military.[144] "Agriculture was made easier through the reciprocal support of *agricultores*, who turned the most wretched tasks into fun activities, "

[140] Sebastián Lorente, *Pensamientos sobre el Perú* (Lima: Tipografía de la voz del pueblo., 1855); Sebastián Lorente, *Historia antigua del Perú* (Lima: Libreria de Masias, 1860); Sebastián Lorente, *Historia de la conquista del Perú* (Lima: Imp. Arbieu, 1861); Sebastián Lorente, *Historia del Perú compendiada para el uso de los colegios y de las personas ilustradas* (Lima: Aubert & Loiseau, 1866).

[141] Sebastián Lorente, *Historia de La Civilización Peruana* (Lima: Imprenta Liberal, 1879), 146.

[142] *Historia de la Civilización Peruana*, 67.

[143] "Nothing demanded more attention from governors and those who were governed than agriculture, the soul of Inca civilization," *Historia de la Civilización Peruana*, 67, 208.

[144] Ibid, 115.

he pointed out.[145] In his view, the labor of these *agricultures* "sustained the socialist spirit" in this society.[146]

Like previous writers, Llorente criticized the Inca Empire on several accounts. For one, he was concerned with individual liberty under the Inca Empire. For the author, the social organization of the Incas, all subjects, whether it was a member of the ruling class or a lowly *yanacona*, "lost their sense of individuality.[147]" Though redistribution of goods eliminated social problems, he believed their conceptions of labor and property were antagonistic to progress.[148] Moreover, Llorente even suspected that the Inca system was far from egalitarian. He pointed out that the ruling class sometimes succumbed to greed and corruption rather than adhering to ruling principles that ensured the welfare of its citizens.[149] Under his interpretation, the empire was run "Not on humanitarian principles but more or less on ambitious aspirations.[150]" Inca socialism also convinced him that all socialist and communist movements would end up in authoritarian regimes. For the intellectual, "All theocracies, given their nature, present in abundance in socialist practices, bring upon nations the irreparable plague of despotism.[151]" For these reasons, it was possible that Llorente

[145] Ibid, 68.

[146] Ibid, 208.

[147] Ibid, 205.

[148] "The socialist organization of labor and property went against material progress and moral perfectionism" Ibid, 212.

[149] Ibid, 147.

[150] Ibid, 147, 195.

[151] Ibid, 147. Other references about Inca despotism can be found on pages 14, 104, 196, 204, and 214.

discarded the Inca system as a viable economic model for the future. “While worthy of admiration, such socialist conception should not be put into practice,” he commented.[152]

Llorente was more conflicted about the long-lasting effect servitude had on indigenous people. On one hand, he perceived that Inca social organization, where familial bonds defer to communal ones, where the community triumphs over the individual, were doomed to fail. “Those will always be the effects of socialism, sacrifices in the name of fraternity, the most intimate feelings,” he quipped.[153] In his view, the suppression of the individual essentially explained the "unchanging docility of our national character.[154]” On the other hand, he did not believe that this state of “servitude” was an unchanging biological imperative. Despite centuries of domination, he posited, “the immemorial servitude has not degraded the Indian character in a general and perpetual manner.[155]” Llorente’s modern Indian subject was “beautiful,” excelled in education, the press, and courthouse when given the opportunity.[156] More importantly, their most historically recognizable character trait, docility, provided the foundation for remaking a modern Peru.[157] “Their docility, which others have exploited, could help establish the perfect social order,” Llorente theorized.[158]

A little over a decade after Llorente's observations on the Inca Empire, another Peruvianist contributed to debates on Inca socialism and racial thinking. In his *A History of*

[152] Ibid, 195.

[153] Ibid, 155.

[154] Ibid, 155.

[155] Ibid, 39.

[156] Ibid, 39.

[157] Ibid, 39.

[158] Ibid, 39.

Peru (1892), Clements Markham, a British intellectual who built his earlier career working for the East India Company, compared contemporary politics and the Inca state.[159] The social organization of the Incas impressed Markham, whose descriptions of the administration largely resembled those of a welfare state, or at least one that, at the very least, was "intimately tied to socialism.[160]" For Markham, Incas had not only achieved the highest level of civilization among pre-Hispanic societies but perhaps also set a precedent for future socialist movements in Europe.[161] "In many respects Peru under the Incas resembled the Utopia of Sir Thomas More," he commented.[162]" More's *Utopia* had recently received increased attention among Leftist circles in Europe due to the diligence of Karl Kautsky, the leading figure of Marxism after Engels's death.[163] Under Markham's interpretation of the Incas, "the dreams of socialists" had materialized in Peru prior to the arrival of the Spanish.[164]

Markham's racial thinking echoed popular notions about indigenous people under the Inca but remained consistent with his interpretation of the empire. He hardly saw the

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[159] Leoncio López-Ocón, Jean-Pierre Chaumeil, and Ana Verde Casanova, eds., "El Peruanismo de Sir Clements Markham (1830-1916)," in *Los Americanistas Del Siglo XIX* (Vervuert Verlagsgesellschaft, 2005), 111–44, https://doi.org/10.31819/9783964565471-006.

[160] Clements R Markham, *Historia del Peru*, trans. Juan de Dios Benites (Lima: Imprenta de "La Equitativa," 1895), 11-37, 38.

[161] Sir Clements Robert Markham, *A History of Peru* (C. H. Sergel, 1892), 11.

[162] *A History of Peru*, 39.

[163] "Thomas More is one of the few who have been capable of this bold intellectual leap; at a time when the capitalist mode of production was in its infancy, he mastered its essential features so thoroughly that the alternative mode of production, which he elaborated and contrasted with it as a remedy for its evils, contained several of the most important ingredients of Modern Socialism," Kautsky, 172. See Karl Kautsky, *Thomas More and His Utopia* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1959). Kautsky's initial reflections on More were published in 1888. For more on Kautsky and his place within Marxism and historiography, see Paul Blackledge, "Karl Kautsky and Marxist Historiography," *Science & Society* 70, no. 3 (2006): 337–59; and David Ray Papke, "The Communistic Inclinations of Sir Thomas More," 2016, 16.

[164] *A History of Peru*, 39.

degradation of the body and mind as an imperative under such a highly structured authoritarian society. Although "docile" under Inca rule, indigenous people were not seen as simple cogs in a machine that mindlessly followed orders. They also possessed a high intellect and an admirable work ethic, quintessential for the functioning of this Inca socialism. In his words, the Inca was a "magnificent empire, densely populated by a docile, intelligent and industrious race.[165]" Like Llorente, Markham agreed that the Spanish conquest had stunted progress and left a lasting mark on Peruvian character until the present. "The Peruvians are wonderful pedestrians and possess great powers of endurance. However, they now usually have a melancholy expression and are lovers of solitude. This was probably not the case before the Spanish conquest," Markham asserted.[166]

Not all scholars agreed with Markham's romantic interpretation of the Inca empire. For example, Heinrich Cunow's *Die soziale Verfassung des Inkareichs* (1896) disagreed with contemporary comparisons to socialism.[167] Cunow's work in ethnology was vastly influential in the social sciences in the early twentieth century.[168] He also left a mark on politics, particularly among socialist circles. Along with Kautsky, he was one of the leading figures of German socialism after the death of Engels–at least until his stance on the Great War drew

[165] Ibid, 64.

[166] Clements R Markham, *Historia del Peru*, trans. Juan de Dios Benites (Lima: Imprenta de "La Equitativa," 1895), 40.

[167] "Morgan contributed to the creation of an entire school of ethnologists, and in Europe, his most notable follower was H. Cunow, the author of studies on the kinship systems of Australian aborigines, the Inca empire, and the general economic attributes of the matriarchate," Alexander Vucinich, *Darwin in Russian Thought* (Univ of California Press, 1988), 362; Leoncio López-Ocón, Jean-Pierre Chaumeil, and Ana Verde Casanova, eds., "El Peruanismo de Sir Clements Markham (1830-1916)," in *Los Americanistas Del Siglo XIX* (Vervuert Verlagsgesellschaft, 2005), 111–44, 137.

[168] For a few works influenced by Cunow, see Edwin Robert Anderson Seligman, *The Economic Interpretation of History* (London: Macmillan & Co., ltd., 1902), 78-80; Andrew Lang and J. J. Atkinson, *Social Origins* (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and co., 1903), 36-44; Gunnar Landtman, *The Primary Causes of Social Inequality* (Helsingfors: 1909).

much criticism from the radical Left.[169] At least for Cunow in 1896, socialism had never occurred in the Inca Empire. He touted these comparisons as absurd. “The socialist monarchy where the communist ideas of Campanilla, Vairasse, and Fourier became a reality are pure fantasy,” he commented on the Inca social organization.[170] Cunow appeared less than impressed by chief aspects of the Inca administration, such as colonization, mobilization of labor, road network, mail service, and justice system. Moreover, he did not seem impressed at the redistribution of goods within the empire. Instead, Cunow attributed advancements in agriculture to tribes the Inca had conquered.[171] Like past intellectuals, he posited that the Inca's autocratic, paternalistic system had led to the "spiritual and physical degeneration" of indigenous people.[172] “The influence, perhaps, of those institutions which rendered their manner gentle, have their minds this unmanly softness,” he posited on the long-term impact of Inca rule over the indigenous minority.[173] As he remarked, these ideas had previously been

[169] “These opinions of Cunow, although embellished with the lore of historical materialism and urged with all kinds of sham Marxian arguments, constituted the most lamentable surrender, not only of all political principles, but also of any far-sighted conception of history,” see Heinrich Ströbel and H. J. Stenning, *The German Revolution and After* (New York: T. Seltzer, 1923), 22. Other socialists also criticized Cunow’s ideas and position on socialism and imperialism. See Edwyn Robert Bevan, *German Social Democracy during the War* (London: G. Allen & Unwin ltd., 1918), 37; Nikolaĭ Bukharin, *Historical Materialism, a System of Sociology, by Nikolai Bukharin. Authorized Translation from the Third Russian Edition.* (New York: International Publishers, 1934), 51.

[170] Heinrich Cunow, *Die soziale Verfassung des Inkareichs: eine Untersuchung des altperuanischen Agrarkommunismus* (J. H. W. Dietz, 1896), vi.

[171] Heinrich Cunow and María Woitsch, *La Organización Social del Imperio de los Incas* (Lima: Domingo Miranda, 1939), 62-66, 124.

[172] *La Organización Social del Imperio de los Incas*, viii.

[173] “The Indians of Peru are now more tame and depressed than any people of America. Their feeble spirits, relaxed in lifeless inaction, seem capable of any hold or manly exertion,” William Robertson, *The History of America* (F.A. Schraembl, 1787), 356; Heinrich Cunow, *Die soziale Verfassung des Inkareichs: eine Untersuchung des altperuanischen Agrarkommunismus* (J. H. W. Dietz, 1896), viii.

advanced in William Roberton's influential *The History of America* (1787).[174] For Cunow, the docility and submissiveness of indigenous people essentially explained the swift Spanish victory over the Incas. In his view, the Incas were not a "socialist state" but rather a "confederation of hostile tribes" ruled by a "theocracy that controlled every last detail.[175]"

The Incas as a Blueprint for Modernity: Newspaper Narratives about the Inca in Lima and Ancash, 1885-1900

While representations of the Incas found in newspapers from Ancash and Lima in the postwar period did not go as far as to compare Inca social organization to nineteenth-century socialism, they still viewed the Inca as key to rethinking questions about the state, the economy, and race in the postwar period. Much like other politicians and intellectuals in the nineteenth century, the press in Lima and Ancash in the postwar period used historical narratives about the Inca empire to criticize the shortcomings of the republican government and project their visions of modernity, one inspired by the Inca system.[176] Though a few authors showed concern about its "despotic" government, they also proposed looking to the past for political economy and social regeneration following the War of the Pacific.

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[174]Stewart J. Brown, "William Robertson, Early Orientalism and the 'Historical Disquisition' on India of 1791," *The Scottish Historical Review* 88, no. 226 (2009): 289–312; Neil Hargraves, "The 'Progress of Ambition': Character, Narrative, and Philosophy in the Works of William Robertson," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 63, no. 2 (2002): 261–82, https://doi.org/10.2307/3654197.; László Kontler, "William Robertson and His German Audience on European and Non-European Civilisations," *The Scottish Historical Review* 80, no. 209 (2001): 63–89; Jeffrey Smitten, "Impartiality in Robertson's History of America," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 19, no. 1 (1985): 56–77, https://doi.org/10.2307/2739130.

[175] *La Organización Social del Imperio de los Incas*, 124, 138.

[176] *Forjando La Nación Peruana* provides the most up-to-date narratives on nineteenth-century Inca symbolism. The last quarter of the century remains unexplored, however. Mark Thurner, Carmen McEvoy, and Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Forjando La Nación Peruana: El Incaísmo y Los Idealios Políticos de La República Siglos Xviii-Xx* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2022). See also Cecilia Mendez, "Incas Si, Indios No: Notes on Peruvian Creole Nationalism and Its Contemporary Crisis," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28, no. 1 (1996): 197–225.

Some newspapers in Lima and Ancash presented interpretations that highlighted the social organization of the Incas to project their visions of modernity. For some authors in *La Juventud de Ancash*, a more liberal publication, the Inca Empire was a land of abundance, incomparable to European societies at the time of the conquest. The Inca Empire embodied "pleasure and happiness, calm and tranquility, everything strange to the Old World.[177]" Others emphasized their justice system, particularly when it came to punishment. For instance, *La Justicia*, a rather conservative news media, called attention to a social problem they believed held back modernization in the department: idleness. Although they believed parents should play a key role in teaching children about the benefits of labor from an early age, not only for their happiness "but also for the nation and humanity," *La Justicia* stressed. They were particularly impressed with the lack of idleness in the Inca Empire. "In the time of the Incas, idleness was punished with severe penalties, and we should do the same to wage war on the idlers of our society," the newspaper posited.[178]

The secularization of the state also compelled some authors in *La Justicia* to draw comparisons to the Inca empire. By the late nineteenth century, the expropriation of ecclesiastical property, whether in theory or praxis, had become part of the modernizing project of the Peruvian government.[179] In Ancash, conservative newspapers such as *La Justicia* often criticized attempts or rumors about closing convents and parishes. They responded by publishing articles on the importance of religion for men and women, the value

[177] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, December 16, 1893.

[178] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, April 10, 1893.

[179] Although the expropriation of Church property had occurred throughout the nineteenth century, this process peaked by the late nineteenth century. See Fernando Armas Asín, *Patrimonio divino y capitalismo criollo: el proceso desamortizador de censos eclesiásticos en el Perú* (Lima: Instituto Riva-Agüero, 2010).

of maintaining traditional gender roles in the family, and the dangers of secularization.[180] In one particular publication, *La Justicia* reacted to rumors published in a local liberal newspaper, *El Correo de Ancash*, also based in Huaraz, which had informed its readership about members of Congress in Lima agreeing to shut down convents in Ancash.[181] Aside from discrediting the claims of *El Correo* and the "unconstitutional project" coming from Lima, *La Justicia* stressed that convents, unlike gambling houses and brothels, gave much to charity.[182] The newspaper reminded its audience that some of the most esteemed governments in human history, like in classical antiquity, had respected religious institutions like convents. They believed that the Inca empire also fit into this category.[183] To the author, "Even in Peru, under the Inca Empire, these peoples, simply out of natural instinct, respected the people's guardian angels and had maidens dedicated to the sun god's temples.[184]"

Inca state administration also came to attention in the press's critique of the current Peruvian government. Their system of roads and redistribution of goods still captured the imagination of observers, notably since it was rumored that poverty did not exist in the time of the Inca. "Incas had great roads and *tambos*, achievements comparable to Rome," an author of *El Comercio* reminded its readers.[185] A recent surveying expedition into the department of Puno, mainly in the province of Carabaya, raised questions about

[180] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, September 30, 1893; *La Justicia*, April 20, 1894; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, June 26, 1894; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, September 10, 1894.

[181] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, January 31, 1893.

[182] Ibid.

[183] Ibid.

[184] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, January 31, 1893.

[185] *El Comercio*, Lima, January 22, 1894.

modernization in the region. *El Comercio* reported that local populations still frequently used the roads and *tambos* constructed in pre-Hispanic times.[186] "What have Peruvians done since independence to communicate with one another? Nothing!" the author lamented.[187] Other authors of *El Comercio* agreed that the construction of a sophisticated system of roads, a network that would facilitate the movement of commodities in the country, was quintessential for developing a "Peruvian industry.[188]" The commenter did not believe that the landscape would be a great obstacle for consolidating these projects either. "Nature" had been conquered before under the Incas.[189] "The Inca built celebrated roads that crossed the entire country, comparable to those from Rome," he concluded.[190]"

The construction of a sophisticated system of transportation would maximize Peru's most important economic activity: agriculture. For one observer, the Viru Valley, located along the coast of La Libertad's northern department, could transform into a major production center. The valley had been a source of labor and tribute, first under the Chimú empire and then for the conquering Inca.[191] By the late nineteenth century, especially after the War of the Pacific, agricultural activity had collapsed. Labor was scarce. *Haciendas* were languishing and could no longer produce sugar and cotton in abundance. The author stressed

[186] A *tambo* was a state-administered storehouse. The Spaniards later make use of them during their campaign in the Andes.

[187] Ibid.

[188] *El Comercio*, Lima, August 31, 1895.

[189] Ibid.

[190] *El Comercio*, Lima, August 31, 1895

[191] Richard W. Keatinge and Geoffrey W. Conrad, "Imperialist Expansion in Peruvian Prehistory: Chimu Administration of a Conquered Territory," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 10, no. 3 (1983): 255–83, https://doi.org/10.2307/529543.

the need to recuperate the economic capacity of these territories through a system of irrigation and farming modeled after pre-Hispanic societies. He saw potential in working the "immense lands that are currently deserts, which had been cultivated under the time of the Inca.[192]" In the author's view, the region had almost all the ingredients to become a key agricultural center in the country. Asian immigrants and "Indians from the mountains" were to fill the labor quota.[193] "Only capital is needed," the author remarked.[194]

Another author of *El Comercio* proposed an economic system built around the production and exportation of one of Peru's most common and ancient commodities: corn. For economic and cultural reasons, maize was an essential staple of the Inca administration.[195] He argued that scientists of different epochs, like Rudolf Jakob Camerarius, Friedrich Wilhelm Heinrich Alexander von Humboldt, and Charles Darwin, among others, had demonstrated that corn was native to the Americas, an imperative he saw as proof that Peru would be ideal for the large-scale production of this commodity. The success of maize cultivation during the Inca empire, which brought this commodity into the territories they conquered, further encouraged his thesis. "The indomitable Inca race expanded its territory through conquest, and it extended the cultivation of corn down to the farthest corner of Chile," he reminded his readers.[196]" Since it had once served to feed all indigenous peoples in the Americas, the production of corn had the potential to modernize

[192] *El Comercio*, Lima, April 5, 1894.

[193] Ibid.

[194] Ibid.

[195] Richard L Burger et al., eds., *Variations in the Expression of Inka Power: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 18 and 19 October 1997* (Washington, D.C.; Harvard University Press, 2007); Terence N. D'Altroy, *The Incas* (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2003).

[196] *El Comercio*, November 21, 1895.

Peru. “The practical effects and results of corn in Peru should concern us since it has real and positive utility, a product of experience that cannot be found in any book,” he concluded.[197]

Racial thinking among the ruling classes was far more complex, however. For some members of *La Juventud*, indigenous people had been individuals capable of remarkable accomplishments until the arrival of the Spanish. The conquest and colonization had devastating consequences for the Inca and its subjects. As *La Juventud* lamented, they went “from 12 million people, who were humble and virtuous, to 3 million pusillanimous wretched who became impoverished and were stripped of their gold.[198]” Other members of *La Juventud*, influenced by the Atusparia rebellion of 1885, argued that the docile character of indigenous people dated back to Inca social organization. They were not inherently violent. At least events in 1885 were not due to indigenous people's predisposition to violence. "Some believed that the indigenous revolution of 1885 was due to the ferocity of this race. No! The Indians are docile," *La Juventud* remarked.[199]

Other authors in Lima disagreed with these interpretations of indigenous people. For Jorge Polar, a politician and intellectual, indigenous people had evolved since the Inca. Spanish colonialism and the national period had not degraded their character. On the contrary, it had strengthened it. For Polar, indigenous people were not backward nor docile. “Our race, offspring of the fantastic Incas, fabulous conquerors, and brilliant liberators,” he commented, “is noble, generous, loyal, and good.[200]” In the view of Polar, indigenous

[197] Ibid.

[198] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, December 16, 1893.

[199] *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, October 16, 1893.

[200] *El Comercio*, Lima, December 24, 1895.

peoples' participation in the War of the Pacific had shown that they were not "degenerated races." He describes this category as inherently pernicious, evil, and easily subjected to authoritarianism. Degenerated races were also anti-patriotic. "The degenerated races do not defend their country," he remarked.[201] More polemical were his comments about Peruvian politics. For one, he vociferously argued that Peru had never been a land of despotism in its history, mainly because of the character of its people. For Polar, the Peruvian "indomitable character never let despotism take firm roots in Peru.[202]"

Not all authors in Lima who hailed the social organization of the Inca remained silent on Inca despotism. However, they considered a highly centralized authoritarian government necessary to preserve order in a society where collective interests prevailed over the individual. Another congressman, Garcia Rossel, emphatically defended the legacy of the Inca empire in a heated exchange with another politician, Leguía and Martinez. During the congressional session of October 24, 1895, the session centered on the future of the *Juntas Departamentales*. The Constitutional Party established this bureaucratic body in 1886. It was an attempt to decentralize political power in the country by making each department responsible for its budget. However, the project achieved limited success. For one, departmental governments faced severe deficiencies in collecting taxes, particularly the *contribución personal.* With the defeat of the *constitucionalistas* in the civil war of 1894-95, debates over the abolition of the *Juntas Departamentales* were quickly put on the congressional agenda. Garcia Rossel opted for their elimination if Peru was to imitate the

[201] Ibid.

[202] Ibid.

centralized government like “modern countries in Europe.[203]" More importantly, Garcia Rossel responded to Mr. Leguía and Martinez's comments about the backwardness of the Inca empire. Though he recognized Inca despotism, Garcia Rossel argued in his presentation that "in no other nation has there been an institution like the Inca.[204]” In his view, the Incas had accomplished extraordinary achievements. Despite its rigid social organization and lack of currency, the Inca had mastered the art of rule.[205] “They solved the problem of combining a despotic regime with a communal regime, one where all its inhabitants were property owners,” Rossel concluded.[206]

Conclusion:

It is difficult to ascertain what Peruvians exactly imagined in 1885 upon hearing reports about a communist or neo-Inca indigenous rebellion taking place in Huaraz, located less than 250 miles from the capital.[207] An analysis of indigenous people and the Inca representations in monographs and the public press in Lima and Ancash by the end of the century paints a complicated picture. For one, pessimism existed among some ruling classes towards races that many scientists in the United States and Europe considered inferior. They considered indigenous people to be violent, docile, and idle. In some circles, intellectuals accepted that Inca rule and Spanish despotism had degraded indigenous people's moral and physical fabric. The republican government had not done much to improve the social

[203] *El Comercio*, Lima, October 25, 1895.

[204] *El Comercio*, Lima, October 25, 1895.

[205] *El Comercio*, Lima, October 25, 1895.

[206] Ibid.

[207] *La Bolsa de Arequipa* argued that Atusparia was loyal to the Constitutional Party.

condition of indigenous people either. Moreover, local authorities exploited indigenous people's docility for political gain. Other reformers, however, saw indigenous people and the Inca social organization as compatible with their own views of modernity. Through education and labor, indigenous people could become part of the national project, at times, without abandoning their indigenous culture, an imperative that many scientists and social reformers of the time considered an impediment to progress. At the same time, for some authors, the Inca Empire could serve as a national development model in the postwar period. A handful went as far as to suggest that "Inca socialism" could lay the blueprints for the socialist society the radicals in Europe, the United States, and Latin America envisioned. Narratives about the restoration of Inca rule date back to the time of the conquest, or as Peruvian Alberto Flores Galindo has called it, the "Andean Utopia." It appears, however, that an "Andean dystopia" had also emerged by the end of the nineteenth century.[208] Several politicians were suspicious of "Inca socialism" and voted against its implementation in modern society. However, it was not until the 1920s that this intellectual project once again gained momentum among *indigenista* reformers and the radical Left in Peru.[209]

[208] Alberto. Flores Galindo, *Buscando un inca: identidad y utopía en los Andes* (La Habana, Cuba: Casa de las Américas, 1986).

[209] José Carlos Mariátegui, *Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana*, 1st edition (Barcelona: Linkgua ediciones, 2021); Marisol de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919-1991* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000).

Chapter 4: Towards a Juridical Definition of the *indígena*: Race, Law, and Republicanism in Ancash, 1885-1900

Introduction

Liberalism was one of the leading ideologies in nineteenth-century Latin America. After independence, new nations sought to consolidate republican forms of government and free market policies. In most cases, these projects did not materialize until the mid-century. [1] In Peru, establishing a universal system of laws and a universal form of taxation, two critical tenets in liberal ideology, were inextricably tied to the *contribución personal*. During the colonial period, the tax, initially named the *tributo*, had only applied to those who fell under the legal category of *indio.* The term *indio* became tied to the payment of the *tributo*. To be an indigenous meant to pay the *tributo*. For indigenous people, fulfilling tributary duties guaranteed, at least in theory, the protection of their rights by the state at the court of law. For the crown, the tribute was one of the leading sources of revenue. Fiscal dependency on the tribute–and to some extent, the tribute-for-rights "pact" between indigenous people and the state–continued into the Republican era, exposing the contradictions of a liberal state that still taxed its citizens based on ethnic markers. The *contribución personal* was finally abolished in 1854, only to be revived in 1879 during the War of the Pacific until it was briefly suspended in 1885. President Andrés Avelino Cáceres enacted it once again in late 1886. At least in Ancash, where thousands of indigenous people had rebelled during the Atusparia Rebellion a year earlier, this "new" version of the *contribución personal* was highly unpopular. Authorities could not collect the tax, and outbreaks of violence took place in some provinces. However, the rejection of the tribute from 1886 to 1895 in Ancash invites

[1] Carlos Contreras, "El impuesto de la contribución personal en el Perú del siglo XIX," *Histórica* 29, no. 2 (March 24, 2005): 67–106.

us to ask whether it remained a salient component of legal argumentation used by indigenous people at the court of law as it had been in the colonial period and early republican period. If the payment of the tribute was tied to early modern notions of citizenship–a form of social contract–how did the abolition of the tribute reformulate economic, political, and social relationships for those defined as *indígenas* in late nineteenth-century Peru?

This chapter will look at the court cases from 1885-1900 to answer this question. Rather than focusing solely on the *contribución personal,* the narrative will provide a history of legal culture in the department of Ancash at the turn of the century, a period often touted as politically unstable. The first section will examine a brief history of the tribute, its relationship to indigenous people, and liberalism in Peru. The second section will examine self-representation in the court of law and its bearing on a legal case. The use of the tribute to evoke legal rights (often under the category of *contribuyente*) appears less frequently in the court cases in late nineteenth-century Ancash. However, citizens employed other categories based on colonial forms of power to protect their interests. As the cases show, the lawsuits involved citizens from all social classes, whether as a litigant or a witness, as town notary or a judge, as an indigenous peasant or a local landowner. The last section will examine the documentation and present an ethnography of a legal proceeding. As cases show, indigenous people used colonial and liberal law in their judiciary struggles. The analysis will recreate litigants' mundane but essential strategies during a legal proceeding. From initial pleas to petitions, all legal paperwork required using *papel sellado* (sealed paper). By the late nineteenth century, this form of indirect tax had become an effective way for the state to collect revenue and catalog its citizens. Only indigenous people were permitted to pay the lowest amount for *papel sellado,* a practice inherited from the colonial period. Instead of the

tribute, I contend, the *papel sellado* operated as a form of taxation that based its criteria on ethnic categories such as *indígena*. For the litigants who fell under this legal category, it became a tool to assert their rights in often lengthy and complex legal proceedings.

Notes on Sources

Two types of sources guide the narrative of the chapter. The first are court cases from Ancash, which range from 1885 to 1900. Though this period coincides with the increased commodification of land, the study will primarily focus on the experience of indigenous people, as litigants, in the court of law. Recovering their voices–albeit mitigated by scribes, notaries, lawyers, judges, and other bureaucrats–was emphasized over rural Peru's patterns, figures, and statistics on land tenure.[2] Nevertheless, one does not have to look far to encounter evidence of land expropriation at the hand of influential landlords and corrupt bureaucracy in Ancash, so these stories will also be present in the narrative. Some cases have completed documentation, while others are missing folios. The second essential source is Francisco Garcia Calderón (1834-1905). The most well-known jurist of nineteenth-century Peru, who also served as interim president in 1881 during the Chilean occupation of Lima, García Calderón was an authoritative voice in jurisprudence. His *Diccionario de la legislación peruana* (1879) has been credited for providing guidelines for public servants, intellectuals, and the general public on legal proceedings.[3] His work will define and

[2] For a monumental and detailed work on the expansion of capitalism Puno, see Nils Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition* (Stanford: University of California Press, 1993). Carlos Aguirre has argued that historians can still "reconstruct, though always imperfectly, the point of view of the subordinate" through mediated legal documents. See Carlos Aguirre, "Tinterillos, Indians, and the State: Towards a History of Legal Intermediaries in Post-Independence Peru," n.d., 33.

[3] Carlos Nunez, Carlos Augusto Ramos Núñez, *Historia del derecho civil peruano: siglos XIX y XX* (Fondo Editorial PUCP, 2000); Carlos Ramos Núñez, *El Diccionario de la legislación peruana de Francisco García*

reconstruct several legal categories and strategies indigenous people used to gain the upper hand in the court of law.

The Politics of Taxation: Liberalism, Public Policy, and Race in Peru, 1854-1900

The impact of liberalism in what became the Republic of Peru may be dated back to the eighteenth century.[4] At a macro level, the state had taken several steps by 1767. For instance, the Society of Jesus was suppressed in Spanish America. Other changes in administration accompanied efforts to secularize the state. Often referred to as the "Bourbon Reforms," the empire's reorganization aimed to assert greater control over the colonies' political, fiscal, and social affairs. The reforms achieved moderate success, particularly in promoting free trade, immigration, and technological innovation.[5] Not all responded favorably to these impositions. In some regions, violence erupted as a response to changes in policy –the rebellion of Tupac Amaru II (1780-1783) in the Southern Andes and the Revolt of the Comuneros in the Viceroyalty of New Granada (1781) being two of the most notorious cases.[6] In Lima, several Enlightenment-influenced intelligentsias debated liberal ideas, many

Calderón o la obra de un jurista burgués, La experiencia burguesa en el Perú (1840-1940) (Vervuert Verlagsgesellschaft, 2004).

[4] Jeremy Adelman, "Liberalism and Constitutionalism in Latin America in the 19th Century," *History Compass* 12, no. 6 (2014): 508–16, https://doi.org/10.1111/hic3.12157.

[5] Kendall W. Brown, *Bourbons and Brandy: Imperial Reform in Eighteenth-Century Arequipa* (Albuquerque: University of New México, 1986); Susan Deans-Smith, *Bureaucrats, Planters, and Workers: The Making of the Tobacco Monopoly in Bourbon Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992); Anthony McFarlane, *Colombia Before Independence: Economy, Society, and Politics Under Bourbon Rule* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Juan Pedro Viqueira Alban, *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999); Bruce A. Castleman, *Building the King's Highway: Labor, Society, and Family on Mexico's Caminos Reales, 1757--1804* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2005).

[6] Scarlett O'Phelan, *Un siglo de rebeliones anticoloniales: Perú y Bolivia, 1700-1783*, Segunda edición en español, julio de 2012.., Travaux de l'Institut français d'études andines ; t. 287 (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos : Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2012); Charles F. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840* (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press Books, 1999); Anthony

of which were best expressed in *El Mercurio* Peruano (1791-1795). Although the Napoleonic invasion (1807-1814) created a crisis of legitimacy in the Spanish Empire, sparking a wave of independence movements, similar developments, save some exceptions, did not occur in the Viceroyalty of Peru.[7] Though most ruling classes remained loyal to the crown, recent studies have shown that freedom movements developed in the provinces before the country achieved official independence from Spain at the Battle of Ayacucho in 1824.[8]

While Peru achieved independence in 1824, a liberal state, as envisioned by liberal reformers, did not take shape until the mid-nineteenth century. Civil wars and political instability prevented the consolidation of democratic institutions and free market policies until the 1850s. By the 1870s, a "guano bourgeoisie" had established political dominance in the country. They drew much of their economic and political power from the production of bird manure. They invested their money in finance, export agriculture, and railroad construction.[9] Though they allocated little money towards industrialization, other spheres of civil society, such as education and police, were improved.[10] Changes in law followed a similar path. By the 1850s, several promulgated (and abrogated) Constitutions and legal reforms had paved the path toward codification.[11] The enactment of the *Codigo Civil of 1852*

McFarlane, *Colombia Before Independence: Economy, Society, and Politics Under Bourbon Rule* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[7] Pablo Macera, *Obras escogidas de historia*, ed. Miguel Pinto Huaracha, Primera edición (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2014).

[8] Cecilia Méndez, *The Plebeian Republic: The Huanta Rebellion and the Making of the Peruvian State, 1820–1850*, First Edition edition (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2005), 30; Luis Rosado, Guido Riveros, and Paulo Lanas, *Narra La Independencia Desde Tu Pueblo 1* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos IEP, 2017).

[9] Alfonso W Quiroz, *Domestic and Foreign Finance in Modern Peru, 1850-1950: Financing Visions of Development* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993).

[10] G. Antonio Espinoza, *Education and the State in Modern Peru: Primary Schooling in Lima, 1821–c. 1921* (London: Palgrave McMillan, 2013).

[11] Cristobal Aljovin de Losada, *Caudillos y Constituciones: Peru 1821-1845* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000).

(civil code) and the Constitution of 1860—which remained in effect, save a brief interruption, until 1920–provided the legal framework for a nation transitioning from economic protectionism to free market policies.[12] Colonial legislation, such as the Laws of the Indies–which had defined the administration of justice in Spanish America for the last three hundred years–was expected to be replaced by liberal legislation.

The guano bonanza also allowed for the abolition of the *contribución personal* in 1854, a taxation that primarily targeted indigenous people. In theory, the tax had been an anathema in the new liberal nation. There had been several attempts to abolish it before. During the War of Independence in 1821, Jose de San Martín also abolished it. Nevertheless, in 1828, it was revived under the name *contribución de indígenas y castas* and assumed its final form as *contribución personal* until its abolition in 1854. The tax was still far removed from a universal taxation system since it still based its criteria on perceived sociocultural markers and legal categories such as *indígena*. However, liberal state makers had little choice, at least from an economic standpoint, since it remained one of the main sources of revenue for the government, a role it had also fulfilled in the colonial period.[13] For indigenous people, the tax was more than an economic relationship. In Spanish America, the term "*indio*" was both a fiscal category and a legal term that defined political, social, and cultural relations. As stipulated by the Laws of the Indies, the legal framework that ruled the

[12] Atilio Aníbal Alterini and Carlos Soto, "El proceso de codificación del Derecho privado en Perú y Argentina," *Derecho PUCP*, no. 53 (December 1, 2000): 513–29, https://doi.org/10.18800/derechopucp.200001.014.; Alejandro Guzmán Brito, "EL TRADICIONALISMO DEL CÓDIGO CIVIL PERUANO 1852," *Revista de Estudios Histórico-Jurídicos*, no. 23 (2001): 547–65, https://doi.org/10.4067/S0716-54552001002300016.

[13] Herbert S. Klein, *The American Finances of the Spanish Empire: Royal Income and Expenditures in Colonial Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia, 1680-1809* (University of New Mexico Press, 1998); John Jay TePaske, Herbert S. Klein, and Kendall W. Brown, *The Royal Treasuries of the Spanish Empire in America* (Duke University Press, 1982).

colonial government for more than three hundred years, "*indio*"–a term that entered legal vocabulary in Europe during the conquest–paid the *tributo* (tribute) as a recognition of their vassalage under the king. "That the Indians, as our subjects and vassals, once pacified and under our obedience and vassalage, should be useful and give tribute in recognition of our lordship and service," King Charles V had promulgated in 1523.[14] In other terms, being an Indio meant fulfilling fiscal obligations in the form of the *tributo*. Spaniards, mestizos, and free blacks were largely exempt from this taxation during the colonial period.[15]

More than a hundred years after Charles V promulgation, Juan de Solorzano Pereira (1575-1655), an influential Spanish jurist in the monarchy, echoed similar sentiments on the tribute. Solorzano Pereira was one of three intellectuals tasked with recompiling all the laws enacted in the Americas since 1492–a legal corpus completed in 1680 and known as the *Recopilacion de las Leyes de Indias*. For the lawyer, the tribute was vital to the colonial

[14] *Recopilación de las leyes de indias*, Book VI, Title 5, Law 1.

[15] "Unos años después se aplicaron diferentes formas de "contribuciones directas" en casi todos los nuevos estados-nación, con variaciones muy significativas en distintos estados federados o departamentos. Mientras casi todas las "contribuciones directas" de esta época apuntaban a establecer cobros universales entre los contribuyentes, en muchos casos con tasas graduadas según el ingreso o el tipo de oficio en que trabajaba el individuo, los resultados variaron mucho y en las regiones con una presencia demográfica indígena importante las diferentes contribuciones se iban asemejando más a formas de capitación con un cobro único que, en la mayoría de los casos, solamente se aplicó a los indígenas," Aaron Pollack, "Hacia Una Historia Social Del Tributo de Indios y Castas En Hispanoamérica. Notas En Torno a Su Creación, Desarrollo y Abolición," *Historia Mexicana* 66, no. 1 (September 2016): 65–160. By the late eighteenth century, there was also an attempt by the Bourbon administration to impose the tribute on mixed-race peoples denominated as "castas". This change was most emphatically reflected when the tribute was renamed *contribución de indígenas y castas* in 1815. The republican government in Peru also tried to tax the *castas*. Both projects achieved some level of success in terms of the collection of revenue in certain regions, like Lima. Nevertheless, indigenous peasants remained as the main demographic that bore the cost of the tribute. See Carlos Contreras, "El impuesto de la contribución personal en el Perú del siglo XIX," *Histórica* 29, no. 2 (2005): 67–106. Yanaconas, *indios* who did not belong to a community, were also taxed. Their contribution was minimal in comparison to indigenous peasants tied to communities. Information on their fulfillment of tributary obligations "disappear" from the records of the Royal Treasury by the mid-eighteenth century. See Raquel Gil Montero, Lía Guillermina Oliveto, and Fernando Longhi, "Mano de obra y fiscalidad a fin del siglo XVII: dispersión y variabilidad de la categoría yanacona en el sur andino," *Boletín del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana Dr. Emilio Ravignani*, no. 43 (2015): 59–93. Sarah Albiez-Wieck has shown that some free black populations in Peru paid the tax, particularly in the late eighteenth century. See Sarah Albiez-Wieck, *Taxing Difference in Peru and New Spain (16th-19th Century): Fiscal Petitions Negotiating Social Differences and Belonging* (Brill, 2022).

project. In his *Política Indiana* (1647), a juridical defense of Spain's claims to the New World–written during a period of increased English and French imperial expansion– Solorzano Pereira argued that "Indians" paid the tribute as part of their incorporation into the body of polity.[16] "They pay tribute to our king in recognition of his liege…and we should not put in doubt the justification of this tax because the king is the absolute owner and lord of the provinces of the Indies, the protector, and administrator of the Indians who live here, for the expansion and conversation of the faith, and instruct them in religion and good customs," Solorzano Pereira asserted.[17] For the man of letters, the crown instructed indigenous people in the Catholic faith and protected their rights, so it was only fair of them to pay the tribute. In his view, "it is just and necessary that the *indios* contribute something to help with the costs of their Christian education and a government that defends and protects them during peace and war.[18]"

Whether or not the fulfillment of tributary obligations granted any legal protections or advantages for indigenous people in the court of law has been a subject of much study and debate among scholars. A number of scholars have questioned the alleged prerogatives

[16] James Muldoon, *The Americas in the Spanish World Order: The Justification for Conquest in the Seventeenth Century* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

[17] "A la misma materia del servicio personal de los Indios de que habemos tratado, parece pertenecer la de los tributos que se les cargan y deben pagar al Rey nuestro Señor en reconocimiento de su vasallage…y no hay que poner en duda la justification de esta carga, porque o ya juzguemos a nuestros Reyes por verdaderos, absolutos dueños y Señores de estas provincias de las Indias, como son, o ya por solo Protectores, y Administradores de los Indios que las habitan, para la propagacion, y conservacion de la Fe, e instruirlos en la Religion, y buenas costumbres…es forzoso afirmar, que fue y es justo y necesario que les contribuyesen algo los mismos Indios, como reconociendolos por tales, y para ayudar los gastos que en su Cristiana ensenanza y govierno en defenderlos y ampararlos en paz y guerra se huviesen de hacer," Juan de Solórzano Pereira, *Politica indiana* (Madrid: Imprenta Real de la Gaceta, 1776), 155.

[18] Ibid.

indigenous people received by meeting their tributary obligations.[19] The most accepted line of inquiry argues that the tribute afforded indigenous people legal claims over usufruct lands.[20] In New Spain, as historian of legal history Brian Owesnby has shown, indigenous

[19] Heraclio Bonilla first questioned the existence of the "tributary pact" in his study of Ayacucho. See Heraclio Bonilla, *Estado y tributo campesino: la experiencia de Ayacucho* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1989). Cecilia Mendez has also doubted the existence of the tribute-for-land pact in her study of early nineteenth-century Ayacucho. See Cecilia Méndez, *The Plebeian Republic: The Huanta Rebellion and the Making of the Peruvian State, 1820–1850*, First Edition edition (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2005); and Cecilia Méndez G., "Pactos Sin Tributo: Caudillos y Campesinos En El Nacimiento de La República: Ayacucho, 1825-1850," in *El Siglo XIX: Bolivia y América Latina*, ed. Rossana Barragán and Seemin Qayum, Travaux de l'IFEA (Lima: Institut français d'études andines, 2015), 533–59, http://books.openedition.org/ifea/7449. In the case of Ancash, Mark Thurner also pointed out that the payment of the tribute did not guarantee the protection of communal landholdings, particularly in the nineteenth century. See also Paul Gootenberg, "Population and Ethnicity in Early Republican Peru: Some Revisions," *Latin American Research Review* 26, no. 3 (1991): 109–57. For Ecuador, see Andrés Guerrero, *Curagas y Tenientes Políticos: La Ley de La Costumbre y La Ley Del Estado (Otavalo 1830-1875)*, 1. ed, Colección 4 Suyus (Quito, Ecuador: Editorial El Conejo, 1990). Sarah Albiez-Wieck has also shown skepticism on the "tributary pact" because free blacks paid the tax but often did not own land. See Sarah Albiez-Wieck, *Taxing Difference in Peru and New Spain (16th-19th century): Fiscal Petitions Negotiating Social Differences and Belonging* (Brill, 2022).

[20] The work of anthropologist Tristan Platt in *Estado boliviano y ayllu andino* (1982) first popularized the land-for-tribute in his study of nineteenth-century Bolivia. See Tristán. Platt, *Estado boliviano y ayllu andino: tierra y tributo en el norte de Potosí*, Historia andina (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1982). For other works that subscribe, or at the very least recognize the importance of "tributary pact" in social relations in the Andes, see Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, *Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1978); Christine Hünefeldt, *Lucha por la tierra y protesta indígena: las comunidades indígenas del Perú entre colonia y república, 1800-1830* (Bonn: Bonner Amerikanistische Studien, 1982); Carlos Contreras, "Estado Republicano y tributo Indígena en la sierra central en la post- independencia," *Histórica* 13, no. 1 (July 1, 1989): 9–44; Núria Sala i Vila, *Y se armó el tole tole: tributo indígena y movimientos sociales en el Virreinato del Perú, 1790-1814* (Ayacucho: Instituto de Estudios Regionales José María Arguedas, 1996); Nancy P. Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt, eds., *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, New edition edition (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Brooke Larson, *Trials of Nation Making: Liberalism, Race, and Ethnicity in the Andes, 1810-1910* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); María Luisa Soux, "TRIBUTO, CONSTITUCIÓN Y RENEGOCIACIÓN DEL PACTO COLONIAL. EL CASO ALTOPERUANO DURANTE EL PROCESO DE INDEPENDENCIA (1808-1826)," *Relaciones 115* 29 (2008): 30; Erick D. Langer, "Bringing the Economic Back In: Andean Indians and the Construction of the Nation-State in Nineteenth-Century Bolivia," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 41, no. 3 (2009): 527–51; Maud Yvinec, "Reinventar el indio después de la Independencia: las representaciones del indígena en el Perú decimonónico (1821-1879)," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'études andines*, no. 42 (2) (August 1, 2013): 287–93, https://doi.org/10.4000/bifea.4087.; Rodrigo Ruz and Héctor González, "Estado Peruano, Liberalismo y Tierras Indígenas En La Precordillera de Arica (1854-1880)," *Si Somos Americanos* 14, no. 1 (June 2014): 41–60, https://doi.org/10.4067/S0719-09482014000100003.; Magdalena Chocano and de la República Congreso, *Una historia provincial: Conchucos, de la Colonia a la República: territorio, población y economía* (Lima: Congreso del Perú, 2016); Aaron Pollack, "De la contribución directa proporcional a la capitación en la Hispanoamérica republicana: Los límites impuestos por la constitución fiscal," *Araucaria*, no. 36 (2016): 59–86, https://doi.org/10.12795/araucaria.2016.i36.04.; Aaron Pollack, "Hacia Una Historia Social Del Tributo de Indios y Castas En Hispanoamérica. Notas En Torno a Su Creación, Desarrollo y Abolición," *Historia Mexicana* 66, no. 1 (September 2016): 65–160; Marcela Echeverri, *Indian and Slave Royalists in the Age of Revolution: Reform, Revolution, and Royalism in the Northern Andes, 1780-1825* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Sarah Albiez-Wieck, "Indigenous Migrants Negotiating Belonging:

communities "involved in lawsuits made much of their tributary duties, embracing them to assert a kind of moral superiority over Spaniards," particularly government officials, "who so often ignored royal decrees protecting the Indians.[21]" Evidence of land-for-tribute argument has been observed in the documentation of sixteenth and seventeenth-century court cases over land in colonial Mexico.[22] The Viceroyalty of Peru has shown similar patterns for the regions of the late colonial period and early independence.[23] In some cases, it has been argued that several indigenous communities in Junín and Puno, at times under threat, preferred to pay the tax even after it was first abolished by the Constitution of 1812 because they saw usufruct rights tied to the payment of the tribute.[24] In the case of Ancash, the tribute could still be observed as a legal argument at the court of law in Ancash, sometimes thwarting the expansion of private property. As Mark Thurner has shown, for the 1820s and

Peticiones de Cambio de Fuero in Cajamarca, Peru, 17th–18th Centuries," *Colonial Latin American Review* 26, no. 4 (October 2, 2017): 483–508, https://doi.org/10.1080/10609164.2017.1402233.; Miguel León Gómez, *Entre quebradas y montañas: una historia regional de Conchucos, siglos XVI-XX*, Primera edición (Lima: Tarea, 2018).

[21] Thomas Duve and Heikki Pihlajamäki, eds., *New Horizons in Spanish Colonial Law: Contributions to Transnational Early Modern Legal History* (Max Planck Institute for European Legal History, 2015), 141.

[22] See Brian P. Owensby, *Empire of Law and Indian Justice in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011). In the case of Mexico, new arrivals (often enslaved people) from the Philippines and Southeast Asia, known as *Filipinos* or *Chinos*, could legally become "Indios" if they paid the tribute and joined a community, which gave them access to land. See Tatiana Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[23] Christine Hünefeldt, *Lucha por la tierra y protesta indígena: las comunidades indígenas del Perú entre colonia y república, 1800-1830* (Bonn: Bonner Amerikanistische Studien, 1982); Núria Sala i Vila, *Y se armó el tole tole: tributo indígena y movimientos sociales en el Virreinato del Perú, 1790-1814* (Ayacucho: Instituto de Estudios Regionales José María Arguedas, 1996).

[24] Christine Hünefeldt, *Lucha por la tierra y protesta indígena: las comunidades indígenas del Perú entre colonia y república, 1800-1830* (Bonn: Bonner Amerikanistische Studien, 1982); Núria Sala i Vila, *Y se armó el tole tole: tributo indígena y movimientos sociales en el Virreinato del Perú, 1790-1814* (Ayacucho: Instituto de Estudios Regionales José María Arguedas, 1996).

1840s, the category of *tributario*, which means “tribute payer,” was still evoked at the courthouse to gain the upper hand in lawsuits over land.[25]

Did the abolition of the tribute in 1854 set the stage for land expropriation in the Andes? How did indigenous people protect their land rights until the reestablishment of the tribute in 1886? After all, the tribute, during the colonial period and early republican Peru, seems to have operated as a negotiation strategy for indigenous people at the court of law. If the payment of the tribute gave indigenous people a sort of "moral superiority" in the courthouse, as Owensby and others have argued, its abolition would weaken not only their legal claims but their right to exercise their citizenship, regardless of how contradictory these imperatives may be to the liberal state. Other factors aside from the tribute (which will be addressed in sections below) also come into play in a lawsuit and, most certainly, may have been far more determinant in a judge's ruling. Since statistical figures show that the state depended on the tribute for fiscal revenue well into the 1840s, it is worth asking how social, cultural, and political relationships, particularly those about land, were reconfigured when the tribute was abolished in 1854.[26]

[25] Thurner, *From Two Republics.*

[26] Carlos Contreras, “El impuesto de la contribución personal en el Perú del siglo XIX,” *Histórica* 29, no. 2 (2005): 67–106. The reconfiguration of social relations in the Andes, particularly those about land, between 1854 and 1886, has received scant attention in the scholarship. Heraclio Bonilla has argued that some authorities continued collecting the tribute well into the 1870s in regions like Ayacucho. Moreover, the abolition of the tribute did not have a boosting effect on the privatization of land. Like most scholars on the subject, Bonilla would agree that the expansion of private property in the nineteenth century went through cycles of growth and stagnancy until an unprecedented period of expansion in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. See Heraclio Bonilla, *Estado y tributo campesino: la experiencia de Ayacucho* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1989); Nils Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition* (Stanford: University of California Press, 1993); and Manuel Burga and Alberto Flores Galindo, *Apogeo y crisis de la república aristocrática: oligarquía, aprismo y comunismo en el Perú, 1895-1932* (Lima, Perú: Ediciones Rikchay Perú, 1980); and Brooke Larson, *Trials of Nation Making: Liberalism, Race, and Ethnicity in the Andes, 1810-1910* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Land-for-tribute argument aside, the abolition of the tribute in 1854 had other consequences in Peruvian society, at least among Peruvian elites. For some intellectuals, such as Francisco García Calderon, the abolition of the tribute also redefined racial ideas about indigenous people. In the eyes of García Calderón–Peru's most well-known jurist in the nineteenth century, and who would briefly be president of Peru in 1881 during the Chilean occupation of Lima– the tribute had been one of the leading causes of *indígenas* backwardness in Peruvian history. His descriptions on the issue may be found in his *magnum opu*s, the *Diccionario de la legislación peruana* (1879). In this work, García Calderón has been credited for popularizing legal jargon and attempting to reconcile colonial and republican laws.[27] In the *Diccionario,* García Calderón discussed the legal foundations of the tribute, a tax inextricably tied to indigenous people since the conquest. Citing the Laws of the Indies, Calderón reminded readers that indigenous people paid the tribute as a recognition of the king's authority and as part of the "service they owed as vassals and subjects of the king.[28]"

In his view, however, the system quickly became racialized. "All *indígenas* paid *the tribute*…nor Spanish or blacks, mulattoes and mestizos were obliged to pay the tribute," he cited. Moreover, these tributary obligations appeared to have been chiefly coerced and negatively impacted indigenous people's labor supply. "The vexations used to extract revenue from the Indians make them avoid work, and they only return to work under threats

[27] Carlos Ramos Núñez, "El Diccionario de la legislación peruana de Francisco García Calderón o la obra de un jurista burgués," in *La experiencia burguesa en el Perú (1840-1940),* ed. Carmen McEvoy (Frankfurt: Vervuert, 2004), 109.

[28] Francisco García Calderón, *Diccionario de la legislación peruana* (Lima: En los Depósitos y agencias del autor, 1879), 1196.

or punishment," Calderón stressed.[29]" The tribute became so "onerous and degrading" that other classes wanted to distance themselves from anything and anyone associated with it.[30] For Garcia Calderón, "the degradation had reached such levels that being called Indian, or *tributario* was viewed as an insult by other races and *indígenas* who were exempt from such fiscal responsibilities.[31]" Given the negative impact the tribute had on indigenous people, he viewed the recent abolition of the tribute with a certain optimism. Calderón interpreted the end of this policy as "the true emancipation of the *indio*.[32]" In a broader sense, at least if one considers the perspective of liberal state-makers, the abolition would pave the path for a universal form of taxation, a system which indigenous people would be part.[33] "This is not to suggest that it is convenient that the *indio* is forever exempt from the *contribución.* Like the rest of the citizens, it is necessary to impose on them a contribution that corresponds but in a way that its exaction is not degrading," he concluded.[34]

García Calderón may have been correct about the public sentiment on the *contribución personal.* After its reestablishment in 1879 during the War of the Pacific, indigenous people did not readily accept the taxation. Except for provinces in Puno, several communities across Peru, like Junín and Cajamarca, had rebelled against the tribute

[29] *Diccionario*, 1106.

[30] "Esta degradación habia llegado a tal punto, que los dictados de indio y tributario se recibian como injurias por las personas de otras razas, y tambien por los indigenas mismos que se hallaban exentos de esas cargas," ibid.

[31] *Diccionario*, 1106.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid, 1107.

[34] Ibid, 1107.

collection by 1885.[35] In Ancash, the Atusparia Rebellion controlled the department for nearly two months before the brutal repression from the military. Internal dissent and political crisis (civil war 1884-1885) temporarily compelled the government to suspend the tax. At least in Ancash, Prefect José Iraola had done so after reasserting control of the department in early May.[36] A few weeks before his victory in Huaraz, he marched up the coast and into the mountains, suspending the tribute in the communities he had "liberated" from the rebels.[37]" It was not until August 1886 that the *contribución personal*, under the presidency of Andrés Avelino Cáceres, became part of public policy again. The *contribución personal* was not only reinstated but became a centerpiece of Cáceres' decentralization plan, which aimed for greater fiscal autonomy among the departments in Peru. Under the new laws, the collection and management of the *contribución personal* became a responsibility of the department, not the central government.

In Ancash, the reestablishment of the tribute in 1886 was often met with contempt. Communities complained about its exploitative nature, which sometimes afforded them an extension on the payment, but, at times, several communities refused to pay. In 1887-1888, authorities could only sparsely collect the tribute in the provinces.[38] A few localities in Huari saw several outbursts of violence in 1889, evoking memories of "1885" among government officials. The issue became highly politicized before the civil war of 1894-95. For one,

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[35] Florencia E. Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1995).

[36] *From Two Republics*, 54-98.

[37] *El Bien Público*, Lima, May 28, 1885.

[38] *From Two Republics*, 107. In 1887, only 1% of the tribute was collected in Peru. See Rosemary Thorp and Geoffrey Bertram, *Peru, 1890-1977: Growth and Policy in an Open Economy* (MacMillan, 1978), 104.

Nicolás de Piérola ran a political platform that promised the abolition of the tribute.[39] For this reason, Pierola and his party, the *Partido Demócrata* (Democratic Party), gained support among indigenous communities.[40] Neither the provisional government nor Piérola took steps to abolish the tax once he assumed the presidency in September 1895. Even after the war ended, the tribute remained a contested issue in provinces like Huari, where some populations refused to surrender their arms and threatened to remain in a state of insurgency unless authorities abolished the tribute.[41] Whether or not pressure from communities compelled authorities to give in to their demands, or, as it has been argued, the abolition was part of Pierola's modernizing project, congress finally abolished the *contribución personal* on Christmas Day, 1895.[42] The tribute's abolition ended a more than three hundred years colonial relationship.

Indígenas, Vecinos, and Litigants: Self-Representation in Ancash, 1879-1900

Regardless of the tribute as a mediator of economic, political, and social relations between indigenous people and the state, it is essential to note that references to the reciprocity of the tribute could still be found in the late nineteenth century in regions such as

[39] Nils Jacobsen, "Populism Avant La Lettre in Peru: Rebuilding Power in Nicolás de Piérola's Mid-Career, 1884–1895," *Jahrbuch Für Geschichte Lateinamerikas – Anuario de Historia de America Latina* 51, no. 1 (2014): 35–58, https://doi.org/10.7767/jbla-2014-0107.

[40] Carmen Mc Evoy and Alejandro M. Rabinovich, *Tiempo de guerra: Estado, nación y conflicto armado en el Perú, siglos XVII-XIX* (Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2019).

[41] V. Lezameta to Piérola, September 28, 1895; Jose Marin to Piérola, letter, January 25, 1896, *Inventario de la Correspondencia de Nicolás de Piérola*, Biblioteca Nacional del Perú (BNP), Lima, Peru.

[42] *From Two Republics*, 109.

Ancash, Junín, and Puno.[43] In the case of Ancash, this pattern may be found most emphatically in petitions from communities addressed to government authorities.[44] While these documents help reconstruct indigenous self-representation and politics, they are few and far between. Civil lawsuits were far more common in late nineteenth-century Ancash. The amount of documentation found in legal cases paints a clearer picture of social relations in the region. For one, the category of *tributario* (a tax-paying *indio*, arguably one with access to usufruct land) is seldom found in the paperwork. On the other hand, racial categories born in the early republic, such as *indígena,* which came to replace the term *indio,* became consistent in legal language as a way to self-identify in the court of law. As other works have shown, the term largely carried the ideological connotations formulated during the colonial period, such as its association with poverty and "wretchedness." Much like other cases documented in the nineteenth century, indigenous people in Ancash may have employed this legal language to gain sympathy from a judge.[45] At the same time, citizens also chose to self-identify, whether they were litigants or witnesses, in terms of class through colonial categories such as *vecindad*, an early modern form of citizenship tied to labor, residency, and communal responsibilities.[46]

A case where one finds an apparent reference to the tributary pact involves Pedro Guerrero from the *estancia* of Autauran, located in the province of Huaraz. In this instance,

[43] Florencia E. Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (University of California Press, 1995); Nils Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition* (Stanford: University of California Press, 1993).

[44]*From Two Republics.*

[45] Jesús A Cosamalón Aguilar, *El juego de las apariencias: la alquimia de los mestizajes y las jerarquías sociales en Lima, siglo XIX* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2017).

[46] Marta Irurozqui, "El Espejismo de La Exclusión. Reflexiones Conceptuales Acerca de La Ciudadanía y El Sufragio Censitario a Partir Del Caso Boliviano," *Ayer*, no. 70 (2008): 57–92.

Pedro pleaded with the courts to safeguard his rights to pasture in communal landholdings. More specifically, as a tax-paying *indígena*, Guerrero demanded that his property or source of capital be respected during said activity. On June 7, 1894, Guerrero, an "*indígena contribuyente*" complained to *juez de primera instancia* Manuel Robles Arnao that Julián Nurabuena– *indígena* from the *estancia* of Chontayoc–had stolen 120 of his sheep. Guerrero was looking to get money for the sheep he had lost in the *pastos* of Llauca.[47] "Twenty male sheep, each worth two soles, eighty female sheep, each worth 60 cents, and twenty lambs, each worth 50 cents," was Guerrero's initial estimate for his lost merchandise.[48] However, Guerrero also demanded payments for future investments. He claimed that Nurabuena's theft had disrupted the breeding cycles scheduled for March and August of that year. The profit Guerrero expected to make, and perhaps reinvest in purchasing more sheep, had been compromised. Guerrero argued that Norabuena should pay in cash and wool.[49] On this occasion, Pedro Guerrero did not sign the petition "because he did not know how," which suggests that Pedro may have been illiterate, at least in the Spanish language.[50]

Whether or not the tribute was a determining factor in the ruling (the case lasted less than a month) of Judge Manuel Robles Arnao is uncertain. Much more accurate in the documents, however, is the presence of networks of legal support available at a community level. In the case of Pedro Guerrero, for instance, plenty of witnesses came forward to

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[47] Pedro Guerrero con Julian Norabuena sobre entrega de ganado lanar-Huaraz, June 7, 1894-July 9, 1894, *f1, f2, Legajo* 76, *Causas Civiles*, Archivo Departamental de Ancash (ADA), Huaraz, Ancash.

[48] Ibid.

[49] "se me devuelva mi ganado a su valor con mas su product [sic] de ciento sesenta cabezas cada año por las dos pariciones su los meses de agosto y marzo, y veinticuatro (24) arrobas de lana producto de cada año a razón de dos soles cada arroba, todo hasta el dia de la entrega-bajo apercibimiento de ejecución y embargo," ibid.

[50] Ibid.

support his claims to the pasture lands and property. “Don Feliz Mendoza, Dionicio Cochachin, Pedro Celestino Cordova, Sebastian Favian Cachay, Manuel Asencio Norabuena, the first and the fourth from the *estancia* of ‘Huanja’ and the rest from “Chontayoc,” all of legal age and *agricultores*, showed up in favor of Guerrero.[51]” Norabuena, who could not muster witnesses in the trial, lost the case and was ordered to pay Guerrero. Given his economic situation, Norabuena had to tap into his assets, particularly the farmland he possessed to pay Guerrero. “To guarantee the security of this transaction, I leave as collateral my maize plots named 'Chicnay,' located in the estancia of the same name, which belongs to me by title,” Norabuena concluded on July 5, 1894.

Intellectuals did not overlook the role of *testigos* (witnesses) in Peruvian legal culture. For Garcia Calderón, “the declaration of witnesses is a means established by the law to prove crimes and culpability, or the innocence of those accused.[52]” The statements of the witnesses were under oath. “A testimony in a criminal case is crucial for society and the individual,” he argued.[53]" Garcia Calderon viewed the role of the witness as a civil duty since he believed that “All of those who have seen or witnessed or know anything about a crime are obliged to appear before a court.[54]” Certain guidelines for *testigos* existed, however. For example, those who lived more than five *leguas* (one *legua* equivalent to nearly three miles) would have their testimony taken in their hometown by a civil servant. Also, there was a specific criterion a citizen had to meet to become a witness in a civil lawsuit. Aside from excluding

[51] Pedro Guerrero con Julian Norabuena sobre entrega de ganado lanar-Huaraz, June 7, 1894-July 9, 1894, *f*6, *f*7, ADA.

[52] *Diccionario*, 1775.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

the testimony of known thieves, robbers, and prostitutes, Garcia Calderon stressed that neither family members, *compadres*, or business associates could be *testigos* for a litigant due to their "lack of impartiality.[55]" Moreover, like the case of Pedro Guerrero, monolingual Quechua speakers were not excluded from the judiciary process. If a witness did not speak Spanish, the court was responsible for providing two or at least one interpreter. These civil servants were to translate the judge's questions and the testimony from witnesses. Though Quechua is not mentioned directly, Garcia Calderón stressed the need for the interpreter to "record the entirety of the process in "both languages, if possible.[56]"

In the case of Guerrero, like several others in Ancash, *testigos* often constructed their identity based on their occupation. Their role as *agricultores* (farmers) gave them sufficient legitimacy to fulfill their civic duty as witnesses, paraphrasing Garcia Calderón. For the jurist, *agricultores* were individuals who practiced *agricultura* (farming). In his interpretation, *agricultura* involved more than sowing and harvesting. *Agricultura* was also "the exploitation of mines and the raising of livestock.[57]" In his view, political and infrastructural impediments prevented Peru from achieving commercial success in agriculture like its contemporaries in Europe. Though he does not reference indigenous people in his definition of *agricultor*, Garcia Calderón also stresses *agricultores'* general aversion towards innovation and lack of education contributed to their backwardness.[58] Nevertheless, it is not incorrect to predict that witnesses played a crucial role in this lawsuit

[55] *Diccionario*, 1775.

[56] Ibid.

[57] *Diccionario*, 67.

[58] *Diccionario*, 67-72.

since Pedro Guerrero secured witnesses who backed his story, many of them *agricultures,* while Julián Norabuena did not. On the contrary, Julián urged the judge to ignore Pedro's petition to call witnesses. Julian even called into question the testimony of such witnesses.[59]

Unlike the Guerrero vs. Norabuena case, it is not always easy detect the presence of indigenous communities in documentation found in other lawsuits in late nineteenth-century Ancash. In the case of the "*vecinos* and *notables"* from Huayan, for instance, litigants were not initially identified as *indígenas* in the documentation. In 1894, the men and women in this community began a land litigation against the *Síndico de Rentas* (Treasurer) José Adolfo Camones. These group of citizens, Cosquin Escolastico Gomero, Antonio Suarez, Fructuoso Alba, Ignacio Amancio, Manuel Berrocal, Carlos Anaya, Manuel C. Palacios, Florentino Luna, Avelino Amancio, Luis Espiritu, Pedro A. Ramirez, Gaspar Espiritu, Maria Jesus Quiros, and others, did not use the term *indígena* to describe themselves either in the paper trail. Interestingly, however, they claimed to be descendants of tax-paying "Indians" from the colonial period and had ancestral claims to the land. "For more than three hundred years ago, since the time of the *juez de visita* and *compositor de tierras,* captain Don Juan de Cadabro Salazar, we have possessed the *tierras de repartición* under the names of *aillo de Rucash, de Carquin, de Paltac,* among others…as descendants of *caciques* and *indígenas tributarios,*" the *vecinos* reminded the court in a statement on June 18, 1894.[60] The community said they had always had "peaceful possession of these lands." However, they faced the risk of losing

[59] Pedro Guerrero con Julian Norabuena sobre entrega de ganado lanar-Huaraz, June 7, 1894-July 9, 1894, *f*8, *f*9, ADA.

[60] "hacen mas de tresientos anos, esto de desde la época del juez de visita, y cmpositor de tierras el capitán Don Juan de Cadabro Salazar, que nos hallamos en posecion de las tierras denominadas de repartición con los nombres de Aillo de Rucash, de Carquin, entre otros," Jose de Carmen Gomero y otro con el Sindico de Aija, sobre mission en posecion de los terrenos y pastos de Huayan, Aija, June 19, 1894-June 22, 1932, *f*65, *Causas Civiles, Legajo* 76. ADA.

their rights since the deeds were missing. Mr. Camones argued otherwise. He doubted the community's ancestral claims to the land. Moreover, he posited that large portions of the plots belonged to the municipality and the Church. He intended to make different use of the land in question, which was mostly used for pasturing. After more than a year of testimonies and witness appearances on both sides, the court ruled in favor of the community.[61]

Though the citizens in Huayán claimed ancestral land claims based on the tribute, there is no evidence in the documentation that these "descendants of *caciques* and *indígenas originarios*," community members from Huayan, defined themselves as *indígenas*. Instead, their status as *vecinos* was far more consistent in the documents. A concept exported from medieval Spain, a *vecino* was someone who had a stable residence in a *pueblo* or a city, owned property, paid taxes and complied with other obligations.[62] *Vecindad* (being a *vecino*) was one category used to define social and political relationships in a community. As Tamar Herzog has argued, the term did not necessarily carry ethnoracial connotations for the colonial period. Spaniards, indigenous people, and even blacks could become *vecinos* in Spanish America. Her argument, however, went much further. For Herzog, it set the basis for notions of political belonging and rights in the nineteenth century. "Modern national citizenship derived, at least in some respects, from the older tradition of urban citizenship," she contends.[63] Historian Pablo Piccato has also argued along similar lines. He recognizes

[61] Jose de Carmen Gomero y otro con el Sindico de Aija, sobre mission en posecion de los terrenos y pastos de Huayan, Aija, June 19, 1894-June 22, 1932, *f*92, ADA.

[62] Tamar Herzog, "Communities Becoming a Nation: Spain and Spanish America in the Wake of Modernity (and Thereafter)," *Citizenship Studies* 11, no. 2 (May 1, 2007): 151–72, https://doi.org/10.1080/13621020701262487., 158.

[63] Tamar Herzog, "Communities Becoming a Nation: Spain and Spanish America in the Wake of Modernity (and Thereafter)," *Citizenship Studies* 11, no. 2 (May 1, 2007): 151–72, https://doi.org/10.1080/13621020701262487., 151.

that "the rights of a town dweller were codified in ways that preceded and paralleled the rights of citizens of the nation.[64]" Furthermore, he stresses that instead of disappearing, the idea of "*vecino*" remained a key factor in political and social relations during the republican period. "*Vecindad* was central in the colonial articulation of political rights and in post-independence societies where ethnic classifications no longer had legal strength," Piccato has posited.[65] Though the indigenous majority was still excluded from direct and formal political participation, such as voting–one of the visible contradictions of the liberal state–*vecindad* allowed the individual to allegiance to the nation and exercise their rights as citizens well into the late nineteenth century.[66]

In the case of *indígena* Francisco Osorio against Tomás Loli, a wealthy landowner, and miner from an affluent family, support from the *vecinos* of the community may have been vital in ruling the case.[67] On February 4, 1885, Loli accused Osorio of "violently" taking over plots and squatting on his property, the *hacienda* Huacrachi.[68] On the other hand, Osorio claimed to have already two other criminal proceedings against Loli, one for

[64] Pablo Piccato, "Public Sphere in Latin America: A Map of the Historiography," *Social History* 35, no. 2 (May 2010): 180.

[65] Ibid.

[66] "Por tanto, el entendimiento de la ciudadanía como fuente de dignificación y valoración públicas promovió que el aprendizaje de la representación moderna estuviera motivado no sólo por sus ventajas ideales y sus presupuestos ideológicos, sino también porque remitía a una resignificación de prebendas y valores del antiguo orden asociadas a las "propiedades" implícitas en la idea de vecino que se querían conservar, conquistar o manifestar y que convertían a la ciudadanía en un último y supremo estadio de promoción, integración y de revelación públicas," Marta Irurozqui, *La Ciudadanía en Debate en América Latina: Discusiones historiográficas y una propuesta teórica sobre el valor público de la infracción electoral* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2004), 67.

[67] Tomas Loli con Agustin y Francisco Osorio sobre despojo de los terrenos de Ranraucru-Huaraz, October 12, 1885-November 15, 1898**,** *Legajo* 51, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

[68] Tomas Loli con Agustin y Francisco Osorio sobre despojo de los terrenos de Ranraucru-Huaraz, October 12, 1885-November 15, 1898**,** *f*1, ADA.

"attempted murder" and another for unlawful claims over the plots in dispute. To support his cause, Osorio compelled Don Manuel Patricio, Agustin Leon, Juan Llanes, Nasario Garcia y Manuel Sanchez, the first four *vecinos* of the *estancia* de Huamarín and the last one of Ichansha, married and *agricultores*, to render their testimonies at the court of law.[69] "Confirm if they know that it is true that Don Tomás Loli has never possessed the lands in dispute, and on the other hand, I have possessed these lands and have been the only and exclusive owner since the time of my ancestors," Osorio's witnesses were prompted to answer on October 16, 1885.[70] Loli responded two days later by presenting his witnesses, including two *agricultores* from Huamarín, a policeman, a shoemaker, and a butcher from Huaraz. Eventually, however, the judge ruled in favor of Osorio.[71]

In the story of Rosalía Garcia, the debt of her son-in-law, Sebastian Solis, to Juan de Mata Peñaranda ended with the loss of her property. Peñaranda was a local landowner, described as an "*hombre acaudalado*" (affluent man) by Rosalía. On March 20, 1890, Rosalía Garcia, "*indígena* of the *estancia* of Carhuaz," appeared before the court of law to plead her case. In summary, Sebastian owed money to Peñaranda. The landowner did not hesitate to contact authorities to have Sebastian's "plots and house in Carhuaz" seized. However, it seems that Sebastian did not own the properties in question. According to Rosalía, the plots in Carhuaz belonged to her since "time immemorial." Moreover, she argued that all the *vecinos* of Carhuaz, including Mr. Peñaranda, were aware of her

[69] Tomas Loli con Agustin y Francisco Osorio sobre despojo de los terrenos de Ranraucru-Huaraz, October 12, 1885-November 15, 1898, *f*3, ADA.

[70] Tomas Loli con Agustin y Francisco Osorio sobre despojo de los terrenos de Ranraucru-Huaraz, October 12, 1885-November 15, 1898, *f*3, *f*4, ADA.

[71] Tomas Loli con Agustin y Francisco Osorio sobre despojo de los terrenos de Ranraucru-Huaraz, October 12, 1885-November 15, 1898, *f*130, ADA.

ownership. “It was bought with my money but is not registered because of my poverty,” Rosalía uttered. The plots, or “the products of these *terrenos,*” were her only means of subsistence. Since she was also "poor and blind," Rosalía pleaded with the authorities to cover the legal costs of the litigation. Ultimately, she could not compete with Peñaranda's legal defense. As a result, she lost the case a year later.[72]

Though other professions like tailors, butchers, and shoemakers also became involved in these lawsuits, *agricultores* were far more consistent in their appearances at the court of law.[73] Many of these *vecinos* formed part of communities that most likely held land in common.[74] However, several *agricultores* also owned private property and spoke Spanish. In a case over *partición y división* in 1896, for instance, Mariano Mercedes Romero was described in such a manner.[75] “Before our presence appeared Don Mariano Mercedes Romero, *natural* and *vecino* of this town, single, *agricultor* and *propietario,* of legal age and

[72] Juan de Mata Peñaranda con Sebastian Solis sobre cantidad de soles-Huaraz, August 13, 1892, *Legajo* 69, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

[73] “Miguel Barrenechea, natural y vecino de esta ciudad de profesión sastre, Gregorio Camones natural de Recuay y vecino de esta ciudad y de profesión agricultor, Manuel Sabel Maguiña, escribano de estado, y Antonio Esppejo, ingeniero, todos mayores de edad,” Cecilio Romero con Manuel Jesús Alzamora sobre misión en posesión sobre los terrenos de Mallqui-Huaraz, January 7, 1889-October 28, 1889, *f*15, *Legajo* 57, *Causas Civiles*, ADA. “Ante mi el Escribano Público y de Hipotecas y testigos, Francisco Molina, vecino de la ciudad de Recuay, de estado casado, propietario, Comerciante de aquella plaza, a quien de conozerlo doy fe,” Baltazar Romero por Francisco Molina pidiendo a escritura publica una minuta sobre el fundo del barrio “Ichoo”-Huaraz, June 1, 1894, *Legajo* 76, *Causas Civiles*, ADA. In his lawsuit against the *indígena* Francisco Osorio, landowner Tomás Loli called upon a number of witnesses which included *agricultores*, a butcher, a shoemaker, and a policeman. “Don Custodio Bautista, agricultor de Huamarin, Don Manuel Garcia, agricultor de la misma estancia, Anselmo Robles, Oficial de Gendarmes en Huaraz, Manuel Ramirez, Zapatero en Huaraz, y Juan Sanchez, matancero en Huaraz,” Tomas Loli con Agustin y Francisco Osorio sobre despojo de los terrenos de Ranraucru-Huaraz, October 12, 1885-November 15, 1898, *f*3, *Legajo* 51, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

[74] Drawing from the census of 1876, Mark Thurner posits that nearly 90% of the rural population in Ancash lived in *estancias* or hamlets. See *From Two Republics*, 184.

[75] Mariano Mercedes Romero otorgando poder a su hermano Manuel Toribio Romero para que lo defienda en cualquier juicio que pueda tener, Huaraz, August 13, 1896, *Legajo* 83, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

knowledgeable of the Spanish language," the court scribe recorded on August 13, 1896.[76] In the document, a power of attorney, Mariano gave "ample power to his brother," Don Manuel Toribio Romero.[77] Manuel was tasked with representing Mariano in "any current or future lawsuits that deal with civil, judicial, and administrative authority.[78]" More specifically, he was responsible for staying on top of his brother's lawsuit with Doña Eulalia Romero over the *partición* and *división* of the terrenos of Pinahuasi and Rafuzalta.[79]

Between *Costumbre* and Liberalism: Republicanism in Ancash, 1879-1900

For historian Carlos Aguirre, law in nineteenth-century Peru was an "ambiguous, malleable, and slippery arena of struggle the limits and parameters of which are themselves the result of contention and negotiation.[80]" Indeed, the courthouse had become an area of social contestation where notions on citizenship and republicanism were debated, assessed, and implemented in late nineteenth-century Ancash. However, often, as Mark Thurner has shown for some cases in Ancash, litigants drew from colonial legislation and liberal forms of power to on power to advance their interests, at times with varying levels of success.[81]

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[76] "...comparecio Don Mariano Mercedes Romero, naturales y vecinos de esta ciudad, soltero, agricultor y propietario, mayor de edad, é inteligente en el idioma castellano, a quien conoze de que doy fe," Mariano Mercedes Romero otorgando poder a su hermano Manuel Toribio Romero para que lo defienda en cualquier juicio que pueda tener, Huaraz, August 13, 1896, *f*1, *Legajo* 83, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

[77] Ibid.

[78] "otorgo podel [sic] amplio y general a mi hermano Don Manuel Toribio Romero, de este mismo vecindario, para que representando mi persona, derechos y acciones me defienda y represente en todas las cuestiones o asuntos que tenga ante las autoridades civiles, judiciales y administrativas, en todos los juicios que tenga o pueda tener," Ibid.

[79] *Particion y Division* was the process of breaking up corporations such as communal landholdings.

[80] Ricardo D. Salvatore, Carlos Aguirre, and Gilbert M. Joseph, *Crime and Punishment in Latin America: Law and Society Since Late Colonial Times* (Duke University Press, 2001), 1.

[81] *From Two Republics*; Ricardo D. Salvatore, Carlos Aguirre, and Gilbert M. Joseph, *Crime and Punishment in Latin America: Law and Society Since Late Colonial Times* (Duke University Press, 2001).

Building on Thurner's "Andean Republicanism," this section on the more mundane but equally essential legal strategies litigants used to protect their rights. Legal processes were complex, usually long, and expensive for litigants. Whether they used petitions to call for witnesses, close a case, or ask for a file (known as a *folio* or *f* in the documentation) to be returned to one of the litigant parties, repeated performances at the court of law required the use of legal documentation in the form of *papel sellado*. A tariff that the Spanish Monarchy first imposed on all legal documents in 1640, the *papel sellado* (sealed paper) continued operating under the Republican period as an indirect tax that all citizens had to pay, regardless of economic conditions or ethnic affiliations. By the late nineteenth century, social critics complained that the tax had become a profitable enterprise and monopoly for the state. Like other citizens, indigenous people used the courts and paid for *papel sellado*. For them, however, the *papel sellado* had also become a way to reify their legal status as *indígenas*. Unlike other citizens, they paid the lowest amount, $0.05 per file or *folio*, which included both sides of a single page. Despite living in a period of political uncertainty, these *indígenas* may have expressed more confidence in state institutions, such as the judicial system, than previously assumed. Not only were they the conduit through which law was "kept alive," as Brian Owesby has argued for colonial Mexico, but their repeated performances at the court of law reified their economic and political relationship with the state.[82]

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Peruvian state was hardly in a position to safeguard the rights of its citizens. As commentators and historians have argued, the War of the Pacific and subsequent civil wars (1884-1885 and 1894-1895) created political instability,

[82]Brian P. Owensby, *Empire of Law and Indian Justice in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 306.

economic downturn, and social stagnation cycles.[83] In recent times, Paul Gootenberg has echoed this interpretation in his analysis of liberalism in Peru. Though he points out that at crucial moments, particularly in the mid-century, the liberal state achieved a certain level of success in modernizing the nation, he depicts late nineteenth-century Peru as "a governed or ungovernable country where even most vertical ties came undone." In his view, Peru "was a 'minnow' of a state rather than a Leviathan. This weakness was both a cause and effect of its feeble citizenry and nationalist allegiances.[84]" For the average citizen, the weakness of the Peruvian government was not an anomalous situation. On the contrary, they had accepted these proclivities as part of their every interaction with the state. "Most Peruvians were unlikely unnerved by the instability, shifts and unpredictable rounds of violence of the times," he contends.[85]

Nevertheless, if Peru was indeed "ungovernable" by the late nineteenth century, it is worth asking how the government imposed its rule under such conditions. As the court cases above have depicted, *vecinos* and *indígenas* in Ancash displayed confidence in institutions such as the justice system. As other case studies have shown, at times, the actions of local citizens and bureaucrats play a pivotal role in constructing and safeguarding the exercise of authority, even in the direst situations. For one, anthropologist Ilana Feldman has argued that in Palestine–specifically the Gaza Strip, prior to and after the *Nakba*–the standardization and repetition of daily bureaucratic practices, the recollection of personal data for future use, the

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[83] Peter Flindell Klaren, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); 191-202. Florencia Mallon has also been less than enthusiastic about the accomplishments of the Peruvian state by the end of the century, notably on liberalism. See Florencia E. Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (University of California Press, 1995).

[84] Paul Gootenberg, "Fishing for Leviathans? Shifting Views on the Liberal State and Development in Peruvian History," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 45, no. 1 (February 2013): 134.

[85] Ibid.

maintenance and pruning of public documents were not only essential to the functioning of government but also "participated in distinguishing Gaza as a locale.[86]" In her ethnography of civil service in the Gaza Strip, mainly through court documents, she demonstrates how law and order were maintained in places where the state did not enjoy legitimacy or sovereignty.[87] "In the elaboration of authority in Gaza during the Mandate and the Administration, when conditions on the ground offered little stability, the capacity of bureaucracy to produce its authority was crucial." she has uttered.[88]

In the case of Ancash, bureaucratic practices, and the everyday participation of citizens in the judiciary system have yielded a comparable legal culture. However, legal practices, whether they were based on colonial forms of power–such as the use of *indigena, contribuyente,* or *vecino,* to cite a few– or liberal law, such as the *Codigo Civil* (Civil Code) of 1852, relied, almost exclusively, on the use of *papel sellado* (sealed paper). Initially introduced in 1640 to increase revenue for the crown and safeguard the legality of public documents, the use of *papel sellado* in lawsuits remained a consistent and essential part of the legal process well into the Republican period and late nineteenth-century Peru.[89] Every legal document, whether it was a petition, a request to call witnesses, a will, a bill of sale of a property, or a judge's ruling–to name a few, required the seal of approval from the state.

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[86] Ilana Feldman, *Governing Gaza: Bureaucracy, Authority, and the Work of Rule, 1917–1967* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 40.

[87] "Under conditions where government was tenuous and lacked a stable ground, it was the repetitions of filing procedures, the accumulation of documents, and the habits of civil servants that produced the conditions of possibility for authority," in Ilana Feldman, *Governing Gaza: Bureaucracy, Authority, and the Work of Rule, 1917–1967* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 3.

[88] *Governing Gaza*, 15.

[89] María Luisa Martínez de Salinas, *La Implantación Del Impuesto Del Papel Sellado en Indias* (Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1986); Luz Peralta, *El papel sellado en el Perú colonial, 1640-1824* (Lima, Perú: Seminario de Historia Rural Andina, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2007).

Regardless of class or race, every citizen had to pay for *papel sellado*. A unit of *papel sellado,* or the purchase of a commodity that allowed citizens to defend their legal rights, consisted of a single-page paper. Civil servants at the courthouse could write on both sides of the file.[90]As the process dragged on, often for years and even decades, more *papel sellado* was needed. "It is having a pernicious effect on the consumers," jurist García Calderón commented on the *papel sellado* in his *Diccionario de la legislación peruana* (1879).

Since litigants were required to buy *papel sellado* for legal proceedings, its use (and misuse) caught the attention of jurist García Calderón, who considered the practice a bureaucratized form of taxation that exposed the contradictions of the liberal state.[91] "Men of medium (economic) standing and even more so those of scarce means attend to the courthouse more frequently than the rich, and for this reason, they pay a higher amount for the *papel* and contribute more," he posited in his *Diccionario* (1879).[92] Although those who "enjoyed the privilege of being poor" were to pay the lowest amount–a practice that had also carried on from the colonial period, the use of *papel sellado* had become a burden, mainly since most litigations took more than a few months to resolve. Moreover, counterfeiting was also a problem pointed out by García Calderón.[93]

The *papel sellado,* and the bureaucracy that used it, also received criticism from citizens in Ancash in the postwar period. Indigenous communities and civil servants

[90] Garcia Calderon calls the *papel sellado* a *mercancía* (commodity). *Diccionario,* 1459.

[91] *Diccionario,* 1459.

[92] "hombres de mediana y aún de escasa fortuna concurren con mas frequencia [sic] a los juzgados, que los hombres ricos; y por lo mismo consumar mayor cantidad de papel, y pagan mayor contribución de estos," Ibid.

[93] Ibid.

complained about the cost of *papel sellado* and its misuse by government authorities.[94] Whether or not President Andres Avelino Caceres's decentralization plan–to give regions greater economic autonomy-encouraged corruption among civil servants is yet to be determined. The revenues collected from the *papel sellado* fell within the department's newly acquired administrative powers. Nevertheless, as historian Alfonso Quiroz has shown in his *Historia de la corrupción en el Perú*, the Cáceres administration did not necessarily break away from a political culture where intimidation, bribes, and embezzlement had become a recurrent trend in foreign and domestic policy.[95] Ancash was not immune to this trend. The role that civil servants played in perpetuating these cycles of institutional corruption, which in the case of lawsuits often favor landowners' interests over those of indigenous communities or individuals of less economic standing, has long been pointed out by contemporaries.[96] A recent assessment of these legal experts–which, aside from scribes, lawyers, and notaries, also included *tinterillos* (pettyfoggers)–however, has shown that perhaps they indeed intended to fulfill their roles in the legal process and, at times, even attempted, despite their limitations, to favor those individual or groups in less favorable positions, such as indigenous communities.[97]

[94] Juicio de Pesquisa, seguido al Juez de 1ra, Instancia de Huaraz D.D. Melchor Alvarez, May 21, 1886-October 23, 1889, *Legajo* 52, *Causas Civiles*, ADA. See also *From Two Republics*, 113.

[95] *Historia de la corrupción*, 241-314.

[96] *El Obrero de Ancash*, Huaraz, May 4, 1881; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, April 20, 1893; *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, August 30, 1893; *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, October 16, 1893; *La Juventud de Ancash*, December 1, 1893; *La Juventud de Ancash*, Huaraz, December 16, 1893.

[97] Carlos Aguirre, "Tinterillos, Indians, and the State: Towards a History of Legal Intermediaries in Post-Independence Peru," in *Crime and Punishment in Latin America: Law and Society Since Late Colonial Times*, ed. Ricardo D. Salvatore, Carlos Aguirre, and Gilbert M. Joseph (Duke: Duke University Press, 2001), 119–51.

Questionable bureaucratic practices aside, the ubiquitous nature of the *papel sellado* in legal proceedings in Ancash had transformed this transaction into a bureaucratized form of taxation by the late nineteenth century. “The monopoly of *papel sellado* is more lucrative than all others," Garcia Calderón had warned on the circulation of this commodity in his *Diccionario*.[98] At least in late nineteenth-century Ancash, it was not uncommon for courts to run out of *papel sellado* because of local demand.[99] The state’s ability to exact revenue from its citizens through bureaucratized forms of taxation, such as the use of *papel sellado* in the case of Ancash, has long been recognized by scholars. For one, sociologist Charles Tilly has gone as far as interpreting taxation, direct or indirect, as a form of “racketeering” since citizens essentially bought protection from the state whenever they fulfilled these tributary obligations. In “War Making and State Making as Organized Crime,” he points out the myriad of ways a state collects revenue from those it rules over. “Extraction, for instance, ranges from outright plunder to regular tribute to bureaucratized taxation,” Tilly postulates.[100]

In the case of Ancash, the complexity of the lawsuits required litigants to make repeat appearances at the courthouse to follow up on the specifics of their case, all while

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[98] *Diccionario*, 1459.

[99] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, March 23, 1893; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, July 14, 1894; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, February 18, 1895; Manuel Trejo con Florencio Loli, sobre entrega de una menor-Huaraz, November 18, 1884-December 16, 1884, *Legajo* 51, *Causas Civiles*; Manuel Mauricio Henostroza por si y sus compartes con doña Cármen Regalado sobre deposito del fundo “Marabia”-Huaraz, June 8, 1886-November 9, 1886, *Legajo* 52, *Causas Civiles*, ADA; Insidente de recusación Pio movido por Lorenzo R. Figueroa en el juicio eguido por Jose y Manuel Evangelio y compartes en autos con Tomas y Esteban Leon, sobre deslinde de los terrenos de “Yucapuquio”-July 16, 1886-January 14, 1888, Legajo 52, *Causas Civiles*, ADA; Juan Mata Peñaranda por intestado de doña Rosalia Peñarando-Huaraz, September 20, 1889-May 24, 1892, *Legajo* 58, *Causas Civiles*, ADA; Brigida haro con Carlos Sanchez Serrano por falsedad de un contrato de venta-Yungar, December 14, 1889-September 18, 1900, *Legajo* 59, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

[100]Charles Tilly, “War Making and State Making as Organized Crime,” in *Bringing the State Back In*, ed. Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 169–91.

conforming to the state's bureaucratized form of taxation, namely the *papel sellado*. Initial pleas, notifications, petitions, power of attorney, and wills–among others–were among some of the documents that required *papel sellado.* On October 19, 1885, for instance, Don Agustín Osorio, who had defined himself as *indígena* in *folio* 3 (*f*3), declared the name of four *campesinos* willing to declare on his behalf. Osorio was involved in a lawsuit over a plot called Raura-ucru in Huaraz against Tomás Loli, a local *hacendado* (landowner). In *f*4, Osorio pleads with his potential witnesses to swear under oath that "Mr. Loli's complaint about land dispossession was not only imaginary but malicious.[101]" Osorio had initially presented the case in early February, but the case had taken months to proceed. Finally, the final ruling on the case was made in 1898, leading to one hundred and thirty folios, or better put, one hundred and thirty *papel sellado* of different prices. Unfortunately, Osorio did not see the case's resolution since he passed away in 1892. Before passing away, Osorio had left on the hands of his legal representative, Manuel Jesus Cano, who defined himself in *f*74 as "*Vecino* of the *estancia* de Shansha, husband and legal representative of Hilaria Osorio, daughter and legitimate heir of the deceased Don Francisco Osorio."[102]

Other petitions were also part of the quotidian legal culture that citizens developed and maintained in Ancash. Litigants could ask for a different judge, for one. In the case of Donato Gomero, Florencio Luna, and other residents from the town of Aija, the community suspected that the local *juez de paz* (Justice of Peace) intended to favor the interests of José Adolfo Camonez, former *Sindico de Rentas* of Aija—a landowner and bureaucrat who

[101] "Los testigos Don Manuel Patricio, Agustin Leon, Juan Llanes, Nasario Garcia y Manuel Sanchez, los cuatro primeros vecinos de la estancia de Huamarin y el ultimo de Ichansha, casados y agricultores…digan…que el despojo del que el Sr. Loli se queja no solo es imaginario, sino malicioso," Tomas Loli con Agustin y Francisco Osorio sobre despojo de los terrenos de Ranraucru-Huaraz, October 12, 1885-November 15, 1898, *f*4, *Legajo* 51, Causas Civiles, ADA.

[102] Ibid.

handled the municipalities' financial affairs. Camones claimed that the community's land belonged to the municipality. In August 1895, the community submitted two petitions in less than a week–*f*84 and *f*86, respectively. They asked the Supreme Court in Ancash to appoint Luis B. Guzman as the new *juez de paz* in Aija, spending a total of s./0.15 soles in less than a week. Judge Robles Arnao eventually ruled in favor of the community, who presented further evidence on their claims, including a long list of witnesses.[103]

However, a judge's final ruling over a case did not necessarily guarantee that citizens would stop paying for the *papel sellado*. In some cases, the losing party filed numerous appeals–which also required *papel sellado*–casting doubts on the other party's legal claims. In Aija, for instance, Camones's repeated appeals, some of them to the Supreme Court of Ancash, compelled the community to ask the judge to *archivar* (file away) the case, as shown in *f*73 and *f*74.[104] The community had no problem paying the s./0.05 cents for the *papel sellado* needed to complete the transaction on December 21, 1895 (*f*31). In the *estancia* de Numacoto, located in the district of Carhuaz, *indígenas* Jose Julian and Maria made a similar request to the *Juez de Primera Instancia*, Julian Barrocal. Likewise, the plaintiffs had no problem paying the s./0.10 cents needed to process a notarized copy of *f* 107, two *papel sellad*o worth $0.05 each. In their plea, the litigants asked the court to *archivar* their lawsuit over the *partition y división* of their community.[105]

[103] Jose de Carmen Gomero y otro con el Sindico de Aija, sobre mission en posecion de los terrenos y pastos de Huayan, Aija, June 19, 1894-June 22, 1932, *f*84, *f*86, *f*92, ADA.

[104] Jose de Carmen Gomero y otro con el Sindico de Aija, sobre mission en posecion de los terrenos y pastos de Huayan, Aija, June 19, 1894-June 22, *f*106, ADA.

[105] Jose Julian y Maria Micaela sobre particion y division de los bienes del que fue Manuel y Toribio Coronacion, Carhuaz, November 10, 1894-November 25, 1905, *f*110, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

In other instances, *archivar* was only sometimes in the community's best interest, especially if a judge had ruled in favor of the competing party. For instance, the community in the *estancia* of Marián had little to gain from this legal procedure in their land litigation against Manuel Mejia, a local landowner. For the *indígenas* in Marián, Pedro Pablo Atusparia's hometown–who had died in 1887–*archivar* meant accepting the current terms of the judge's ruling, which largely favored the land claims of Manuel Mejia. On May 12, 1894, Pedro Valverde, on behalf of the *indígena*s of the community–which included Maria Fernanda Yaui, Pedro Pablo Atusparia's widow–asked the judge not to *archivar* the case. The community wanted to buy more time to influence the judge's decision over the case. More specifically, they asked authorities to survey the land in question and then assess the lawsuit again. The other litigant, Manuel Mejia, responded in *f*129 a few days later. After purchasing one unit of *papel sellado* for $0.10, he asked the judge to dismiss the community's request and to proceed to *archivar* the case.[106] By the end of 1894, Mejia appears to have been successful in his lawsuit against the community.[107]

The absence of *papel sellado* in the capital city of Huaraz did not deter indigenous people in Ancash from using it in legal cases. On the contrary, as pointed out earlier, it was not uncommon for the courts to run out of this *"mercancía* (commodity)" as García Calderón had defined the *papel sellado*.[108] If the court could not provide the necessary sealed paper,

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[106] Pedro Valverde por los indigenas Juan Torres y Compartes en el juicio con Don Manuel Mejia sobre deslinde parcial de las tierras de Recuay, 1890-1894, *f*129, *Legajo* 60, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

[107] Pedro Valverde por los indigenas Juan Torres y Compartes en el juicio con Don Manuel Mejia sobre deslinde parcial de las tierras de Recuay, 1890-1894, *Legajo* 60, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

[108] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, March 23, 1893; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, July 14, 1894; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, February 18, 1895; Manuel Trejo con Florencio Loli, sobre entrega de una menor-Huaraz, November 18, 1884-December 16, 1884, *Legajo* 51, *Causas Civiles*; Manuel Mauricio Henostroza por si y sus compartes con doña Cármen Regalado sobre deposito del fundo "Marabia"-Huaraz, June 8, 1886-November 9, 1886, *Legajo* 52, *Causas Civiles*, ADA; Insidente de recusación Pio movido por Lorenzo R. Figueroa en el juicio eguido por Jose y

litigants could use ordinary paper. The courts would later validate the documents' legality, receiving the *papel sellado*'s official stamp and its integration into the folio. However, before this process took place, the litigant, or better said, the consumer, had to pay for the *papel sellado*, at times, twice the original amount. This situation not uncommon in postwar Ancash. Legally, this practice of paying "back taxes" is described in the documents as *reintegro* (reimbursement). "The word *reintegro* is used frequently in speaking of contributions, such as *papel sellado* and other rents," García Calderón had uttered in his *Diccionario* (1879).[109] In the *partición y division* lawsuit involving Francisco Rafael Alvino Ortiz and others in Recuay, a *reintegro* was used to officiate the partition of *estancia* Rapish-Pampa. According to *f*1 and *f*2, the community had "possessed the land in universal succession, held it in common, and it was divided into three parts.[110]"

Though the courthouse in Huaraz appeared to comply with the community's demands, it seems that the *indígenas* were unsatisfied with the amount of money they had paid for the *papel sellado* in the legal proceeding. They had paid $0.20 for each *papel sellado* in *f*1 and *f*2. The government had previously classified this type of *papel sellado* as *sello* (seal) number 3.[111] In the eyes of community, they had overpaid for the *reintegro* of these *folios*.

Manuel Evangelio y compartes en autos con Tomas y Esteban Leon, sobre deslinde de los terrenos de "Yucapuquio"-July 16, 1886-January 14, 1888, Legajo 52, *Causas Civiles*, ADA; Juan Mata Peñaranda por intestado de doña Rosalia Peñarando-Huaraz, September 20, 1889-May 24, 1892, *Legajo* 58, *Causas Civiles*, ADA; Brigida haro con Carlos Sanchez Serrano por falsedad de un contrato de venta-Yungar, December 14, 1889-September 18, 1900, *Legajo* 59, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

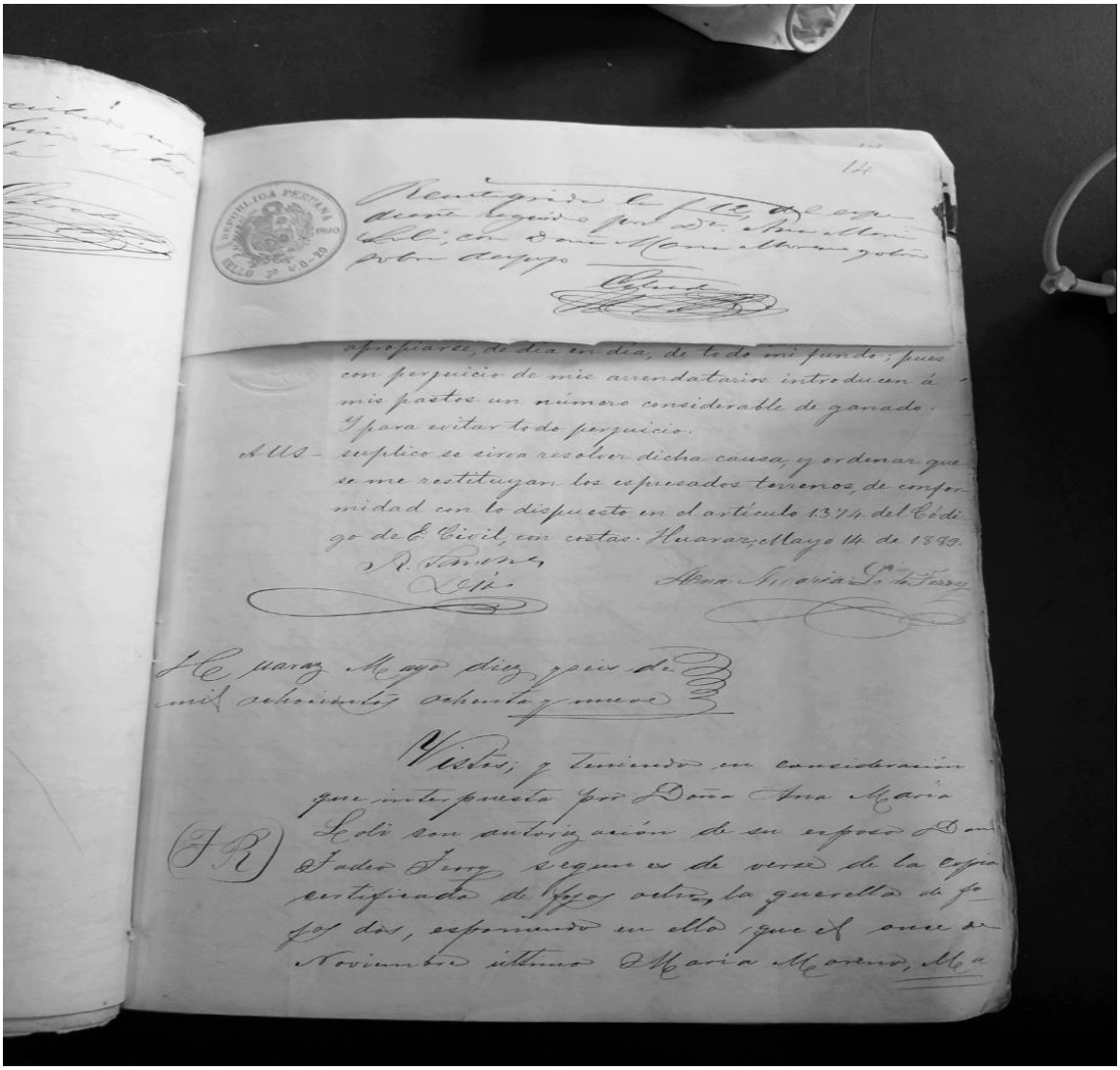
[109] *Diccionario*, 1658.

[110] Francisco Rafael Alvino Ortiz y compartes sobre particion y division de bienes, Recuay, March 18, 1895-April 25, 1895, *f*1, *f*2, *Legajo* 78, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

[111] By the late nineteenth century, six different *papel sellado* existed. They were categorized in the following manner: $0.05 for seal number one, $0.10 for seal number two, $0.20 for seal number three, $0.50 for seal number four, $1.00 for seal number five, and $3.00 for seal number six. *El Comercio*, Lima, December 10, 1886.

The community used this opportunity to remind the government about their rights as indigenous people and balance the books. Francisco, the primary spokesman for the community, argued that they should have paid at most $0.05 for each folio of *papel sellado*. He asked the judge to use the "extra" money to meet the financial obligations of other *folios*, files that did not had *papel sellado* either, that were yet to be legalized. "As *indígenas* and by the minister of law, we should have followed this lawsuit on *papel sellado primero* (seal paper number one), and since seal number three has been used, we plea that the excess money from the first two *fojas* serve for the *reintegro* of the *fojas* where the regular paper was used," Francisco wrote to the court on May 25, 1895. The judge appeared to have complied with the requisition of the community. At the request of the Franscico, the case was *archivado* at the notary of D. Enrique Guzman, "a man whom the community wholly trusted.[112]"

[112] Francisco Rafael Alvino Ortiz y compartes sobre particion y division de bienes, Recuay, March 18, 1895-April 25, 1895, *f*6, *Legajo* 78, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.



ADA, *Legajo* 56, *Causas Civiles*, Maria Ana Loli de Terry c/. Maria Moreno, Manuela Morena, y Mariano Palma sobre restitución de terreno e indemnización de daños y perjuicios-Huaraz, November 16, 1888-June 12, 1889. A *reintegro* is showed here.

Francisco's complaint about the courts' mistake regarding the use of *papel sellado* is revealing. During the colonial period, those considered indigenous or self-identified as *indios* appeared to have paid the lowest amount for *papel sellado*. This practice carried over to the republican period, according to the official documentation at the *Archivo General de la*

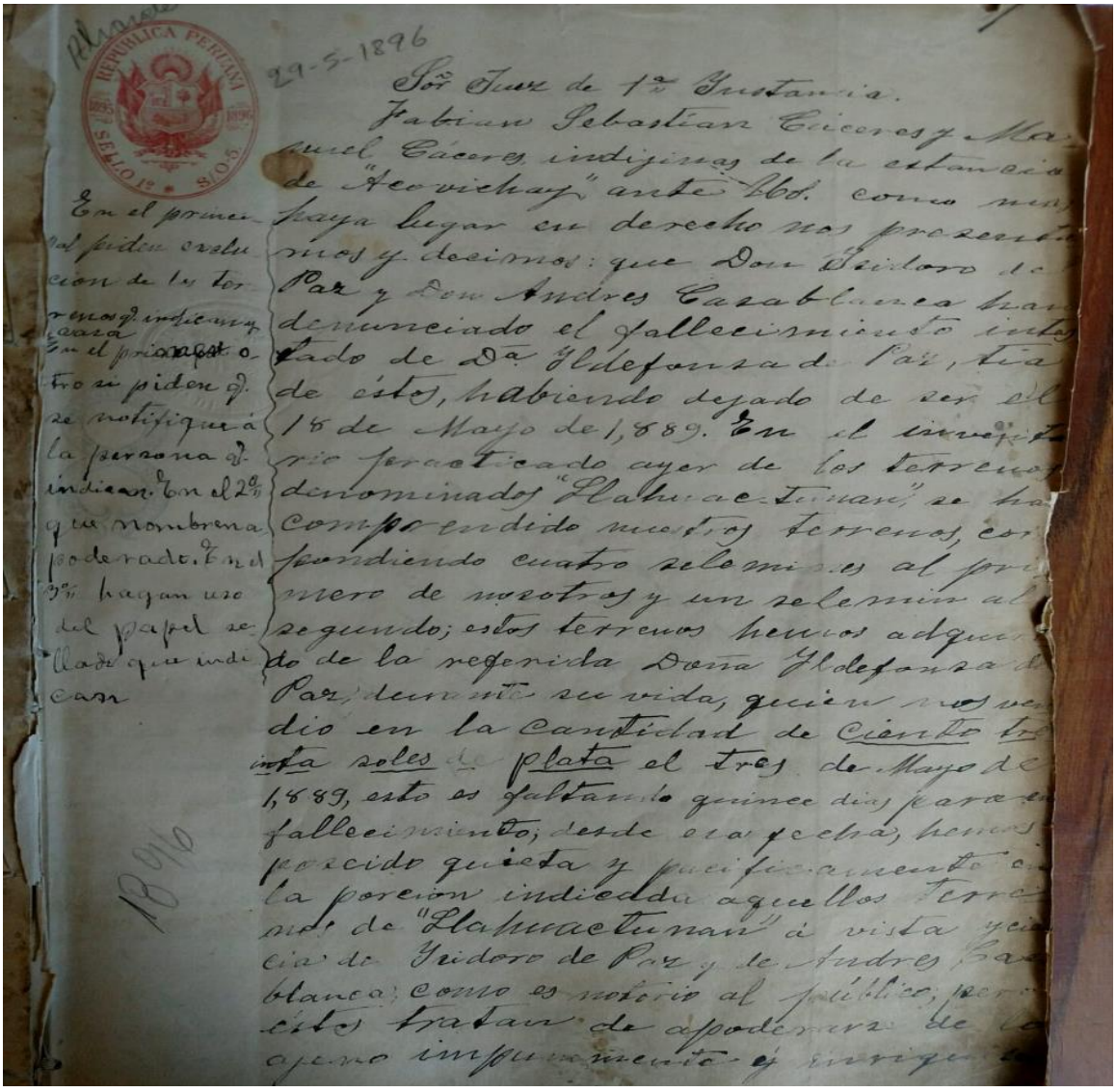
Nación (AGN) in Lima. For one, a governmental decree in 1824 stated that "*indígenas*, previously known as *indios,* were to continue paying the lowest quality of *papel sellado* because of their notorious poverty."[113] In 1837, evidence of this policy was also found in the documents. A decree issued from the *Ministerio de Hacienda y Comercio* (Ministry of Finance and Commerce) addressed to prefects in all departments, the governors of Callao and Piura, and the Supreme and Superior Court also pointed out the relationship between the *papel sellado* and the status of *indígena*. "Given their poverty, those of the *clase indígena* must use *papel* of seal number six," the decree stipulated.[114] The last reference to this practice in official documentation took place in 1855. In this instance, the Prefect of the region of Huancavelica asked the central government if indigenous people within his jurisdiction should continue paying for *papel sellado* number six. The central government responded promptly to the Prefect's query. "*Indígenas* of the republic have enjoyed the privilege of using *papel sellado* of the lowest quality since time immemorial; it is declared that they should continue using this practice because of their misery," the government in Lima posited.[115] Garcia Calderon also commented on using papel sellado number six in his *Diccionario*. Although he does not explicitly mention *indígenas* in his entry on *papel sellado,* Garcia Calderon had strongly recommended using *papel sellado* number six for litigants who were deemed poor.[116]

[113] Coleccion de leyes, decretos y ordenes, 18, Volume 16, Ministerio de Hacienda y Comercio, 1872, Archivo General de la Nación (AGN).

[114] Ibid, 25.

[115] Ibid, 34.

[116] *Diccionario*, 1458-1460.



ADA, *Legajo* 82, Fabian Sebastian Caceres y Manuel Caceres sobre denuncia del fallecimiento de Ildefonso de Paz-Huaraz May 29, 1896-March 18, 1903, f1r. Notice the word *indígenas* on the second sentences. The amount for *papel sellado* is $0.05 soles here. They also bring up how much their land is worth in terms of production (*selemines)* and actual sale value.

Though President Cáceres decree on "*Papel Sellado*," enacted on December 9, 1886, does not refer to the juridical status of *indígenas* with regards to this bureaucratized form of taxation, there appears to be a strong correlation between *indígenas* and the use of *papel*

sellado number six in late nineteenth-century Ancash. In several cases cited above, for instance, litigants, who at some stage of the legal proceeding defined themselves as *indígenas*, frequently used *papel sellado* number 6, paying $0.05 per *folio*. Other lawsuits found in the archives of Huaraz are also worth pointing out. In the *estancia* of Humarín, for instance, Eustaquio Huerta, who appears in the record as neither a *vecino* nor *indígena*, was involved in a land litigation with Julian Oncoy, Sebastián Velasquez and Celestino Castillo over the *terrenos* known as Machcor and Pucahuanca. As both parties awaited the decision on the case, it appears that the three men had bullied their way into Eustaquio's property, which belonged to his wife, Elvira de la Cruz, and took nearly all usable wood and construction materials. "With much force and violence…they eventually want to take all of the wood from my property," Eustaquio bemoaned to the judge on August 28, 1895.[117] Nearly a year later, Sebastián and Julián, *indígenas*, each paying $0.05 for the respective *papel sellado,* appeared before the court to provide their statements over these accusations.[118] Though by now, they recognized Elvira's rightful claims to the lands in question, implying that the judge had already made a ruling on that case, they denied having stolen the materials and equipment from Elvia's property. They refused to pay for goods. Moreover, Sebastián and Julián accused the local scribe of conspiring against them. In their view, Rafael Infante, a scribe in Huaraz, was "in collaboration with the other litigant," purposely delaying the legal

[117] "han conrtado [sic]…con fuerza y violencia en estos ultimos dias de mas de veinte y cinco palos de alizo y de construccion…pretenden concluir con todo el maderaje de mi propiedad," Eustaquio Huerta con Julian Oncoy sobre pago de daños y perjuicios Huaraz, Jul 09, 1896- Sept 04, 1902, *f*1-*f*2, *Legajo* 83, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

[118] Eustaquio Huerta con Julian Oncoy sobre pago de daños y perjuicios Huaraz, Jul 09, 1896- Sept 04, 1902, *f*4-*f*5, *Legajo* 83, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

process.[119] “Some of the state scribes are known for making dubious citations since they often never leave town to do so,” Julian Oncoy complained on *f*5, dated July 16, 1896.[120] Their arguments did not persuade the judge. In any case, it would take six more years for the court to order the *indígenas* to pay for the damage caused to Elvira's property. Julián Oncoy was ordered to pay $94.75 to Elvira de la Cruz. The actual costs had been estimated at $317, and the court expected that other litigants like Celestino Castillo and Sebastián Velasquez would pay Elvira de la Cruz the remaining amount.[121]

At times, cases over property also involved community members who favored land alienation instead of communal landholding. For example, in the *estancia* of Numacoto, located in the district of Carhuaz, José Julián, and María Micaela voiced their desire to privatize their hamlet in their initial statement on November 10, 1894. "For a long time, from the time of our remote ancestors, we have possessed the *terrenos* in said *estancia* under the names of Silvestre-Pucro, Campo Santo, Capilla-Antigua, and Numacoto-Pampa, where maize is sorely planted,” the *indígenas* uttered.[122] They gave this statement during their first appearance in court, where they used two *papel sellado* number 6 (*f*1&2), paying $0.05 for

[119] Eustaquio Huerta con Julian Oncoy sobre pago de daños y perjuicios Huaraz, Jul 09, 1896- Sept 04, 1902, *f*4-*f*5, *Legajo* 83, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

[120] Eustaquio Huerta con Julian Oncoy sobre pago de daños y perjuicios Huaraz, Jul 09, 1896- Sept 04, 1902, *f*4, *f*5, *Legajo* 83, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

[121] Eustaquio Huerta con Julian Oncoy sobre pago de daños y perjuicios Huaraz, Jul 09, 1896- Sept 04, 1902, *f*147, *f*148, *Legajo* 83, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

[122] “que desde una larga fecha, esto es desde nuestros remotos antepasados, que poseemos proindiviso los terrenos sitos en la expresada estancia, con los nombres de “Silvestre-Pucro,” Campo Santo, Capilla-Antigua y Numacoto-Pampa, todos maiceros, el total de ellos de sembradura de diez celemines que a razón de veinticinco soles por cada celemín pasan a doscientos soles de plata,” Jose Julian y Maria Micaela sobre particion y division de los bienes del que fue Manuel y Toribio Coronacion, Carhuaz, November 10, 1894-November 25, 1905, *f*1, *f*2, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

each folio.[123] In their calculations, all the arable land in the *estancia* was able to produce ten *celemines*, and if each celemín sold for $25, the total value of the land would be over $200.[124] Given these monetary incentives, they believed communal land holding no longer represented their interests; they found it "inconvenient to maintain this unfavorable position.[125]" To argue their case to the judge, they cited passages from the Civil Code of 1852, particularly those about the privatization of communal landholdings. "Making use of the powers given by article 1057 of the *codigo de enjuiciamiento civil*, we plead you that you authorize the partition and division of such *terrenos* in two equal parts that correspond to Manuel and Toribio Encarnación," José Julián and María contended.[126]

As scholarship on the privatization of land has shown, however, the most severe injustices occurred when local authorities preyed on those deemed too powerless to defend themselves.[127] In the lawsuit involving Francisca Mariño, for instance, *the Juez de Paz de*

[123] Ibid.

[124] A celemín is a unit of measurement used in Latin America prior to the consolidation of the metric system in the twentieth century. One unit of celemín amounts to 4.6 liters.

[125] Jose Julian y Maria Micaela sobre particion y division de los bienes del que fue Manuel y Toribio Coronacion, Carhuaz, November 10, 1894-November 25, 1905, *f*1, *f*2, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

[126] "no siéndonos conveniente seguir mas tiempo en esa condición incomoda y haciendo uso de la facultad que nos acuerda el articulo 1057 del código de enjuiciamiento civil, ocurrimos a US siplicandole [sic] se sirva ordenar la partición y división de dichos terrenos en dos porciones iguales correspondientes a los padres comunes Manuel y Toribio Encarnacion, con citación de los demás coherederos nuestros antes relacionados," Jose Julian y Maria Micaela sobre particion y division de los bienes del que fue Manuel y Toribio Coronacion, Carhuaz, November 10, 1894-November 25, 1905, *f*1, *f*2, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

[127] See Manuel Burga and Alberto Flores Galindo, *Apogeo y crisis de la república aristocrática: oligarquía, aprismo y comunismo en el Perú, 1895-1932* (Lima, Perú: Ediciones Rikchay Perú, 1980); Nils Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition* (Stanford: University of California Press, 1993); Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997); Ponciano del Pino, *En nombre del gobierno: el Perú y Uchuraccay : un siglo de política campesina* (Juliaca: Universidad Nacional de Juliaca, 2017). On the other hand, José María Caballero has argued that rural landowners's hold over land was largely exaggerated for political reasons, particularly during the early years of the left-wing military government of Juan Velasco Alvaro in the 1970s. See José María Caballero, *Economía agraria de la sierra peruana antes de la reforma agraria de 1969* (Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1981).

primera renumacion Don Manuel Lugasti attempted to drive Francisca from her land in the province of Huamalies. At first, the judge imposed a $16 fine on Francisca. However, for an *indígena* like Francisca, the amount was well beyond her budget, and she did not pay it.[128] Due to her inability to comply with the fine, Francisca was chased by the local police and thrown into prison. She stayed in jail for two days before the sub-Prefect heard of her situation and posted her bail.[129] Once out of jail, Francisca defended herself in a court of law. "Regarding a piece of land of little value and of my *propiedad* where I grow half a *celemín* of maize," Francisca, *natural* and *vecina* of Llata, uttered in her opening statement on October 4, 1894. For the *vecina*, Lugasti had taken advantage of the situation because she was a "poor and lonely woman, a widow and *infeliz.*[130]"

The case was far from over. On November 9, Francisca once again approached the courts in Huaraz. Now self-described as an "*indígena* from the town of Llata," she denounced that another person, Gregorilla Cadillo, with the complicity of Lugasti, had squatted on her land. Only after this appearance at the court of law, Francisca–who had paid $0.20 for *papel sellado* in *f*22 and *f*31–was subsequently charged $0.05, as seen in files *f*48, *f*71, *f*72, and *f*75. Nevertheless, it seems that Francisca never had to remunerate the local government for the costs of the lawsuit. Not only did she win the case against Lugasti, effectively exercising her rights as a citizen, but she also got him to cover the financial burden of the litigation. On October 25, 1895, the judge ordered Lugasti to pay for the costs

[128] Juicio de responsabilidad seguido por Francisco Mariño c/. el Juez de Paz de 1ra Instancia de Hummalies-Huaraz, f*22*, *Legajo* 77, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

[129] Juicio de responsabilidad seguido por Francisco Mariño c/. el Juez de Paz de 1ra Instancia de Hummalies-Huaraz, *Legajo* 77, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

[130] Juicio de responsabilidad seguido por Francisco Mariño c/. el Juez de Paz de 1ra Instancia de Hummalies-Huaraz, *f*22, *f*23, *Legajo* 77, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

of the trial–including the use of *papel sellado*–which amounted to $14.75.[131] In her last appearance in the case, she asked Judge Aurelio Valenzuela to return some of the files to her, a practice called *devolución.*[132] In Francisca's case, those documents had the deeds to her property, which would protect her from further encroachment. “Before you, I humbly ask that you order the *devolución* of the pertinent documents,” Francisca pleaded Judge Valenzuela on February 28, 1896.[133]

Conclusion:

By the late nineteenth century, legal culture in the Andes extended beyond the courthouse halls. Legal proceedings, particularly those over land, could be time-consuming and costly for indigenous people. Moreover, the political instability and economic downturn caused by the War of the Pacific and subsequent civil wars (1884-85 and 1894-95) weakened the government and its institutions. However, *indígenas* opted to defend their rights as citizens at the court of law, and at times, they were more than successful in achieving justice. As the cases above show, race was still a factor worth considering in lawsuits. For one, indigenous people could evoke the status of *tributarios* (tax-paying *Indian*s), tying their identity to paying the tribute, a practice that scholars have traced to the colonial period. To be an “Indian” was to pay tribute. By the late nineteenth century, however, the legal category of *indígena* seldom became associated with paying tribute in litigations. The tribute had largely

[131] Juicio de responsabilidad seguido por Francisco Mariño c/. el Juez de Paz de 1ra Instancia de Hummalies-Huaraz, *f*66, *Legajo* 77, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

[132] Juicio de responsabilidad seguido por Francisco Mariño c/. el Juez de Paz de 1ra Instancia de Hummalies-Huaraz, *f*75, *Legajo* 77, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

[133] Juicio de responsabilidad seguido por Francisco Mariño c/. el Juez de Paz de 1ra Instancia de Hummalies-Huaraz, *f*75, *Legajo* 77, *Causas Civiles*, ADA. The files Franscisca asked are missing from the public records.

fallen out of favor in fiscal and legal terms, but the use of *indígena* persisted. Though at times, the term *indígena* was constructed alongside colonial discourses and scientific racism, these citizens took an active role in defending their interests at the court of law. They put in petitions, called on witnesses, and hired representation. They employed complex legal language that drew from colonial and liberal jurisprudence. Like other citizens in Ancash, they paid the legal fees associated with the process, namely the *papel sellado.* Unlike other citizens, however, this indirect form of taxation, which reified their legal designation as *indígenas* since they paid a different amount in comparison to non-*indígenas*–a practice that dated to the colonial period–allowed them to demand tax breaks from the state based on practices that were not supposed to exist under a liberal state. Aside from the colonial residue in the Peruvian legal system, the participation of indigenous in legal proceedings paints a complex picture of how they fulfilled their fiscal responsibilities and, at the same time, carved themselves a space of representation under a liberal state, that still operated under colonial forms of power, that often sought to exclude them.

Chapter 5: The Atusparia Rebellion of 1885: Political Culture, Race, and Insurgency in Late Nineteenth-Century Peru.

Introduction:

The War of the Pacific (1879-1883) severely disrupted the economic growth Peru had experienced under free market policies since mid-century. Moreover, the Treaty of Ancon of 1883, which ceded Peruvian provinces in the south to Chile, left many civilians, military, and politicians dissatisfied with the government of Miguel Iglesias, the president who negotiated the peaceful resolution. For these critics, the peace agreement with Chile represented a treacherous sign of collaboration with foreign invaders. In their understanding, the government of Miguel Iglesias was illegitimate. Over the next two years, enemies of Iglesias, led by General Andrés Avelino Cáceres and his *Partido Constitucional* (Constitutional Party), launched a military campaign to oust Iglesias, plunging the country into civil war. In Ancash, like other regions of Peru, the political instability of these years disrupted much of the economic activity, putting an enormous strain on indigenous people's everyday activities. However, indigenous people in the region remained committed to the national cause, and their political mobilization in 1885 seriously challenged the authority of the beleaguered Iglesias government.

This chapter will provide a narrative of the Atusparia Rebellion and place it within the larger history of Peru by 1885. The analysis will be divided into seven sections. The first section will provide an overview of the political atmosphere in Peru and its impact on Ancash following the War of the Pacific (1879-1883). The following section will describe the sequence of events that led to the rise and fall of the Atusparia Rebellion at the hands of the military in early May. The following five sections will discuss relevant historiography

and the reasons that may have inspired the people in Ancash to take arms against Iglesias's government. Since the rebels left no traces of documentation, these sections draw from monographs—some which have drawn influence from oral traditions—government documents, and newspapers from Lima and other regions in Peru that reported on the rebellion. Stories about the Atusparia Rebellion found abroad in Bolivian and Panamanian newspapers will also be considered. The analysis of economic and sociocultural explanations shows that the Atusparia Rebellion displayed key characteristics of past indigenous rebellions but differed from others. On one hand, economics and politics largely influenced the goals and objectives of the rebels, showing that they were not aloof local and national developments. On the other hand, the historical context of the Atusparia Rebellion gave room for the social construction of the indigenous subject as a "communist terrorist," a discourse used to describe insurgency in rural areas and that has become more prevalent in Peruvian political culture since then.

War, Destruction, and *Cacerismo*: The Politics of Ancash During the War of the Pacific, 1879-1883

Chilean entry into Lima in early 1881 signaled the end of military resistance in the country's capital city, the center of commerce and modernity. Yet, several military leaders refused to yield to the authority of the invaders. Over the next two years, they launched several military campaigns from the highlands against Chilean forces and the puppet government they installed in Peru. One General, namely General Andrés Avelino Cáceres, launched a military campaign to oust the Chilean-backed government of Miguel Iglesias, plunging the country into further war, death, and destruction. With much support from

indigenous populations in the central regions, Cáceres fended off and scored several victories over his enemies. His efforts to outmaneuver Chilean forces, and their Peruvian allies, took his army into valleys and mountains of Ancash, where he would also receive support from populations in rural and urban areas. In Ancash, indigenous people sided with the *caudillo* during the Chilean occupation, actively participating in the national resistance and setting the stage for the rise of *Cacerismo* in the department.

The Chilean victory in Lima at the Battle of Miraflores in January 1881 signaled the demise of the established order in Peru but not the end of the conflict in the country.[1] In the aftermath of the battle, Chilean Vice-Admiral Patricio Lynch promptly set up a provisional government in Lima. At first, Lynch recognized the newly established presidency of politician and jurist Francisco García Calderon. However, negotiations soon broke when he refused to sign a peace treaty that territorially favored its neighbor to the south. In response, Chile quickly exiled García. General Juan Lizardro Montero would assume power over the country, initially operating out of Huaraz, Ancash, and later Arequipa. However, Montero would also lose the favor of invading Chilean forces, and by 1883 Army General Miguel Iglesias was shaping up to be the next candidate to rule the country amidst chaos and uncertainty. Aside from Chilean sponsorship, Iglesias received the support of the oligarchy in Lima and other influential regions in the provinces such La Libertad and Cajamarca– especially from those ruling classes who desired a quick peace settlement since the war had compromised their economic positions. In a sense, Iglesias's appointment was almost by

[1] For a full accounts on the War of the Pacific, see Nelson Manrique Gálvez, *Las Guerrillas indígenas en la guerra con Chile: campesinado y nación* (Lima: Centro de Investigación y Capacitación, 1981); Florencia E. Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (University of California Press, 1995); William F. Sater, *Andean Tragedy: Fighting the War of the Pacific, 1879-1884* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007); Carmen McEvoy, *Guerreros Civilizadores: Politica, Sociedad y Cultura En Chile Durante La Guerra Del Pacífico* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2016). Manrique's work was particularly innovative in documenting the participation of indigenous people in the War of the Pacific.

default, as other military leaders had fled the country after the Battle of Miraflores or refused to bow down to Chilean demands. These military generals, including Cáceres, had momentarily retreated into the Andes and planned to launch campaigns to repel the invaders and reclaim the nation.[2] Due to its often-inaccessible terrain, these military leaders viewed the highlands as the ideal place to launch guerrilla-style attacks against Chilean forces. Indigenous people were to play a critical role in the national resistance.

Though intellectuals such as Ricardo Palma blamed the loss of the war on the lack of national consciousness among indigenous peasants, a school of thought that remained influential in popular memory and historiography, Cáceres's campaign in the Andes and indigenous participation, particularly the from regions like Junín, has been well discussed by historian Nelson Manrique.[3] By late 1881, Cáceres had assumed control of the resistance after outbidding Nicolás de Piérola over the command of the armies. Over the next two years, Cáceres would launch a series of campaigns from the Andes to liberate the country from occupying forces. Ancash would also play a key role in his resistance movement, mainly because the Chilean army quickly deployed military personnel into the Andes. By June 1883, Chilean advances in the highlands had forced Cáceres to seek refuge in Ancash, where he received a heartwarming welcome. Several citizens from Ancash had already answered the call to serve in the militia when the War of the Pacific first broke out in 1879.[4] The General

[2] Jorge Basadre Grohmann, *Historia de La República Del Perú (1822-1933): La Guerra Con Chile. Tomo 9* (Lima: Empresa Editora El Comercio S.A, 2005), 297-298; Peter Flindell Klaren, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 183-202.

[3] Nelson Manrique Gálvez, *Las Guerrillas indígenas en la guerra con Chile: campesinado y nación* (Lima: Centro de Investigación y Capacitación, 1981). For other case studies in the highlands, see Florencia E. Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (University of California Press, 1995).

[4] C. Augusto Alba Herrera, *Huarás: historia de un pueblo en transformación* (Ediciones "El Inca," 1996).

first arrived in Chavín, a town on the eastern side of the *Cordillera Blanca,* on June 12.[5] The hospitality he received in this province allowed him to rest, replenish his resources, and increase the size of his army.[6]

Cáceres's stop in Chavín was temporary. He recognized that because of its economic, military, and political importance in the region, his rebel forces needed to cross the Andes and head into Huaraz. Two days later at dawn–rested and resupplied–he left Chavín and crossed into the Cordillera Blanca, through the passage of Arguaycancha, without too much trouble. On the afternoon of June 15, his army reached Huaraz, where he also received the support of most of the population.[7] Five days later, on June 20, he reached the town of Yungay, located 35 miles north of Huaraz. Yungay was the wealthiest town in Ancash. By this point, his forces had grown by at least a thousand. Like in other regions, most of his recruits were likely indigenous people. The soldiers were poorly trained, and equipped with weapons such as slings, clubs, and maces, war devices traditionally associated with indigenous people or *montoneras*.[8] Whatever handicap these soldiers may have had regarding

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[5] Jorge Basadre Grohmann, *Historia de La República Del Perú (1822-1933): La Guerra Con Chile. Tomo 9* (Lima: Empresa Editora El Comercio S.A, 2005), 263.

[6] Félix Alvarez Brun, *Ancash: una historia regional peruana* (Lima: Ediciones P.L.V., 1970); C. Augusto Alba Herrera, *Huarás: historia de un pueblo en transformación* (Ediciones "El Inca," 1996); Miguel León Gómez, *Entre quebradas y montañas: una historia regional de Conchucos, siglos XVI-XX* (Lima, Perú : Oneonta, NY: TAREA ; SUNY Oneonta, 2018), 142.

[7] William F. Sater, *Andean Tragedy: Fighting the War of the Pacific, 1879-1884* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 265.

[8] *Montoneros* were irregular armies that emerged during the Wars of Independence in the 1810s and 1820s. They were primarily composed of indigenous people and other minorities. They were not known for carrying sophisticated weaponry or equipment. Nevertheless, political leaders after independence, often relied on these citizens to accomplish their political goals. Their influence in Peruvian politics, along with public conceptions of their participation in the democratic process, remained consistent well into the late nineteenth century. See Nelson Manrique Gálvez, *Las Guerrillas indígenas en la guerra con Chile: campesinado y nación* (Lima: Centro de Investigación y Capacitación, 1981); Charles F. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840* (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press Books, 1999); Cristóbal Aljovín de Losada, *Caudillos y constituciones: Perú, 1821-1845* (Lima; México: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Instituto Riva-Agüero ; Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000); Cecilia Méndez, *The Plebeian Republic: The*

armaments, particularly if they faced a well-trained Chilean army, they made up for it with their knowledge of the landscape and loyalty to Cáceres. *Taita*, "farther" in Quechua, as Cáceres became known in Ancash, also spoke Quechua. His language knowledge facilitated communication and helped him develop a deeper bond with indigenous people, whom he considered indispensable for the resistance movement in the Andes.[9]

Despite having the support of a large majority of the citizens, Cáceres could not stay in the region long. Shortly after he arrived in Yungay, he learned that Chilean forces were rapidly closing in on his rebel army from virtually every direction but one. In the north, an enemy army was only a few miles away from Yungay, and in the south, a force of 3000 men had recently arrived in Recuay, roughly 16 miles from Huaraz. Escaping towards the coast did not seem feasible for Cáceres either. In the town of Casma, the largest port of Ancash, a sizeable Chilean force was expected to dock in the next day or two. On June 21, Caceres decided to take a bold course of action. His rebel army would head east again and cross the *Cordillera Blanca* through the passage of Llanganuco. In contrast to his earlier crossing at the passage of Arguaycancha from Chavín, Cáceres found the road in Llanganuco much more difficult to trek. The narrow roads, deep ravines, and extreme temperatures were well-

Huanta Rebellion and the Making of the Peruvian State, 1820–1850, First Edition edition (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2005); Cristóbal Aljovín de Losada, *Caudillos y constituciones: Perú, 1821-1845* (Lima; México: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Instituto Riva-Agüero ; Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000); Carmen Mc Evoy and Alejandro M. Rabinovich, *Tiempo de guerra: Estado, nación y conflicto armado en el Perú, siglos XVII-XIX* (Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2019). In a letter to his brother, Carlos de Piérola also describes his *montoneros* in Ancash as a poorly equipped force during the civil war of 1894–95. See Carlos de Piérola to Nicholás de Piérola, letter, January 16, 1895, Inventario de la Correspondencia de Nicholás de Piérola, Biblioteca Nacional del Perú (BNP), Lima.

[9] Carla Haydee Granados Moya, "El desfile de la semana patria de en el valle yanamarca: una acción pública de reconocimiento y una memoria en la sierra central peruana, 1886-2015" (Seville, master's thesis, Universidad Pablo de Olavide de Sevilla, 2016), 67, 91. The figure of Cáceres has even inspired political movements in the twentieth-first century. In 2000, the Humala brothers, Ollanta and Antauro, led a short-lived bloodless insurrection, an *etnocacerista* movement, against the government of Alberto Fujimori in the region of Tacna. See Cecilia Méndez, "Populismo militar y etnicidad en los Andes. Presentación del dossier.," *Íconos - Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 0, no. 26 (August 29, 2013): 13, https://doi.org/10.17141/iconos.26.2006.189.

known by locals. For some, the conditions and terrain made the crossing impossible for a small army, which, aside from infantry, was also composed of cavalry. The journey tested Cáceres's resolve to the limit. Despite some losses, his rebel army crossed the *Cordillera Blanca* on June 22 and headed into the region of Huanuco. Back in Huaraz, and the *Callejon de Huaylas* more broadly, supporters of Cáceres purposely misinformed the approaching Chilean forces of the rebel army's plans. Even if Chilean forces had found out where Cáceres had gone, they would have been unable to follow him. Cáceres had his engineers destroy the narrow and barely crossable roads along the passage of Llanganuco.

Cáceres' actions in the Andes earned him fame but, more importantly, bought him some time to rebuild his army.[10] The general public and the media have traditionally lionized Cáceres' heroics in Ancash.[11] His ability to ostensibly cross the Andes at will, outmaneuver his enemies, and be in two places at once earned him the nickname *"El Brujo de los Andes"* (The Sorcerer of the Andes).[12] His actions, however, only delayed what appeared to be an inevitable Chilean victory. After much chasing through Northern Peru and the Andes, Chilean forces finally clashed with Caceres' forces in a decisive battle a few weeks after the *caudillo*'s stay in Ancash. On July 10, 1883, at Huamanchuco, located in the region of La Libertad, north of Ancash, Cáceres and his forces were finally defeated.[13] Soon after

[10] Jorge Basadre Grohmann, *Historia de La República Del Perú (1822-1933): La Guerra Con Chile. Tomo 9* (Lima: Empresa Editora El Comercio S.A, 2005), 263-269.

[11] Ibid.

[12] In nearly all tours that lead into the Cordillera Blanca, local tour guides, many of them of indigenous background, recall with great pride the feats of *"El Brujo de los Andes."* See also Hugo Ramirez, *Ancash: Vida y Pasión* (Lima: Editorial Universo, 1971), 47-52.

[13] After this encounter, Cáceres and other officers organized only a few minor attacks from the highlands. In most literature, the Battle of Humanchuco is considered the last major battle and the end of the War of the Pacific. See Basadre, *Historia, Tomo 9*, 263-269; Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of* Peru, 150; Sater, *Andean Tragedy*, 336-39.

Cáceres's defeat, Iglesias and Chilean officials signed the controversial Treaty of Ancon on October 20, which gave Chile possession of the nitrate-rich region of Tarapacá. The treaty also ceded the provinces of Arica and Tacna to Chile for ten years. After the agreement, Chile began demobilizing its military. The last Chilean troops were pulled out of the country by August 1884.[14] However, Cáceres did not take long to resume his aggressive bid for power.

Enemies Within: The Rise and Fall of the Atusparia Rebellion, March-May 1885

Even though specific sectors of the upper, middle, and popular classes–indigenous people included–disapproved of Iglesia's government from its conception, their general dissatisfaction intensified after Chilean forces left the country a few months after the Treaty of Ancón of 1883. Not long after peace was established, Iglesias adopted more authoritarian measures. He refused to hold presidential elections, censored the press, and exiled those who stood in his way.[15] As a response to Iglesias' authoritarian politics, Cáceres reappeared once again. He launched a campaign to oust him and take over Lima, plunging the country again into civil war until December 1885, when Iglesias resigned and went into exile.[16] Although the conflict polarized nearly all regions in the country and led to open confrontation between *Cáceristas* and *Iglesistas*, its manifestation in Ancash exceeded the political imaginary of both belligerents. On March 3, 1885, thousands of indigenous peoples in Ancash rebelled

[14] Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of Peru,* 150-151.

[15] Clements R. Markham, *A History of Peru*, Latin American Republics (Chicago: C. H. Sergel, 1892), 399–440.

[16] Peter Flindell Klaren, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 292-296; Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of Peru,* 150-151.

against the Iglesias administration's injustices, particularly its excessive taxation policies. Over the next two months, they would establish a provisional government and rule the department. Unfortunately for the rebels, their movement would be violently suppressed by the forces of order by early May.

On February 22, 1885, the recently appointed Prefect of Ancash, Francisco Noriega, at the request of Iglesias, doubled the amount of the head tax, also referred to as *contribución personal*. Since colonial times and even after independence, save for some minor instances when the tax was suspended, every head of a household of indigenous people was expected to pay the head tax.[17] In 1885, indigenous populations usually paid $1.00, but after the decree in February, the amount was doubled to $ 2.00 every six months. Those who did not follow through within three days would pay double that amount, risking jail time.[18] Since military conflicts and famines had depleted the pockets of the populations over the past six years, many indigenous populations in Ancash could not pay the head tax.

In addition to this decree, other unjust measures and acts were testing the patience of indigenous populations. Through robbery, murder, and guile, unscrupulous elites gradually took away the land and animals from indigenous peasants.[19] By decree or coercion, indigenous populations were evicted into poor arable lands with limited access to essential

[17] Aaron Pollack, "Hacia Una Historia Social Del Tributo de Indios y Castas En Hispanoamérica. Notas En Torno a Su Creación, Desarrollo y Abolición," *Historia Mexicana* 66, no. 1 (September 2016): 65–160.

[18] *El Comercio*, Lima, March 5, 1885; Lewis Taylor, "Indigenous Peasant Rebellions in Peru during the 1880s," in *Indigenous Revolts in Chiapas and Andean Highlands*, edited by Kevin Gosner and Arij Ouweneel (Amsterdam: Centro de Estudios y Documentación Latinoamericanos, 1998), 200-01.

[19] J. Santiago Maguiña Chauca, *Atusparia Angeles Pedro Pablo: La Revolución Indígena de 1885 En Huaraz y Ancash* (Huaraz: Ediciones Atusparia, 1974); C. Augusto Alba Herrera, *Atusparia y la revolución campesina de 1885 en Ancash* (Huaraz: Ediciones Atusparia, 1985); William W. Stein, *El levantamiento de Atusparia: el movimiento popular ancasshino de 1885 : un estudio de documentos* (Lima: Mosca azul ed., 1988); José Antonio Salazar Mejía, *Atusparia y la revolución campesina de 1885* (Huaraz: Killa Editorial, 2014).

natural resources such as salt and wood. In most cases, indigenous populations were not compensated for their land.[20] Since many elite landowners had strong connections with the Iglesias administration in the region, those indigenous populations that resisted eviction were either thrown into jail or killed. To exacerbate this situation, the Iglesias administration in Ancash forced many indigenous peoples to work on local projects such as bridges, cemeteries, roads, and temples, to name a few, "in the name of the nation.[21]" These injustices were far from new in Peruvian history.[22] They had been occurring for centuries at different rates and intervals. Given the desperate situation of indigenous populations after the war, their patience had reached a boiling point by the end of February 1885.

[20] The expansion of private property in Ancash left ample evidence in the regional archives. At least in the period ranging from 1883 to 1896, at least 195 of the total 327 civil lawsuits involved property, whether private or communal, which amounted to roughly fifty-nine percent. In some years, lawsuits over land account for over half of the cases found at the courthouse. In 1890, for example, 17 of the 26 cases brought before the court of Huaraz involved land. The lawsuits implicated people of all social strata, such as *indígenas* (in 1894, for instance, indigenous people were involved in 8 of the 14 cases--roughly fifty-six percent), state authorities, the clergy, and the press. Less evidence exists for the period between the War of the Pacific (1879-1883). Only 24 cases were brought before the courthouse. In the region of Puno, In the case of Peru, Nils Jacobsen has shown the impact of the commodification of land during the late nineteenth century. See Nils Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition* (Stanford: University of California Press, 1993).

[21] J. Santiago Maguiña Chauca, *Atusparia Angeles Pedro Pablo: La Revolución Indigena de 1885 en Huaraz y Ancash* (Huaraz: Ediciones Atusparia, 1974), 4-5; Marcos Yauri Montero, "El Movimiento Campesino de 1885," *Queymi* 32, (March 1987): 20-26.

[22] One most well-known critiques of bureaucracy in late nineteenth-century Peru can be found in the novel *Aves sin nido* (1889) by Clorinda Matto de Turner. In the 1920s, Jose Carlos Maritegui, Peru's most famous Marxist in the twentieth century, would also articulate a critique of the bureaucratic apparatus and its role in the privatization of land in Peru. Mark Thurner has more recently pointed out the coercion in cases involving land in Ancash by the end of the nineteenth century. Nils Jacobsen has also raised this concern for the region of Puno for the same period. On the other hand, Carlos Aguirre provides a more critical view of state officials who usually oversaw these lawsuits: the so-called "tinterillos." See Carlos Aguirre, "Tinterillos, Indians, and the State: Towards a History of Legal Intermediaries in Post-Independence Peru," in *One Law for All?: Western Models and Local Practices in (Post-) Imperial Contexts*, edited by Stefan B. Kirmse (Campus Verlag, 2012), 119-151; Nils Jacobsen, "'Liberalismo tropical': cómo explicar el auge de una doctrina económica europea en América Latina, 1780-1885," *Historia Crítica*, no. 34 (July 2007): 118–47; José Carlos Mariátegui, *Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana* (Red-ediciones, 2011); Clorinda Matto de Turner, *Aves sin nido* (Fundacion Biblioteca Ayacuch, 1994); and Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

Despite the harsh treatment from state authorities and local landowners, indigenous populations did not react violently until the Noriega administration severely punished the communities' *alcaldes pedaneos* (indigenous mayors). These local authorities, usually elected and served on a rotatory basis, were the primary advocate of indigenous rights in front of government authorities for much of the nineteenth century. [23] The delegation of *alcaldes*, a total of over forty representatives from *estancias* around Huaraz, including one from *estancia* of Marián named Pedro Pablo Atusparia, had arrived at the capital of the department to file a petition addressed to Prefect Noriega. In the letter, which a man of letters most likely wrote, the alcaldes requested a reduction on the head tax.[24] Noriega viewed the request of these citizens as a challenge to his authority.[25] He might even have suspected that these *alcaldes* were working with local *Cacerista* supporters to destabilize his government. After all, Cáceres had been well-received in Ancash in 1883, and rumors about a *Cacerista* army approaching the department from the north under the leadership of Colonel José María Puga.[26]

In any case, Noriega ordered local authorities to torture and jail those involved in the letter. Furthermore, he also ordered his soldiers to cut the *alcaldes'* ponytails, a symbol of nobility for indigenous people.[27] The excessive use of violence against authorities who

[23] *From Two Republics*, 54-98.

[24] Maguiña Chauca, *Atusparia Angeles Pedro Pablo*, 5*;* Lewis Taylor, "Indigenous Peasant Rebellions in Peru During the 1880s," 200-202.

[25] Thurner, 54-98.

[26] Ibid.

[27] William W. Stein, *El levantamiento de Atusparia: el movimiento popular ancasshino de 1885 : un estudio de documentos* (Lima: Mosca azul ed., 1988); José Antonio Salazar Mejía, *Atusparia y la revolución campesina de 1885* (Huaraz: Killa Editorial, 2014)

represented the community's interests, thereby disrupting the democratic process–as Mark Thurner has argued–sparked a violent reaction first from the constituents of the *estancias* affected a population and then nearby indigenous communities around Huaraz. The assault on the city occurred on Sunday, March 1, a day of mass and bustling commerce in Huaraz. Several sources indicate that over five thousand rebels stormed the city that day. After some fierce fighting, local authorities, at the behest of local notables, released a few *alcaldes* to negotiate a truce with the rebels. Both parties were unable to come to terms, and the skirmish resumed. Most authorities eventually fled as rebels advanced from the hills to the streets of Huaraz. After two days, the rebels had taken over the town. With the support of local *Caceristas*, they quickly proceeded to form a government in the absence of *Iglesista* authorities.[28] For this indigenous-led provisional government, the abolition of the *contribución personal* was one of the first orders of measure.[29]

Though most rebels who took over Huaraz were indigenous peoples, the government they formed in the absence of *Iglesista* prefect Noriega—who had been inspecting a public works project in another province at the time of the attack—involved people from other social classes. Atusparia, the indigenous *alcalde* from Marián, was proclaimed Supreme Chief of the revolution and remained in charge of the troops on the ground alongside Pedro Cochachín, a local miner, an *indígena* known as "Uchcu Pedro." A local *mestizo* lawyer named Manuel Mosquera, a known *Cacerista*, who in all likelihood drafted the controversial letter addressed to Noriega, became the provisional Prefect of the new government that indigenous rebels had established in Huaraz. Luis Felipe Montestrueque, also a *Cacerista* and

[28] *From Two Republics*, 54-56.

[29] Maguiña Chauca, *Atusparia Angeles Pedro Pablo*, 6-9.

journalist from Lima, was named secretary and the unofficial ideologue of the revolution. Montestruque had been previously a chief editor of the short-lived periodical "El Sol de Los Incas," where he professed neo-Inca socialist ideas.[30]



"Departamento de Ancachs," by Mariano Felipe Paz Soldan, 1865. *The Callejón de Huaylas* (the Huaylas Valley) is between those two mountain chains. Huaraz, the department's center of commerce and modernity, can be discerned in the middle of the valley and map. The town of Caraz is located forty-three miles north of Huaraz. Across the eastern mountain range or the *Cordillera Blanca*, Huari is found roughly eighty-eight miles southeast of Huaraz. On the coast, Casma, the main port of the department for imports and exports, was located about ninety miles from Huaraz. All these three towns, and respective provinces, were under rebel control at some point during the rebellion. Source: David Rumsey map collection.

[30] William W. Stein, "Myth and Ideology in a Nineteenth Century Peruvian Peasant Uprising," *Ethnohistory* 29, no. 4 (1982): 237–64, https://doi.org/10.2307/481100.; *From Two Republics*, 54-98; José Antonio Salazar Mejía, *Atusparia y la revolución campesina de 1885* (Huaraz: Killa Editorial, 2014).

Shortly after establishing their position in Huaraz, the rebels moved to other localities along the *Callejón de Huaylas*. Given the success and popularity of the rebellion, many more indigenous peasants from nearby communities joined the movement as these rebels made their way through the *Callejón de Huaylas*.[31] Several sources point out that Atusparia's efforts prevented rebels from committing excesses of violence and looting in the provinces where the movement spread. The mediating role of Fidel Olivas Escudero, an influential local bishop—future deputy of Pomabamba and Archbishop of Ayacucho—also helped smooth relations between the rebels and other citizens. Some estimates (primarily exaggerated) suggest that rebel forces numbered around thirty thousand men at one point.[32] By March 28, Yungay, the wealthiest town in the province, was captured. The last major urban center in the *Callejón de Hualyas*, Caraz, fell under rebel control on April 14.

News about the rebellion took little time to reach Lima. Rumors about a "race war," a communist revolution, or a neo-Inca rebellion were perhaps the most imaginative interpretations of the rebellion found in the press in Lima. Though Iglesias may not have taken any of these theories seriously, reports about looting, destruction of private property, and violence in Ancash did prompt him to act. Iglesias was already fighting a war on different fronts across Peru against *Cacerista* forces, but the president did not hesitate to send a military force to restore order in Ancash. With Noriega released from his duties as prefect, Iglesias appointed Coronel José Iraola as the new Prefect of Ancash. Iglesias entrusted him with the responsibility of getting the region back under *Iglesistas'* control.[33] Iraola and his

[31] Ibid.

[32] Maguiña, *Atusparia,* 6-9; Thurner, *From Two Republics*, 74-75.

[33] *El Comercio,* Lima, April 9, 1885.

army arrived in Casma on April 12. After taking over the town, he soon moved into the highlands. He encountered opposition from rebel forces as he made it into the *Callejón de Huaylas*. These sporadic efforts from rebels were largely ineffective in deterring the advance of Iraola and his army of approximately 800 men.[34] In the towns that he "liberated," Iraola suspended the collection of the *contribución personal*.[35] On April 24, he reached the town of Yungay. By this time, most peasants who had joined the rebellion had returned to work, so Iraola marched virtually unopposed into Yungay, where he received a warm welcome from the ruling classes.[36]

Iraola's takeover of Yungay was a turning point in the conflict. It also initiated a violent repression against the insurgents who tried to retake the city on April 28. This offensive, which involved over 10,000 rebels, was not successful.[37] Atusparia's soldiers, mainly composed of indigenous populations wielding machetes and slingshots, could not compete with Iraola's better-trained and equipped professional army. Rebel forces suffered heavy casualties.[38] Hundreds of rebels lost their lives in the battle. Others were executed. Even the leadership of the rebellion appeared to be crumbling. Montestruque was killed in action, while Atusparia received a bullet wound in his right leg and barely escaped to Huaraz. Conversely, Mosquera had begun negotiating an armistice with Iraola and sought to distance himself from the actions of Atusparia's rebels.[39] Iraola completed his victory when he took

[34] Mark Thurner estimates that Iraola's army numbered between 600-800 men. *From Two Republics,* 179.

[35] *El Bien Público*, Lima, May 28, 1885.

[36] Stein, *El levantamiento de Atusparia*; Thurner, *From Two Republics,* 72-82.

[37] *El País*, Lima, April 11, 1885; *El Bien Público*, Lima, May 28, 1885.

[38] *El Bien Público*, Lima, May 28, 1885.

[39] Ibid.

over Huaraz on May 3, where he also received a warm welcome from the local ruling classes. On this day, hundreds of rebels died at the hands of Iraola's well-trained and equipped counterinsurgency forces. Those insurgents who survived the initial siege and remained in the area did not fare better. They were forced to dig their graves before being shot by the forces of order.[40] A surviving group of insurgents, under the leadership of Pedro Cochachín, remained engaging and harassing authorities along the *Cordilleras* until Cochachín was finally captured and summarily executed in Casma in mid-August.[41]

Was the Rebellion a Response to the Violence the Alcaldes Received at the Hands of Authorities?

As historian Mark Thurner has argued, violence against the *alcaldes*, which disrupted the community's right to a democratic process, and undermined their "Andean republicanism," was a key factor in the outbreak of violence in the Atusparia Rebellion. He posits that in other cases, such as 1887, 1888, and 1904, the mediation of *alcalde*s was most important in preventing a violent reaction from indigenous communities against government authorities.[42] Nevertheless, two possible questions regarding alcaldes' power within a community come to mind. For one, it is essential to point out that petitions from *alcaldes* addressed to government authorities, such as Prefect Francisco Noriega in 1885, President Caceres in 1887, or Prefect Leonardo Cavero in 1888, were less exemplary of the everyday

[40] William W. Stein, "Myth and Ideology in a Nineteenth Century Peruvian Peasant Uprising," *Ethnohistory* 29, no. 4 (1982): 237–64.

[41] *El Bien Público*, Lima, May 18, 1885; *El Bien Público*, Lima, July 1, 1885; *El Bien Público*, Lima, July 14, 1885; *El Bien Público*, Lima, October 12, 1885; *El Bien Público*, Lima, November 6, 1885.

[42] Thurner, *From Two Republics*, 97.

democratic process the average citizen experienced in Ancash.[43] Most citizens engaged with the local courts to attempt to resolve their legal predicaments. While the presence and influence of *alcaldes* in civil lawsuits were visible in the documentation until the 1850s, it is important to stress that *alcaldes* as a legal category do not appear in documents found in late nineteenth-century Ancash.[44] Civil lawsuits from 1883-1900 show that the term *alcalde* is virtually nonexistent in this type of paperwork, even in communities where an *alcalde* is most likely to have existed.[45]

Indeed, many of the litigants or witnesses in the 1885-1900 litigations may have been *alcaldes* themselves, and more importantly, they may have shifted the balance of justice in favor of the communities. However, unlike earlier decades, they choose not to define themselves as *alcaldes* in civil lawsuits. As pointed out, several intellectuals considered the existence of the *alcaldes* an anomaly to the liberal state because of its colonial origin. Since independence in the 1820s, liberal policymakers expected a gradual decline in their power and influence.[46] Since self-representation was a key aspect of Peruvian legal culture, mainly to gain the upper hand in lawsuits, it is difficult to ascertain why they would choose to omit a

[43] Estevan Apolinario, *alcalde ordinario* in the district of Yungar, province of Carhuaz, to the prefect of Ancash Leonardo Cavero, Prefectura de Ancash, 1888, O.L. 577-556 , Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Lima; Thurner, *From Two Republics*, 99-136.

[44] Thurner, *From Two Republics*, 38-39.

[45] See for instance Pedro Cantaro, Juana Rodriguez, Oncoy, Valerio y otros con don Fernando Morán y otros sobre división y partición-Huamarin, November 18, 1886-March 29, 1890, Legajo 52, Causas Civiles, Archivo Departamental de Ancash (ADA); Maria Francisca, Maria Espiritu, Manuel Corpus y Agustin Barreto con Marcos Mendez, Pablo Carrion y otros sobre desocupación de los terrenos "Pashcopampa"-Huaraz, July 18, 1890-May 3, 1912, *Legajo* 61, *Causas Civiles*, ADA; Jose de Carmen Gomero y otro con el Sindico de Aija, sobre mission en posecion de los terrenos y pastos de Huayan, Aija, June 19, 1894-June 22, 1932, *Causas Civiles, Legajo* 76. ADA; Jose Julian y Maria Micaela sobre particion y division de los bienes del que fue Manuel y Toribio Coronacion, Carhuaz, November 10, 1894-November 25, 1905, *Legajo* 77, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

[46] Thurner, *From Two Republic*s, 39.

discourse that could benefit them and their communities at the court of law, unless alcalde power indeed had waned, at least in some spheres of government, as liberals in the 1820s had predicted.[47] At least for the period and the documents in question, *alcalde* as a legal category was largely absent in lawsuits about inheritance, community landholdings, or inheritance—to cite a few—paperwork that is far more abundant in the archives than special petitions addressed to prefects, such as the one addressed to Noriega in 1885, and other government authorities, such as the one sent to president Cáceres in 1888.

Rather than relying on *alcaldes* for support and advocacy on civil lawsuits, it appears that *indígenas* in Ancash, the primary actors in the Atusparia Rebellion of 1885, expressed far more confidence in the legal process and the state's institutions than previously assumed. Through repeated performances at the court, *indígenas* filed petitions, called on witnesses from various social strata, requested copies of files, asked judges to close cases, and criticized local bureaucracy. They employed complex legal language that drew legitimacy from the colonial and the republican period. Some even managed to hire legal representation.[48] They also fulfilled their tributary obligations through the *papel sellado*, a transaction that reinforced their legal status as *indígenas*.[49] In short, the legal culture that predominated by the turn of the century in Ancash, at least on paper, largely excluded *alcaldes* if one adopts a legalist reading of the documents.

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[47] Jesús A Cosamalón Aguilar, *El juego de las apariencias: la alquimia de los mestizajes y las jerarquías sociales en Lima, siglo XIX* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2017).

[48] See for example Tomas Loli con Agustin y Francisco Osorio sobre despojo de los terrenos de Ranraucru-Huaraz, October 12, 1885-November 15, 1898**,** *Legajo* 51, *Causas Civiles*, ADA; Pedro Guerrero con Julian Norabuena sobre entrega de ganado lanar-Huaraz, June 7, 1894-July 9, 1894, *Legajo* 76, *Causas Civiles*, ADA, Huaraz, Ancash; Eustaquio Huerta con Julian Oncoy sobre pago de daños y perjuicios Huaraz, Jul 09, 1896-Sept 04, 1902, *Legajo* 83, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

[49] Francisco Rafael Alvino Ortiz y compartes sobre particion y division de bienes, Recuay, March 18, 1895-April 25, 1895, *Legajo* 78, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

Another possible point of contention on the *alcalde* theory is the civil war of 1894-95. Though *alcalde*'s intervention may have prevented the outbreak of violence in 1887, 1888, and 1904, Thurner remains ambivalent on the role of *alcaldes* in the civil war of 1894-95. *Alcalde*'s mediation would have done little to assuage the political situation in the department, much less prevent violence in the department. Many indigenous people took arms for both sides of the conflict, and their participation had little to do with state violence against *alcaldes*, as the case had been, according to Thurner, in 1885. For indigenous people in Ancash and Peru, more generally, the conflict represented an opportunity to abolish *contribución personal*, once and for all. The issue had become highly politicized during the elections of 1894, notably because Nicolás de Piérola, the candidate for the *Partido Demócrata* (Democratic Party), ran a political platform that promised the abolition of the tribute.[50] For this reason, Piérola gained support among indigenous communities in Peru.[51]

Even when fighting intensified across the country in October 1894 between Cáceres and the *Coalición Nacional*, an alliance of the *Partido Civil* (Civil Party) and the *Partido Demócrat*a, the tribute remained a vital issue in Ancash. On October 22, a few weeks after local authorities and its indigenous allies defeated the armies of the *Coalición* in a bloody battle in Huaraz, *La Justicia* reported that Congress had approved the abolition of the *contribución personal*. Ostensibly, the measure was expected to pass at the next congressional meeting.[52] At the time, vice-president César Canevaro served as the president

[50] Nils Jacobsen, "Populism Avant La Lettre in Peru: Rebuilding Power in Nicolás de Piérola's Mid-Career, 1884–1895," *Jahrbuch Für Geschichte Lateinamerikas – Anuario de Historia de America Latina* 51, no. 1 (2014): 35–58, https://doi.org/10.7767/jbla-2014-0107.

[51] Ibid.

[52] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, October 22, 1894.

of the senate, and Manuel María del Valle acted as president of the House of Representatives. Cáceres had appointed them after dissolving Congress in the first semester of 1894.[53] Though news about the abolition of the taxation, a exploitative legislation that existed for over three hundred years, did not appear to stem from actual congressional debates and decrees from Lima, citizens in Ancash may have interpreted such rumors as a sign of Cáceres's commitment to indigenous rights.[54] It may also help explain why Piérola, who had promised to abolish the tax, did not initially gain the support of the indigenous majority in the department.

Despite the sympathy the *Cacerista* regime may have garnered from such rumors, his government did not last long enough to hold another congressional meeting. In Ancash, the *Cacerista* government initially succeeded against the attacks of *Coalicionista*s and their *montoneras* but began losing ground in early January 1895.[55] *Montoneras* appeared particularly effective at hit-and-run tactics, hiding, and evading the military and other authorities.[56] The *Cácerista* government in Ancash finally collapsed when Prefect Federico Herrera and his forces were defeated by the *Coalición* on March 17, under the command of Carlos de Piérola, Nicolás's younger brother. Coincidently, Carlos gained control of the

[53] Basadre, *Historia*, Tomo xi, 17.

[54] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, October 22, 1894. No records of this legislation have been found in the *Archivo Digital de la Legislación del Perú* (Digital Archive of Legislations in Peru). *El Comercio* does not mention such an agreement in Congress on their edition of October 22, 1894. The *Anales de la Hacienda Pública Del Perú*, a government publication from the 1920s where every decree and resolution from 1894 can be found, also makes no mention of the "abolition" of the tribute. Taxations on other commodities such as alcohol, matches, and minerals are discussed, however. See J. M. Rodriguez, *Anales de La Hacienda Pública Del Perú. Leyes, Decretos, Reglamentos y Resoluciones; Aranceles, Presupuestos, Cuentas y Contratos; Que Constituyen La Legislación y La Historia Fiscal de La República*, vol. 24 (Lima: Litografía y Tipografía T. Scheuch, 1926).

[55] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, October 22, 1894.

[56] *La Justicia*, Huaraz, October 22, 1894; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, November 26, 1894; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, December 24, 1894.

department when Nicolás de Piérola launched an offensive against Cáceres in Lima. The Battle of Lima, a bloody siege of three days, ended with an armistice, the end of the Cáceres presidency, and the establishment of a provisional government that would hold elections in April.

In Ancash, however, it seems that the defeat of Cáceres had not brought the lasting peace that the *Coalicionistas* desired. For one, some *Cáceristas* remained in power in provinces like Cajatambo until November.[57] The return of Cáceres to Peru from exile in Argentina, whether as a political leader or revolutionary, remained a fear among politicians until the end of the century. Secondly, neither the provisional government nor Pierola, who was elected president and assumed power on September 8, 1895, had taken steps to address the issue of the *contribución personal*. The lack of attention from the government to this issue, which had been a campaign slogan for Piérola prior to the outbreak of the civil war, did not please communities in Ancash. In provinces like Huari, some populations refused to surrender their arms and threatened to remain in an insurgency unless the government abolished the tribute. For Prefect of Ancash Pedro Cisneros, the situation also reminded him of events in "1885.[58]" Whether or not pressure from communities compelled authorities to give in to their demands, or the abolition was part of the Pierola's modernizing project, as

[57] Manuel Trucias To Nicolás de Piérola, letter, Cajatambo, November 18, 1895, Inventario de la Correspondencia de Nicolás de Piérola, BNP, Lima.

[58] V. Lezameta to Nicolás de Piérola, letter, September 28, 1895, Inventario de la Correspondencia de Nicolás de Piérola, BNP, Lima; Jose Marin to Nicolás de Piérola, letter, January 25, 1896, Inventario de la Correspondencia de Nicolás de Piérola, BNP, Lima; Cisneros to Nicolás de Piérola, letter, November 25, 1895, Inventario de la Correspondencia de Nicolás de Piérola, BNP, Lima; Pedro Cisneros to Nicolás de Pierola, letter, December 2, 1895, Inventario de la Correspondencia de Nicolás de Piérola, BNP, Lima.

Thurner has more persuasively argued it, Congress finally abolished the *contribución personal* on Christmas Day, 1895.[59]

Was the Rebellion About the Tribute?

While Thurner's theory on *alcaldes* added an essential dimension to the complexity of indigenous movements in Latin America during the nineteenth century, helping scholars shift away from monolithic historical materialist interpretations of peasants' insurgencies, existing scholarship have provided strong evidence that Atusparia Rebellion was an anti-fiscal uprising.[60] Furthermore, as official correspondence between authorities in Ancash and Lima shows, for the period between 1885-1895, the tribute remained a contested issue for indigenous people. Between 1886 and 1895, the abolition of the tribute was still a cause worth fighting (and dying) for.

For one, not long after Cáceres' victory over Iglesias at the end of 1885, indigenous people in Ancash, mostly from hamlets around Huaraz, sent a delegation to speak with Cáceres. On June 3, 1886, Cáceres became president of Peru. He oversaw the reconstruction the country, rescuing it from the misery, destruction, and chaos that had plagued Peru ever since the War of the Pacific (1879). Nevertheless, before Cáceres could implement his agenda, he spoke with the leader of the delegation: Pedro Pablo Atusparia.[61] As *El Comercio* reported on June 2, Atusparia assured Cáceres that peasants in Ancash in 1885 had taken

[59] "Pierola's abolition had more to do with restructuring and modernizing an ineffectual revenue-collection system than with 'liberating the indigenous race' from the fictitious yoke of 'neocolonial tribute," Thurner, 105.

[60] Wilfredo Kapsoli Escudero, *Los movimientos campesinos en el Perú, 1879-1965* (Lima: Ediciones Atusparia, 1982); William W. Stein, *El levantamiento de Atusparia: el movimiento popular ancasshino de 1885 : un estudio de documentos* (Lima: Mosca azul ed., 1988).

[61] Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided*, 100-104.

arms in his name, "El Gran Republicano.[62]" In other words, Atusparia declared that the rebellion that deposed *Iglesista* authorities and ruled the department for more than two months was a *Cacerista* movement. Cáceres thanked Atusparia for his commitment and vowed to send a delegation to demarcate indigenous landholdings and construct new schools in Ancash. Cáceres agreed to reduce payment on the tribute so "Indians would not consider it a burden.[63]" Atusparia would not live to see these promises fulfilled. He passed away a few months after he visited Lima.[64]

The re-establishment of the tribute in 1887 was met with contempt and rejection in Peru.[65] The department's treasury reflected the tribute's unpopularity among indigenous people. For one, in 1887-1888, the tribute could only be sparsely collected in the provinces. In 1888, authorities could only collect less than 11% of the projected amount after eight months.[66] As the *Ministerio de Hacienda y Comercio* (Ministry of Finance and Commerce) reported on their address to Congress in 1894, the tax was virtually uncollectible. Avoidance was rife among citizens. Collectors did not have an accurate record of the taxpayers either.[67] Moreover, several communities, particularly in the province of Pallasca, located in

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[62] *El Comercio*, Lima, June 2, 1886.

[63] Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of Peru,* 151-52; Maguiña Chanca, *Atusparia Angeles Pedro Pablo,* 12. *El Comercio*, Lima, June 2, 1886.

[64] On April 21, 1887, the head tax was reestablished in Ancash. According to rumors, some indigenous chiefs, unsatisfied with Cáceres's broken promises, poisoned Atusparia a few months before the decree was enacted. Alba Herrera, *Atusparia y la Revolución Campesina de 1885 en Ancash*, 224-25.

[65] Carlos Contreras, "El impuesto de la contribución personal en el Perú del siglo XIX," *Histórica* 29, no. 2 (2005): 67–106.

[66] Thurner, *From Two Republics*, 107.

[67] J. M. Rodriguez, *Anales de La Hacienda Pública Del Perú. Leyes, Decretos, Reglamentos y Resoluciones; Aranceles, Presupuestos, Cuentas y Contratos; Que Constituyen La Legislación y La Historia Fiscal de La República*, vol. 24 (Lima: Litografía y Tipografía T. Scheuch, 1926), 52a, 53a.

northeastern Ancash, paid the amount in *plata Bolivariana*. Though authorities complained that the currency had a depreciation value of 25% when compared to the Peruvian *sol,* they reluctantly accepted this exchange since the *plata Bolivariana* was far more available for locals.[68]

Moreover, as court records in Ancash have shown, the usage of the legal category of *tributario* (tax-paying citizen) significantly declined in lawsuits.[69] Previously, indigenous people had employed this category to negotiate their rights in lawsuits, albeit with varying levels of success, for much of the colonial period and the early decades of the republic.[70] Its shrinking influence in legal documents strongly suggests a lack of confidence in the tribute to protect indigenous rights in the court of law. They expressed far more confidence in the legal process and the state's institutions than previously assumed. Through repeated performances at the court, *indígenas* filed petitions, called on witnesses from various social strata, requested copies of files, asked judges to close cases, and criticized local bureaucracy. They employed complex legal language that drew legitimacy from the colonial and the republican period. Some even managed to hire legal representation.[71] They also fulfilled their tributary

[68] Subprefect of Pallasca to the Prefect of Ancash, Prefectura de Ancash, April 27, 1888, O.L. 577-559, AGN.

[69] See chapter four, "Towards a Juridical Definition of the *indígena*."

[70] See Christine Hünefeldt, *Lucha por la tierra y protesta indígena: las comunidades indígenas del Perú entre colonia y república, 1800-1830* (Bonn: Bonner Amerikanistische Studien, 1982); Núria Sala i Vila, *Y se armó el tole tole: tributo indígena y movimientos sociales en el Virreinato del Perú, 1790-1814* (Ayacucho: Instituto de Estudios Regionales José María Arguedas, 1996); Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997); Carlos Contreras, "El impuesto de la contribución personal en el Perú del siglo XIX," *Histórica* 29, no. 2 (2005): 67–106;

[71] See for example Tomas Loli con Agustin y Francisco Osorio sobre despojo de los terrenos de Ranraucru-Huaraz, October 12, 1885-November 15, 1898**,** *Legajo* 51, *Causas Civiles*, ADA; Pedro Guerrero con Julian Norabuena sobre entrega de ganado lanar-Huaraz, June 7, 1894-July 9, 1894, *Legajo* 76, *Causas Civiles*, ADA, Huaraz, Ancash; Eustaquio Huerta con Julian Oncoy sobre pago de daños y perjuicios Huaraz, Jul 09, 1896-Sept 04, 1902, *Legajo* 83, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

obligations through the *papel sellado*, a transaction reinforcing their legal status as *indígenas*.[72]

Indigenous people in Ancash found other ways to express their disconformity with the re-establishment of the tribute. Aside from avoiding collection, some communities managed to get extensions on the payment of the *contribución personal*. *Alcalde's* mediation with government authorities was pivotal in securing these exemptions. Authorities' anxieties over peasant insurrection on the issue of the tribute may have also influenced their decision.[73] Indigenous communities' discontent with the tribute concerned Prefect Leonardo Cavero, particularly since rumors about peasant insurrection resurfaced again in Huaraz in 1888.[74] Social anxieties among ruling classes and authorities intensified when resistance to the *contribución personal* turned violent. In 1889, several communities in the province of Huari took arms and refused to pay the tribute. News of the insurrection in Huari evoked memories of the 1885 Atusparia Rebellion among government officials in Huaraz.[75] Peace was eventually restored in the province, but it foreshadowed the civil war between *Cáceristas* and the *Coalición Nacional* that would engulf the department and the country between 1894 and 1895.

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[72] Francisco Rafael Alvino Ortiz y compartes sobre particion y division de bienes, Recuay, March 18, 1895-April 25, 1895, *Legajo* 78, *Causas Civiles*, ADA.

[73] "En la época del Señor Prefecto Coronel Noriega, oprimidos cruelmente, al estremo [sic] de que solamente nos dieron tres dias de término para una completa cancelación del pago de dicha contribución, y nuestros reclamos…fueronn contestados con descargas cerradas de tiros de rifles…Hoy esperamos de la conocida rectitud de US, que compadecido de nuestra situación al supremo gobierno nuestra pobreza," Estevan Apolinario, *alcalde ordinario* in the district of Yungar, province of Carhuaz, to the prefect of Ancash Leonardo Cavero, Prefectura de Ancash, April 11, 1888, O.L. 577-556, Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Lima.

[74] Prefect of Ancash Leonardo Cavero to Sr. Director General de Hacienda, Prefectura de Ancash, April 13, 1888, O.L. 577-575, AGN.

[75] Thurner, *From Two Republics*, 99-136.

As Nils Jacobsen has pointed out, the participation of indigenous people, in the form of *montoneras,* played a crucial role in this conflict. The abolition of the tribute was a motivating factor for indigenous communities in regions such as Arequipa and Cusco.[76] In Ancash, *montoneras* helped turn the tide in favor of the *coalicionista* forces led by Cárlos de Piérola, brother of Nicolás de Piérola, *de facto* leader of the *Coalición Nacional*.[77] *Coalicionista* victory in early March did not necessarily guarantee the abolition of the tribute. The new government of Nicolás de Piérola attempted to reestablish it with little success. In provinces like Huari, opposition to the tax turned violent, once again evoking memories of the Atusparia Rebellion of 1885 among government officials.[78] Whether or not pressure from communities compelled authorities to give in to their demands, or, as Thurner has argued, the abolition was part of the Piérola's modernizing project, Congress finally abolished the *contribución personal* on Christmas Day, 1895.[79] The tribute's abolition ended a more than three hundred years colonial relationship.

Was the Rebellion about *Cacerismo* or Republicanism?

[76] Nils Jacobsen, "La guerra de la Coalición Nacional, 1894-1895: de las guerras civiles de la etapa caudillista a los movimientos de la sociedad civil," in *Tiempo de guerra: Estado, nación y conflicto armado en el Perú, siglos XVII-XIX*, ed. Carmen Mc Evoy and Alejandro M. Rabinovich (Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2019), 562-563.

[77] *El Comercio,* January 11, 1895; *La Opinión Nacional,* January 19, 1895; *La Opinión Nacional,* Lima, February 1, 1895; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, February 18, 1895; *La Justicia*, Huaraz, April 22, 1895; Carlos de Piérola to Nicolás de Piérola, letter, January 16, 1895, Inventario de la Correspondencia de Nicolás de Piérola, BNP; Carlos de Piérola to Nicholás de Piérola, letter, March 9, 1894, Inventario de la Correspondencia de Nicholás de Piérola, BNP,

[78] Prefect of Ancash Pedro Cisneros to Nicolás de Piérola, letter, November 25, 1895, Inventario de la Correspondencia de Nicolás de Piérola, BNP; Prefect of Ancash Pedro Cisneros to Nicolás de Piérola, letter, December 2, 1895, Inventario de la Correspondencia de Nicolás de Piérola, BN.

[79] Thurner, *From Two Republics*, 109.

Indeed, the abolition of the tribute was not the only political goal that mobilized *montoneras* during the 1894-1895 civil war. In Ancash, however, at least since 1885, when thousands of people took arms and established a provisional government for two months, the abolition of the *contribución personal* remained a vital issue for citizens between 1886 and 1895. Aside from taking arms, indigenous people in Ancash had found other means to resist the collection of a tax that President Cáceres had re-established. His policy on the *contribución personal* alienated popular sectors that abhorred its payment, leaving room for his political enemies to mobilize rural actors against his government during the civil war of 1894-1895. However, before this event, Cáceres had enjoyed the support of indigenous people in many regions of the country for his actions during the War of the Pacific (1879-1883) and the civil war (1884-1895) that ensued a decade prior.[80]

While Cáceres had grown unpopular among ruling and popular classes when he assumed the presidency again in 1894, he gained quite a reputation in Ancash. In 1883, he received support in terms of manpower and logistics from communities in the department during his campaign in the Andes against Chilean and Iglesista forces in 1883. After the Treaty of Ancón (1883) and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the country a year later, hostilities between Cáceres and Iglesias resumed, putting Ancash at the center of their national dispute. In June 1884, *Cacerista* forces led by Coronel José María Puga occupied Huaraz and appointed new authorities instead of *Iglesista's* high-ranking civil servants. This local government lasted until October, when a coup placed the *Iglesista* Prefect Francisco

[80] Nelson Manrique Gálvez, *Las Guerrillas indígenas en la guerra con Chile: campesinado y nación* (Lima: Centro de Investigación y Capacitación, 1981); For more on Cáceres and the support he received from indigenous people in the highlands, see Florencia E. Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (University of California Press, 1995). As Mallon shows, Cáceres did not always have an *indigenista* agenda. In the Comas district, located in Junín as well.

Noriega in power; Noriega would later be blamed for sparking the rebellion in 1885. Moreover, in the plot against Noriega's government in Huaraz and the initial government that followed, several known *Cáceristas* were involved. For one, Luis Felipe Montestruque–the secretary and intellectual leader of the rebellion–was a *Cacerista*. The new revolutionary Prefect Manuel Mosquera was a well-known *Cacerista* too. As it has been argued, it is highly probable that had Puga not been assassinated by a sniper in Junín, his armies in the north would have joined the armies of Mosquera in late March. Rebels in Ancash, particularly Pedro Cochachín or "Uchcu Pedro," also expected support from *Cacerista* forces from nearby regions.[81]

Public opinion in the region of Arequipa, located in southern Peru, also expected *Caceristas* in the central regions of Peru to support the insurgency in Ancash in their struggle against Iglesias. At least in the region of Arequipa, located in southern Peru, the Atusparia Rebellion was primarily interpreted as a *Cacerista* insurgency. Arequipa had been a bastion of *Cacerismo* in the country since Cáceres's triumphant entry into the city of Arequipa, the region's capital, in October 1884. He soon formed a new government in the region and established a center of operations from where to disrupt and undermine the feeble order imposed by Iglesias.[82] Cáceres appeared to have the support of the population in Arequipa, particularly the ruling classes. For one, local newspapers such as *La Bolsa* addressed Cáceres as the *Presidente Provisionario de la República* (Provisional President of the Republic) and published his decrees and speeches extensively. *La Bolsa* also regularly reported on

[81] Thurner, *From Two Republics*, 77-81.

[82] Basadre Grohmann, *Historia de La República Del Perú (1822-1933): La Guerra Con Chile. Tomo 10* (Lima: Empresa Editora El Comercio S.A, 2005), 23.

Caceristas' political activity in other regions of the country and did not hesitate to criticize the *Iglesista* government.[83]

In *La Bolsa'*s interpretation of the Atusparia Rebellion, and perhaps for many citizens in Arequipa, the insurgency in Ancash was an ongoing *Cacerista* struggle. "We have been informed that Huaraz and Huánuco have risen in favor of the *causa constitucional*. On the first city, a battalion has revolted, and Iglesias has sent 1,000 forces to suppress the movement," *La Bolsa* informed on April 11, 1885, quite possibly describing General José Iraola's campaign into Ancash. The counterinsurgency force that brutally suppressed the rebellion in early May did not appear to have eliminated *Cácerista* resistance in Huaraz.[84] In the eyes of *La Bolsa*, General Iraola's reestablishment of peace in Ancash was tenuous, and *Cacerista* forces had yet to be defeated. "The Huayals (Ancachs) province has risen again in favor of constitutional order. The news have been confirmed by the newspapers in Lima," *La Bolsa* remarked on May 27, a few weeks after the rebels' defeat in Huaraz. Whether or not the newspaper was referring to Uchcu Pedro, who kept harassing government officials and pillaging towns along the *Cordillera* until his capture in August, and his *montonera* as the *Cacerista* insurgents fighting the Iglesias government in Ancash, is unclear. For *La Bolsa*, however, the rebels defended the interests of the *Presidente Provisionario de la República*. "In Huaraz, Chota, Ica, and everywhere, the *constitutional* forces are resisting Iglesias's authorities," *La Bolsa* uttered on June 15.[85]

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[83] *La Bolsa*, Arequipa, April 25, 1885; *La Bolsa*, Arequipa, June 3, 1885; *La Bolsa*, Arequipa, May 2, 1885; *La Bolsa*, Arequipa, June 15, 1885.

[84] *La Bolsa*, Arequipa, April 11, 1885.

[85] *La Bolsa*, Arequipa, June 15, 1885.

Some newspapers abroad may have also gotten the impression that rebels in Ancash were indeed *Caceristas*. In Bolivia, *El Heraldo* had remained informed on events in the Peruvian Andes. The use of violence in Huaraz made the front pages of the newspaper. "Hecatomb Huaraz: More than 500 dead and executed," *El Heraldo* would reproduce a few months after the rebellion.[86] The daily was based on the city of Cochabamba, which had served as the breadbasket for Bolivia since the colonial period.[87] On the pages of *El Heraldo*, Cácere's movements and activities in Arequipa were recorded at length.[88] Official correspondence between *Cacerista* officials in Arequipa, who viewed with much optimism the expansion of *Cacerismo* in the country, was also reproduced in print. "With Huaraz in the hands of our *guerrilleros,* Trujillo should soon fall to us," Captain José Sánchez Lagomarsino, who would later become Prefect of Moquegua under Cáceres, assured the Prefect of Arequipa on May 18.[89] For *El Heraldo*, political activity in favor of Cáceres appeared to have continued in Ancash despite the massacre that had taken place at the hands of Iglesista Prefect José Iraola. "The province of Huaylas [Ancash] has again risen in favor of the *constitucional* order. The dailies in Lima have confirmed the news," *El Heraldo* reported on June 12.

The Atusparia Rebellion's politics became further associated with *Cacerismo* when one of the leaders, namely Pedro Pablo Atusparia, had an audience with Cáceres on June 1,

[86] *El Heraldo*, Cochabamba, July 9, 1885.

[87] Brooke Larson, *Cochabamba, 1550-1900: Colonialism and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 1998); Laura Gotkowitz, *A Revolution for Our Rights: Indigenous Struggles for Land and Justice in Bolivia, 1880–1952* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2008).

[88] *El Heraldo*, Cochabamba, April 30, 1885; *El Heraldo*, Cochabamba, June 5, 1885; *El Heraldo*, Cochabamba, June 12, 1885; *El Heraldo*, Cochabamba, July 9, 1885.

[89] *El Heraldo*, Cochabamba, June 5, 1885.

1886, a few days before Cáceres assumed the presidency. The meeting between a head of state and the leader of a rural peasant movement was unprecedented in Peruvian history.[90] According to *El Comercio,* Atusparia assured Cáceres that indigenous peasants in Ancash in 1885 had taken arms in his name, "*El Gran Republicano*.[91]" Moreover, Atusparia had arrived in Lima intending to witness Cáceres' inauguration. "Atusparia answered that he had been sent by all the citizens of the indigenous race from the communities in Huaraz to make certain that Ancash General Cáceres, *El Gran Republicano*, as they called him, finally assumed supreme power," *El Comercio* remarked.[92] A few days later, a member of the Ministry of Government would also comment on the meeting between the two men. "The leader of the indigenous who caught public attention during the government of Miguel Iglesias for his tenacious defense of the *constitucionalidad*, Don Pedro Atusparia, visited this office yesterday," the government official reported on the pages of *El Comercio* on June 9, 1886.[93] For his devotion to the *causa constitucional*, Cáceres promised Atusparia that he would send a delegation to demarcate indigenous landholdings and construct new schools in Ancash. Cáceres also agreed to reduce payment on the tribute so "Indians would not consider

[90] Mark Thurner, "Atusparia and Cáceres: Rereading Representations of Peru's Late Nineteenth-Century 'National Problem,'" *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 77, no. 3 (1997): 409–41, https://doi.org/10.2307/2516710.

[91] *El Comercio*, Lima, June 2, 1886.

[92] *El Comercio*, Lima, June 2, 1886.

[93] *El Comercio*, Lima, June 9, 1886.

it a burden.[94]" Atusparia would not live to see these promises fulfilled. He passed away a few months after he visited Lima.[95]

Was the Atusparia Rebellion a Communist Movement?

Alcalde's mediation, the abolition of the tribute, and *Cacerismo* appear far more plausible interpretations of the rebellion than a communist revolution in the Andes. However, it is plausible that Luis Felipe Monstestruque, the ideologue and secretary of the rebellion, founder, and editor of *El Sol de los Incas*, neo-Inca socialist, and *Cacerista*, may have found other citizens in Ancash who could have been receptive to his rhetoric.[96] After all, ideas such as socialism and communism had entered the political vocabulary as early as 1848. Much like in the West, the European Revolutions of 1848 left irreversible consequences for political culture in nineteenth-century Peru. Initially, news about events in Europe was received with curiosity and fear. Despite the absence of a robust working-class organization like other countries in Latin America, ideas about communism circulated widely, and it did not take long for Peruvians to adopt the new political vocabulary and suit it to their

[94] Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of Peru,* 151-52; Maguiña Chanca, *Atusparia Angeles Pedro Pablo,* 12. *El Comercio*, Lima, June 2, 1886.

[95] On April 21, 1887, the government re-established the head tax in Ancash. According to rumors, some indigenous chiefs, unsatisfied with Cáceres, poisoned Atusparia a few months before the decree was enacted. Alba Herrera, *Atusparia y la Revolución Campesina de 1885 en Ancash*, 224-25.

[96] Most scholars agree that Luis Felipe Montestruque was a *Cacerista* and a neo-Inca socialist. Little else is known about Montestruque. No records of *El Sol de Los Incas* have survived. He did appear to have already tested the patience of Prefect Francisco Noriega prior to the rebellion. On November 14, 1884, *El Comercio* published a decree by the Prefect of Ancash where Montestruque and more than twenty citizens were given twenty-four hours to leave Huaraz.

realities.[97] By 1885, Peruvians had complex understandings of revolution and counterrevolution, which drew much influence from the Paris Commune of 1871.

The Paris Commune of 1871 exacerbated public anxieties over these political ideas coming from Europe and redefined interpretations of social revolutions in the public sphere in Latin America. Before 1871, French utopian socialist Joseph Proudhon, famous for his epithet "*Property is Theft!*," had become synonymous with the radical Left.[98] In Peru, his debates with Adolphe Thiers in 1848 were well publicized in newspapers.[99] By 1853, he was synonymous with ideas or people associated with communism. In an editorial, an unidentified author delivered several harsh remarks against Pedro González de Candamo y Astorga, one of the wealthiest men in the country and father of Manuel Candamo, who would become president of Peru in 1903.[100] The author appeared concerned with Candamo's business strategy of constructing rail lines. After surveying the land with a team of engineers, Candamo took little time to evict its residents, even if it meant going above the law. "When monopolists try to bypass state authority, and when he finds his power in check, he resorts to

[97] For Latin America, see Guy P. C. Thomson, *The European Revolutions of 1848 and the Americas* (Institute of Latin American Studies, 2002), 1 - 18. For Peru, see Natalia Sobrevilla, "The Influence of the European 1848 Revolutions in Peru," in Thomson's *The European Revolutions,*191- 216. Miguel Maticorena Estrada also argues that the political sphere was already divided in terms of "Proudhonism" and "proprietors" by 1855. See Miguel Maticorena Estrada, *La comuna de Piura y Chalaco: Montoneras, 1883* (Lima: Ediciones Copé, Petroperú, 2014).

[98] For other countries in Latin America, such as Argentina and Mexico, historians have suggested that Proudhonism was the dominant socialist thought until the Paris Commune of 1871. See Gaston Garcia Cantu, *El Socialismo En Mexico; Siglo XIX* (Mexico City: Ediciones Era, 1974); Carlos M. Rama, *Utopismo Socialista, 1830-1893* (Ayacucho: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1977). Other scholars have argued that anarchism was far more influential in the public sphere. See John M. Hart, *Anarchism & The Mexican Working Class, 1860-1931* (University of Texas Press, 1987).

[99] *El Comercio*, Lima, October 13, 1848; *El Comercio*, Lima, October 23, 1848; *El Comercio*, Lima, August, 8, 1849.

[100] *El Comercio*, Lima, September 2, 1852; Ba Michael J. Gonzales, "Planters and Politics in Peru, 1895-1919," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 23, no. 3 (1991): 515–41; Rory Miller, "The Coastal Elite and Peruvian Politics, 1895-1919," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 14, no. 1 (1982): 97–120.

usurpation," the report argued.[101] In the eyes of the author, "It was these types of abuses that have inspired Proudhon and his followers to claim that property is Theft![102]" The penman, however, was less interested in defending the ideals of Proudhon than chastising the actions of the Peruvian capitalist. "Property is sacred when the proprietor is Candamo, but when it concerns the property of others, his dogma is the communism of Proudhon," the author concluded.[103]

After the Commune, Proudhonism would be replaced by the ideas of Karl Marx, particularly the notion of dictatorship, and his dogma would serve as a point of reference for sympathizers and critics alike.[104] As argued elsewhere, the fall of the Paris Commune left two other lasting impressions on Peruvians.[105] First, the Republican government's counterrevolutionary violence raised questions about how a modern liberal state would react to revolutionary movements. Ruthless state violence seemed non-negotiable and unquestionable. Most writers in the Peruvian public sphere appeared relieved that France had

[101] *El Comercio*, Lima, October 29, 1853.

[102] Ibid.

[103] *El Comercio*, Lima, November 8, 1853.

[104] For general overviews, see Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, *Transformaciones del marxismo: historia del marxismo en América Latina* (Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, 2001), and Pablo Guadarrama González, *Marxismo y antimarxismo en America Latina* (Universidad INCCA de Colombia, 1990). For Argentina, see Horacio Tarcus, *Marx en la Argentina: sus primeros lectores obreros, intelectuales y científicos* (Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2007); Carlos Rodríguez Braun, "Early Liberal Socialism in Latin America: Juan B. Justo and the Argentine Socialist Party," *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 67, no. 4 (2008): 567–604. For Mexico, see Sheldon B. Liss, "MARXIST THINKERS IN MEXICO: EACH TO HIS OWN REVOLUTION," in *Los Intelectuales y El Poder En México*, ed. Roderic A. Camp, Charles A. Hale, and Josefina Zoraida Vázquez, 1st ed., vol. 75, Memorias de La VI Conferencia de Historiadores Mexicanos y Estadounidenses = Intellectuals and Power in Mexico (Colegio de Mexico, 1991), 359–76, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv513805.22; Barry Carr, "Marxism and Anarchism in the Formation of the Mexican Communist Party, 1910-19," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 63, no. 2 (1983): 277–305, https://doi.org/10.2307/2514710.

[105] Mario Tumen, "« Le Sauveur de la France » : Révolution et contre-révolution dans la presse péruvienne, 1871-1900," trans. Laurent Bury, *Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle. Société d'histoire de la révolution de 1848 et des révolutions du XIXe siècle*, no. 63 (December 1, 2021): 146–50, https://doi.org/10.4000/rh19.7875.

been saved from the *comunistas*. However, continuing reports about street killings, particularly during *semaine sanglante*, where "men, children, and women were given no quarter," the "White Terror," as one writer put it, horrified even the harshest critics of the *comuna*. Arrests and trials followed. By early July, most French newspapers, even the ones that had been the most critical of the Commune, were pleading with the provisional government to stop all the executions.[106] European leaders appeared to have been equally harrowed by the excesses of the Third Republic. At least in Britain, Belgium, and Spain, authorities were reluctant to extradite communists within their borders since capital punishment seemed like the most likely fate for the exiled *comunistas*.[107]

The fall of the *comuna* also consolidated the figure of Adolphe Thiers in Peruvian politics. Thiers had previously come into the local scene in 1849 when the pages of *El Comercio* narrated at length his polemic with Joseph Proudhon at the *Assemblée Nationale*. During the *comuna*, he maintained an open line of communication with the rebels. He had led the war effort from Versailles and negotiated their surrender. Most dailies in Lima and other regions agreed that he should remain in charge when new elections were set to take place. However, his influence extended beyond his time as president. He was still reported as active in foreign and domestic affairs up until his death. Nearly every new member of the French ministry in 1878 had served and worked under Thiers. His funeral and commemorations (including a tombstone placed outside his home by workers from Marseille) in 1877 were well represented in the media. The French colony in Lima held mass at the Iglesia de Guadalupe. Although several important figures such as Manuel Rosas and

[106] *El Nacional*, Lima, July 3, 1871.

[107] *La Autonomía*, Huaraz, May 20, 1872; *El Nacional*, Lima, July 3, 1871.

Brigham Young had passed away, for *El Comercio*, "only one name among the extensive list was universally famous: Adolphe Thiers.[108]"

Similar praises were echoed by the end of the century. For Peruvians, Thiers was more than a "monstrous gnome.[109]" He was a statesman and an intellectual. His works, including *The Rights of Property* (1848) and *Histoire de la Révolution française*, were often available at local bookstores (excerpts even were reproduced in the press at times). Most journalists still remembered him as "the great Thiers, president of the French Republic, the one who suffocated and subdued the *comuna*.[110]" News about working-class mobilization in France reminded readers that the "Third Republic was yet to have a savior like Thiers.[111]" For *La Opinión Nacional*, Thiers's actions could only be compared to President Miguel Iglesias, who had negotiated the peace terms in the devastating War of the Pacific (1879-1883) and worked to reconstruct the country amidst a civil war against General Andrés Avelino Cáceres. At the same time, Iglesias's swift and uncompromising response to alleged "*comunas"* in rural regions such as Piura in 1883 may have also encouraged such analogies in the public sphere.[112]

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[108] *El Ciudadano*, Huaraz, October 9, 1871; *El Comercio*, Lima, May 6, 1878.

[109] Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France* (New York: International Publishers Co, 1940), 39.

[110] *El Comercio*, Lima, July 15, 1885. Comments celebrating Thiers's political career were particularly notorious in *El Comercio*. *El Comercio*, Lima, July 18, 1877; *El Comercio*, Lima, July 25, 1877; *El Comercio*, Lima, July 31, 1877; *El Comercio*, Lima, January 29, 1878; *El Comercio*, Lima, February 5, 1878; *El Comercio*, Lima, September 15, 1877; *El Comercio*, Lima, January 3, 1878; *El Comercio*, Lima, March 29, 1878; *El Comercio*, Lima, May 6, 1878; *El Comercio*, Lima, November 18, 1878; *El Comercio*, Lima, November 30, 1878.

[111] *El Comercio*, Lima, June 6, 1888.

[112] Miguel Maticorena Estrada, *La comuna de Piura y Chalaco: Montoneras, 1883* (Lima: Ediciones Copé, Petroperú, 2014).

In 1885, the first reports to reference "communist" influences within the Atusparia Rebellion appeared in the pages of *El Pais* on April 11.[113] Aside from El Comercio, *El País* was perhaps the most influential newspaper in the country. The narrative was an eyewitness account of Cesar Murga, a "respectable person" and citizen of Huaraz.[114] According to Murga, the rebels broke into the prefecture and burned all tax registries after taking Huaraz. After their victory in Huaraz, the movement spread to other provinces. Violence and disorder spread as well. In Yungay, the rebels had burned and sacked businesses and private residences. In Carhuaz, they had raided the mine Uchcu. At the time, the mineral deposit was under the administration of *Jose Laguna y Laguna Compañia*, an Austrian company. The rebels had taken tools, provisions, and explosives; they looted forty dynamite cases and four gunpowder barrels. Access to the coast from the mountains was also restricted by the rebels, who patrolled sections of the route. The insurgents had destroyed crops and livestock in Huarmey, located on the coast. Murga feared that the movement would rapidly expand into the Eastern provinces in the department, like Huaylas and Huari, where an indigenous majority also resided. The clergy, particularly Fidel Olivas Escudero, a respected and influential voice in Huaraz, had been unable to pacify the rebels, who ran rampant destroying and pillaging private property. "The department loses the most in this fight which is not about political *caudillos* but a movement of *castas* with communist tendencies," Murga concluded.[115]

[113] *El Campeón*'s edition of May 12 would also describe the rebellion in those terms. William W. Stein, "Rebellion in Huaraz: The Newspaper Account of an 'Obscure' Revolt in Peru," *Dialectical Anthropology* 5, no. 2 (1980): 127–54.

[114] William W. Stein, "Rebellion in Huaraz: The Newspaper Account of an 'Obscure' Revolt in Peru," *Dialectical Anthropology* 5, no. 2 (1980): 127–54.

[115] *El País*, Lima, April 11, 1885.

After the army had suppressed the rebellion on May 3, another report about communism surfaced a few days later in *El País*. This time, however, the author refuted the possibility of a peasant communist movement–and largely depoliticized the role of the peasantry in the movement more broadly–but hinted that perhaps in some localities, the idea of the Paris Commune may have influenced local politics. For the author, ideologies did not affect the rebels' mentalities. Neither *Cacerismo* nor modern political theory explained why indigenous people in Ancash had mobilized. The movement had a more straightforward explanation. The insurrection was engineered by ruling classes (*mistis*) who had taken advantage of the injustices indigenous people suffered at the hands of authorities. Those *mistis*, many of whom were Cáceres supporters, mobilized the *indígenas* against the government of Iglesias. The *mistis* bore the responsibility for the destruction and chaos that had engulfed Ancash for nearly two months. For the author, these *mistis*, not the indigenous peasant, had professed the narrative of communism in the provinces of Ancash. "The specter of the commune, as it has been proclaimed in some towns, was the satanic work of these villains since the Indian does not have evil desires nor the criminal intentions of a degraded civilization," the author argued.[116]

More than a year later, mainstream interpretations of the rebellion agreed that communism was far from influential in the Andes hitherto. On the other hand, voices like *El Comercio* contended that the movement had been *Cacerista* in nature.[117] They arrived at this conclusion after Atusparia conferred with Cáceres in Lima. "The representative of all the

[116]El espantajo de la comuna, proclamada en algunas poblaciones, fue sujetacion satanica de esos malvados, en provecho propio; pues el indio no tiene los apetitos atroces, ni los delirios criminales de la civilization degradada" *El Pais*, Lima, May 7, 1885.

[117] *El Comercio*, Lima, June 2, 1886.

citizens of the indigenous race from the communities in Huaraz" had traveled to Lima in early June to meet with Cáceres, whom he called the "*Gran Republicano*," to discuss the issue of the *contribución personal* and communal landholdings in Ancash. "It was not the idea of *comunismo* nor the hatred towards other races that compelled the *Indios* to form a mass and combat against the *Iglesista* forces," *El Comercio* argued. Their mobilization against the government had been nothing short of a defense of democracy. "They wanted nothing more than the triumph of the *Constitución* and liberty," the news media commented.

The newspaper also used this opportunity to criticize the recently deposed government of Iglesias. The excessive use of violence against the defenders of democracy outraged the author, who sympathized with those who had suffered the state's repressive apparatus. "For this motive, Atusparia spoke at length about the horrors committed against the *Indios* by the expedition led by Iraola; horrors that almost all of Peru knows about," *El Comercio* uttered.[118] The disproportionate use of violence from the state against indigenous movements has a long history in colonial and republican Peru.[119] Nevertheless, the Atusparia Rebellion was the first time the state reacted against a large-scale rural social mobilization suspected of having communist tendencies, even if those assumptions were unfounded. Several newspaper reports on Iraola's campaign in Ancash highlighted the excessive use of violence from the forces of order. For a citizen from Yungay, for instance, whose letter was replicated in *El Pais*, the battle in Yungay in late April had left 500 dead, including the 58

[118] *El Comercio*, Lima, June 2, 1886.

[119] Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750* (Princeton University Press, 1997), Charles F. Walker, *The Tupac Amaru Rebellion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014); Scarlett O'Phelan, *Un siglo de rebeliones anticoloniales: Perú y Bolivia, 1700-1783* (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2012); Cecilia Méndez, *The Plebeian Republic: The Huanta Rebellion and the Making of the Peruvian State, 1820–1850* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2005); Nils Jacobsen and Nicanor Domínguez, *Juan Bustamante y los límites del liberalismo en el Altiplano: la rebelión de Huancané, 1866-1868* (Lima: SER, 2011).

who were executed and many more wounded.[120] Some women were forced to watch the executions.[121] Events in Huaraz on May 3 did not fare better for the rebels. “Indians from certain *estancias* have been obliged to surrender and have been shot,” the author from Yungay reported. *El Herado*, a newspaper in Cochabamba, Bolivia, also provided a similar narrative. “Catacomb in Huaraz: more than 500 dead…The Indians fight and die with inconsumable valor,” the author commented.[122] Moreover, it appears the public execution of rebels was taking too long due to their trickery. Many rebels would feign their death after being shot. They ran away whenever family members approached their dead and wounded after every round was fired. For this reason, the Colonel ordered his soldiers to “follow the norm established in Yungay, where rebels dug a large pit. They (the soldiers) opened fire, and the dead and wounded fell into the pit,” Ernesto Reyna, a playwright, would recreate in *El Amauta Atusparia* (1932) a few decades later.[123]

Reyna's work did more than highlight government authorities' excessive use of violence. In more than one aspect, his *El Amauta Atusparia* first popularized interpretations of the rebellion as a communist revolution. Written at the height of the *indigenista* movement and the rise of the radical Left in Peru in the 1920s, the novel recounted events during the Atusparia Rebellion of 1885. Based on newspapers and oral accounts, Reyna's historical novel brings to life rumors on the politics of Felipe Montestruque, a journalist from Lima who briefly ran a newspaper called *El Sol de Los Incas*, where he communicated his socialist

[120] *El Pais*, Lima, June 3, 1885.

[121] Ibid.

[122] *El Heraldo*, Cochabamba, July 9, 1885.

[123] Ernesto Reyna, *El Amauta Atusparia* (Lima: Ediciones de “Frente,” 1932), 72.

ideas to the public.[124] Reyna describes the intellectual leader and secretary of the rebellion as "romantic and idealistic.[125]" Reyna's Montestruque proposed looking to the past for guidance on social revolutions. In a meeting with Atusparia and Mosquera, Montestruqe exposed his economic plans for the revolution and the country after they assumed control of Huaraz.[126] "The Inca Empire had 20 million men, who mostly engaged in agriculture and lived happily," Montestruque told the rebellion's leaders.[127] He spoke on how the Inca civilization had made impressive advances in medicine, engineering, and politics before the Spanish conquest. "Wise and good men had established the communist organization in the empire…The Conquistadors destroyed everything, including the spirit of that race," Reyna's Montestruque complained to a drunk Mosquera and a more than interested Atusparia. Montestruque's ideology appears to have inspired Atusparia, who promised his followers an improvement in their social condition based on a mode of production deeply rooted in Peruvian history. "With the victory of the insurrection, happiness will come since everyone would be the owner of their lands, and there would be no rich or poor like in the time of the Inca King," Reyna's Atusparia uttered in front of a crowd at the town of Carhuaz on March 16. [128]

[124] Reyna, *Atusparia,* 55.

[125] Ibid, 37.

[126] Ibid, 37.

[127] Ibid, 55

[128] "Que con el triunfo de la sublevación vendría la felicidad, pues todos serían propietarios de tierras, y no habría ni ricos ni pobres," Ibid, 41.

Was it a Neo-Inca revolution?

Could a political activist like Reyna's Montestruque exist in 1885? As a work of fiction, Reyna's *El Amauta Atusparia* (1932) must be treated as a product of its time. Political activism in the form of *indigenismo* informed many discussions in the public sphere. Other forms of Leftist politics, such as the establishment of the *Partido Comunista Peruano* (Peruvian Communist Party or PCP) in 1928, had also taken place in a country that hitherto was ruled by the repressive and authoritarian government of Augusto Leguía. The founder of the (PCP), José Carlos Mariátegui, one of the most well-known Marxists in Latin America, more than applauded Reyna's work of this historical novel. "The insurrection of Huaraz would have been just another of many indigenous rebellions without the program of *El Sol de Los Incas*," Mariategui noted in the prologue.[129] Whether or not the real Montestruque spoused neo-Inca communist ideas, it is essential to point out that Mariátegui may have been correct about the Atusparia Rebellion being different from past social mobilizations, at least from the perspective of ruling classes in Lima in 1885. Historians have shown that the ruling classes gradually incorporated the image of a virtuous and heroic pre-Hispanic past, such as the Inca Empire, into national narratives following independence.[130] These interpretations may be more complex in Peru if scholars consider discourses on the Inca Empire and its relationship to political economy. By the outbreak of the rebellion in 1885, the public sphere in Peru espoused conflicted views on the possibility of an Inca communist revolution in the Andes.

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[129] Ibid, 15.

[130] See Cecilia Mendez, "Incas Si, Indios No: Notes on Peruvian Creole Nationalism and Its Contemporary Crisis," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28, no. 1 (1996): 197–225; Mark Thurner and Andres Guerrero, eds., *After Spanish Rule: Postcolonial Predicaments of the Americas*, Illustrated edition (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2003); and Rebecca A. Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810–1930* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2007).

Messianic movements in the Andes, or at least those perceived as such by ruling classes, date back to the colonial period. They were neither static nor monolithic. Not all rejected European culture, or Christianity, altogether. For one, the last Inca state, located in the province of Vilcabamba, Cusco, was not entirely defeated until 1572, so insurgency (or the restoration of the Inca Empire) was a real possibility for Spanish authorities in early colonial Peru. A series of extirpation of idolatry campaigns in the Andes over the next century showed that authorities and other citizens still feared the return of the Inca and the overthrow of European rule.[131] According to some estimates, the eighteenth century also experienced its share of indigenous rebellions. More than a hundred insurgencies challenged the authority of the imperial government. Though indeed most rebellions were local in scope, short-lived, and reactions to political and economic changes within the empire, Bourbon Reforms, two mobilizations stand out, mainly because of their association to Inca messianism or the "Andean Utopian," as late historian Alberto Flores Galindo famously called it. The rebellion of Juan Atahualpa (1742-1756) in Central Peru and the Tupac Amaru Rebellion II (1780-1783) in Southern and Upper Peru were the largest and most notorious uprisings of the eighteenth century where ideas about Inca messianism influenced insurgents and government authorities.[132]

The restoration of the Inca Empire also became a matter of discussion in the nineteenth century. In the Rio de la Plata region, for instance, Manuel Belgrano's “Inca

[131] Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750* (Princeton University Press, 1997).

[132] Alberto. Flores Galindo, *Buscando un inca: identidad y utopía en los Andes : ensayo*, Premio ; 1988 (La Habana, Cuba: Casa de las Américas, 1986); Scarlett O’Phelan, *Un siglo de rebeliones anticoloniales: Perú y Bolivia, 1700-1783*, Segunda edición en español, julio de 2012.., Travaux de l’Institut français d’études andines ; t. 287 (Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos : Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2012); Charles F. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840* (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press Books, 1999).

Plan," which proposed establishing an independent monarchy headed by an Inca, presented a unique opportunity to reconcile pre-Hispanic forms of social organization with liberal principles in 1816.[133] In Peru, the impact of liberalism on "messianic" Andean movements, already visible since the Tupac Amaru II Rebellion, was far more evident by the midcentury. However, the Juan Bustamante Rebellion of 1866 in the Puno region appears as an oasis when compared to the relative absence of large-scale indigenous peasant movements and social mobilizations that developed outside traditional power structures in nineteenth-century Peru.[134]

Before the outbreak of the Atusparia Rebellion of 1885, the most representative and cutting-edge work on Andean messianism was Sebastian Llorente's *Historia de la Civilization Peruana* (1879). Born in Spain, Llorente became part of the political sphere of Peru in the 1840s, namely on the side of the liberals. He quickly gained a reputation as an ardent reformer of the Peruvian educational system. In 1870, he was sent to Europe by the Peruvian government to study the latest educational models. In all likelihood, he witnessed the rise and fall of the Paris commune of 1871. His return in 1872 saw him get further involved in education. He began preparing a monograph on the history of Peru that built on his earlier works on history, race, and political economy.

In Llorente's view in *Historia de la Civilización Peruana*, the Inca "could have been considered a socialist utopia" by nineteenth-century standards.[135] Though Llorente highlights

[133] Rebecca A. Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810–1930* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2007), 44-45.

[134] Historians have long shown that indigenous people actively participated in the formation of early republican Peru. For the Juan Bustamante Rebellion, see Nils Jacobsen and Nicanor Domínguez, *Juan Bustamante y los límites del liberalismo en el Altiplano: la rebelión de Huancané, 1866-1868* (Lima: SER, 2011).

[135] Llorente, 1879, 146.

Inca infrastructure, culture, mobilization of labor, and lack of poverty and idleness, agriculture was perhaps the most crucial element in his analysis, an activity he referred to as "the soul of classical Inca civilization.[136]" The playfulness of goods that derived from agriculture, such as "maize, potatoes, cassavas, yams, quinoa, bananas, ollucos, ocas, macas, pineapples, avocados, chirimoyas, and other succulent delights," and state administration allowed for "millions of men tending to one single man, sharing all the same bonds, labor, ideas, and benefits.[137]" For Llorente, indigenous people were more than content to participate in agricultural labor. Their enthusiasm in this line of work was visible in the celebrations that exalted agricultural labor. At times, these rituals overshadowed events that honored the military victories and conquests of the empire.[138] "Agriculture was made easier through the reciprocal support of *agricultores*, who turned into festivities the most wretched tasks," he pointed out.[139] In his view, it was the labor of the peasants in this society who "sustained the socialist spirit."[140]

Llorente was more conflicted about the long-lasting effect servitude had on indigenous people. On the one hand, he perceived that Inca social organization, where familial bonds deferred to communal ones, where the community is preferred over the individual, were doomed to fail. "Those will always be the effects of socialism, sacrifices in

[136] Llorente, 1879, 67.

[137] "Nothing demanded more attention from governors and those who were governed than agriculture, the soul of Inca civilization" (Llorente (1879), 67, 208.

[138] Llorente, 115.

[139] Llorente, 68.

[140] Llorente 208.

the name of fraternity, the most intimate feelings," he commented.[141] In his view, the suppression of the individual essentially explained the "unchanging docility of our national character.[142]" On the other hand, he did not believe that this state of "servitude" was an unchanging biological imperative. Despite centuries of domination, he posited, "the immemorial servitude has not degraded the Indian character in a general and perpetual manner.[143]" Llorente's modern Indian subject was "beautiful," excelled in education, the press, and courthouse when given the opportunity.[144] More importantly, the most historically recognizable trait of their character, docility, provided the foundation for remaking a modern Peru.[145] "Their docility, which others have exploited, could help establish the perfect social order," Llorente argued.[146]

Like previous writers on the Incas, most famously among them American historian William Prescott, Llorente criticized the Inca Empire on several accounts.[147] For one, he was concerned with individual liberty under the Inca Empire. For the author, the social organization of the Incas, all subjects, whether it was a member of the ruling class or a lowly *yanacona*, "lost their sense of individuality.[148]" Though redistribution of goods eliminated social problems, he believed their conceptions of labor and property were antagonistic to

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[141] Llorente, 155.

[142] Llorente, 155.

[143] Llorente, 39.

[144] Ibid, 39.

[145] Ibid, 39.

[146] Llorente, 39.

[147] William Hickling Prescott and John Foster Kirk, *History of the Conquest of Peru; with a Preliminary View of the Civilization of the Incas* (Philadelphia : J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1883).

[148] Ibid, 205.

progress.[149] Moreover, Llorente even suspected that the Inca system was far from egalitarian. He pointed out that the ruling class sometimes succumbed to greed and corruption rather than adhering to ruling principles that ensured the welfare of its citizens.[150] Under his interpretation, the empire was run "Not on humanitarian principles but more or less ambitious aspirations.[151]" Inca socialism also convinced him that all socialist and communist movements would end up in authoritarian regimes. For the intellectual, "All theocracies, given their nature, present in abundance in socialists practices, bring upon nations the irreparable plague of despotism.[152]" For these reasons, it was possible that Llorente discarded the Inca system as a viable economic model for the future. "While worthy of admiration, such socialist conception should not be put into practice," he commented.[153]

It is difficult to ascertain if Llorente's political imaginary had influenced a generation of intellectuals like Montestruque by 1885. Llorente died in Lima a few months prior to events in Ancash. Nevertheless, ideas such as those exposed by Llorente colored some of the interpretations of the rebellion. The press in Lima appeared conflicted about reports on an Inca socialist state in the Andes. On the one hand, *El Pais* dismissed reports about the possibility of a government led by "the bloodthirsty legions of racial hatred and their chief, the Inca King, another Tupac Amaru, restorer of the ancient empire.[154]" Though the author

[149] "The socialist organization of labor and property went against material progress and moral perfectionism" (Llorente, 212).

[150] Ibid, 147.

[151] Llorente, 147, 195.

[152] Llorente, 147. Other references about Inca despotism can be found on pages 14, 104, 196, 204, and 214.

[153] Llorente, 195.

[154] *El Pais*, Lima, May 7, 1885.

recognized the destruction, looting, and violence that had taken place in Ancash at the hands of the rebels, he did not believe that Inca socialism had animated the politics of the rebellion. "None of this is true," *El Pais* uttered on May 7, just a few days after Iraola's victory in Huaraz on May 3.[155]

Interestingly, this author appeared to be debunking a firsthand account of the rebellion, published just two days before his, and where reports about "Inca socialism" were more vivid. For the author, whose testimony was shared by *El Pais* on May 5, the insurgents' actions strongly indicated that the rebellion sought to overthrow the established order and model it after Inca social organization. Less than a month before, refugees from Ancash who had arrived in Lima had described the rebellion as having "communist tendencies.[156]" For this observer, the forced exactions, looting, and violence were proof of the rebels' radicalism and messianism. In the author's view, "Atresparia, who pretends to be Inca King by lineage, and whom the Indians recognize as their king," sought the reestablishment of the Inca Empire in late nineteenth-century Peru.[157] Whether or not the news had any absolute truth, rumors about the possibility of an Inca messianism were also replicated for audiences abroad. On June 6, 1885, *La Estrella de Panama* defined the leader of the rebellion as "Atresparia [sic], who pretends to be Inca King by lineage, and whom the Indians recognize as their king,".[158]

[155] *El Pais*, Lima, May 7, 1885.

[156] *El País*, Lima, April 11, 1885.

[157] *El Pais*, Lima, May 5, 1885.

[158] *La Estrella de Panama*, Panama City, June 6, 1885.

Conclusion:

Reports about a communist Inca utopia in the Andes in 1885 were far from a reality. There is no evidence that the rebels intended to implement a social organization modeled after nineteenth-century political theory and the Inca Empire. However, the political culture in Peru gave room for some intellectuals to imagine, even if briefly, a postcapitalist society where indigenous peasants ruled over the means of production. Rumors about indigenous people expropriating and destroying private property in Ancash certainly unsettled most observers in Lima. However, the historical possibility of a communist revolution in the Andes generated optimism among those individuals, like Luis Felipe Montestruque, who sought to reconcile competing visions of modernity in Peru. In reality, indigenous people in Ancash joined the rebellion to defend their rights as citizens, namely their right to a fair taxation system. After the rebellion, they remained committed to this goal and formed alliances with political leaders who promised to cater to their political demands. If the rebellion did not unsettle the Iglesias's administration, at the very least, it created the expectation that General Andrés Avelino Cáceres was gaining the upper hand in the civil war of 1884-1885. For citizens in Lima and Arequipa, Caceres had the support of 30,000 Indians from Ancash, who had deposed the Iglesias's administration and established a provisional government. The rebels were *Caceristas*. Part of the world seemed to be under this impression as well.

"But in Russia we find, face-to-face with the rapidly flowering capitalist swindle and bourgeois property, just beginning to develop, more than half the land owned in common by the peasants. Now the question is: can the Russian obshchina, though greatly undermined, yet a form of primeval common ownership of land, pass directly to the higher form of Communist common ownership? Alternatively, on the contrary, must it first pass through the same process of dissolution such as constitutes the historical evolution of the West?"

Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels, January 21, 1882, London

Conclusion: The First Modern Revolution That Never Was, and the Historical Origins of *Terruqueo* in Peru

On April 23, 2023, the *Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos* (CIDH) published a study on the recent political crisis in Peru. "The CIDH has noted a general decay in the public debate caused by a pronounced stigmatization of ethno-racial and regional factors, visible in comments that depict people who are indigenous and peasants as '*terroristas*,' '*terrucos*,' '*senderistas*,' '*cholos*' or '*indios*,' among other discriminatory comments," a section of the report uttered.[1] Indeed, recent scholarship has shown that the term *terruco* or *terrorista* is inflected with ethnoracial categorizations that portray the indigenous subject, or at least those citizens imagined as indigenous in the first place, as communist insurgents.[2] Recently, these social constructions have led to racism and

[1] "La CIDH constató un deterioro generalizado del debate público con una fuerte estigmatización por factores étnicos-raciales y regionales, mediante mensajes que aluden a las personas indígenas y campesinas como "terroristas", "terrucos", "senderistas", "cholos" o "indios", entre otras formas despectivas. Estos mensajes no son inocuos, por el contrario, contribuyen a la creación de un ambiente de permisividad y tolerancia hacia la discriminación, estigmatización y violencia institucional en contra de esta población," Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos, *Situación de Derechos Humanos En Perú En El Contexto de Las Protestas Sociales* (San Jose: Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos, 2023), 101.

[2] Silvia Rodríguez Maeso, "Política del testimonio y reconocimiento en las comisiones de la verdad guatemalteca y peruana: En torno a la figura del 'indio subversivo,'" *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, no. 88 (March 1, 2010): 23–55, https://doi.org/10.4000/rccs.1697.; Carlos Aguirre, "Terruco de m… Insulto y estigma en la guerra sucia peruana," *Histórica* 35, no. 1 (August 18, 2011): 103–39,

discrimination, such as the presidential election of provincial elementary school teacher Pedro Castillo in 2021 and the justification of state violence, as the 2023 social mobilizations have shown.[3] *Terruqueo*, the act of describing a person or a group of persons as a "*terruco*," regardless of their actual affiliation with the radical Left, had devastating consequences for indigenous communities during the armed conflict of the 1980s.[4] In the most notorious case, the Accomarca massacre in rural Ayacucho, where the military executed sixty-nine men, women, and children, the *Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación* (CVR) did not find evidence of Shining Path activity in the area.[5] The origins of *terruqueo*, a type of political slander, may be traced to 1920 with the rise of the *Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana* (APRA) and the *Partido Comunista Peruano* (PCP). During the nineteenth century, as it has been argued, the public sphere and government authorities commonly associated "terrorism" and "terror," the linguistic roots of the term *terruco*, with the state's use of violence against insurgents.[6]

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https://doi.org/10.18800/historica.201101.003.; Valérie Robin Azevedo and Dorothée Delacroix, "Categorización étnica, conflicto armado interno y reparaciones simbólicas en el Perú post - Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (CVR)," *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos. Nouveaux mondes mondes nouveaux - Novo Mundo Mundos Novos - New world New worlds*, December 11, 2017, https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.71688.

[3] Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos, *Situación de Derechos Humanos En Perú En El Contexto de Las Protestas Sociales* (San Jose: Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos, 2023), 18, 101.

[4] Carlos Aguirre, "Terruco de m… Insulto y estigma en la guerra sucia peruana," *Histórica* 35, no. 1 (August 18, 2011): 103–39, https://doi.org/10.18800/historica.201101.003.

[5] Silvia Rodríguez Maeso, "Política del testimonio y reconocimiento en las comisiones de la verdad guatemalteca y peruana: En torno a la figura del 'indio subversivo,'" *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, no. 88 (March 1, 2010): 23–55, https://doi.org/10.4000/rccs.1697.; Cecilia Méndez, "The Paths of Terrorism in Peru: Nineteenth to Twenty-First Centuries*," in *The Cambridge History of Terrorism*, ed. Richard English (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 420–52, https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108556248.017.

[6] Cecilia Méndez, "The Paths of Terrorism in Peru: Nineteenth to Twenty-First Centuries*," in *The Cambridge History of Terrorism*, ed. Richard English (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 420–52, https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108556248.017.

Much less apparent in the scholarship and far more critical to the understanding of *terruqueo* is the social construction of the indigenous subject as a communist insurgent in the public sphere from a historical perspective. This dissertation proposed initiating this line of inquiry in 1848. Like the West, the European Revolutions of 1848 reconfigured political culture in nineteenth-century Peru. Despite the absence of a robust working-class organization like in other countries in Latin America, ideas about communism circulated widely. Peruvians soon the new political vocabulary and suited it to their realities.[7] After 1848, social commentary among intellectuals and the press increasingly began associating working-class mobilization with violence, disorder, and the expropriation of private property. In short, the destruction of civilization.[8] The Paris Commune of 1871 exacerbated these public anxieties. It also redefined interpretations of a proletarian revolution in the public sphere. Until 1871, French utopian socialist Joseph Proudhon, famous for his epithet "*Property is Theft!*" had become synonymous with radical ideas in Latin America.[9] After the Commune, the ideas of Karl Marx, particularly the notion of dictatorship, and Russian socialists and anarchists served as points of reference for critics.[10] By the end of the century,

[7] For Latin America, see Guy P. C. Thomson, *The European Revolutions of 1848 and the Americas* (Institute of Latin American Studies, 2002), 1 - 18. For Peru, see Natalia Sobrevilla, "The Influence of the European 1848 Revolutions in Peru," in Thomson's *The European Revolutions,*191- 216. Miguel Maticorena Estrada also argues that the political sphere was already divided in terms of "Proudhonism" and "proprietors" by 1855. See Miguel Maticorena Estrada, *La comuna de Piura y Chalaco: Montoneras, 1883* (Lima: Ediciones Copé, Petroperú, 2014).

[8] Maticorena Estrada, 136.

[9] For other countries in Latin America, such as Argentina and Mexico, historians have suggested that Proudhonism was the dominant socialist thought until the Paris Commune of 1871. See Gaston Garcia Cantu, *El Socialismo En Mexico; Siglo XIX* (Mexico City: Ediciones Era, 1974); Carlos M. Rama, *Utopismo Socialista, 1830-1893* (Ayacucho: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1977). Other scholars have argued that anarchism was far more influential in the public sphere. See John M. Hart, *Anarchism & The Mexican Working Class, 1860-1931* (University of Texas Press, 1987).

[10] For general overviews, see Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, *Transformaciones del marxismo: historia del marxismo en América Latina* (Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, 2001), and Pablo Guadarrama González, *Marxismo*

citizens in Lima and Ancash were more than familiarized with global debates about capitalism and communism, suggesting that they espoused more sophisticated understandings of modern politics than previously assumed. This assertion also helps scholars move beyond nineteenth-century debates historiographical on liberals and conservatives. It also puts an earlier clock on the crisis of liberalism, a project that showed signs of exhaustion, as it has been argued, by the early twentieth century.[11]

Inca socialism was also a political project that unsettled the consolidation of the liberal nation-state in Peru. For some reformers, indigenous people and the Inca social organization were compatible with their postcapitalist views of modernity. They could serve as a national development model in the postwar period following the War of the Pacific (1879-1883). A handful went as far as to suggest that Inca socialism could lay the blueprints for the socialist society the radicals in Europe, the United States, and Latin America envisioned. Other commentators viewed Inca socialism with deep suspicion and voted against its implementation in Peru. The Atusparia Rebellion of 1885 exposed the conflicts between these two competing perspectives. It was the first time in Peruvian history that the ruling classes and government authorities imagined a large-scale, peasant-based movement motivated by the radical Left. They briefly imagined the possibility that the insurgents in

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y antimarxismo en America Latina (Universidad INCCA de Colombia, 1990). For Argentina, see Horacio Tarcus, *Marx en la Argentina: sus primeros lectores obreros, intelectuales y científicos* (Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2007); Carlos Rodríguez Braun, "Early Liberal Socialism in Latin America: Juan B. Justo and the Argentine Socialist Party," *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 67, no. 4 (2008): 567–604. For Mexico, see Sheldon B. Liss, "MARXIST THINKERS IN MEXICO: EACH TO HIS OWN REVOLUTION," in *Los Intelectuales y El Poder En México*, ed. Roderic A. Camp, Charles A. Hale, and Josefina Zoraida Vázquez, 1st ed., vol. 75, Memorias de La VI Conferencia de Historiadores Mexicanos y Estadounidenses = Intellectuals and Power in Mexico (Colegio de Mexico, 1991), 359–76, https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv513805.22; Barry Carr, "Marxism and Anarchism in the Formation of the Mexican Communist Party, 1910-19," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 63, no. 2 (1983): 277–305, https://doi.org/10.2307/2514710.

[11]James E. Sanders, *The Vanguard of the Atlantic World: Creating Modernity, Nation, and Democracy in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2014).

Ancash were *terrucos.* They entertained the notion that communism animated the rebels' violence, looting, and destruction of private property in a region less than three hundred miles from the capital city of Lima. By conceptualizing the indigenous subject as a political subject capable of assuming a leadership role in the revolution, they moved beyond, even if momentarily, Marx and Engels' formulations hitherto regarding the path towards establishing a postcapitalist society in the modern world.

Likely, communist or Inca socialism did not drive the politics of the rebel government that took over Ancash for nearly two months. However, denying the possibility that some rebels may have espoused these ideas risks replicating nineteenth-century discourses based on scientific racism that indigenous people were incapable of assimilating, much less understanding Western political modernity. First, the participation of indigenous in legal proceedings paints a complex picture of how they fulfilled their fiscal responsibilities and, at the same time, carved themselves a space of representation under a liberal state that sought to exclude them from the political process. They put in petitions, called on witnesses, and hired representation. They employed legal language that drew from colonial and liberal jurisprudence. Like other citizens in Ancash, they paid the legal fees associated with the process, namely the *papel sellado.* Unlike other citizens, however, this indirect form of taxation, which reified their legal designation as *indígenas* since they paid a different amount in comparison to non-*indígenas*–a practice that dated to the colonial period–allowed them to demand tax breaks based on practices that were not supposed to exist under a liberal state. Second, their participation in the War of the Pacific (1879-1883) and the subsequent civil wars (1884-1885 and 1894-1895) demonstrated that they did not hesitate to take arms to defend their interests, such as the abolition of the *contribución personal.* Using the language

of republicanism and the nation, they formed and dissolved political alliances with leaders who promised to protect them. Third, indigenous people in Ancash were not altogether removed from the region's political economy. They adapted to the demands of the market and ruling classes' views of modernity, a dogma primarily based on Antonio Raimondi's *El Departamento de Ancash y sus Riquezas Naturales* (1873), in a period where scholars have cataloged Peru as "ungovernable." Many worked in trade, commerce, and agriculture. Though communal landholdings may have been the dominant form of land tenure in the region, several citizens began shifting their interests toward the privatization of community land. If anything, a communist revolution would have disrupted the socioeconomic transformation they were aspiring and working towards.

Today, the legacy of the Atusparia Rebellion can still be seen in a department that has partially achieved Raimondi's nineteenth-century views of modernity based on the large-scale exploitation and exportation of minerals. Streets, schools, musical groups, and businesses have been named after the leader of a movement that took arms in a period marked by political instability, the expansion of private property, and the increased influence of foreign capital.[12] In 2020, communities from the province arrived in Huaraz to celebrate the 135 anniversary of the Atusparia Rebellion. During the ceremony, the mayor of Huaraz, Rori Mautinó, reminded the audience how Atusparia and the insurgents rebelled against the abuses committed by the government. He urged them to "always maintain Pedro Pablo

[12] Mariam Palma, "Vecinos de Av. Atusparia cuestionan falta de agua por trabajos de instalación gasífera," *Ancash Noticias*, November 29, 2019, https://ancashnoticias.com/2019/11/29/vecinos-de-av-atusparia-cuestionan-falta-de-agua-por-trabajos-de-instalacion-gasifera/; Javier Urbano, *Ancash Noticias*, "Revelan que 18% de estudiantes no participaron enc lases virtuales en el colegio Atusparia, January 31, 2021, https://ancashnoticias.com/2021/01/31/18-de-estudiantes-no-tuvieron-conectividad-para-clases-virtuales-en-el-colegio-atusparia-de-huaraz/.

Atusparia in our memory.[13]" One of Atusparia's descendants also spoke during the celebration. He stressed the need to implement the Atusparia Rebellion in the region's education curriculum and reaffirmed the politics of the rebellion. "The tribute imposed by Miguel Iglesias, the President at the time, only on our *campesino* brothers…Atusparia asked why? We are all Peruvians! We have the same rights as everyone else.[14]" If indeed Atusparia uttered these words, they ring hollow nearly 140 years later.[15] The government is still far from eliminating the social inequalities that motivated rebels to take arms in 1885. Until these injustices are addressed, indigenous people will continue to organize, mobilize, and challenge state authority.

[13] "Celebran 135 aniversario de Pedro Pablo Atusparia en Huaraz," *Ancash Noticias*, March 4, 2020, https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=583953965532112.

[14] "Celebran 135 aniversario de Pedro Pablo Atusparia en Huaraz," *Ancash Noticias*, March 4, 2020, https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=583953965532112.

[15] The Left-Wing military junta that ruled Peru from 1969 to 1980 may be considered an oasis in the long history of indigenous people in Peru. Even then, it was still far from achieving its goals viz a viz the inclusion of indigenous people into the body of polity. For a critical assessment of this government within the larger Peruvian history, see Alfonso W. Quiroz, *Historia de la corrupción en el Perú* (Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2014); Carlos Aguirre and Paulo Drinot, *The Peculiar Revolution: Rethinking the Peruvian Experiment under Military Rule* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017).

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