

**Indigenous “Messengers” Petitioning for Justice: Citizenship and Indigenous Rights
in Peru, 1900-1945**

by

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Chapter 1:

Introduction

For centuries, indigenous men and women in the Andes have used legal cases and petitions to make claims on colonial and republican authorities for the right to protection, justice, and even equality. In the early twentieth century, there was an explosion of formal petitions to the state, many of which indigenous *mensajeros* or “messengers” carried personally to the capital city of Lima, traveling by foot from their distant communities. Despite the fact that many indigenous men and women were illiterate or spoke only the indigenous languages of Aymara or Quechua, they still successfully found ways to formulate petitions to the government, often with the help of literate relatives, scribes, notaries, lawyers, or informal legal advisors called *tinterillos*. Their petitions denounced abuses such as forced labor, land usurpation, torture, murder, and sexual assault. These traveling petitioners interacted with *indigenista* activists (generally white or mestizo pro-indigenous intellectuals, feminists, artists, and journalists) to pressure government officials to respond to specific complaints and even implement pro-indigenous legislation. This dissertation analyzes specific claims that indigenous men and women made on the state in petitions and legal cases from 1900 to 1945 and shows how this claims-making invigorated public debates on the place of indigenous men and women in the modern Peruvian nation and on the role of the state to delineate and guarantee the rights of all its citizens.

Although while this fervent debate on the integration of the indigenous people into the nation centered on issues of race and ethnicity, concern with gender and family was frequently an implicit sub-text. The debate was gendered not only because both women and men participated in it, but also because the idea of what it meant to be an equal citizen and the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship were gendered. The supposed non-conformity of both indigenous men and women to elite ideals about gender norms and family perpetuated elites' doubts about the ability of indigenous people to be proper citizens. As a result, in many petitions, indigenous men not only made claims for justice and equal rights, but they demonstrated that they, too, were men by highlighting their familial responsibilities as fathers, husbands, and leaders of their communities.

State responses to indigenous claims shifted from repression or neglect in the early decades of the century to increasingly paternalist policies, particularly in the 1920s. This was not a top-down or linear process, however. This dissertation shows that as a result of changing social and political climates governmental practices of paternalism shifted during the period from 1900 to 1945 and that indigenous strategies of claims-making adjusted in response. At times, indigenous people used this language of family and paternalism to demand justice and protection and even for equality and broad citizenship rights. At other times, reliance on paternalistic politics weakened egalitarian arguments by casting indigenous men and women as dependents on their white or *mestizo* compatriots. Without a favorable environment for equal rights claims, paternalism helped to maintain a stratified citizenry in which white, educated males exercised their paternal authority over indigenous populations and women.

Over the period from 1900 to 1945 the constant clamor of indigenous petitioners for justice and rights contributed to attempts by activists, politicians, feminists, and artists to create a more integrated nation that recognized and addressed the diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds of Peruvian men and women. Unsurprisingly, many landowners and members of the traditional elite rejected these changes to the status quo. Battles raged throughout the first four decades of the twentieth century, in which Peruvians of all sectors fought over the meaning of citizenship, nationhood, and national identity. Differing ideologies of gender, family, and race and the practices of paternalism fundamentally influenced these debates and the resulting policy decisions.

The “Indian Problem” and *Indigenismo* in Peru and Abroad

After independence in 1821, Peruvian authorities struggled with how to redefine the relationship between the state and indigenous people. During the colonial period, a more distinct differentiation between indigenous people and non-indigenous people was set in place by the Spanish authorities, creating a Spanish Republic and a “Republic of Indians.” Individuals in each realm had specific privileges and obligations. For example, indigenous people paid tribute to the crown in return for rights to communal lands. With independence, this legal distinction between Spanish and indigenous people was abolished and Peru went “from two republics to one divided,” as Mark Thurner so aptly described this process.¹ Under the new republic, the colonial pact that protected communal lands no longer existed, and indigenous people became subject to new laws

¹ Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

encouraging private land ownership. Also, although indigenous tribute was originally abolished with independence, it was quickly reconceived as a “contribution” soon after independence when economic necessity merited it. The colonial practice of personal service and forced labor by indigenous people for non-indigenous people also continued during the nineteenth century.²

Similar issues emerged in other newly-independent nations in South America as they worked to replace the colonial hierarchal system with a system based on republican ideals of government. For example, in research on neighboring Bolivia, Rosana Barragán demonstrates that in the decades after independence the new Civil and Penal Codes were conceived with an understanding of Bolivia as a “heterogeneous, hierarchical, and unequal society,” in which the determination of punishments and civil benefits depended on the level of “decency” or “honor” a particular individual was seen to have by authorities.³ And decency and honor were in large part determined by assumptions about an individual’s race, class, and gender. Thus the failure to acknowledge ethnic and social differences directly in the codes and constitutions allowed for a more subtle form of discrimination to emerge during the republican period, one that largely coincided with the colonial divisions in society, but changed the terminology of identities and the terms of dispute.

In Peru, as in Bolivia, the new republican governments saw the indigenous populations as obstacles to national goals of civilizing and modernizing the nation. Cecilia Méndez examines this in her work on the nationalist conflicts over the Peruvian-

² Brooke Larson, *Trials of Nation Making: Liberalism, Race, and Ethnicity in the Andes, 1810-1910* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 143, 157-158.

³ Rosana Barragán Romano, *Indios, mujeres, y ciudadanos: legislación y ejercicio de la ciudadanía en Bolivia (siglo XIX)* (La Paz: Fundación Dialogo, 1999), 20.

Bolivian Confederation (1836-1839). Méndez argues that many creoles in Lima resisted this confederation because they saw it as a movement led by, and for, the indigenous populations of southern Peru and Bolivia.⁴ She claims that this conflict, and the racist rhetoric that emerged from it, provided a foundation for the creation of a Creole nationalism that portrayed Indians as foreigners who needed to be excluded from the nation.

During the nineteenth century, the continued abuses against indigenous people at times resulted in rebellions and calls for a more just relationship between the Peruvian authorities and indigenous people. One example of pro-indigenous rights activities occurred in Puno in mid-1860s. Juan Bustamante, a *mestizo* wool trader and politician, founded an organization called the Society for the Friends of the Indian that advocated for indigenous rights. He helped lead an indigenous rebellion in Puno against the abusive treatment of indigenous people, but the military intervened and crushed the indigenous protestors, killing Bustamante in the process.⁵

Although the government often had an antagonistic attitude toward indigenous protestors, at times government officials encouraged certain forms of indigenous claims-making, particularly if it served the needs of the government. During the war with Chile, President Nicolás de Piérola in 1880 established himself as the “Protector of the Indigenous Race” in order to gain the support of indigenous people for the war effort. As the “Protector of the Indigenous Race” he declared that any form of personal service or taxation that was only imposed on indigenous people was illegal and that indigenous people had the right to appeal to him personally or in petitions. Although scholars such

⁴ Cecilia Méndez, “Incas Sí, Indios No: Notes on Peruvian Creole Nationalism and its Contemporary Crisis,” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 28 (1996): 197-225.

⁵ Larson, *Trials of Nation Making*, 157-160.

as Thomas M. Davies saw this as an example of political opportunism that did little to help indigenous people, the process of appealing directly to the president of Peru for protection would become a widely used strategy by indigenous people in the twentieth century.⁶

At the end of the nineteenth century, however, Peru was recovering from its devastating war with Chile (1879-1884), which resulted in the loss of territory at its southern border. Many people at the time blamed the defeat on the inability of the state to garner the support of the majority Indian population. Indigenous men were forced into the front lines of the battle, and critics of Peru's entry into the war claimed that the indigenous populations lacked the patriotic fervor necessary to win the war. For these critics it was not that the indigenous soldiers were innately unpatriotic, but rather it was the state's purposeful exclusion of indigenous peoples from the benefits of citizenship that had contributed to their weak sense of national solidarity during the war period. Florencia Mallon explains that after the defeat by Chile in the War of the Pacific (1879-1883) and the subsequent civil war between the forces of Generals Miguel Iglesias and those of Andrés Avelino Cáceres, indigenous "citizen-soldiers" were "'othered' as illiterate, lazy, backward Indians" because their agency and autonomy shown during the wars threatened political elites' sense of security and national unification after the war.⁷ Mallon argues that this "othering" of indigenous soldiers was a manifestation of "an ethnic and spatial policy of divide and rule" that set up a "system of neocolonial domination" in nineteenth-century Peru. Unlike in Mexico, the indigenous peasant

⁶ Republica del Perú, Dirección General de Asuntos Indígenas, *Legislación indigenista del Perú* (Lima: Talleres Gráficos de la Penitenciaría Central, 1948), 37-38. Thomas M. Davies, *Indian Integration in Peru: A Half Century of Experience, 1900-1948* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), 33.

⁷ Florencia Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: the Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), p. 219.

populations in Peru were less successful at gaining political or economic compensation for their participation as soldiers during the nineteenth century.⁸

After the defeat by Chile, intellectuals and writers began examining the reasons for the defeat and the lack of national unity in Peru. Early proponents of an intellectual and political movement called *indigenismo*, who were generally of European or *mestizo* heritage, followed the footsteps of Juan Bustamante and advocated for the rights of the indigenous population and for a greater respect for indigenous culture. One of the first *indigenista* writings was Clorinda Matto de Turner's 1889 novel about the exploitation of the Indians called *Birds without a Nest*.⁹ Her popular book, which eventually provoked the Catholic Church to excommunicate her for her negative portrayal of provincial priests, helped to incite further interest in the situation of the Indians among the non-indigenous population in Peru.¹⁰ Another influential writer and political leader in the formation of the *indigenista* movement was Manuel Gonzalez Prada. Influenced by positivism, Gonzalez Prada believed that in order to modernize Peru the indigenous population needed to be incorporated into the national life through education and social and political reform. He and other *indigenistas* rejected the racist ideas that indigenous people were inherently inferior, and criticized local authorities for maintaining a racist, exploitative state system.¹¹ In an 1888 speech, for example, he blamed "that Indian-

⁸ For more on this topic, see Florencia Mallon's discussion of peasant participation in the War of the Pacific in her *Peasant and Nation: the Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

⁹ Clorinda Matto de Turner, *Aves sin nido* (Cuzco: Universidad Nacional del Cuzco, 1948).

¹⁰ Matto de Turner, *Aves*, 1-2.

¹¹ Manuel González Prada, "Nuestros Indios," in *El pensamiento indigenista*, José Tamayo Herrera, ed., (Lima: Mosca Azul Editores, 1981).

brutalizing trinity” of “the judge, the governor, and the priest” for the oppression of the indigenous population.¹²

General discontent among indigenous people also grew particularly due to conflicts over land. At the end of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century, the arrival of the railroad to remote areas of Peru and the increased market value of wool converted once relatively ignored regions of southern Peru into important centers for export production.¹³ The heightened value of land fostered local disputes in which landholders usurped indigenous property legally and illegally. In regions such as Puno and Cuzco, indigenous communities often rebelled against the landholders, making southern Peru a region of social and political instability. In court cases and in letters to politicians from this time period, landholders and indigenous people alike complained about the widespread violence and injustice. In a number of criminal cases the list of defendants include statements such as “and more than 50 Indians,” indicating the large scale of some of these disputes and the lack of regard for their individual citizenship.¹⁴ From 1919-1923 over fifty indigenous revolts were recorded in Cuzco and Puno. These revolts, collectively labeled as “the great indigenous uprisings of the south,” often forced the state to intercede militarily and politically, and also sparked a national debate on the “Indian problem.”¹⁵ The pattern of abuses committed against the indigenous population

¹² Davies, *Indian Integration*, 38.

¹³ Nils Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition: The Peruvian Altiplano, 1780-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 208-9.

¹⁴ See for example, Archivo Regional de Puno (ARP), causas criminales (CC), Puno Leg. 078, Exp. 164/613, Chucuito 11 Nov. 1925; and ARP, CC, Chucuito Leg. 054, Exp. 2076/732, Ilave 12 Sept. 1925.

¹⁵ Manuel Burga and Alberto Flores Galindo, *Apogeo y crisis de la república aristocrática* (Lima: Ediciones Rikchay, 1979), 74.

and the growing number of indigenous rebellions were even seen as indicators of a potential race war.¹⁶

As the conflicts grew and violence erupted, political authorities and intellectuals became convinced that changes needed to be made to address the “Indian problem.” The question, however, was how best to overcome centuries of conflict and exclusion. Many members of the creole elite hoped to continue to exploit and marginalize the indigenous populations and expected government officials to suppress indigenous revolts and transgressions, with violence if necessary. Others, including those who identified themselves or who were identified as *indigenistas*, hoped to vindicate the indigenous people by more effectively integrating them into the Peruvian nation through education, land reform, the promotion of indigenous language and culture, and greater legal protections. However, even among apparent *indigenistas*, the “Indian problem” and its solution were vigorously debated. In the 1920s, during the presidency of Augusto B. Leguía, the government vigorously entered the debate, ordering official investigations of abuses against indigenous people and implementing pro-indigenous legislation and political institutions, such as the Patronage of the Indigenous Race and the Section of Indigenous Affairs.

Indigenismo was an intellectual and artistic current that also existed in various forms in other Latin America countries. The movement responded to elite fears that Latin American nations could not reach the levels of modernization on par with Europe and North America because of what was conceived as the “racial” composition of their populations. In other words, the large numbers of indigenous people in countries like

¹⁶ See, for example, AGN, MI--Prefecturas 1872-1956. Leg. 100. Lima, 15 March 1904, Mariano Cuentas, comisionado ad hoc, por los vecinos de la provincia de Chucuito.

Mexico, Guatemala, and the Andean countries, or the large populations of descendants of slaves in countries like Brazil and Cuba, were seen as barriers to effective political and economic modernization of these countries. In order to deal with this concern, some intellectuals and politicians began to rethink this problem and offered solutions fitting with national goals. In Mexico, for example, Jose Vasconcelos' musings on *La Raza C6smica* provided a framework for nationalism that considered the mixed composition of Latin American populations a positive characteristic.¹⁷ He claimed that the "mestizo" identity of the Latin Americans superior to the "white" identity of North Americans and predicted that *mestizos* would help bring about an era of aestheticism and spirituality, two characteristics seen to be lost in North American modernization practices. In Brazil, some politicians hoped to "whiten" the population through the increased immigration of Europeans. Moreover, some politicians and intellectuals began to espouse what scholars later described as "a myth of racial democracy" in which the racial the racial question was seen as irrelevant in Brazil because republican laws did not discriminate on the basis of race and mixed ancestry was so widespread.¹⁸ However, as scholars such as George Reid Andrews have shown, laws did not necessarily dictate social behaviors or relationships, and other forms of discrimination developed that restricted access to education and jobs for many Afro-Brazilians.¹⁹

Marisol de la Cadena has demonstrated that in Peru ideas about indigenous people and mestizos changed with the influence of *indigenismo* in Peru.²⁰ She argues that

¹⁷ Jos6 Vasconcelos, *La Raza C6smica: misi6n de la raza iberoamericana* (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe, 1948).

¹⁸ George Reid Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in Sao Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 5-10.

¹⁹ Andrews, *Black and Whites*, 160-165.

²⁰ Marisol de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919-1991* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000).

proponents of *indigenismo* rejected European notions of race based on biological and phenotypical characteristics and, instead, emphasized moral and cultural elements. Because of the large non-white population in Peru, this new focus on morality and education gave hope to politicians and intellectuals that the “inferior” condition of the Indians could be overcome through education and those with mixed racial heritage could be “whitened.” She explains that a process of “de-indianization” occurred in which more educated and economically successful indigenous intellectuals and mestizos could proudly claim their indigenous heritage while leaving behind the negative attributes associated with the “Indian”. Moreover, she outlines a shift of emphasis from race to class issues in the mid-twentieth century with the growing influence of leftist political movements that de-racialized the rural indigenous populations through a greater use of the term “campesino” (peasant) than “Indian.”²¹

Nils Jacobsen describes Peruvian society during the nineteenth and early-twentieth century as a neocolonial society polarized between Indians and creoles or non-Indians.²² But Jacobsen argues that the neocolonial “practices of paternalism, coercion, and violence... reinforced the Indians’ own perception of their identity as distinct and taught them the continued usefulness of communal solidarity and of maintaining their peasant livelihoods.”²³ Whereas Jacobsen highlights a potentially positive ramification of the marginalization of indigenous people in Peruvian society—the construction of indigenous identity and solidarity—Mark Thurner, in the conclusion of his work on nineteenth-century nation-making in Peru, describes a way that the exclusion of

²¹ De la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*, 20-30, 38.

²² Nils Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition: the Peruvian Altiplano, 1780-1930* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 330.

²³ Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition*, 330.

indigenous people limited their political and historical agency. He argues that the refusal of creoles to acknowledge the patriotic participation of many indigenous people during the crises of the War of the Pacific created “an ideological space that would be filled by an early twentieth-century indigenism which ultimately essentialized Indians as prepolitical, indeed prehistorical.”²⁴

Without a doubt much of the language of twentieth-century *indigenismo* did reduce the indigenous people to pre-political victims in need of paternalistic support from the government instead of empowering them as political agents. Yet not withstanding this framing of indigenous peoples as needy recipients of education, justice, and political, material, and moral assistance, the period of *indigenismo* of the early twentieth century created a political opening for indigenous people to put forth their concerns and needs. This dissertation shows that many indigenous men and women took advantage of the paternalistic actions and discourses to demand practical changes and individual, communal, and racial justice. While indigenous people had been using the legal system to petition the government for protection and justice since the colonial period, in the early twentieth century the success of *indigenista* activists at bringing the issue of indigenous rights to the center of national political debates helped justify and legitimize indigenous demands and calls for government assistance and legal protections. In fact, as this dissertation argues, it was the alliances between indigenous people and the *indigenista* advocates that gave this movement real power at the base.

The question of paternalism inevitably raises the issue of gender and its influence on the construction of a modern Peru. Many of the petitions, government responses and

²⁴ Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 152.

indigenista literature during the early twentieth century were inflected with gendered nuances of paternalism in which dominant white male leaders were seen as the appropriate ones to protect and lead the rest of the population. A few scholars have also asked questions about the role of gender, race, and sexuality in the construction of a modern Peru. Marisol De la Cadena describes how issues such as women's sexual purity and appropriate adherence to domestic roles helped determine social hierarchies in early- to mid-twentieth century Cuzco.²⁵ Historian Maria Emma Mannarelli develops a gender analysis of early-twentieth century Peru focusing on medical discourse, newspaper articles, and literature that reveals insights into meanings of family, home, femininity, and motherhood.²⁶ She argues that a "civilizing process" was required for nation-state formation in which intimacy and the private sphere took on new meanings, requiring changes in the use of space and in physical relationships.²⁷ For example, while breastfeeding had previously been linked to poor, indigenous, and black women, it was eventually encouraged among the elite classes by the early twentieth century as a way to improve infant health, which was an important concern among doctors and politicians who saw Peru as greatly under-populated. Thus, modernity not only entailed economic development and industrialization, but also a domestication of society in which individuals and families fit prescribed norms of behavior, sexuality, gender roles, and even hygiene. This dissertation demonstrates that the ideals about modernity in Peru required a specific type of gendered and domesticated citizenry that was constructed within a framework of paternalistic and authoritarian government structures.

²⁵ De la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos*, 47-60.

²⁶ Maria Emma Mannarelli, *Limpias y modernas: género, higiene y cultura en Lima del novecientos* (Lima: Ediciones Flora Tristan, 1999).

²⁷ Mannarelli, *Limpias y modernas*, 23-28.

One important consequence of a framework of paternalism for individuals is that it demands particular behaviors and attitudes by both the father figure and the supposed dependents. In essence, it requires specific types of performances by the actors involved to replicate and reinforce the paternalistic relationship. These behaviors and attitudes in the paternalistic relationship are not innate but rather constructed socially. Moreover, they can often be purposefully invoked to elicit some kind of benefit. One intrinsic aspect of these performances is the display and evocation of emotions. Many of the petitions presented to government officials by indigenous messengers employ poignant language to provoke emotional responses of pity or charity that would, the petitioners hoped, result in some paternal or benevolent action on the part of the reader in favor of indigenous people. Indigenous people and their advocates utilized emotions such as pity, compassion, and guilt to induce particular responses from authorities. Conversely, that particular emotions, or excesses of emotion, were ascribed to indigenous people helped perpetuate questions among the elite about indigenous men and women's rationality and adherence to gender norms, and thus, their ability to be full participants in the modern nation.

The indigenous petitions and court cases discussed in this dissertation also reveal aspects of indigenous understandings of citizenship and rights. Even within a framework of paternalism, the indigenous messengers expressed a sense of entitlement, recognizing their rights to appeal to government officials for the protection of their rights and livelihoods. They were unwilling to accept the injustices they faced because they knew they were citizens, even though they were often not treated as such. When local political authorities and judicial system failed them, they turned directly to higher authorities

within the central government, specifically the president of Peru. Moreover, they also turned to *indigenista* activists, many of whom became powerful advocates for indigenous people. Together indigenous people and *indigenista* advocates formulated numerous petitions, many of which invoked common characteristics of *indigenista* discourse: sentiments of pity and paternalism, historical references to centuries of enslavement and servitude of indigenous people, and the acknowledgement of the continued marginalization, or incomplete citizenship, of indigenous men and women within the Peruvian nation, despite their numerous contributions to the nation. Indigenous men and women and their advocates integrated these ideas into the language of the petitions to strengthen their claims to the state, and in the process contributed to a growing movement that placed indigenous people at the center of the Peruvian nation.

The Department of Puno and Terminology

While many of the sources in this dissertation derive from indigenous communities throughout Peru, one specific region within the country is highlighted: the department of Puno (see figure 1.1). Puno, one of the southernmost departments in Peru, has one of the largest indigenous populations in Peru, consisting mainly of Quechua- and Aymara-speaking indigenous groups. In the capital of the department, the city of Puno, where the white and mestizo population mainly resided, the inhabitants had a history of political liberalism. The Catholic Church never gained complete dominance in the region as it did in other places like Arequipa nor did Puno have a traditional aristocracy. In the early twentieth century, the Church had to compete with strong Masonic movements of free-thinking students and artisans. Many of these Masons took up the banner of the pro-

indigenous cause and became powerful advocates for indigenous people in Puno during the early-twentieth century. Also, the department of Puno was the site of many indigenous revolts during this period, as indigenous people clashed with neighboring rural elite landholders. These landholders were often not originally from the department of Puno, many having moved to the region for business purposes when the price of wool increased in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries making land in Puno potentially lucrative. As a result of these frequent clashes, Puno became one of the main places visited by government investigatory commissions.²⁸

Moreover, because the department of Puno borders Bolivia (and Chile during the early twentieth century), issues about indigenous people's sense of nationalism and patriotism come into greater focus in the documents than they might in other regions of Peru. The regions around Lake Titicaca in Bolivia and Peru are primarily inhabited by Aymara indigenous groups. Aymaras in Puno shared language and many cultural similarities with Bolivian Aymaras, and even close familial ties. Also, the Bolivian capital of La Paz was far closer to the indigenous communities in Puno than the Peruvian capital of Lima. Indigenous people in Puno often traveled to La Paz and nearby Bolivian towns for a variety of reasons, such as attending religious festivities and selling or purchasing goods in markets, and Bolivian money was commonly used in Puno. Peruvian authorities in Puno complained that indigenous people frequently crossed the border to baptize their children and hold religious funerals because these services were cheaper than in Peru. Nonetheless, indigenous messengers in Puno understood that if they wanted to ask for government assistance and protection they had to appeal to

²⁸ José Antonio Encinas, *Un ensayo de escuela nueva en el Perú* (Lima: Imp. Minerva, 1932), 144-153.

Peruvian officials in Lima. Accordingly, they embarked on long pilgrimages to the capital city of Lima.²⁹



Figure 1.1:
Map of Peru.
The Department of
Puno borders Bolivia.

(Source: Central
Intelligence Agency
Website
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/cia-maps-publications/maps/803153.jpg>)

Indigenous people frequently appear in the Puno criminal and civil court documents as litigants and witnesses. Historian Tanja Christiansen has researched court cases in the northern Peruvian province of Cajamarca during the nineteenth century and had great difficulty in distinguishing indigenous people from other lower-class individuals in the trial transcripts. She argues that this had much to do with the high level of *mestizaje* in Cajamarca.³⁰ Her findings are quite different from the court cases in the Regional Archives of Puno, where the word “*indigena*” is a common label attached to

²⁹ Archivo General de la Nación, Ministerio del Interior—Prefecturas 1872-1956 (hereafter AGN, MI-Prefecturas), Leg. 369, 1937; P. Erasmo Roca Sánchez, *Por la clase indígena* (Lima: Biblioteca de la Revista de Economía y Finanzas, 1935), 220-222, 235.

³⁰ Tanja Christiansen, *Disobedience, Slander, Seduction, and Assault: Women and Men in Cajamarca, Peru, 1862-1900* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 18-19.

people's names in the trial documents, distinguishing them from non-indigenous individuals. Most documents in the early twentieth century included the name, age, marital status, language use, occupation, and religion of litigants and witnesses. By the 1930s it was common practice for legal documents in the department of Puno to list even more personal and physical details of the detained, including descriptions for race, color, hair, forehead, nose, mouth, height, and a few other attributes.³¹ Moreover, the term *colonos* (indigenous peasants living on haciendas) appeared often in the court records in Puno, whereas Christiansen found it in only a few cases in Cajamarca.³²

Despite these seemingly clear demarcations of indigenous identity in the documents from Puno, these labels do not necessarily equate to the lived experiences of the people they represent, nor were these labels fixed, often changing in different contexts and over time. The examination of these labels and other personal information such as language use, community of origin, and occupation is useful to more fully understand the complexities of racial identity and social status in Puno and in Peru in general.³³ This dissertation attempts to address these concerns, and in general uses the identity labels described in the documents themselves. Thus, if someone labeled himself or herself "*indígena*" in a petition or criminal case, the translation would be "indigenous" man or woman; if a writer used the word "*indio*," the translation would be "Indian." In a few cases, the Spanish word is kept because there is no equivalent English translation or

³¹ For examples of this see criminal court records from the department of Puno, Archivo Regional del Puno, Causas criminales, Province of Chucuito, Leg. 080, 1930, exp. 203, Autoridad política contra don Sabino Yturri por estafa, June 9, 1930, Santa Rosa; and, Province of Chucuito, Leg. 112, 1935, Exp, 4452/291, Mariano Pongo Mamani contra Manuel E. Perez y Ysidro Mena por usurpacion de terreno, October 17, 1935, Juli.

³² Christiansen, *Disobedience*, 19-20.

³³ For more on the complexities of racial and ethnic identity in early Republican period in Peru, see Sarah Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, 1780-1854* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 90-92.

it is not accurate. For example, a common term used in Puno and throughout Peru in the early twentieth century was *gamonal*, which refers to an abusive landowner or local authority. *Gamonal* became a derogatory term used commonly by *indigenistas* to refer to the backward nature of some of the white or mestizo landowners, suggesting the need for land reform and a change in state authority to modernize the rural highlands.³⁴ Also, in Puno, the terms “*mistis*,” and “*vecinos*” were used by indigenous people to describe white or *mestizo* people. “*Vecinos*,” which today literally translates to “neighbors” or “citizens,” was generally employed to describe white and *mestizo* residents of a town. According to Tamar Herzog, “*vecino*” was a term that originated in early modern Castile, and by the time it crossed over to Spanish America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it designated a resident of a community and implied privileges and duties that went along with this designation.³⁵

The fact that “*vecino*,” a colonial term, still existed in common parlance in the Republican period, suggests the continuance of a social hierarchy similar to the colonial period, despite republican laws meant to erase colonial caste distinctions. Indeed, the use of “*indio*” was contradictory to the liberal visions of the leaders of Peruvian independence, particularly José de San Martín who in 1821 renamed “Indians” as “Peruvians.”³⁶ However, over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the usage of these terms continued but their significance changed at various times. The process of *mestizaje* also worked to complicate and break down distinctions. In the 1940 census, for the first time, white and mestizo inhabitants are reported as a larger

³⁴ Larson, *Trials of Nation Making*, 164, 173-174.

³⁵ For a detailed description of the development of the term *vecino*, see Tamar Herzog, *Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 6-7; 43-63.

³⁶ Thurner, *From Two Republics*, 16.

percentage of the population than indigenous people—52% to 46%.³⁷ However, in some ways, by the 1940s, the definition of “indígena” goes through a process of greater definition. As communities became recognized by the state, indigenous identity becomes more closely associated with indigenous people who inhabit legally-recognized communities. In such circumstances, some people who lost their land, or moved to cities, were prone to losing their ‘indigenous’ identity and became more like *mestizos*. Others responded to this transformation by highlighting their indigenous identity in order to gain favor or protection from the state.

Chapter Overview

The first two decades of the twentieth century continued a new period of Peruvian politics that had begun in 1895, in which stable, democratically-elected governments dominated primarily by one political party, the Civilist party, governed almost uninterrupted until 1919. The Civilists, generally members of the political and economic elite of coastal Peru, wanted to modernize Peru so that it would become a prosperous, politically stable, and civilized state in the likeness of European nations. However, despite the general political stability in Lima, the first decade of the century was marked by a wave of violence and conflicts between indigenous peasants and white or mestizo landowners and local authorities in rural regions of Peru.

It was in this setting that the indigenous messengers burst onto the scene, formulating petitions for government assistance that relied on a dual language of paternalism and claims for equal citizenship. Chapter two, “Citizens and Men in Name

³⁷ Contreras and Cueto, *Historia del Perú contemporáneo: desde las luchas por la independencia hasta el presente* (Lima: IEP/ Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en el Perú, 2000), 2nd ed., 257-260.

Only': Indigenous Communities in Puno and their Messengers, 1900-1909," focuses on one set of indigenous messengers from the southern department of Puno who gained attention in Lima and forced the Civilist-dominated government to send an official commission to investigate the abuses in their home communities. This initial success led other indigenous men and women to formulate similar petitions over the next few years. The indigenous messengers framed their petitioning as a civilized and modern mode of negotiating with the state that contrasted with the violent confrontations occurring in their home communities, showing that they were deserving of rights as valuable and obedient citizens of the Peruvian nation. While the petitioners worked within a paternalistic framework, looking to the president as a father and protector, they also made claims for equality, highlighting their duties as citizens and men and demonstrating how the current injustices negatively affected the proper functioning of their families and communities. In essence, the injustices the messengers faced in their communities limited their ability to be men—men who could provide for and protect their families and who could represent their families and communities in the larger political arena. Their journeys to Lima, and the sacrifices they made to travel to Lima, were a way of reclaiming and demonstrating their ability and desire to fulfill their responsibilities as men in their communities and as equal citizens in the nation.

In chapter three, "Defenders of the Indigenous Class': *Indigenistas*, Adventists, and the Paternalistic Politics of Pro-Indigenous Advocacy, 1909-1919," examines the interactions between indigenous petitioners and outspoken non-indigenous advocates for indigenous rights, primarily in regards to issues of military conscription and indigenous education. Although government authorities generally considered the military and

schools the proper places to educate indigenous boys and young men in civic responsibilities, both institutions had failed to fulfill this ideal. Advocacy groups criticized Civilist leaders for the failures of these public institutions to promote the education and betterment of indigenous people.

One organization, the Pro-Indigenous Association, founded by students in 1909 in Lima, petitioned government officials on behalf of indigenous individuals and communities who complained about military conscription and other issues. Members of the Pro-Indigenous Association also published prolifically on the need to integrate indigenous people into the modern nation and offered varying solutions to the nation's "Indian problem." In Puno, Adventist missionaries advocated for indigenous people through the creation of schools and clinics where they taught literacy, hygiene, patriotism, and morality. Many members of the provincial elite disapproved of the activities of both the Association and the Adventists, fearing that the racial division in Peru would be worsened as indigenous people were empowered. At the same time, other leaders and intellectuals expressed concerns about the paternalistic nature of both the Association and the Adventists toward indigenous people. Nevertheless, indigenous men and women utilized the intellectual and material resources of these advocates to reinforce their petitions to government officials and, more importantly, to empower themselves through education and literacy that would allow them to organize more formally in subsequent years.

By the presidential elections of 1919, the failures of the Civilist party to adequately address the demands of indigenous people and other members of the popular classes brought organizations supporting indigenous, worker, and student rights together

under an anti-Civilist party banner. The anti-Civilist leader who emerged as the oppositional candidate, Augusto B. Leguía, was a former member of the Civilist party and had been the president of Peru from 1908-1912. His separation from the Civilist party years earlier, and his populist platform to remake Peru into a modern, more democratic nation, which he called the “New Fatherland,” contributed to his electoral win. However, the majority in congress opposed his return. Leguía, claiming that the hostile congress intended to prevent him from being sworn in, instigated a coup d’état with the support of some members of the military. He dissolved the Civilist-controlled congress, and called for the election of a new national assembly that would also rewrite the constitution.

In chapter four, “Rebellious Sons and Daughters of the ‘New Fatherland’: *Indigenismo* during the Government of Augusto B. Leguía, 1919-1930,” I examine the efforts of the Leguía administration and indigenous and non-indigenous actors to re-envision the nation and reform the government under the ideals of Leguía’s “New Fatherland.” The initial paternalistic support from Leguía and his pro-indigenous policies buoyed the efforts by indigenous men and women to organize national indigenous conferences and even to create indigenous-controlled towns. Although Leguía initially supported these actions and other pro-indigenous legislation, growing resistance from the elite eventually forced President Leguía to change his position. Nonetheless, throughout the 1920s indigenous men and women, often in alliance with students and workers, made dramatic gains in their ability to organize and to place greater pressure on the government to implement reforms to secure and protect indigenous and worker’s rights.

The social and political activism to promote indigenous rights during the 1920s also brought indigenous people to the center of cultural representations of Peruvian nationhood. In chapter five, “Depicting the ‘National Soul’: Artists, Feminists, and the ‘Indian Woman’ in 1920s and 1930s,” I discuss the experiences of three indigenous women who traveled to Lima as messengers and ended up working as models for students at the School of Fine Arts in the 1920s. These indigenous women became models through their encounters and friendships with non-indigenous activists, writers, and artists who supported the indigenous rights movement, such as José Carlos Mariátegui, Victor Haya de la Torre, José Sabogal, and Julia Codesido. In these circles of activists, art and politics often overlapped, and from this process emerged the art movement of *indigenismo*.

The *indigenista* art movement sought to reflect the social realities and artistic traditions of Peru rather than Europe, depicting what President Leguía called the “national soul.” During this period, some indigenous people, feminists, students, and workers struggled to redefine the notion of the “national soul” in order to make it more representative of the majority of Peruvians. In their efforts to accomplish this task, many *indigenista* artists used the image of the “Indian woman” to symbolize the indigenous reality and the “soul” of the Peruvian nation. President Leguía strongly supported the efforts of the *indigenista* artists because he believed that a national art could help unify Peruvians around a shared sense of national identity. Many members of the elite, however, did not share Leguía’s enthusiasm for this new art. The new art threatened the elite because it not only called for the acceptance of a new idea of Peru but it also displayed this new vision for Peruvians and foreigners alike to see.

By the end of the 1920s, some members of the elite reacted forcefully to the social, political, and cultural activism of the Leguía years and to Leguía's failure to protect their interests. They mobilized a political backlash in the form of a military coup led by Lt. Col. Luis M. Sánchez Cerro which resulted in the ousting of Leguía from office in 1930, changing the political scene drastically. When elections were held in 1931 and Sánchez Cerro defeated the former student leader and founder of the APRA party, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, chaos and violence erupted. Chapter six, "Indigenous Communities and the Militarized Peruvian State, 1930-1939," explores indigenous petitioning and *indigenista* discourses during this period of upheaval in the 1930s. The assassination of President Sánchez Cerro by an APRA party member in 1933 forced the succeeding government of General Oscar Benavides to shift emphasis temporarily away from indigenous rights and other progressive policies and toward the suppression of "aprocommunist" subversives. During this period, indigenous petitioners working to guarantee individual and community rights often faced incarceration as some unscrupulous landowners and local authorities took advantage of the political environment to accuse indigenous people as "aprocommunists." However, after the 1936 elections, when Benavides dismissed the constituent congress and governed dictatorially, he instituted numerous policies to protect indigenous people and their communal rights in an effort to minimize popular protest.

Subsequent democratically-elected governments continued and expanded the reforms dictated by Benavides. The epilogue describes the period during the presidency of Manuel Prado from 1939-1945, when indigenous issues became even more institutionalized within the government. President Prado recognized the need to include

indigenous people and the popular classes in the national project in order to avoid a return to the violence and chaos of the 1930s. In his official speeches he emphasized the importance of unifying the “national family” through the strengthening of democratic institutions and attitudes. In an effort to advance his ideal of uniting the “Peruvian family,” he traveled to many departments of Peru, meeting with local authorities and indigenous communities. Indigenous people were educated in greater numbers during his government, and more indigenous communities officially registered with the state, receiving legal protections for their communal lands.

Although President Prado tried to unify the Peruvian nation through democratic means and claimed that all citizens were equal, his policies reflected a belief that indigenous people needed special protection to raise them up to a level where they could truly be considered equals. Consequently, paternalism reigned during his government, resulting in indigenous people highlighting their indigeneity to gain favor from government officials, and many government officials demonstrating their support of indigenous people to maintain their jobs. Even though the nation seemed more unified than it had been during the 1930s, and the demands of indigenous petitioners were more likely to receive a favorable reception from state officials, the new relationship the government maintained with indigenous men and women tended to reinforce differences between indigenous and non-indigenous people, and thus the partial nature of the citizenship of indigenous people.

Chapter 2:

“Citizens and Men in Name Only”: Indigenous Communities in Puno and their Messengers, 1900-1908

Introduction

*Editorial from the newspaper “El Comercio”
Lima, Peru, November 3, 1901*

“In Pursuit of Justice”

Yesterday morning, in the editorial offices of this newspaper, three indigenes presented themselves from the district of Santa Rosa, Chucuito province, in the department of Puno. José Antonio Chambilla, Mariano Illachura and Antonio Chambi, who, exacerbated by the pillaging and insults that they suffer and not finding justice for their complaints from the local authority, have engaged in a grueling journey by foot from that far region to this capital with the purpose of personally asking for help from the President of the Republic. The appearance of these three unfortunate pariahs; the narration of their suffering; the fatigue of their long pilgrimage in pursuit of a request that is a right in every civilized country; their ignorance and servility: all of this inevitably provokes commiseration and awakens a protest in the spirit of those who know firsthand the sufferings of this race, and the abjection and misery they have faced in over three centuries of slavery and the most despicable servitude....

They tell us that they did not present themselves before the prefect of Puno because he does not give much merit to the complaint.... As a result they decided to embark on a journey to Lima to speak with, according to their own words, “a very good and powerful gentleman who is like a father to everyone and holds justice in his hands.”

[The government] should investigate what is occurring in that province and attend to these poor individuals, whose miserable state and complete ignorance should contribute to awakening the most vivid sentiments of humanity in the authorities who are called to return to the indigenes the rights given to them in the Constitution of the Republic.¹

¹ Archivo General de la Nación, Ministerio del Interior—Prefecturas 1872-1956 (hereafter AGN, MI-Prefecturas), Leg. 79, 1901. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

Not being able to trust the local authorities in the department of Puno to administer justice, three men, chosen from their communities as “messengers” to travel to Lima, appealed to the paternal authority of the President in hopes that a personal meeting with him would produce the changes they desired. While in Lima, they would also employ their constitutional right to petition the government, formulating “memorials of protest” that laid out the specific abuses their communities faced and the help that they hoped to receive from the government, and then present them to government authorities.² In addition, as the editorial explains, the messengers went directly to the office of the local newspaper in order to publicize their situation and demands. Sympathetic to their cause, the newspaper published an editorial that not only raised public awareness about the “long pilgrimage” of the messengers, but it also called on governmental authorities to attend to the messengers and investigate their claims.

When these three indigenous messengers from Puno walked into the city of Lima to meet with the president in 1901, they were seen as unusual visitors by the general public, but it was neither the first nor the last time indigenous petitioners would visit the capital city in order to express their grievances and petition for their interests. Following the War of the Pacific in 1886 a similar, widely publicized, visit occurred. In that case, the indigenous public official (*alcalde ordinario*) Pedro Pablo Atusparia traveled from the department of Ancash to meet with president-elect Andrés Avelino Cáceres to demand the end of the poll-tax on indigenous individuals, which had been reinstated after

² Constitución Política de la República, 29 agosto 1867, Art. 28, Archivo Digital de la Legislación en el Perú, <http://www.congreso.gob.pe/ntley/ConstitucionP.htm> (accessed May 25, 2008).

the war to increase government funds.³ Atusparia's presence in Lima in 1886 and his conversation with Cáceres in Quechua in the presidential palace made the newspapers. According to historian Mark Thurner, the event was described as "a conciliatory parley of 'the races.'"⁴ Nonetheless, the messengers from Puno in 1901 still elicited curiosity from the Limeña population. According to one contemporary, Dora Mayer, "the apparition of these exotic figures in the Capital with their ponchos, *quipes*, and *ojotas* caused a certain sensation among the public." Mayer claimed that their visit "made one reflect on the magnitude of the abuses that obliged those people to abandon their rustic towns and advance to a presidential audience with the goal of imploring the Head of State for guarantees that no subordinate would grant."⁵

In 1901, the impact that the three indigenous men from Santa Rosa made on President Eduardo López de Romaña and the news media produced an immediate call for local government officials in Puno to investigate the accusations.⁶ However, the indigenous men did not see this as a sufficient response, given that many of the authorities in Puno were complicit in the exploitation of indigenous people. A few days later, the men formulated a new petition asking for an official government commission to travel to Puno from Lima to investigate the accusations of abuse firsthand.⁷ As a result, in the first few months of 1902, a government investigatory commission, headed by

³ Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 100.

⁴ Thurner, *From Two Republics*, 101.

⁵ Dora Mayer de Zulen, *El indígena peruano a los cien años de república libre e independiente* (Lima: n.p., 1921), 51. *Quipes* are small bags for coca leaves and *ojotas* are sandals commonly worn by indigenous people. "...la aparición de esas figuras exóticas en la Capital, con sus ponchos, quipes y ojotas, causó cierta sensación en el público, y se reflexionaba, de qué magnitud tendrían que haber sido los atropellos que decidieron a aquella gente a abandonar su rústicos villorrios y avanzan hasta el salón de audiencia presidencial con el fin de implorar del Supremo Mandatario las garantías que ningún subalterno les otorgaba."

⁶ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 79, 1901, Lima, November 5, 1901.

⁷ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 79, 1901, Lima, November 15, 1901.

Alejandro Maguiña, traveled to Puno and subsequently published a report condemning the abuses committed by local authorities against the indigenous populations. In his report, Maguiña openly criticized the white population, arguing that their actions and “sense of superiority” obstructed the “well-being and progress” of the nation as a whole, rendering the majority of the population “citizens and men in name only.”⁸

Indeed, the social stratification and racism permeating Peruvian society limited the ability of many authorities and the public in Lima and the provincial capitals to see the indigenous messengers as equal citizens and men. Instead, they were generally viewed with condescending sympathy as “poor Indians,” or suspiciously, as “barbarians.”⁹ The messengers acted within the framework of paternalism that structured much of Peruvian society, displaying deferential rather than aggressive behavior because it was more likely to result in sympathetic and favorable responses from paternalistic government authorities and the media. At the same time, in their actions and petitions, the indigenous messengers rebuked some public assertions that indigenous people were “barbarians” by contrasting their civilized conduct of petitioning the government with the conduct of the abusive landowners and local authorities in their communities.

Examination of the motivations for and strategies of claims-making by the indigenous messengers from Puno as well as the government responses reveals that the

⁸ Pablo Macera, Alejandrino Maguiña, Antonio Rengifo, *Rebelión India* (Lima: Ediciones Rikchay Peru, 1988), 31. “El blanco siente esta superioridad... despreocupándose de los males que ocasiona, no sólo a los desgraciados que les sirven de víctimas, sino también a los bien entendidos intereses de la Nación, para cuyo bienestar y progreso es un obstáculo terrible y peligroso, que la mayoría de sus pobladores tengan, de ciudadanos y de hombres, sólo el nombre.”

⁹ For a discussion on conflicting assumptions about the barbarian and passive nature of Peruvian Indians see Thurner, *From Two Republics*, 131-136; or, for a discussion on how assumptions of barbarianism are used by *mestizos* and indigenous people see Benjamin Orlove, “The Dead Policemen Speak: Power, Fear, and Narrative in the 1931 Molloccahua Killings (Cusco)” in Deborah Poole, ed., *Unruly Order: Violence, Power, and Cultural Identity in the High Provinces of Southern Peru* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 91-92.

messengers from Santa Rosa, and others who soon followed, demonstrated that they were more than just “citizens and men in name only.” With their petitioning, the messengers utilized their constitutional rights as citizens to make demands on the state, and the state responded to some of those demands. Likewise, the messengers carried out their responsibilities as men and leaders in their communities by traveling the long distance to Lima in order to solicit guarantees from the government for their families and communities. They carried the message that violence and inequalities brought chaos to their families, communities, and livelihoods, which was detrimental to the nation as a whole. Their journeys to Lima, and the sacrifices they made to travel to Lima knowing of the possible retribution they would suffer from local authorities who opposed their activism, were a way of reclaiming and demonstrating their ability and desire to fulfill their responsibilities as men in their communities and citizens in the nation.

The indigenous messengers’ civilized actions in Lima did force the central government to respond. Although many in Lima may have viewed these indigenous visitors as individuals from an uncivilized region of Peru, the messengers brought the embarrassing problem of the continued marginalization of indigenous people from the modernizing nation to center stage. They revealed the contradiction between the rhetoric of the modernizing aspirations of the coastal elite and the reality of the subjugated and impoverished lives of the indigenous people in the rural regions of Peru. Their civilized and humble presence forced the government to realize it needed to address the “Indian problem” in order to modernize Peruvian politics and society.

Indigenous Messengers from Santa Rosa

José Antonio Chambilla, Mariano Illachura, and Antonio Chambi had come to Lima to denounce abuses occurring as a result of a government decision in November 1900 to move the administrative capital of the district from Santa Rosa to a place called “Huanacamaya.” Moving the district hub to Huanacamaya was meant to allow the regional administration to have better control over the district since it was more conveniently located near major roads than Santa Rosa. Since no religious or administrative buildings existed in Huanacamaya at that time, however, its relocation required that the buildings be constructed. As traditionally occurred in situations such as this, the indigenous communities in the region were recruited by the local authorities to undertake the construction whether they wanted to do it or not.¹⁰

In their complaint, the indigenous messengers insisted that the local authorities forced the indigenous population to work eight to ten days on the construction of the buildings of the new town without payment, fining them if they refused. The messengers denounced the local authorities for taking away their freedom, describing their work as that of prisoners: “we toiled under the vigilance of the garrison soldiers [during the day], and at night we [were] held without food or beds in a house guarded by the armed guard.” Also, they criticized the authorities for acting in ways that did not befit honorable Peruvian leaders. Specifically, they denounced the lieutenant governor, a native of Bolivia, who gave the original order forcing the indigenous individuals to labor in the construction of the town. They argued that “like Israelites in Egypt, our (Bolivian)

¹⁰ Jorge A. Flores Ochoa and Félix Palacios Ríos, “Una protesta de pastores de la puna alta,” in *Rebeliones indígenas Quechuas y Aymaras: homenaje al bicentenario de la rebelión campesina de Thupa Amaro, 1780-1980*, eds. Jorge Flores Ochoa and Abraham Valencia (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Andinos Cuzco, 1980), 35-62.

Pharaoh obligates us to construct with mud and bricks, kneaded not with earth and water but with our tears and blood.”¹¹

In addition to bringing grievances about the forced labor requirements, the messengers denounced the constant barrage of fees and fines they were obligated to pay to local government and religious officials, particularly for religious celebrations. They feared that by building a new town in Huanacamaya, they would have to pay twice as much since they would have to attend religious events in both towns. In their petition, they also condemned the continued illegal use of “forced distribution” (*reparto forzoso*) in which local authorities forced indigenous people to sell their wool, and other products, often at much lower prices than their market value.¹²

The indigenous villagers the messengers represented were not only upset by the forced labor and fines imposed on them for refusing to work, but they were also troubled by the ways the moving of the town to another area disrupted their everyday lives. Santa Rosa had been where they regularly had their markets and fiestas, and Huanacamaya was far from where they normally congregated as indigenous communities. They also feared that moving the town would result in the abandonment of their traditions and their ancestors:

We have lived under the rule of our traditions and in the exercise of our small industries, and so have our parents, whose remains rest in the cemetery of that town... [the transference of the town] completely disrupts our customs and uses,

¹¹ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 79, 1901, “Memorial Documentado,” *El Comercio*, Lima, November 14, 1901. Memorial dated October 16, 1901 but published in *El Comercio* on November 14, 1901. “..siendo la disciplina tan rigurosa que en el día trabajamos bajo la vigilancia de los soldados de guarnición, y en la noche somos secuestrados sin alimentos ni cama en una casa custodiada también por guardianes armados...”; “como á las israelitas del Egipto, nos obliga nuestro Faraón (boliviano); á construir con barro y ladrillo amasados no con tierra ni agua sino con nuestro sudor y lágrimas y sangre;”

¹² AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 79, 1901, “Memorial Documentado.”

imposing obligations upon us that are foreign to our condition as free citizens guaranteed to us by the constitution.¹³

Given all these grievances, and the involvement of the local authorities in the abuses, it is understandable why the indigenous communities in the region of Santa Rosa organized and sent three emissaries to Lima to denounce the abuses to higher authorities. But who were these three indigenous messengers and why were they chosen? It is difficult to know for certain what role they played in their communities and the status they held, but as many scholars have noted in other studies of indigenous communities, the indigenous intermediaries who linked indigenous groups with the state tended to be privileged members within their communities. Studies of kurakas or caciques in the Andes and Central America demonstrate that these indigenous leaders tended to own more land or animals than other community members and were thus more invested in maintaining their position or status. Many were more educated and had greater opportunities to establish links to the colonial or republican authorities and act as representatives for their indigenous communities.¹⁴ The messengers from Santa Rosa possibly had held various *cargos* at particular periods in their communities. Moreover, these messengers had some initial links to mestizo individuals from Puno, who encouraged and helped the indigenous leaders formulate petitions to government authorities in Lima. The mestizo priest from the nearby town of Pomata, Alberto

¹³ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 79, 1901, "Memorial Documentado." "así hemos vivido bajo el imperio de nuestras tradiciones y el ejercicio de nuestras pequeña industrias; y así han vivido nuestros padres, cuyos restos descansan en el panteón de ese pueblo: en tal estado hemos sido sorprendidos por una novedad, que, trastornando por completo nuestros usos y costumbres, nos impone obligaciones extrañas á nuestra condición de ciudadanos libres que la constitución nos reconoce y garantiza..."

¹⁴ Greg Grandin, *The Blood of Guatemala: A History of Race and Nation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 5-6, 41-57; Charles F. Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cusco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 86-89; Steve J. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), 92-96, 165.

Paniagua, for example, supported the indigenous individuals as a translator and advocate while they were in the province of Chucuito.¹⁵ When the messengers arrived in Lima, they met with Santiago Giraldo, a lawyer and congressman from Puno, who apparently wrote the final drafts of the petitions submitted to the government for the messengers from Santa Rosa.¹⁶

In the first petition submitted to the government, the three messengers made specific demands of the government. They asked that the government exempt indigenous people from all forced labor and compensate community members for the money that they were forced to pay for unfair fines and taxes. Furthermore, they requested that the Prefect of Puno set aside the amount of money of the last “reparto forzoso” to build a school for indigenous children in Santa Rosa.¹⁷ The memorials the messengers delivered to government leaders, the way they presented their message, and the impact that their presence made on the public in Lima, forced the government of President Eduardo López de Romaña (1899-1903), and subsequent governments, to respond.

The Government Response

The presidency of López de Romaña, who governed Peru during the visit of the messengers from Chucuito in 1901, began the period of what the historian Jorge Basadre would later describe as the “Aristocratic Republic” (1895-1919).¹⁸ Although the political and economic elite ruled the government and economy during this period, they held many

¹⁵ Flores Ochoa and Palacios Ríos, “Una protesta de pastores,” 55.

¹⁶ Dan Chapin Hazen, “The Awakening of Puno: Government Policy and the Indian Problem in Southern Peru 1900-1955” (PhD diss., Yale University, 1974), 34-35.

¹⁷ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 79, 1901, “Memorial Documentado.” A prefect was the main government authority in a department, chosen by the president. A sub-prefect was the main authority in a province, and the governor was the main authority in a district.

¹⁸ Jorge Basadre Grohmann, *Historia de la República del Perú* (Lima: Editora El Comercio, 2005), tomo XXI, 5, 50-51.

liberal goals and supported the ideals of scientific positivism.¹⁹ Many believed that a civilian government should rule without the influence of the military in political affairs, and some held anti-clerical beliefs. In general, this period was characterized by relatively stable governments that focused on the modernization of the country, and was led primarily by the *Civilista* Party, which “incarnated the project to make Peru a European country, which signified an orderly, prosperous, and cultured nation according to western canons.”²⁰ Indeed, many members of the elite class had a greater knowledge of and respect for European, particularly French, society than the cultures in the interior of Peru.²¹ Yet, these elite leaders knew that in order to make Peru resemble a modern, European country, they would need to address at least some of the issues brought forth by the indigenous messengers. In effect, they would need to tackle the “Indian problem.”

Regarding the initial petition from the indigenous messengers of Chucuito in 1901, the Minister of Government Cardénas responded in a typical fashion: he delegated the responsibility to investigate the denunciation to his subordinates in the department of Puno. He decreed that the prefecture of Puno should punish all those responsible for abuses and provide the necessary guarantees to protect the indigenous petitioners and leaders.²² Less than a week later, the newspaper *El Comercio* published a short article praising the minister of government for this decree, describing him as “inspired by a high sense of justice and humanity.” Moreover, the paper commended President López de Romaña for “receiving [the messengers] paternally and making sure they were attended

¹⁹ Carlos Contreras and Marcos Cueto, *Historia del Perú Contemporáneo* (Lima: IEP/Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en el Perú, 2000), 178-179.

²⁰ Contreras and Cueto, *Historia del Perú*, 179. “El civilismo encarnaba el proyecto de hacer del Perú un país europeo, lo que significaba una nación ordenada, próspera y culta según los cánones occidentales.”

²¹ Peter Flindell Klarén, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 214.

²² AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 79, 1901, “Memorial Documentado.”

to preferentially.” However, their praise of the government was followed by a suggestion that they hoped the government would pursue. They insisted that “in light of the gravity of the situation” the central government should name an official delegation from Lima to be sent to Puno to personally investigate the denunciations. This was not an unusual request, as they noted, citing a previous case in 1880 when a government delegation was sent to the department of Huánuco to study the situation of the indigenous people there. In that case, the investigation resulted in the suspension of all of Huánuco’s authorities, from its district governors to the prefect of the department.²³

Following the suggestion of *El Comercio*, Chambilla, Yllachura, and Chambi submitted another petition making a similar request for the appointment of an official government delegation to study the abuses occurring in their communities. In their petition, they insisted that they submitted a second petition because “in our humble opinion that first decree does not at all satisfy the practical goals we had proposed upon undertaking our long peregrination.” In the new petition, the messengers attempted to defend their motivations for traveling to Lima to denounce the local authorities. They argued that they were not influenced by anyone other than their own community members. They wrote:

You can be sure Your Excellency that no matter how degraded you suppose our race, it is not possible to believe that for a simple daily ration or foreign benefit, we would lend ourselves to abandon our homes, our families, our children and wives, our friends, our land, our animals, that are perhaps the most loyal and humanitarian companions whom we count on in this arid desert of life. After it all,

²³ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 79, 1901, “Los Indígenas de Chucuito,” *El Comercio*, Lima, November 10, 1901. “El memorial alcanzó inmediatamente un decreto del ministro inspirado en un alto sentimiento de justicia y humanidad...”; “tres indígenas que...para exponer personalmente su queja ante S. E. el presidente de la república, quien les acogió paternalmente y dispuso que fueran atendidos de preferencia.”

what would we win with this farce? Nothing but to change one master for another even more cruel...²⁴

To reinforce the seriousness of their denunciations and to rebuke any potential criticism of their activism or their sincerity, they emphasized the sacrifices that they and their families had made. They suggested that their sacrifice of leaving their communities and traveling the long distance to Lima was proof of the injustices they faced:

...having crossed hundreds of leagues from the scrubland of the Andes to the captive Tacna and from there to the shores of the Rimac across deserts and oceans, at the cost of money we do not have, and time we need for our sustenance...: these facts are the best proof that we are victims of abuses that oblige us to make so many sacrifices that we would not confront for pure whim or caprice.²⁵

Moreover, they asked the president not to doubt the words of their petitions just because they were written in a language distinct from their own. They suggested to the president that if he still doubted them to call them to meet with him again and, through official interpreters, “listen to our lamentations, wipe our tears and be persuaded Excellent Señor that we are victims of the most unjustifiable tyranny on the same soil that used to belong exclusively to our fathers and our race.”²⁶ This declaration that the land used to belong to their race reveals a language of entitlement, and a hope that the

²⁴ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 79, 1901, José Antonio Chambilla, Antonio Chambi, and Mariano Yllachura to Excmo. Señor, Lima, November 15, 1901. “...parece á nuestro humilde juicio que dicho decreto no satisface en manera alguna los fines prácticos que nos propusimos al emprender nuestra larga peregrinación.” “pero debe convencerse V.E. que por degradada que suponga nuestra raza, no es posible creer que por una simple pitanza y para ageno provecho, nos hayamos prestado á abandonar nuestras hogares, nuestras familias, nuestros hijos y esposas, nuestros amigos, nuestros animales, que son tal vez los compañeros mas leales y humanitarios con que contamos en este para nosotros árido desierto de la vida. Después de todo ¿qué ganaríamos con esta farsa? Nada sino es cambiar un amo con otro mas cruel aun...”

²⁵ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 79, 1901, “Memorial Documentado.” “...pues nuestra simple presencia en el palacio del gobierno, después de haber recorrido centenares de leguas desde las breñas de los Andes á la cautiva Tacna y de allí a las orillas del Rimac al través de los desiertos y del Océano, á costa de dinero que no poseemos de tiempo que nos falta para ganar el sustento,...estos hechos son la mejor prueba de que somos víctimas de abusos que nos obliga á tantos sacrificios que no los arrostraríamos por puro gusto ó capricho.”

²⁶ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 79, 1901, Chambilla, Chambi, and Yllachura, Lima, November 15, 1901, “...escuche nuestros lamentos, enjague nuestras lágrimas y persuádase Excmo. Señor de que somos victimas de la mas injustificable tiranía, en el suelo mismo, que un día perteneciera exclusivamente á nuestros padres y a nuestra raza.”

government will rectify the abuses committed against them. They also use emotional language to appeal to the paternal sensibilities of the president, which allows them to express their disappointment in the president without seeming too aggressive. They wrote:

...we had good reason to believe that Your Excellency's paternal heart would open to commiseration, and making use of your powers, dictate radical, saving measures from the unbearable situation of the unfortunate indigenous race. But far from this, Your Excellency's decree has drowned in our hearts all hope of betterment and well-being.²⁷

Using paternalistic language, they were able to express both their respect for the president and also their disappointment in him for not living up to their idea of a proper father figure. This strategy seemed to work because the government changed its original decree within days after receiving the protest.

The Maguiña Commission

In response to the indigenous messengers' second petition and the *El Comercio* article, the ministry of government expanded the original decree and authorized a central government investigatory commission to travel to Puno to investigate the reports of abuse. The commission was to be headed by Alejandro Maguiña, a philosophy professor at the University of San Marcos and a judicial authority.²⁸ The government directive instructed Maguiña to investigate both the complaints cited by Chambilla, Yllachura, and Chambi and the position of the *vecinos* (non-indigenous residents) in the region, as well

²⁷ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 79, 1901, Chambilla, Chambi, and Yllachura, Lima, November 15, 1901, "...y en tal virtud esperábamos fundadamente que el corazón paternal de V.E. se abriese á la conmiseración, y haciendo uso de sus facultades dictase medidas radicalmente salvadoras de la ya insoportable situación de la desgraciada raza indígena; pero lejos de esto el decreto de V.E. ha ahogado en nuestro pecho toda esperanza de mejora y bien estar."

²⁸ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 79, 1901, "Instrucciones reservadas," Ignacio Gamio, Lima, November 26, 1901; Pablo Macera, Alejandro Maguiña, and Antonio Rengifo, *Rebelión india* (Lima: Editorial "Rikchay Peru", 1988), 8-10.

as the advantages and disadvantages to the change in the district capital from Santa Rosa to Huanacamaya.²⁹ Moreover, he was to travel to the major towns within the province of Chucuito in order to listen to indigenous complaints and investigate the wool industry in the region.³⁰

Prior to Maguiña's arrival in Puno, José Antonio Chambilla as "the indigenous president of the Commission of Messengers from the district of Santa Rosa" requested that the government delegate a trustworthy ally of the indigenous people as the official translator for Maguiña. Chambilla worried that because Maguiña did not understand Aymará he would be assigned a translator who did not support the indigenous cause and who might alter the translation to support their "powerful enemies."³¹ Chambilla suggested that Alberto Paniagua, a priest in Pomata who had supported the indigenous people and spoke Aymará, be designated as the translator. However, the government denied this request, and in a "Fourth Memorial," José Antonio Chambilla, Antonio Chambi, and Ramon Chambilla notified the government that they had asked Paniagua to represent them as the public advisor of the indigenous communities during the visit of the Maguiña commission, since he could not be the official translator.³²

The messengers wanted to have someone they trusted to act as an intermediary between Maguiña and the indigenous communities because they feared the local elite would try to frustrate their attempts to bring justice to the indigenous people. Indeed, the

²⁹ *Vecino*, literally "neighbor," is a term generally used in Puno to describe white or *mestizo* individuals who live in the towns and villages. For more on the transformation of this term over time and place, see Tamar Herzog, *Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

³⁰ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 79, 1901, "Instrucciones reservadas."

³¹ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 79, 1901, José Antonio Chambilla, Lima, December 11, 1901, "José Antonio Chambilla indígena presidente de la Comisión de los Mensajeros del Distrito de Santa Rosa..."

³² AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 79, 1901, "Cuarto Memorial," José Antonio Chambilla, Antonio Chamba, and Ramón Chambilla, Lima, December 21, 1901.

fears of the messengers were not unfounded, as many local authorities and *gamonales* made every effort to limit the activities of the messengers using various methods of intimidation, including imprisonment and violence. When two of the three messengers from Santa Rosa returned to Puno to raise more funds to support their work in Lima and to explain to their communities what they had accomplished, certain persons they characterized as *mistis* were hostile towards them “for having had the audacity to come complain before Your Excellency.” They recounted how a *vecino* gravely injured three indigenous men involved in the forced labor jobs in “Huanacamaya” and fired shots over their head saying “[they] were condemned to slaughter for sending their delegates to Lima.” Furthermore, the petitioners mentioned that the Justice of the Peace was threatening to present an indictment against two *ayllus*, though they were unaware for what crime other than as “retaliation and a pretext to imprison and terrify us in an attempt to impede us from continuing our legitimate actions.” Despite these attempts by the local authorities to impede the actions of the indigenous messengers, it is clear that the efforts did not completely deter the indigenous men. The indigenous messengers continued their protest and understood that as citizens they deserved the protection of the government.³³

The central government did heed the demands of the indigenous messengers for an investigatory committee, and on January 8, 1902, Alejandro Maguiña arrived in Puno to begin the investigation into the abuses. At the beginning of his trip from the town of Puno to the province of Chucuito, he was accompanied by the indigenous messengers

³³ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 79, 1901, “Cuarto Memorial.” “Dionicio R. de la Rosa y los demás vociferaban que estábamos condenados al degüello por haber tenido la audacia de venir á quejarnos ante V.E.”; “pues descargaron tiros de escopeta sobre el grupo, sin más pretexto que el derecho que decían tener de castigar á los indios por haber mandado sus apoderados á Lima.”; “...sino como una represalia y un pretexto para encarcelarnos, y atemorizarnos á fin de impedir que continuemos nuestras gestiones legítimas;”

Chambilla, Yllachura, and Chambi, as well as the priest Valentin Alberto Paniagua who acted as their advocate. Two gendarmes and a translator, Telésforo Catacora, a student at the University of Arequipa from the department of Puno, also traveled with Maguiña. As the commission made its way through the province of Chucuito, the three messengers were soon forced to go into hiding, claiming their lives were being threatened by local authorities. Likewise, the authorities in the town of Juli threatened Paniagua and eventually charged him with the crime of sedition, claiming he was stirring up the indigenous masses to rebel against the white and mestizo population in Chucuito. Despite these difficulties, Maguiña traveled to all the districts of the province of Chucuito gathering evidence, and meeting with indigenous and non-indigenous inhabitants alike.³⁴

Maguiña found that some indigenous people were hesitant to express their grievances for fear of retaliation by the local authorities and *vecinos*, but he still managed to meet with many indigenous individuals or receive petitions from them condemning a myriad of abuses and expressing other concerns.³⁵ In one petition denouncing excessive taxation, *reparto forzoso*, and the unjust confiscation of animals, the petitioners Mariano and Pablo Chique and a widow, Hermengilda Pongo, begin with an analysis of the situation of indigenous people in Puno. They invoked a discourse of modernity claiming that despite the fact that Peru was a modern nation, indigenous people were still required to act like submissive slaves before all authorities:

The unfortunate indigenous race of the Province does not constitute a social class with civil rights and duties equal to citizens, but instead a globe of slaves who have to pay homage to the entire town from the lowest to the highest authority, without taking into consideration that we the indigenes are the ones who dedicate

³⁴ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 84, 1902, Letter to Dir. de Gobierno from Prefect of Puno, January 19, 1902; and Macera, Maguiña, and Rengifo, *Rebelión india*, 26-29. This book includes a copy of the written report by Maguiña.

³⁵ Macera, Maguiña, and Rengifo, *Rebelión india*, 29.

ourselves to the labor and constitute a powerful factor that gives life to the Province. Even still, we are treated more or less like brutes. Justice for us is a myth, for the *vecinos*, in contrast, it is efficient and effective. All this occurs in the midst of the twentieth century, a deterioration of modern civilization.³⁶

Another petition, by Josefa Acero, an indigenous woman “who cannot verbally express the Spanish language,” stated that a Señor Eduardo was trying to kick her off her land “mocking her indigenous race.” She further emphasized that she was “a poor person who has family and no other land to live on.”³⁷

Other petitioners listed the fines and fees that they were required to pay for particular offenses and services. For example, they complained about the high fees they had to pay the priest for marriage, baptism, and funeral services. Estevan Choque, representing the indigenous people from Guacani, stated that because of these fees many live “illicitly” and are sometimes imprisoned until they properly marry.³⁸ One woman formulated a petition stating “I am a widowed woman with many children and poor and despite these circumstances the Justice of the Peace...snatched a horse that I own.” The following day, when she sent her son to reclaim the horse, she claimed the Justice of the Peace mistreated her son, and because of that they feared returning to demand their horse. In the petition she pleaded to the delegate Maguiña that “for being an unfortunate Indian woman, and for my race, I have suffered this uncommon abuse because there is no justice

³⁶ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 87, 1902, Mariano Chique, Pablo Chique, and Hermengilda Pongo widow of Quenta, Juli, January 17, 1902, signed by Genaro Paniagua, “por los recurrentes que no saben firmar.” “que la desgraciada raza indígena de esta Provincia no constituye una clase social con derechos civiles y deberes iguales á los ciudadanos, sino una gleba de esclavos que tienen que rendir homenajes á todo el pueblo desde la primera autoridad hasta el último personaje, sin tener en consideración que nosotros los indígenas somos los que mas nos dedicamos al trabajo y constituirmos un poderoso factor que da vida á la Provincia. No obstante, somos tratados más o menos como los brutos. La justicia para nosotros es un mito; al contrario para los vecinos es eficaz y efectiva; todo esto pasa en pleno siglo XX, un mengua de la civilización moderna”

³⁷ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 87, 1902, “Razón jurada,” Josefa Acero, Juli, January 17, 1902. “por no poderme expresar verbalmente el idioma español...” “...burlándose de este modo de mi raza indígena...” “Yo soy un pobre que tengo familias y no tengo mas terrenos en donde estar...”

³⁸ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 87, 1902, Estevan Choque, Pomata, January 19, 1902.

in this town, and knowing that you come from our protector to remedy these evils, I beg you for kindness and make him return my horse...[the theft] being an act contradictory to the character of a Judge.”³⁹

In Maguiña’s final report to the government, he described his travel through the province of Chucuito in Puno, and his perceptions of the situation of indigenous people in the region, offering suggestions for government action. In his assessment of the reasons for the lack of progress in the region he claimed that the primary cause was the scarcity of the population and “the inequality that engenders the lack of harmony and solidarity between the two races that compose [the region]: the whites and mestizos who inhabit the cities...and the indigenes who live in the countryside in the high altitude and form four-fifths of the total inhabitants.” He asserted that the “ethnic differences” produced an “inequality in the moral, social and political order, from which results the absolute domination that the superior race exercises over the inferior one.” As a result of these inequalities in society, the majority of indigenous men were, in his estimation, “citizens and men in name only.”⁴⁰

³⁹ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 87, 1902, Tomasa Peralta v. de Francisco Calani, Pomata, January 18, 1902. “que soy una mujer viuda con muchos hijos y pobre y sin embargo de esta circunstancia el Sr. Juez de Paz...D.n Mariano Quiroga me sorprendió...arrebátandome un caballo de mi propiedad...” “En calidad de ser una india infeliz por mi raza he sufrido este abuso descomunal por no haber justicia en este pueblo y sabiendo que U. viene de nuestro protector a remediar estos males suplico a un bondad me haga devolver mi caballo que actualmente lo retiene en su poder, siendo este hecho contradictorio al carácter de un Juez.”

⁴⁰ Macera, Maguiña, and Rengifo, *Rebelión India*, 31-34. Maguiña’s report is dated March 15, 1902 in Lima. “pero de todas ellas, ninguna es tan ponderosa como la que se deriva de la escasez de población para un territorio tan vasto, y de la desigualdad que engendra la falta de armonía y solidaridad, entre las dos razas que la componen: la de los blancos y mestizos que habitan en las ciudades...y la de los indígenas que viven en los campos en las alturas y que forman los cuatro quintos del total de habitantes.” “A las diferencias étnicas...se une la diferencia de cultura, produciendo marcada desigualdad en el orden moral, social y político, de la que resulta el dominio absoluto que ejerce la raza superior sobre la raza inferior.” “El blanco siente esta superioridad... despreocupándose de los males que ocasiona, no sólo a los desgraciados que les sirven de victimas, sino también a los bien entendidos intereses de la Nación, para cuyo bienestar y progreso es un obstáculo terrible y peligroso, que la mayoría de sus pobladores tengan, de ciudadanos y de hombres, sólo el nombre.”

The affront to indigenous citizenship and manhood that these inequalities brought was a theme previously raised by the indigenous messengers in their petitions. Maguiña recognized that because of the inequalities and abuses in the region, it was difficult for an indigenous man to live his life as a free citizen and fulfill his responsibilities as a man and head of household, such as providing for and protecting his home and his family. Maguiña explained that the indigenous man was “not the master of his home,” and that, “frequently, he will find his home broken into..., his children will be taken to serve the landowners or authorities, and many times he will suffer with shame—if he can even feel shame in the abject state that he is reduced to—the abduction of his wife or daughters.”⁴¹

As a result of his investigation into the situation of the indigenous people in Chucuito, Maguiña made some suggestions for change. He argued that the government needed to make better laws and name political and religious authorities who would properly implement them. Moreover, he insisted that it was “in the interest of the Nation” to give social and political value to the indigenous people in order for them to become a factor in the progress of the nation. In order for this to occur, he called for the government to take charge of educating the indigenous people by establishing schools to instruct them in better hygiene and morality. He insisted that the white and mestizo populations also needed to be educated, but that they should be taught “the principles of universal justice and the respect for human dignity, without the exclusion of race or other hateful distinctions.” He hoped that education would work to “unite the diverse elements of [their] society.” Also, he recommended that the government encourage immigration to

⁴¹ Macera, Maguiña, and Rengifo, *Rebelión India*, 34. “El indio no es libre en el matrimonio, ni es dueño de su hogar. Con frecuencia verá allanado su domicilio y sufrirá los vejámenes de cualquiera; sus hijos pasarán al servicio de los amos o de las autoridades, y muchas veces soportará con vergüenza, --si aun puede existir en el estado de abyección a que se le ha reducido—que le arrebaten a su esposa o a sus hijas”

increase the population of Peru. Immigration would also contribute to the intermixture of the Peruvian population, which Maguiña saw as a legitimate goal. Following the premise of natural selection, he hoped that racial mixing would strengthen the next generations and contribute to racial unity. Overall, he called on the government to “populate, educate, and instruct,” stating that this proposal was the “most complete and radical solution to problems related to the civilization of the indigenous race, their social and political betterment, and, consequently, the well-being and prosperity of the Nation.”⁴²

In response to the Maguiña report, the central government did take some action. The Minister of Government, J. Ignacio Gamio, wrote a letter to the prefect of Puno, Don Eleuterio Ponce, which was subsequently published in the official government newspaper, criticizing Ponce for not showing the proper motivation to deal with the indigenous issue in Puno. Gamio wrote: “Without a doubt these abuses would have disappeared years ago...if the superior authorities had wanted to exercise their [authority],” and that “the regeneration of the indigenous race” would have occurred had the political, religious, and judicial authorities understood that the indigenous people “are citizens like other people with the same rights; there is no reason why they have to live humbly and abjectly.” Furthermore, Gamio insisted that new laws did not need to be made, but that authorities needed to show the necessary dedication and will to change the situation. He asked the prefect of Puno to meet these challenges and take the first step by

⁴² Macera, Maguiña, Rengifo, *Rebelión India*, 32-34, 53-55. “Educar al blanco y al mestizo bajo los principios de la Justicia universal y del respeto a la dignidad humana, sin exclusión de razas ni distinciones odiosas.” “Poblar, educar e instruir. Tal es la formula de la solución mas completa y radical de los problemas relativos a la civilización de la raza indígena, a su mejoramiento social y político, y, por consiguiente, al bienestar y prosperidad de la Nación.”

replacing the district authorities with “more honorable people.”⁴³ Within a few weeks, many of the local authorities were replaced, including the prefect of Puno.⁴⁴

The Maguiña report undoubtedly sensitized government officials to the problems of the region, and in the months following its publication, the central government seemed to take extra care not to provoke any further conflicts with the indigenous population. For example, the government responded favorably to a petition by three indigenous women delivered to the prefect of Puno three months after Maguiña report, and took extra efforts to demonstrate its support. In this petition from September 1902, the three indigenous women requested compensation from the Peruvian government for the deaths of their husbands who had died working “in the service of the Nation.” Their indigenous husbands were not soldiers, but temporary laborers who helped transfer goods to the newly-colonized region of the Peruvian jungle for the local authority. These widows did not qualify for official military or government pensions like wives of deceased military and political leaders; nonetheless they felt entitled to some recompense from the state.⁴⁵

In response, the Ministry of Government acknowledged that it would be “just” to help the families of the deceased men given that they died working for the local political authority, and the government resolved to compensate the women by granting them the

⁴³ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 92, 1903, *El Peruano*, Lima, July 2, 1902, p21, Letter to the Prefect of Puno from the Minister of Government J. Ignacio Gamio, June 30, 1902, “Es indudable que esos abusos habría desaparecido hace mucho tiempo...si las autoridades hubieran querido ejercitar su acción represora, previa una prolija y constante vigilancia....Si así hubiesen procedido los prefectos en el orden político y municipal, los señores Obispos en el eclesiástico, y las cortes superiores en el judicial...mucho se habría conseguido ya en bien de la regeneración de la raza indígena, haciéndola comprender: que los individuos que pertenecen a ella, son ciudadanos como los demás, con sus mismos derechos: que no tienen por que vivir humildes y abjectos, sometidos los más audaces.” “Quieren, pues, S. E. y el Señor Ministro: que US. despliegue la más eficaz diligencia en este asunto; cambiando la mayor parte de las autoridades políticas distritales de la Prov. de Chuchito...escogiendo para reemplazarlas a las mas honorables personas que se consigan....”

⁴⁴ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg 84, 1902, September 20, 1902.

⁴⁵ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 84, 1902, Anastacia Medrano, Juana Cama, and María Quispe, Ayapata, September 20, 1902.

meager sum of 25 Peruvian *soles* each. More significantly, the government ordered that a committee composed of the sub-prefect of the province, the mayor, and the local priest deliver the compensation to the indigenous women personally in their community.⁴⁶ This symbolic action of delivering the money to the women by religious and government officials was meant to demonstrate the government's concern about the abuses faced by indigenous people in the department of Puno. Consequently, this petition from three widowed indigenous women was not only taken seriously but utilized to send a message to indigenous and non-indigenous individuals alike that the government was attempting to alleviate the injustices committed against the indigenous population, even if these steps were only small and primarily symbolic.

Political Changes and New Commissions of Indigenous Messengers in Lima

Although some changes in favor of indigenous people were implemented under the government of López de Romaña following the Maguina report, indigenous messengers still faced injustices and hostility from the local authorities and landowners. As a result, new groups of messengers traveled to Lima to meet with government officials over the next few years. Included among one indigenous commission in early 1903 was the veteran messenger José Antonio Chambilla from Santa Rosa. However, unlike the commission of the Santa Rosa messengers in 1901, which included only messengers from the Santa Rosa district, the messengers who traveled to Lima in early 1903 came from other districts and provinces in the department of Puno. For example, José Antonio Calamullu was from the district of Juli, Cipriano Apasa was from Pomata, both districts located in the province of Chucuito, and Mariano Ystaña was from the

⁴⁶ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg.84, 1902, Lima, 29 Oct. 1902.

district of Acora in the province of Cercado (Puno). Undoubtedly, the experiences of the Santa Rosa messengers in 1901 and information about, or interactions with, the resulting government commission led by Maguiña in 1902 had encouraged other indigenous communities in the department of Puno to form their own delegations of messengers and to connect with the messengers from Santa Rosa. The members of this new indigenous delegation were from different districts in Puno but they shared the Aymara language and culture as well as political strategies.⁴⁷

In 1903, a presidential election resulted in the victory of *Civilista* leader, Manuel Candamo. Candamo was a founding member of the *Civilista* party, and during the López de Romaña government, he had been the president of the Senate. The election of the new president prompted a new commission of indigenous messengers from Puno to travel to Lima in hopes of meeting with the president and gaining his support. As with any new administration, government-appointed officials would be changed, and these indigenous messengers from Puno hoped to encourage the selection of favorable authorities. Indeed, in November 1903, when messengers from Puno met with President Manuel Candamo, Candamo told them that a new prefect, Dr. Juan de Dios Salazar y Oyarzábal, had been named specifically to help attend to the complaints of the indigenous people.⁴⁸ On November 30, 1903, a few of the messengers in Lima joined the new prefect on a steamship in the port of Callao that would take them to the port of Mollendo in Southern

⁴⁷ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, José Antonio Chambilla, José Antonio Calamullo, and Mariano Ystaña, Lima, January 10, 1903; AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Cipriano Apaza, Juan Quispe, and Cipriano Huanch, Pomata, February 10, 1904; AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Mariano Ystaña, Lima, December 5, 1904.

⁴⁸ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Mariano Huanca, Lima, October 3, 1904.

Peru. From Mollendo, they travelled over land to Puno, where they arrived on December 8.⁴⁹

One of the messengers who joined the new prefect on the steamship, Mariano Huanca from the district of Acora, presented a memorial to the prefect when he arrived aboard. In the memorial, Huanca introduced himself and explained that he recently had a judge of the first instance in his province legally demarcate his land at great cost. Within a few days, his neighbor, with the help and protection of the local Justice of the Peace, usurped his land and had Huanca, his father, and brother-in-law imprisoned for more than three months. After he was released on bail, Huanca no longer had any money to recuperate his lost land through legal means and was also physically threatened by his neighbor and the Justice of the Peace. As a result of the death threats and his inability to receive assistance from the local authorities, he decided to seek out protection from the national government. In his memorial to the prefect, he also denounced a large increase in the amount of contribution, or poll-tax, that indigenous people had to pay in his community. Huanca stated the complete lack of guarantees that he and other indigenous messengers faced in their communities forced them to make sacrifices in order to get the justice that they sought. But as he explained in his memorial, he and the other messengers were willing to make the sacrifices:

Crossing deserts and seas from my own limited resources, conquering all sorts of obstacles and prohibitions of the authorities and the *vecinos* who use all means to impede the Messengers from coming and spending their money as if it were not their own. And besides it is licit and even humanitarian and civilizing that a man employ his own resources to defend his rights. And in this sense, there is no

⁴⁹ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Mariano Huanca to Prefect of Puno, Bay of Callao on board the steamship Mendoza, November 30, 1903.

doubt that until we are given the guarantees we demand we the messengers will not only come to Lima but will also go as far as Rome.⁵⁰

Although the references to taking their claims to Rome, and in another case, to the president of the United States, seem a bit rhetorical, they also hint at the determination of the messengers to overcome the injustices they faced by going to anyone who might have political or moral influence.⁵¹ As messengers and men, it was their duty to sacrifice and seek out justice for themselves and their communities wherever they could find it.

When they arrived in Puno with the new prefect, Huanca and other messengers called on the prefect to attend to their concerns. He and others waited in Puno until the prefect could travel to their communities and investigate the abuses as President Candamo ordered him to do. The prefect, however, did not fulfill this duty in a timely fashion and as a result Huanca and other messengers decided to return without him. After returning home with no support from the prefect, one of the other messengers, Mariano Ystaña, suffered repression from the local government for his activities as a messenger. In April 1904, Ystaña travelled to the town of Acora and the newly-named governor of the district arrested him along with two other indigenous men. He claimed that the governor beat him with a whip, and while he was beaten the governor said:

Insolent and uppity Indian, how do you know to go to Lima and complain about the authorities and *vecinos*. I will take away your will and I will cut off your feet

⁵⁰ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Mariano Huanca to Prefect of Puno, Bay of Callao on board the steamship Mendoza, November 30, 1903, “atravesando desiertos y mares á costa de mi escaso peculio personal, venciendo todo género de obstáculos y prohibiciones de las autoridades y vecinos, que hacen todo esfuerzo para impedir que vengam Mensajeros y que gasten su dinero como si no fuera suyo, y además licito y hasta humanitario y civilizador, que el hombre emplee sus recursos para defender sus derechos; y en tal sentido no cabe duda que mientras no se nos otoguen las garantías que reclamamos vendremos mensajeros no solo á Lima sino iremos hasta Roma.”

⁵¹ Dora Mayer de Zulen, *La intangibilidad de las comunidades indígenas* (Callao: Tip. J.E. Chenyek, 1936) 49.

so that you do not go again...I will always be your master and I will whip you with this *zurriago* whenever I want.⁵²

Ystaña returned to his home sick, and two months later he traveled to Puno to denounce the abuses of the governor, including his own beating and the detention of two indigenous men who, according to Ystaña, were arrested for no other reason than the fact that they helped establish free indigenous schools in their district.⁵³ Another indigenous messenger, Mariano Charaja, who returned to his community after the prefect of Puno failed to address his complaints, was on his way back to his home when he was ambushed by a group of men who beat him, breaking his nose and knocking out a tooth. According to Charaja, he would have been killed had Mariano Ystaña and Mariano Huanca not been passing by at the time of the ambush.⁵⁴ Ystaña and Huanca helped Charaja to a nearby home, where Charaja spent two weeks recovering from some of his injuries. He then returned home to his family who, “with their care, provided some relief to [his] unending misfortunes.”⁵⁵

The indigenous messengers understood that they had to make sacrifices and often suffer violence and threats in order to achieve the justice that they sought, and that their families and communities had to take on all the responsibilities of their homes and work while they were gone, but also face possible retribution from local authorities or landowners. It was the families who had to take care of messengers who were physically injured by local authorities and landowners, and families who suffered fear and worry

⁵² AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Mariano Ystaña, Lima, December 5, 1904, “ ‘indio liso y alzado, con que sabes ir á quejarte á Lima contra las autoridades y vecinos, yo te quitaré las ganas y te cortaré los pies para que no vayas otra vez,...yo seré siempre tu amo y te azotaré siempre con este zurriago cuantas veces quiera.’” A *zurriago* is a club encrusted with lead attached to a whip.

⁵³ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Mariano Ystaña, Lima, December 5, 1904.

⁵⁴ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Mariano Charaja, Lima, October 3, 1904.

⁵⁵ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Mariano Charaja, Lima, October 3, 1904, “...y entregado á mi familia que con sus cuidados proporcionó algún alivio a mis interminables desgracias.”

when messengers were away. When Charaja heard a rumor that a new government commission, led by the district attorney of the Supreme Court of Justice Dr. José Salvador Cavero, was to be sent to Puno to investigate the situation of indigenous people and “punish the prefect for not fulfilling his duty,” he set off for Puno “to the pleading and tears of his wife and only daughter who predicted further misfortunes.”⁵⁶ The wrath of authorities also befell relatives of the messengers, including wives and children, who suffered beatings and theft.⁵⁷ Two first cousins of Mariano Ystaña were brutally murdered, one cousin’s throat was cut and the other was hanged, allegedly in retribution for Ystaña’s political activities as a messenger.⁵⁸

Although Candamo’s decision to appoint a prefect for the department of Puno who would be more sympathetic to indigenous concerns failed, Candamo also appointed a former military officer, Teodomiro Gutiérrez Cuevas, to the post of the sub-prefect of the province of Chucuito in December 1903. The selection of Gutiérrez Cuevas, an indigenous ally, was also meant to appease the indigenous people of the province. In fact, many indigenous people did appreciate the new sub-prefect and even indigenous people outside the province cited Gutiérrez as a protector of the indigenous people. For example, Mariano Charaja, an indigenous messenger from the district of Acora, stated in a memorial that because he was from a different province in Puno he “did not have the good fortune of enjoying the nine months of peace and guarantees that the communities

⁵⁶ AGN, MI—Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Mariano Charaja, Lima, October 3, 1904. “cuando llegó á mis odios el rumor de que un Señor muy caritativo había sido nombrado por el Gobierno para que fuera á hacer justicia á los desgraciado indios y castigar al Prefecto por no haber cumplido las instrucciones respecto á nosotros;...abandoné el lecho del dolor y sobreponiéndome á los ruegos y lágrimas de mi esposa é hija única que vaticinaban nuevas desgracias, me puse en marcha á Puno...”

⁵⁷ AGN, MI—Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Santiago Mallca, Lima, 5 Oct. 1904.

⁵⁸ AGN, MI—Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Mariano Ystaña, Mariano Charaja, Mariano Huanca y Santiago Mallca, Lima, 24 December, 1904, also in *El Tiempo*, 12 Dec. 1904, “Horrible crímenes en Puno—un hombre ahorcado y otro degollado.”

of the province of Chucuito enjoyed under the protective administration of the ex-subprefect Gutierrez.”⁵⁹

While Gutiérrez did provide the indigenous people of his province a strong advocate within the provincial government, many *vecinos* responded negatively to his presence. The negative response even turned violent when, after a few months of his appointment as sub-prefect, his home was attacked with dynamite.⁶⁰ According to some of the *vecinos* in the province, Gutiérrez’s appointment as sub-prefect reinforced further tensions between the indigenous population and the *vecinos*. Mariano Vicente Cuentas, representing the *vecinos* of the province of Chucuito, and former sub-prefect of Chucuito, presented a memorial to the central government in which he discredited the indigenous messengers and asked for the dismissal of Gutiérrez. He warned that the influence of leaders like Gutiérrez stoked indigenous people’s yearning for “vengeance and the desire to exterminate whites that produced scenes of violence in other eras.”⁶¹ Instead of helping to unify the people in the province, Cuentas claimed the sub-prefect was creating “a greater separation between the castes.”⁶² Specifically, Cuentas stated that Gutierrez aggravated tensions between the races when he overstepped his position as sub-prefect by decreeing the abolition of unremunerated forced labor practices in their province. Moreover, he criticized the tactics of self-proclaimed defenders of indigenous people like Gutiérrez who “make assumptions, [and] invent...in order to produce an effect in the

⁵⁹ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Mariano Charaja, October 3, 1904, “...yo no he tenido la suerte de gozar siquiera de los nueve meses de paz y garantías que han disfrutado las comunidades de la Provincia de Chucuito bajo el régimen protector del ex-Subprefecto Gutiérrez; pues mi Distrito de Acora pertenece a la Provincia del Cercado...”

⁶⁰ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, telegram from Gutierrez to Prefect of Puno, March 16, 1904.

⁶¹ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Mariano Vicente Cuentas, Lima, March 15, 1904, “Hoy vuelve y revive la venganza y el deseo de exterminio de los blancos que produjo escenas de sangre en otras épocas, con circunstancias horripilantes...”

⁶² AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Mariano Vicente Cuentas, Lima, March 15, 1904, “La división de castas es ahí mas profunda que en otras localidades de la republica...”

honorable consciences [of people] always disposed to protest any act against personal dignity and the constitutional guarantees.”⁶³ In other words, Cuentas believed that the defenders like Gutierrez and the writers of the memorials of the indigenous messengers manipulated the truth in order to generate an emotional response from government officials who would then blindly believe the indigenous people.

In response to this criticism against Gutiérrez, many indigenous people wrote new memorials to the government in which they not only defended Gutiérrez but claimed that without Gutiérrez as their protector, they would suffer grave consequences.⁶⁴ Marcos L. Chambilla and Juan Quispe, indigenous messengers from the district of Pomata, stated in 1904 that “in this unfortunate province despotism and a crude war without mercy reigned against our sub-prefect Señor Teodomiro Augusto Gutierrez Cuevas, for the grave crime of giving us guarantees to end the abuses and proclaim the rule of the Constitution and the laws that govern the Republic.”⁶⁵

The *vecinos* emerged victorious in 1904, when the new interim president Serapio Calderón, who was chosen after the premature death of Candamo, removed Gutiérrez from the post of sub-prefect.⁶⁶ When the indigenous people heard that Gutierrez was to be removed from his post, some sent him letters and in one, the author pleaded, “father

⁶³ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Mariano Vicente Cuentas, Lima, March 15, 1904, “La táctica de los defensores de indígenas es suponer, inventar, hiriendo los sentimientos humanitarios para producir efecto en las conciencias honradas dispuestas siempre a protestar de todo acto atentatorio á la dignidad personal y a las garantías constitucionales.”

⁶⁴ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Cipriano Apaza, Juan Quispe, and Cipriano Huanchi, Pomata, February 10, 1904.

⁶⁵ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 97, 1904, Juan Quispe, Marcos L. Chambilla, etc., Pomata, 8 July 1904, “en toda esta desgraciada Provincia en que se ha reinado el despotismo y en que se ha iniciado una guerra cruda y sin cuartel contra nuestro Sub-prefecto Señor Teodomiro Augusto Gutiérrez Cuevas; solo por el gravísimo delito de darnos garantías de cortar los abusos y de proclamar el imperio de la Constitución y de las Leyes que rigen en la Republica.”

⁶⁶ Manuel Candamo died from an illness in May 1904. After a short interim presidency of Serapio Calderón, who called for new elections, José Pardo y Barreda was elected president. He governed September 1904-1908.

and protector, if you go—we are finished.”⁶⁷ Indeed, after Gutierrez was removed as sub-prefect, indigenous people no longer had a strong advocate within the provincial and departmental government and were again forced to leave their local communities to find sympathetic government officials in Lima. A few months after the departure of Gutierrez, a group of indigenous messengers wrote that since Gutiérrez had left, “there is no justice for anyone in that province and it is even less possible to achieve it from the Prefect who closes the ears on his head and the doors to the prefecture to the complaints of the unfortunate indigenes.”⁶⁸

After the departure of Gutiérrez, the election of the *civilista* leader José Pardo y Barreda as president in September 1904, and the continued neglect from the prefect of Puno, indigenous messengers from the provinces of Chucuito and Cercado (Puno) returned to Lima to meet with government officials and denounce the injustices occurring in their home communities. As on previous visits to Lima, these messengers utilized all the strategies they knew, meeting with various political leaders and journalists to testify to the politicians and the public in general about the abuses against indigenous people. Similarly to the messengers from Santa Rosa, these messengers tried to publish their memorials in major newspapers in Lima. However, at times, this was not feasible. Mariano Ystaña, for example, wanted to publish his memorial in the newspaper *El Comercio* but because he had no resources he was unable to publish it that time.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 97, 1904, telegram from Gutierrez, copy sent by Gerardo Chavez to Director of Government, August 29, 1904, “...han arrojado anoche a mi dormitorio varias cartas, una dice: ‘papacito padre y protector si te vas—nos acabaremos.’”

⁶⁸ AGN, MI—Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Mariano Ystaña, Mariano Charaja, Mariano Huanca y Santiago Malca, Lima, 24 December 1904.

⁶⁹ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Mariano Ystaña, Lima, December 5, 1904.

The utilization of these two strategies—going to the highest government officials and the media—improved the messengers’ chances of receiving positive responses from the public and government authorities. But the messengers were also responsible to their community members, and although few in their communities could read, the messengers needed to produce a paper trail as proof that they fulfilled their job of lobbying on their behalf. A publication in a newspaper would serve as an example of the efforts made by the messengers. Mariano Ystaña, who lacked the funds to publish his memorial in the newspaper, requested a certified copy of the government’s reply to his petition so that he could present it to his community showing that he had completed his commission.⁷⁰ In addition to denouncing abuses by local authorities, the messengers often requested safe-conduct passes, or officially-sealed copies of their letters to show not only to their home communities but also as “a form of passport for the transit authorities.”⁷¹

This paper trail was vital for the messengers, as was the securing of funds for their travel and living expenses in Lima. Because of the long distance, cost, and fear of retribution by local authorities in their home community, many of these messengers remained in Lima for months, working at various odd jobs and testifying to politicians and reporters.⁷² Mariano Charaja from the district of Acora stated in 1904 that he had

⁷⁰ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Mariano Ystaña, Lima, December 5, 1904.

⁷¹ AGN, MI—Prefecturas, Leg. 100, Mariano Ystaña, Mariano Charaja, Mariano Huanca y Santiago Mallca mensajeros de las comunidades indígenas de Acora, Lima, 24 Dic. 1904, “...nosotros creemos que nuestros Memoriales con el sello de los decretos del Gobierno recaídos en ellos, nos serviría de algún modo de pasaporte para las autoridades del tránsito por el desierto y de salvo conducto para escudarnos de nuestros enemigos que ya sabemos han de emprender contra nosotros una terrible persecución...” According to Thomas M. Davies, Jr., *Indian Integration in Peru: A Half Century of Experience, 1900-1948* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), 28, the state required indigenous people to have passports to travel within Peru, though this was outlawed in 1851 and then reinstated briefly in 1948-56. The reference to passports in this case (and others) suggests that some form of official documentation was necessary, or at least made it easier, for indigenous people to travel within Peru.

⁷² AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Mariano Ystaña, Mariano Charaja, Mariano Huanca y Santiago Mallca, Lima, 24 Dic. 1904; Jose Luis Ayala and Mariano Larico Yujra, *Yo fui canillita de Jose Carlos Mariategui: (auto)biografía de Mariano Larico Yujra* (Lima: Kollao Editorial Periodística, 1990), 91-95.

been in Lima for three months, and having spent all his resources, he only subsisted on the daily income he earned from working in public works.⁷³

Written evidence of their activism could also cause difficulties for the messengers, particularly publications in newspapers, since *gamonales* and local authorities often had access to newspapers from the capital. While in Lima in 1904, Charaja received news that the governor of his district, “informed by the newspapers of this capital,” knew of his decision to travel to “the palace doors in pursuit of justice,” and so burned down his home and fields where, Charaja lamented, “I left my unfortunate wife Petrona Huaraya and my minor daughter Benita, who, without a doubt, have either perished in the flames or wander aimlessly through the desert...”⁷⁴ And at times, written communication between indigenous messengers in Lima and their families and communities was impossible. Letters between messengers and their families were potentially dangerous; if intercepted, they could be used as evidence against family members by the authorities. A few messengers from Puno claimed that they were no longer in communication with their families stating “they do not even dare to write us, because they fear our letters might be intercepted and serve as articles of accusation and motivate their immediate incarceration.”⁷⁵

⁷³ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Mariano Charaja, Lima, October 3, 1904.

⁷⁴ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Mariano Charaja, Lima, October 3, 1904, “sabedor por los diarios de esta capital de que me encuentro otra vez en [Lima]”; “me encuentro otra vez en las puertas del Palacio de V.E. en demanda de justicia, y alentado por el triunfo de los gamonales de Chucuito, [gobernador Arroyo] ha hecho incendiar mi casa y pastos de mi estancia Ccanahua, donde dejé á mi desgraciada mujer Petrona Huaraya y á mi hijita menor Benita, quienes sin duda sino han perecido en las llamas, vagan errantes por el desierto...”

⁷⁵ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, José Antonio Chambilla, José Antonio Calamullo, and Mariano Ystaña, Lima, January 10, 1903, “...nos pone también en incomunicación absoluta con nuestras familias, que aterradas por la reacción que se ha operado con el cambio de autoridad, y por las amenazas consiguientes, no se atreven ni siquiera á escribirnos; pues temen de que nuestras cartas sean interceptadas y sirvan de capítulos de acusación y motiven su inmediata prisión.”

Messengers' activism often not only failed to solve their conflicts but in many ways seemed to worsen their relationships with the local authorities and landowners. The messengers from Puno who traveled to Lima at the end of 1904 reported that they received numerous threats on their lives and thus feared returning home without state protection. These messengers claimed that the local authorities intimidated them stating, as in one case, that if they returned, they would "slit their throats like sheep." Occasionally, the threats were realized, as in the case of a messenger from the province of Chucuito, Marcos L. Chambilla, who was assassinated in an unpopulated area near his home in 1904. Because of these atrocities and threats, the messengers made every effort to secure guarantees from the government for their safe return. Yet despite these government guarantees for the safety of indigenous messengers, it is clear that acts of violence occurred regularly against indigenous individuals and their families who threatened the local authorities and *gamonales* with their activism.⁷⁶

By the end of 1904, the messengers who remained in Lima hoping for another official delegation to be sent by the government to Puno learned that the delegation would not proceed because the man designated to lead the investigation, José Salvador Cavero, had been nominated to the office of vice president. Although they had no resources, they decided they had no other choice but to return to Puno and wrote that they would do so by foot across the desert if they were unable to secure funds to pay for their passage. They submitted another petition requesting government protection and safe-conduct passes, but seemed less hopeful of receiving a favorable response.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ AGN, MI—Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Mariano Ystaña, Mariano Charaja, Mariano Huanca y Santiago Mallca, Lima, 24 Dic. 1904, "allí los esperan para degollarlos como carneros."

⁷⁷ AGN, MI—Prefecturas, Leg. 100, 1904, Mariano Ystaña, Mariano Charaja, Mariano Huanca y Santiago Mallca, Lima, 24 December 1904; Basadre Grohmann, *Historia de la República*, 161.

While the new government of José Pardo y Barreda (1904-1908) continued to address some of the concerns raised by indigenous people, few concrete changes occurred under his government with regards to indigenous communities. In 1905, José Pardo travelled to Puno and met with indigenous people and listened to their complaints, however, he was more interested in examining public works projects and did nothing to address the specific complaints.⁷⁸ Nevertheless over the next few decades many other indigenous men and women would embark on similar journeys for justice. And future presidents and political leaders would subsequently be forced to respond.

Conclusion

When the messengers from the district of Santa Rosa in 1901 traveled the long distance to the national capital to obtain government support, they forced the government to send its own commission to cross the same distance to investigate the abuses. The government commission to Puno delivered its own message that the central government was paying attention to the abuses of the local authorities. The indigenous messengers also motivated the government to reflect on the process of the modernization of the Peruvian nation. The messengers brought challenging questions to the political elite on the direction of the country, particularly with regards to the indigenous population, that would continue to be discussed in the following decades. Unfortunately, more often than not their activism as citizens and men brought the wrath of the provincial elite and authorities on themselves and their families.

⁷⁸ Davies, *Indian Integration in Peru*, 50; Pedro Dávalos y Lissón, *Diez años de historia contemporánea del Perú, 1899-1908: Gobiernos de Piérola, Romaña, Candamo, Calderón y Pardo* (Lima: Librería e imprenta Gil, 1930), 206-7.

As these messengers and other petitioners made their presence known and their interests heard, people in Lima and in the provincial capitals started responding to these individuals. Some would take up the banner of the indigenous cause as *indigenistas*, acting as advocates for the petitioners and supporting their cause. The next chapter focuses more specifically on the *indigenistas*, their perspectives on the integration of indigenous men and women into the nation, the ways they interacted with indigenous communities and messengers, and how indigenous individuals used these advocates in pursuit of their goals.

Chapter 3:

“Defenders of the Indigenous Class”: *Indigenistas*, Adventists, and the Paternalistic Politics of Pro-Indigenous Advocacy, 1909-1919

Introduction

The indigenous messengers from Santa Rosa, and those who followed, travelled to Lima in search of justice and in the process raised awareness in certain sectors of Limeño society about the problems affecting indigenous people in Peru. In response to the pilgrimages of these messengers, some politicians and intellectuals began organizing to support the influx of indigenous messengers to Lima. Likewise, pro-indigenous activists in the provinces began working on behalf of indigenous people. Thus, in August 1910, when a group of indigenous wives and parents submitted petitions to the prefect of the Department of Puno and also to the Peruvian national congress complaining that the local governor and sub-prefect had illegally conscripted their husbands and sons into the military, these advocates intervened. In their petition to congress they asked that Senator Joaquín Capelo present their memorial to the other senators and deputies, and they designated him as their advocate. Along with the petitions, they sent telegrams to both the Ministry of War and to the President of the Republic asking for assistance.¹

¹ Archivo Regional de Puno, Causas Criminales, (hereafter ARP, CC) Leg. 015 (Province of Puno), 1910, exp. 52, To Sovereign Congress from Marcos Miranda, Juan Flores, Marcelo Velásquez, Fernando Ygnacio, Mariano Bailón, Juliana Mamani v. de Visa, Margarita Cervantez de Ordoño, indígenas del Distrito de Chucuito, Puno, August 31, 1910.

In their petitions they explained that these conscriptions were illegal because some of the men in question were minors and the others were married, which should have exempted them from military service. Moreover, they claimed that one of the conscripted men was the indigenous teacher of the new private school created by the indigenous parents in the town. They asserted that this illegal conscription of the 15 indigenous men took place because the “white *vecinos*” were jealous “seeing the Indians of our *aillo* attempt at all cost to educate themselves in the private school that we, the parents of children, sustain with voluntary contributions, and that we want to educate ourselves and leave the state of ignorance that we are in.” Moreover, the indigenous petitioners stated that they feared the conscription by the local authorities was meant to reprimand them for a recent meeting with “Bible propagandists,” who gave a speech against drunkenness. After the lieutenant governor found out about the meeting, he asked the indigenous people why they had received the missionaries, scolded them, and stated that “those frauds” would not be able to help them get their family members out of the military. The indigenous petitioners argued that they needed to bring their concerns to the central government because this illegal conscription was another demonstration of the continued exploitation of indigenous people by the “white race” and the white race’s “opposition to the Indian, against his education, progress and patriotism.” To the petitioners, the central conflict in their communities was that indigenous people were being treated unequally and unfairly by the “white *vecinos*.” This inequality was reflected in military conscription because, as the indigenous men and women stated in their petition, “in all the contingents of blood, it has always been the Indians who are sent and

never the white *vecinos* from the town of Chucuito. This clearly demonstrates the prejudice that they have for us.”²

The petitioners highlighted that these abuses upset indigenous families and communities. In their petition, they asked “why do they enlist into the military married men with families...leaving these families abandoned?”³ Men who were conscripted had little recourse. If they refused to join the army, they were often imprisoned by the local authorities. One advocate for indigenous people stated that “the jails are filled with conscripts, and grouped outside the mothers, sisters, and wives of the detained assemble, lamenting the misfortune of the imprisonment [of their family members], preparing their food, and appealing their freedom.”⁴ Besides upsetting the lives of families, conscription took away active young men who might hold leadership positions or work as teachers in the local community, as in the case of these petitioners from Puno.

In the face of the abuses and inequality occurring in their communities, indigenous petitioners used a variety of means to raise the awareness of the Peruvian government and people of these abuses. In the petition above, the indigenous petitioners

² ARP, CC, Leg. 015, Puno, 1910, exp. 52, To Sovereign Congress, August 31, 1910, and To Prefect of Department, August 26, 1910. “La envidia que tienen los vecinos blancos de Chucuito, al ver que los indios de nuestro Aillo procuran a todo trance instruirse en la escuela particular que sostenemos los padres de familia con erogaciones voluntarias, y queremos ilustrarnos y salir del estado de ignorancia en que estamos.” “En días pasados llegaron los propagandistas bíblicos, al Aillo de Ccota, y peroraron contra la embriaguez; esto supieron los vecinos blancos de Chuchito, y pusieron en conocimiento del Sr. SubPrefecto Cuentas....” “y se expreso el Teniente-gobernador Don Jerónimo Meneses, diciendo, que porque habíamos recibido a esos farsantes, pues, que ahora no serán ellos quienes puedan sacarlos del ejército...” “...y que hasta hoy somos el objeto de la explotación de la raza blanca.... Esta emulación contra el indio, contra su ilustración, contra el progreso y contra el patriotismo, hace que hoy elevamos nuestro reclamo a V.E.” “En todos los contingentes de sangre, siempre han remitido indios y jamás van los vecinos blancos del pueblo de Chucuito; esto demuestra claramente la prevención que nos tienen.”

³ ARP, CC, Leg. 015, Puno, 1910, exp. 52, f.7v, To Prefect of Department, August 26, 1910. “¿Por que se enrola al ejército indios casados y con familia, y no se atienden los reclamos, y dejan en abandono esas familias?”

⁴ Dora Mayer de Zulen, *El indígena peruano a los cien años de república libre e independiente* (Lima: n.p., 1921), 16. “Las cárceles se llenan de conscriptos, y en sus afueras se agrupan las madres, hermanas y esposas de los detenidos, lamentándose de la desgracia de su prisión, procurando su alimentación y gestionando su liberación.”

referred to individuals who emerged as vital resources for indigenous people during the first two decades of the twentieth century. The first was Senator Joaquín Capelo from the department of Junín who, with the collaboration of other politicians and intellectuals, helped found an organization in 1909 called the Pro-Indigenous Association (*Asociación Pro-Indígena*). The second group of individuals was the “Bible propagandists,” most likely Seventh-Day Adventist missionaries, who began their missionary work among the Aymara indigenous people in the department of Puno around this same time.

The advocates to whom these indigenous petitioners turned could all be classified as *indigenistas*, or indigenists. Indigenists were generally white or *mestizo* men and women who sympathized with the struggle of the indigenous people and advocated through writing, legislating, and other means in favor of indigenous people’s rights. Although all indigenists agreed that the situation of the indigenous people in Peru needed to be improved, they differed in their perspective on the most effective solution to the “Indian problem.” Some focused on the creation of legislation and the legal protection of indigenous rights. Others insisted on education not only to create a literate indigenous citizenry, but also for the spiritual and moral uplift of indigenous individuals.

The intermediaries who helped advocate for the rights and salvation of the indigenous people developed a complex relationship with indigenous people themselves. From 1909 to the beginning of President Augusto B. Leguía’s government in 1919, the collaborative efforts of the indigenous petitioners and the pro-indigenous activists incited a vibrant national debate on the “Indian problem” that, by 1919, would force the new president to take up the banner of pro-indigenous advocacy. A close examination of their writings and activities suggests that the advocacy of these intermediaries carried

conflicting messages: one in which indigenous people were viewed as helpless and childlike in need of the paternal support of advocates, and another that argued that indigenous people needed to struggle for their own rights. Although some of the advocacy on behalf of indigenous people was fueled by paternalism, indigenous men and women took advantage of the resources of the pro-indigenous advocates to gain new skills and strategies that would result in greater organization among indigenous people themselves in the years that followed. Nevertheless, this wave of civic and religious pro-indigenous activism put many landholders and local authorities on the defensive, and they worked to discredit the activists and to limit some of the advances that they perceived indigenous people were gaining.

The Advocacy of the Pro-Indigenous Association (*Asociación Pro-Indígena*)

The decision by the indigenous petitioners of 1910 to utilize Joaquín Capelo as an advocate was effective. Capelo, a lawyer and sociologist, had helped found the civil society organization called the Pro-Indigenous Association in 1909, but he was also a Senator from the Department of Junín in central Peru who held political influence within the government. Within a few days of receiving the memorial, Senator Capelo, with the backing of the Senate, sent a letter to the Ministry of War and Navy asking that the Minister investigate the accusations.⁵ An investigation took place, and in response to the inquiries from the Ministry of War, the military leadership in Arequipa reported that a few of the conscripted men listed in the petition had been sent to serve in Lima, while six others had been freed and sent home, and a few others could not be found in the military

⁵ ARP, CC, Leg. 015, Puno, 1910, exp. 52, f. 8, Lima, 9 Sept. 1910, Secretaria del Senado to Señor Ministro de Estado en el Despacho de Guerra y Marina.

registry.⁶ Likewise, the new sub-prefect of the province of Cercado (Puno), Mariano V. Cuentas, explained in a report to the Prefect of Puno that “because of the complaints made” most of the conscripts in question had been released and sent home. Moreover he stated that he removed the governor of the district from his post because of the “irregularities committed.”⁷

In his report to the Prefect of Cercado (Puno), sub-prefect Mariano V. Cuentas emphasized that he took the concerns of the indigenous people in his province seriously. He stated that he notified all the governors within his jurisdiction that they should “give the indigenes of their districts all the guarantees to which citizens have a right, and that any act of injustice or exaction against them will be punished severely.” He explained that “my only desire as the authority of this province is that the indigenous race enjoy the guarantees to which they have a right and which the Constitution and the laws grant them as children of the same *Patria*.”⁸ In his report, Mariano Cuentas portrayed himself as a pro-indigenous advocate within the government or at least as an authority who upheld the rights of all the citizens under his jurisdiction. Yet it was during his past leadership as sub-prefect of the province of Chucuito that the indigenous messengers discussed in chapter one had traveled to Lima to complain about the abuses of the local authorities.

Perhaps over the years Cuentas had become more sympathetic to the struggles of the

⁶ ARP, CC, Leg. 015, Puno, 1910, exp. 52, f. 9, Arequipa, October 25, 1910

⁷ ARP, CC, Leg. 015, Puno, 1910, exp. 52, f. 14, Puno, December 5, 1910, to Prefect from Mariano V. Cuentas. The province of Cercado includes the town of Puno and the surrounding villages. The accusations in the petitions were against the sub-prefect Guillermo Mogrovejo who was replaced by the new sub-prefect Mariano V. Cuentas before the petitions were sent. From the documents it is unclear why sub-prefect Mogrovejo was replaced by Mariano V. Cuentas.

⁸ ARP, CC, Leg. 015, Puno, 1910, exp. 52, f14. “he prevenido á los Gobernadores de la Provincia de mi cargo, presten á los indígenas de sus respectivas distritos, todas las garantías á que tiene derecho un Ciudadano, pues cualesquiera acto de injusticia ó exacción en contra de ellos, será severamente castigado.” “mi único anhelo como autoridad de esta Provincia es que la raza indígena goce de las garantías á que tienen derecho y que la Constitución y las leyes le acuerda, como á hijos de una misma Patria.”

indigenous people, or perhaps he was just taking steps to protect his new post by making these public gestures to protect the indigenous people within his jurisdiction. Without a doubt, the continued actions of indigenous messengers and petitioners, along with the emergence of advocacy groups such as the Pro-Indigenous Association, put many provincial and departmental authorities at risk of losing their jobs if too many complaints were raised against them before the central government.

Indeed, within a year of its founding, the influence of the Pro-Indigenous Association could be felt not only by departmental authorities, but also by indigenous people and landowners. In a petition from an indigenous commission from the department of Junín, the petitioners explained why they had turned to Joaquín Capelo and the Pro-Indigenous Association:

We are victims of a conspiracy that tends to make our existence unsustainable, and we are without the protection of our laws, which are like spider webs, in which we are entangled for our condition as unprotected indigenes: if we complain before the political authorities they direct us to the judicial system, and if we go before the judicial system we face moratoria and laws that grow and shrink like rubber. Whom can we turn to in this situation? Only to the generous and humanitarian sentiments of you, honorable sir, and the Association created on the impulse of the noblest sentiments; and this is why we come in sorrowful exodus to beg for justice for ourselves and our brothers in suffering.⁹

Because local judicial and political authorities often ignored the complaints of indigenous people, many indigenous people began utilizing the new advocates of the Pro-Indigenous Association to act as intermediaries between the indigenous communities and

⁹ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 134, 1910, Letter to Señor Presidente de la Asociación Pro-Indígena y H. Senador del Departamento de Junín Dr. Joaquín Capelo from Avelino A. Román, Bernabé Rodríguez y Antonio Soto, comisionados por los indígenas del Caserío de Pasos del distrito de Huaribamba, Lima, 15 Oct. 1910. “Somos víctimas de una trama, que tiende a hacer insostenible nuestra existencia, sin que encontremos amparo en nuestras leyes, verdaderas telarañas, en las que, por nuestra condición de indígenas desvalidos quedamos envueltos: si reclamamos ante las autoridades políticas, éstas nos dirán que acudamos al poder judicial y si vamos á éste encontramos moratorias y leyes que se acortan y se alargan como el jebe. A quién acudir pues en esta situación? A los sentimientos generosos y humanitarios de US. H. y de la Asociación creada al impulso del mas nobilísimo sentimiento y por eso venimos en éxodo doloroso a implorar justicia para nosotros y para nuestros hermanos de sufrimiento...”

government authorities. News of the activities and advocacy of the Pro-Indigenous Association spread rapidly among indigenous communities, quickly requiring the *Asociación* to expand its organizational structure and membership.

The *Asociación* had originally been organized by university students who believed in the need to support the activities of indigenous people. One of the student founders was Pedro Zulen, a philosophy student of part Chinese heritage, who became the general secretary of the association. Upon organizing the Pro-Indigenous Association, Zulen named Joaquín Capelo president of the organization. As general secretary, however, Zulen was the one in charge of organizing the *Asociación* and addressing the needs of indigenous petitioners.¹⁰ He also traveled to different regions of Peru, particularly southern Peru, to meet with the regional delegates of the *Asociación* and the indigenous people in their communities and learn about their situations.¹¹ Dora Mayer, while not a student, became an active leader in the association in charge of publicity, and later as acting general secretary when Zulen traveled to southern Peru to meet with indigenous communities.¹² Dora Mayer, originally born in Hamburg, Germany in 1868, had moved with her family to Peru in 1873. As an adult, she worked as a journalist, publishing articles in a variety of newspapers and writing books. Prior to the founding of the Pro-Indigenous Association, Mayer met regularly with the indigenous messengers from Puno who travelled to Lima and she wrote articles in newspapers on their visits to Lima.¹³ Within the *Asociación*, she used her talents and became the director of their monthly newspaper, *El Deber Pro-Indígena* that ran from 1912 to 1917.

¹⁰ Kapsoli, *El pensamiento de la Asociación Pro Indígena* (Cuzco: Centro Las Casas, 1980), 12.

¹¹ “Revolucionarios, sí, revolucionarios,” *El deber pro-indígena* 3, no. 30 (March 1915): 116.

¹² “El regreso del secretario general,” *El deber pro-indígena* 2, no. 18 (March 1914): 19-20.

¹³ For a list of Mayer’s publications in newspapers from 1903-1920, see Mayer de Zulen, *El indígena peruano*, 99-103.

The Pro-Indigenous Association did not have an official office, but instead worked out of the homes of its members. The *Asociación* also funded itself with membership fees, subscriptions for the journal, and donations. According to Mayer, these limited funds restricted some of the work they were able to accomplish.¹⁴

Nevertheless, Zulen, Mayer, Capelo, and a few others who formed the central organizing committee of the *Asociación*, attended to many of the needs of the indigenous messengers who visited Lima and the indigenous people who sent letters asking for assistance. The central committee took on the responsibility of formulating the best strategies for the indigenous messengers and even directed them to the homes of supporters where they could stay during their time in Lima.¹⁵ According to these organizers, the main job of the *Asociación* was, in the words of Joaquín Capelo, to “change the social mentality” of Peruvians.¹⁶ They believed that one of the most effective ways to undertake the task of influencing public opinion was to utilize the press.¹⁷ As a result, they published articles in local newspapers about the activities of the *Asociación* and the injustices faced by indigenous people and also helped formulate numerous memorials to government officials.

Besides the central committee in Lima, the *Asociación* was also composed of members from the provinces. In fact, the *Asociación* was organized in such a way as to ensure that official delegates were available in all regions of Peru to act as watchdogs against abuses, investigate claims of abuse, and to advocate for indigenous people. The

¹⁴ Dora Mayer de Zulen, *Memorias* (Lima: UNMSM, Seminario de Historia Rural Andina, 1992), 141, 216, 220; Mayer de Zulen, *El indígena peruano*, 91.

¹⁵ Dora Mayer, “En demanda de justicia,” *El Comercio*, (tarde), Lima, November 12, 1915, 3.

¹⁶ Mayer de Zulen, *El indígena peruano*, 91. “Es preciso cambiar la mentalidad social.”

¹⁷ Dora Mayer de Zulen, “Lo que ha significado la pro-indígena,” *Amauta*, vol.1, no. 1, September 1926, 23.

official *Asociación* rules for delegates stated that their role was “to defend the interests of the indigenous race in the press and to the authorities.”¹⁸ The organization was to be entirely philanthropic, and under no circumstances were the delegates to take official legal representation of indigenous people, nor were they allowed to hold any form of political or judicial office.¹⁹ When a delegate was appointed to judicial office, as in the case of Carlos Ramos who was appointed as a Judge of the First Instance in a province in the department of Ancash, the delegate was asked to resign as an official representative of the *Asociación*.²⁰ These regulations were implemented in order to circumvent any potential abuses of power by the delegates, and to ensure that delegates did not make a profit from their advocacy of indigenous people. By 1912, over 65 individuals from all over Peru acted as official delegates for the organization.²¹ Even more people became active members supporting the association with their annual donations.²²

According to the historian Wilfredo Kapsoli, the *Asociación Pro-Indígena* was one of the first attempts by individuals in Peru to form a national political movement in which delegates and offices existed in a variety of provinces throughout Peru.²³ These delegates of the *Asociación* had diverse ideas about the best way to incorporate the indigenous population into the nation. Some held a liberal perspective that focused on education and legal reform; others had a socialist outlook and insisted on a complete overhaul of the land tenure system in Peru. Still others, such as Dora Mayer, had more of a humanist perspective, arguing that change needed to occur in the attitudes of non-

¹⁸ “Reglas para los delegados de la API,” *El deber pro-indígena*, vol. 4, no.41 (February 1916): 229.

¹⁹ “Reglas para los delegados de la API,” *El deber pro-indígena*, 229.

²⁰ “Un pretendido delegado de la Asociación Pro-Indígena,” *El deber pro-indígena* 3, no.33 (June 1915): 144.

²¹ Kapsoli, *El pensamiento*, 10.

²² *El deber pro-indígena* 3, no. 34 (July 1915): 145.

²³ Kapsoli, *El pensamiento*, 41.

indigenous people.²⁴ Many within the *Asociación* followed the precepts of positivism and were influenced by writers such as Manuel González Prada who believed that in order to modernize Peru the indigenous population needed to be incorporated into the national life through education and social, political, and economic reform. In an 1888 speech he blamed “that Indian-brutalizing trinity” of “the judge, the governor, and the priest” for the oppression of the indigenous population.²⁵ He and other *indigenistas* rejected the racist ideas that indigenous people were inherently inferior, and criticized local authorities for maintaining a racist, exploitative state system.²⁶

Members of the *Asociación* wrote numerous articles, often published in the journal of the Pro-Indigenous Association, *El Deber Pro-Indígena*, on the racial composition of the Peruvian population and how racial ideologies influenced state policies and detracted from a sense of national unity. In one editorial of *El Deber*, the editors rebuked Peruvians for believing in the myth that Peru was a nation of white citizens. In the editorial, they wrote:

Our national collectivity is not by any means a nation of the white race—neither based on its origins nor its current composition. Therefore, we have no reason to base our pride on the white race or on the ethnologic purity of our blood. Our place is not in the eugenic congresses, but rather in the campaign in support of the rehabilitation of the humbled races and the equaling of all the human lineages.²⁷

²⁴ Kapsoli, *El pensamiento*, 23.

²⁵ Thomas M. Davies, Jr., *Indian Integration in Peru: A Half Century of Experience, 1900-1948* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974), 38; Manuel González Prada, *Free Pages and Hard Times: Anarchist Musings*, ed. David Sobrevilla, trans. Frederick H. Fornoff (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 49.

²⁶ Manuel González Prada, “Nuestros Indios,” in *El pensamiento indigenista*, ed. José Tamayo Herrera, (Lima: Mosca Azul Editores, 1981), 30-49.

²⁷ “El Perú y la obra pro-indígena,” *El deber pro-indígena* 1, no.10 (July 1913): 79. “Nuestra colectividad nacional no es por cierto un pueblo de raza blanca, ni por sus orígenes, ni por su composición actual. Desde luego, no tenemos por qué poner nuestro orgullo en el color blanco, ni en la pureza etnológica de nuestra sangre. Nuestro lugar no está en los congresos eugénicos, sino en la campaña á favor de la rehabilitación de las razas abatidas y la igualación de todas las estirpes humanas.”

Dora Mayer believed that the racial mixture of the Peruvian population was in fact a positive attribute, arguing that “miscegenation” would create a “superior human race.”²⁸

The members of the *Asociación* also rejected the idea that an organization that protected indigenous people against abuses was sufficient to end the racial divisions in society.

They believed more work was necessary. Specifically, they called for a “doctrine of moral uplift” that would convert “those who believed themselves to be slaves into individuals who possess human rights.”²⁹

Some members of the *Asociación* called for urban workers and rural indigenous people to work together for shared goals of enacting social change, but also recognized the differences between the experiences of each group. One contributor to *El Deber* underscored how indigenous people were emasculated and dehumanized more than urban workers. He wrote: “the worker in the factory is the father of a family in whom the right of feeding and educating his children is recognized. The indigenous man in the countryside and haciendas...is the pariah who has to reproduce himself in order to multiply the numbers of slaves—he has to increase the human chattel.”³⁰ The differences between urban workers and rural indigenous laborers did not prevent many members of the *Asociación* from interacting and organizing with other activists involved in the student, labor, and budding feminist movements. In fact, some saw workers and indigenous people as suffering from the same problem. Joaquín Capelo believed that the

²⁸ Dora Mayer, “La Miscegenación,” *El deber pro-indígena* 3, no. 34 (July 1915): 148-149

²⁹ “El Perú y la obra pro-indígena,” *El deber pro-indígena* 1, no.10 (July 1913): 79. “Se necesita sentar doctrina de elevación moral que constituye en dueños de los derechos humanos á los que se creen esclavos.”

³⁰ J. Vataliano Berroa, “La cuestión obrera y el problema indígena,” *El deber pro-indígena* 1, no. 11 (August, 1913): 88-90. “El obrero de los talleres es el padre de familia, á quien se reconoce el derecho de alimentar y educar á su prole; ¿el indígena de los campos y haciendas de explotación gamonalista, es el paria, que debe reproducirse para multiplicar los esclavos, es el factor vivo, que con el nombre de colono, debe aumentar el ganado humano...”

abuses against both urban workers and rural indigenous people were a result of the actions of government authorities who did not view the role of the state as an entity meant to protect the well-being of all, but rather as a source to secure their own individual gain.³¹

Although the advocacy of the *Asociación* pressed for greater rights and equality for indigenous people, it also often relied on paternalistic sentiments. In her writings on pro-indigenous activism, Dora Mayer attempted to rebuke some accusations circling in public discourses that indigenous people were inherently inferior and therefore not deserving of equal rights and privileges. However, while doing so, she also demonstrated her feelings of paternalism toward indigenous people whom she equated to children. She wrote:

It doesn't matter that a child is poor or rich, healthy or sick, beautiful or ugly, intelligent or simple, his father will do all that he can and will not permit that anyone put him in a second category because there are children more talented or stronger than his. That is the character of paternal affection. Such affection we owe to the Indian.³²

Furthermore, Dora Mayer stated that the public debates should not revolve around defining or arguing about the supposed characteristic of indigenous people. She believed these characterizations mattered less than the responsibility of non-indigenous people to support the betterment of indigenous people. Paternalism did not seem to bother Mayer because it resulted in the positive changes for indigenous people. In an article from 1926 reflecting on the activities of the Pro-Indigenous Association, Dora Mayer wrote that one

³¹ Joaquín Capelo, "¿Será por patriotismo?" *El deber pro-indígena* 1, no. 11 (August, 1913): 87-88.

³² Dora Mayer de Zulen, *La intangibilidad de las comunidades indígenas* (Bellavista (Callao), Peru: Tip. J.E. Chenyek, 1936), 65-66. "Nada importa que un niño sea pobre o rico, sano o enfermo, hermoso o feo, sabio o simple, su padre querrá hacer de él todo lo que pueda, y no permitirá que se le ponga en segunda categoría porque haya niños más talentosos o más fuertes que el suyo. Tal es el carácter del cariño paternal. Tal cariño debemos al indio."

of the successes of the *Asociación* was to educate the indigenous messengers who sought out the help of the *Asociación*. She wrote:

The indigenous emissaries came to the capital and familiarized themselves with the management of their petitions. Anyone who was not involved with the pro-indigenous work cannot be aware of the enormous transformation that has occurred in the messengers of the departments from the first day when they arrived without knowing one word of Spanish, until today, when they have spokespersons who do not need interpreters and are knowledgeable about the limeño environment with which they are in repeated contact.³³

The seeds that the *Asociación* planted contributed to the ability of indigenous people to act on their own. Although Dora Mayer expressed some paternalistic sentiments toward indigenous people, in her reflection on the association she understood that “it was time that [the indigenous people] themselves take charge of their own defense because those who were incapable of participating in their own salvation will never be saved.”³⁴ She believed that when indigenous people no longer need the help of advocates, there would be no need for organizations like the *Asociación*. Likewise, she believed that when the state effectively acted in the best interests of all its citizens, setting up appropriate government institutions and legislating pro-indigenous laws, the *Asociación* would not be needed. She wrote: “the functions that the Pro-Indigenous Association fills, or desires to fill, are functions that ought to be undertaken by the

³³ Mayer de Zulen, “Lo que ha significado,” *Amauta* 1, no. 1 (September 1926): 22. “los emisarios indios venían a la Capital, y se familiarizaron con el manejo de sus gestiones. Quien no ha estado en la labor pro-indígena no puede darse cuenta de la enorme transformación operada en los mensajeros de los Departamentos desde el primer día, en que llegaban sin saber ni una palabra de español, hasta hoy, en que disponen de voceros no necesitados de interpretes y empapados en observaciones del medio limeño con el cual están en repetido contacto.”

³⁴ Mayer de Zulen, “Lo que ha significado,” *Amauta*, 22. “Ya era tiempo que la raza misma tomara en manos su propia defensa, porque jamás será salvado el que fuese incapaz de actuar en persona en su salvación.”

government.”³⁵ However, because the government was not fulfilling these needs, she believed that “unfortunately, it appears that [the *Asociación*] will not shut down any time soon, because of the lack of a conscience in our government and the inertia of our public.”³⁶ In addition, other organizations with the purpose of protecting indigenous rights formed in response to the needs of indigenous people and the success of the *Asociación*.³⁷

Because of the Pro-Indigenous Association’s influence in society and among indigenous petitioners, some local authorities began to criticize its work. In early 1914, the Prefect of Puno criticized the *Asociación* for not having the facts correct in its denunciations. In the case of a massacre of indigenous people in the region of Saman, he stated that although innocent people were killed, the press and the *Asociación* described the events inaccurately. He explained that “without having a perfect understanding of the facts, the press comments on the cases as it pleases, and is very often seconded by the Pro-Indigenous Association.”³⁸ In the same case, the sub-prefect of the province went further by accusing the indigenous denunciators of “deceiving the Press [in Lima] with their hypocritical humility, misrepresenting, with the aloofness of their eyes, the many perversities that are enclosed in their narrow degenerate brains—a result of alcohol abuse.” He also provided his own analysis of the reasons for the hostilities of the indigenous people: “one has come to believe, especially in Lima, that the rebellious

³⁵ Dora Mayer, “Cuándo es necesaria la Asociación y cuándo no,” *La crítica semanario independiente* 1, no. 39/40 (1918). “las funciones que llena o desea llenar la Asociación Pro-Indígena son funciones que debieran ser desempeñados por el Gobierno.”

³⁶ Mayer, “Cuándo es necesaria.” “desgraciadamente, por la falta de conciencia de nuestros gobiernos y la inercia de nuestro público, parece retirarse todavía a un porvenir algo lejano.”

³⁷ *El deber pro-indígena* 1, no. 11 (August, 1913): 90.

³⁸ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 165, 1914, Señor Director de Gobierno from Prefectura de Puno, A. Max Zapata, Puno, Jan. 2, 1914. “Esta es, Señor Director, la verdad de los hechos que desgraciadamente se han realizado, y que sin tener perfecto conocimiento de ellos, la comenta la prensa á su antojo, secundada muchas veces por la Asociación Pro-Indígena.”

movement of the Indians is a result of the tyranny of the whites. I would not dare to disagree completely with this, but I also believe that a large part of it is due to the character of the Indian, who is inclined to laziness, theft and drink.” Furthermore, he claimed that these tendencies of the indigenous people had been fomented by unscrupulous individuals, “who have found in the Indian a docile instrument for the satisfaction of their personal gain and revenge.” He even blamed the government for supporting the indigenous people too much because “believing themselves supported, as the central government has made them believe, they are inspired by this crazy hope and will succumb to all kinds of excess.”³⁹

The *Asociación* withstood such criticism and was able to force the government to respond to some of its petitions and denunciations of abuses. In one example from 1912, Pedro Zulen, the General Secretary of the *Asociación*, sent a denunciation to the central government, claiming that Claudio de la Cruz, an indigene from the province of Huarochirí in the department of Lima, was fined 80 *soles* for refusing to act as the *mayordomo*, or steward, of a religious festival.⁴⁰ In the petition, Zulen criticized the obligatory nature of the position of *mayordomo*, which forced the individual who holds the position to spend beyond his means in preparation for the religious festival.

Moreover, he explained that “in all the towns in Peru where this abuse has become

³⁹ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 165, 1914, Prefect of Puno from Sub-prefect F. Vallego, Samán, Dec. 27, 1913. “engañando a la Prensa de allá con su humildad hipócrita disimulando con la esquizofrenia de sus miradas cuanta perversidades se encierran en sus cerebros estrechos de degenerados por el abuso del alcohol, vicio atávico entre ellos.” “Se ha venido creyendo especialmente en Lima, que el movimiento levantisco de los indios se debe la tiranía de los blancos, no me atrevería a desmentir en lo absoluto esta especie, pero también creo que se debe en gran parte al carácter del indio demasiado inclinado al ocio, robo y la bebida...” “y que últimamente esas tendencias han sido fomentadas 1ro por persona inescrupulosa que encontró en el indio instrumento dócil para la satisfacción de sus venganzas de lucro y venganza...” “que alentados con esta esperanza loca se entregarán a todo género de excesos creyéndose apoyados, por que así se les hizo creer, por el Supremo Gobierno.”

⁴⁰ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 166, 1914, Exmo. Señor from Pedro S. Zulen, Lima, Oct. 29, 1912.

customary it produces the pauperism of our rural populations and their gradual poisoning by alcohol, along with the periodic orgies that are fomented in the name of an honorable religion.”⁴¹

While Pedro Zulen portrayed the abuse as a despicable custom throughout Peru that contributed to the problems of the indigenous people, the religious official in the town denied that the abuses were occurring and criticized the *Asociación* for being detached from the real experiences of rural life. He argued the denunciations were false and that the “defenders of the indigenous class” should have to live for a time in these towns so that they would then know that it was not the religious festivals that corrupted the indigenous people.⁴² Furthermore, even the supposed victim Claudio de la Cruz claimed that the accusations were false. A few days after the denunciations were made by Pedro Zulen, Claudio de la Cruz apparently published a notice in the newspaper *El Comercio* denying that any abuses had been committed against him.⁴³

Despite de la Cruz’s denial of the abuse, Pedro Zulen argued that the government should still investigate the accusations. He claimed that “it is a well known procedure to pressure the victims until they retract their accusations against the authorities, a procedure that is unfortunately well established in Peru.” Moreover, he stated that often “victims voluntarily retract their accusations upon noting the direction of events [their accusations] provoke, hoping to avoid subsequent retaliation from the accused.”⁴⁴ The

⁴¹ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 166, 1914, Excmo. Señor from Pedro S. Zulen, Lima, Nov. 11, 1912. “en todos los pueblos del Perú donde el abuse se ha hecho costumbre, produciendo el pauperismo de nuestras poblaciones rurales y su envenenamiento paulatino por el alcohol, a parte de las orgías periódicas fomentadas en nombre de una digna religión.”

⁴² AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 166, 1914, Yllm. Monseñor from Eliseo A. La Torre, no date. “los defensores de la clase indígena.”

⁴³ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 166, 1914, Excmo. Señor from Pedro S. Zulen, Lima, Nov. 11, 1912.

⁴⁴ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 166, 1914, Excmo. Señor from Pedro S. Zulen, Lima, Nov. 11, 1912. “...que bien conocido es el procedimiento de presionar á las víctimas hasta que se desdigan de las

central government did continue the investigation and in 1914 not only declared that Claudio de la Cruz should be reimbursed for the fine, but also issued a Supreme Resolution on the case. The resolution states: “It is a primordial guarantee that the Constitution of the State recognizes in its article 14 that no one is obligated to do what is not ordered in the law nor impeded from doing what is not prohibited,” and that “it is consequently the duty of the government to bring to an end such a state of things, exonerating the indigenous race from inveterate practices that obligate them to unjustifiable expenses.”⁴⁵ Furthermore, the central government declared that the position of *mayordomo* not be obligatory, and that the local authorities should not partake in any role in the naming or practice of the *mayordomos*.⁴⁶

The enactment of this Supreme Resolution was one example of the successful ways in which the Pro-Indigenous Association pressured the government to respond to abuses of indigenous people. But because the *Asociación* could not guarantee that these government decrees were adhered to by local authorities, they knew their work was not done. The *Asociación* continued its work of assisting indigenous petitioners and acting as an intermediary between indigenous communities and the government until 1917. That year, the organization disbanded because of a romantic conflict between Pedro Zulen and Dora Mayer that was highly publicized. Mayer, twenty years older than Zulen, confessed her romantic attraction to Zulen and lamented his unrequited response in a

acusaciones que formulan contra las autoridades, procedimiento por desgracia establecido en el Perú.” “y ocurriendo, también, que las víctimas retiren voluntariamente sus acusaciones al notar el sesgo de los acontecimientos que provocan, por creer evitar así posteriores represalias de los acusados.”

⁴⁵ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 166, 1914, Resolución Suprema, Lima, Sept. 2, 1914. “Que es una garantía primordial que la Constitución del Estado reconoce en su artículo 14 la de que nadie está obligado a hacer lo que no manda la ley ni impedido de hacer lo que ella no prohíbe;... Que es deber del gobierno por consiguiente hacer cesar tal estado de cosas, exonerando á la raza indígena de prácticas inveteradas que la obligan á injustificables desembolsos.”

⁴⁶ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 166, 1914, Resolución Suprema, Lima, Sept. 2, 1914.

newspaper article. This public confession tainted Mayer's reputation among many in the political circles in Lima, but she seemed unfazed by the attention, and eventually took Zulen's last name even though they never married, and perhaps never even had a romantic relationship.⁴⁷ Although the Pro-Indigenous Association faded away after this conflict, many of the delegates, including Mayer and Zulen, continued to play a significant role in efforts to organize indigenous people, workers, and students and push forth legislation to protect the rights of urban and rural workers. Zulen left to study philosophy at Harvard University, and later returned to continue his work supporting indigenous causes. Zulen passed away from an illness in 1925.⁴⁸

The advocacy of the Pro-Indigenous Association resulted in legislative changes and government resolutions aimed at protecting indigenous people from abuses. It also promoted greater debate on the role of the state in protecting indigenous people and the place of indigenous people in the nation. During this period, the Pro-Indigenous Association became the "voice of the national conscience" that recognized that centuries of abuse against indigenous people had hurt the ability of Peruvians to unify under a shared sense of nationalism.⁴⁹ At times, the advocacy and debate on indigenous issues by the *Asociación* failed to effectively address the lived experiences of indigenous people, falling into stereotypical claims about the nature of indigenous people or the dependency and childlike characteristics of indigenous people who needed to be protected. But the *Asociación* nonetheless successfully promoted some of the claims made by indigenous people before the government. The *Asociación* also helped empower indigenous

⁴⁷ For a greater discussion of Mayer's perspective on this incident, see Dora Mayer de Zulen, *Zulen y yo: testimonio de nuestro desposorio ofrecido a la humanidad* (Lima: Imp. Garcilaso, 1925).

⁴⁸ Kapsoli, *El pensamiento*, 12-14.

⁴⁹ Jorge Basadre Grohmann, *Historia de la República del Perú* (Lima: Editora El Comercio, 2005), vol. 13, 3659. "la voz de la conciencia nacional."

messengers by familiarizing them with the political culture in Lima and teaching them new strategies as they made demands on the government.

Religious Advocacy of the Seventh-Day Adventists

The government's Supreme Resolution prohibiting obligatory stewardship in religious events was an attempt to limit the reach of the local political authorities in religious festivals, creating a greater separation between the church and the state. But it was also a criticism of the abuses that occurred because of particular practices of specific Catholic customs throughout Peru. While the Peruvian government had always had a strong connection with the Catholic church, liberal attempts to limit that relationship became more common in the early twentieth century, particularly around issues related to the indigenous population. Although non-Catholic religious groups had attempted to organize within Peru in the nineteenth century, it was not until 1915 that the government officially allowed the practice of other religions. This change was in part a result of the struggles of missionaries, particularly Adventist missionaries, who worked with the indigenous populations in the department of Puno in the first few decades of the twentieth century. Their success in transforming the habits of indigenous people, and the brutal repression they faced at the hands of some Catholic leaders in the region, gained the sympathies of legislators who passed the law of religious tolerance.

In 1919, a group of indigenous men from the district of Samán in the department of Puno wrote to the Minister of Government asking that their rights be protected and stating that they planned to convert to Adventism. Their text is worth quoting

extensively, for the insight it gives into the vernacular understanding of rights that it reflects:

For more than twelve years a most ruthless *gamonalismo* batters our town, robbing our lands, victimizing our companions who complained in repeated massacres, ransacking our humble homes and leaving us without bread or clothing, even burning our defenseless children alive, as government commissioner Major Gutiérrez Cuevas has confirmed.

Tired of seeking JUSTICE and not receiving it anywhere, exasperated by our situation and even more so by the legacy of stigma that we were going to leave our children, we have resolved to follow the teachings of the Gospel that the Adventists preached, which have initiated the redemption of our race at least in moral and intellectual matters. But, since last June, the priests and the authorities, pretending not to know that we have religious freedom, have begun to persecute us mercilessly in order to banish us from our town for the crime of believing in the gospels.

Many times we have turned to the Sub-prefect of Azángaro and the Prefecture of the Department asking for guarantees and we have not been attended to; the perversity of our unwarranted adversaries has culminated in the attack of the seventeenth of this month that resulted in the destruction of the walls built by the evangelical pastor Mr. Fernando Stahl on land bought by the Mission with the object of founding a school for the education of our children. The principal authors are the priest don Ernesto Hinojosa and the governor don Graciano Enriquez who led over three hundred drunken Indians...stating that they had an order from the Prefect to kill us as apostates and heretics, banishing us from our town and threatening us with death if we returned.

Therefore: We ask that you order the departmental and provincial authorities to guarantee our lives and the freedom of our consciences; permitting also that our children, who are the future defenders of the Nation, receive the education that the Evangelical Mission of the Seventh-Day Adventists generously provides for us.⁵⁰

By the time these indigenous men from Samán sent this letter to the Ministry of Government in 1919, a little more than ten years had passed since the Adventists' missionary work had begun in the department of Puno. Within that time the Adventists had gained a following of indigenous and non-indigenous supporters, some of whom became Adventists themselves and others of whom came to respect the activities and

⁵⁰ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 208, 1919, Señor Ministro de Gobierno from Mariano Puma, Simón Atco, Eduardo Puma, and Tiburcio Arapa, Puno, October 20, 1919. See Appendix A for complete Spanish version of this petition.

successes of the missionaries, without themselves joining the sect. Indigenous leaders from communities throughout the department of Puno sought out the missionaries, asking to be visited and instructed in the Adventist ways.⁵¹ They saw that the Adventist missionaries and their followers valued education and supported the building of schools for indigenous children. This coincided with the goals of many indigenous leaders, such as the ones who wrote the petition to the government in 1919. They believed that by educating themselves and their children, they could better defend their communities from the abuses of the *gamonales*. Because the local authorities were not providing indigenous children education, these indigenous leaders turned to the Adventists. Many non-indigenous intellectuals, as well as members of the Pro-Indigenous Association, cited the Adventists as a success story in the conversion of the indigenous people into civilized, educated citizens.⁵²

By the time the Seventh-Day Adventists arrived in Peru, the Adventists had been in existence for about fifty years. The movement originated in the nineteenth-century in the United States, during the period of religious fervor of the “Second Great Awakening.” The origins of the Adventists can be found in the Millerite movement, whose followers believed that the second coming of Christ would arrive in 1844. When Christ failed to return, in what was described as the “Great Disappointment,” groups of early Adventists splintered away from the Millerites and revised their theology. In the 1850s, a group of early Adventists relocated from New England to Michigan. In 1863, they officially established the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Battle Creek in 1863, where they built a

⁵¹ Ferdinand Anthony Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1920), 220-234.

⁵² See “The Indians and the Protestants,” and “The Imprisonment of the Protestants,” in *La Union*, Puno, March 10, 1913, cited in Stahl, *In the Land*, 136-143, 164-172; Luis E. Valcarcel, *Tempestad en los Andes* (Lima: Populibros Peruanos, 1927), 132.

health clinic and medical school. The Adventists believed in the infallibility of the Bible and in the second coming of Christ, recognized Saturday as the Sabbath, and worked to promote health and a proper diet, leading many Adventists to become vegetarians or vegans. Their missionary work promoted healthy habits such as avoiding alcohol and tobacco. They also promoted literacy so that members could read and study the scriptures.⁵³

The missionary work of the Seventh-Day Adventists in Peru was one of the first efforts by Adventists to spread their beliefs throughout the world. However, the first official missionary of the Adventist church was sent to Switzerland in the 1870s. In the late 1880s and early 1900s, missionaries, some of whom were trained medical doctors, traveled to China. In Latin America, colporteurs began spreading Adventist literature in the 1890s and ordained missionaries soon followed. By 1894, F.H Westphal was sent to set up Adventist missions in Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil. Other missions were organized in Jamaica and Trinidad.⁵⁴

The Adventist missionaries in Peru began working in the Aymara communities on the south shore of Lake Titicaca, specifically in the town of Platería in the early twentieth century. The Adventist leadership had received a request from an indigenous leader of the community, Manuel Zúñiga Camacho, asking them to send a missionary to work in his community.⁵⁵ Around 1911, Ferdinand Stahl and his wife Ana Stahl, with their two

⁵³ Douglas Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic: The Public Involvement of a Major Apocalyptic Movement* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001), 2-4, 11-15.

⁵⁴ Floyd Greenleaf, *The Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1992); 14-19, 20-21. Arthur Whitefield, *Origin and history of Seventh-Day Adventists* (Washington: Review and Herald Pub. Association, 1961); Adventist Mission, "A Tradition of Mission," Adventist Mission, <http://www.adventistmission.org/article.php?id=255> (accessed March 2, 2009).

⁵⁵ Juan B. Kessler, *Conflict in Missions: A History of Protestantism in Peru and Chile* (Denver: International Academic Publishers, 2001), 228-229.

children, officially moved from La Paz to the village of Platería to set up an Adventist mission. The Stahls had left their home in the United States in 1909, and spent their first years learning Spanish and beginning their missionary work in La Paz, Bolivia, accompanying the Adventists missionaries Edward and Flora Thomann who had arrived there in 1907. According to Stahl, he and his wife quickly received the support of people they encountered in both Bolivia and Peru because they had been trained as nurses. Both indigenous and non-indigenous people sought them out for medical reasons.⁵⁶

The indigenous leader who brought the Adventists to Puno, Manuel Zúñiga Camacho, was born in 1871 in the community of Cutimbo in the department of Puno. As a child he was sent to the coastal town of Moquegua to work as a domestic worker in the home of a well-known couple, Dr. Higinio Herrera and his wife. Manuel worked as a servant, but was also sent to primary school by the couple. His original name was Manuel Allk'a Cruz, but he eventually changed his name to Zúñiga Camacho, because the other students teased him about his name Allk'a. He took the name Zúñiga in honor of the priest who was his teacher; Camacho was his mother's maternal last name. As a young adult, he left the family in Moquegua and travelled to Mexico and the United States with an Italian whom he had met in Moquegua. He spent close to a year in San Francisco, though it is unclear what he did there. Upon his return to Peru, he joined the military and served in Lima for a few years. He then returned to his home province of Puno, settling near the town of Acora, where he became a messenger for his community and later, around 1904, founded the region's first schools for indigenous children.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Stahl, *In the Land*, 126-136.

⁵⁷ Augusto Ramos Zambrano, *Aimaras rebeldes* (Arequipa: Instituto de Estudios Pukara, 2007), 38-39.

In 1908, Manuel Zúñiga Camacho and other members of his community wrote a memorial to President Leguía asking that the state protect them from the *vecinos* who did not approve of their schools.⁵⁸ They also asked the state to help support the schools financially and give them materials such as desks, chalkboards, maps, and textbooks. They framed their requests in a language of nationalism and equated their wish to educate their children with the government's call for expanding education, stating:

In our fervent desire to procure education for our children and to make them conscientious citizens, useful to society and the nation, and influenced by the very noble objectives of the Supreme Government, which is trying to spread elementary education in all the regions of the Republic...we have also wanted to contribute to such a beneficial enterprise, founding two rural schools by our own efforts and maintaining it with our own money."⁵⁹

To gain further support for his indigenous schools, Manuel Zúñiga Camacho requested that the Adventist missionaries, Ferdinand Stahl and Albino Hallen, whom he met in his travels to La Paz, also help with the schools.⁶⁰

Ferdinand Stahl made some initial trips to Manuel Zúñiga Camacho's community after 1909, and eventually moved to Platería in 1911, where he helped build new schools and set up an Adventist mission. Besides the religious tenets of Adventism, the Stahls taught the indigenous students hygiene, literacy, and civics, and encouraged the indigenous people to stop consuming alcohol and coca leaves.⁶¹ As neighboring Aymara and Quechua communities saw the changes in the Platería indigenous people, they came in commissions to ask that the Stahls open schools in their communities as well. In

⁵⁸ Kapsoli, *El pensamiento*, 137-140.

⁵⁹ Kapsoli, *El pensamiento*, 138. "En nuestro ferviente anhelo de procurar instrucción á nuestros hijos i hacer de ellos ciudadanos conscientes, útiles á la sociedad i á la patria; i estimulados por los nobilísimos propósitos del Supremo Gobierno, que se afana por difundir la enseñanza elemental en todos los ámbitos de la República, multiplicando las Escuelas, hemos también querido contribuir á empresa tan benéfica, fundando con nuestro solo esfuerzo i sosteniendo con nuestro propio peculio, dos escuelas rurales..."

⁶⁰ Zambrano, *Aimaras rebeldes*, 40.

⁶¹ Stahl, *In the Land*, 126-136.

response to the numerous requests, the Stahls asked that more missionaries be sent to the department and worked with their indigenous students to train teachers who could go and work at newly formed Adventist schools in other villages. In 1914, a missionary from Argentina, Pedro Kalbermater, joined the Stahls and set up a mission in the Quechua-speaking region of Azángaro. Like the Stahls, he had medical training and so he set up schools as well as provided medical care in the indigenous communities.⁶² By 1920, the Adventists had forty-six primary schools, with forty-five native teachers at work, and an official church membership of 2075 people. By 1924, the number of schools rose to eighty with an enrollment of 4150 students.⁶³ The Stahls also helped some indigenous men such as Luciano Chambi and Juan Huanca become Adventist ministerial licentiates who were qualified to lead their own congregations.⁶⁴ According to Stahl, his mission had so much success in the department “as a result of not only the purity and goodness of the evangelical doctrines, but also because of the spontaneous requests especially from the indigenous people who beg[ged] me to evangelize them and provide them with the teaching that the indigenes from Platería enjoy[ed] in the schools that we sustain.”⁶⁵

These Adventists, like the *indigenista* activists of the Pro-Indigenous Association, were seen as a threat to many priests, landowners, and local authorities in the provinces. Many of the *vecinos* worried that the education the indigenous Adventists were acquiring would empower them to disrupt the status quo of the local community. Even local

⁶² Michael Ferguson, *Evangelical Religion and Social Instability in Southern Highland Peru*, PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan, 2005, 98.

⁶³ Kessler, *Conflict in Missions*, 233-236.

⁶⁴ Stahl, *In the Land*, 288.

⁶⁵ ARP, CC, Leg. 053 (Province of Puno), 1921, Natalie H. v. de Alvarez against Fernando A. Stahl, and Ezequiel Urviola, Puno, August 6, 1920, f. 67, Señor Prefecto del Departamento from Fernando A. Stahl, Puno, Aug. 13, 1920, “i todo debido no solo a la pureza i bondad de las doctrinas evangélicas, sino también a la solicitud espontánea especialmente de los indígenas quienes me ruegan para que los evangelice i les proporcione la enseñanza de que gozan los indígenas de la Plateria en las escuelas que al efecto sostenemos.”

merchants were upset by the Adventists because some indigenous people no longer bought alcohol, ruining their businesses.⁶⁶ In a petition to the president, Zúñiga Camacho stated that the local priest encouraged the *vecinos* to “persecute me whenever they saw me, and this is because of the school I founded that taught morality, temperance, and good manners.”⁶⁷ On a few occasions, the Stahls and their indigenous followers were violently threatened by the authorities. In one case, in 1913, the Bishop Don Valentín Ampuero, along with local political authorities, led a mob of over two hundred individuals to the home of the Adventist missionaries in Platería. The Stahls were not home, but the mob broke into the Stahl’s house and destroyed their furniture. They then proceeded to harass the indigenous Adventists, and arrested eight of them, including Manuel Camacho, imprisoning them in the jail in Puno.⁶⁸ The Adventist missionaries protested and delegates of the Pro-Indigenous Association investigated the abuses.⁶⁹ The judge eventually dismissed the charges against the prisoners, and the bishop left Puno for a few months since the public opinion regarding the event held that the bishop had overstepped his authority. The central government also sent a commission to investigate the activities of the Adventists, which resulted in a favorable review of the missionaries. A few months later, a bill for religious freedom was introduced in congress by a congressional representative from Puno that would allow the public practice of other religions beside Catholicism.⁷⁰ Despite strong resistance from the Catholic Church,

⁶⁶ Biblioteca Nacional del Perú (BNP), Pedro Zulen Archive, C-1190, 85.611, 19, To Señor Presidente de la República from Manuel Zúñiga Camacho, Lima, September 6, 1913.

⁶⁷ BNP, Pedro Zulen Archive, C-1190, 85.611, 19, To Señor Presidente de la República from Manuel Zúñiga Camacho, Lima, September 6, 1913, “Este cura insta á los vecinos á que me vejen donde me vean, y todo esto porque la escuela que fundé...enseño la moralidad, la temperancia, las buenas costumbres.”

⁶⁸ Letter from Manuel Camacho to Don Isaac Deza, Puno Prison, March 7, 1913, reproduced in Stahl, *In the Land*, 173-174.

⁶⁹ *El deber pro-indígena* 1, vol. 8 (May 1913): 66.

⁷⁰ Stahl, *In the Land*, 164, 178, 183-4.

Congress agreed to approve the Law of Religious Toleration in November of 1915, which removed the statement “and does not permit the public practice of any other [religion]” in article 4 of the 1856 Constitution.⁷¹ President José Pardo reluctantly agreed to the amendment, suffering great criticism from Catholic leaders as a result.⁷²

Besides violent threats on their lives, the Adventist leaders were also prosecuted for encouraging the rebellious nature of the indigenous masses. In 1920, the landowner Natalia H., widow of Alvarez, denounced Ferdinand Stahl before the judicial authorities claiming that “he stirred up the Indian masses of Capachica, specifically the Island of Amantaní, inciting them to revolt against the landowners...and to ignore the elected authorities.”⁷³ She accused Stahl and others of sedition, land usurpation and theft. Stahl denied the charges and stated that they were slanderous accusations meant as “a weapon to attack” his institution and its work.⁷⁴ The superintendent of the Adventist mission in Puno, who replaced Stahl in 1920, E.H. Wilcox, published a letter to the director of the newspaper *El Eco de Puno* clarifying the goals of the Adventists and denying the accusations of sedition: “we founded the Mission to make the indigenes better citizens, teaching them respect for the authorities and landowners, so that the enmity between the *white* and the *Indian* disappears.” He added that they also instilled in their indigenous

⁷¹ Ley No. 2193, “Supresión de la parte final del art. 4 de la Constitución,” November 11, 1915, <http://www.congreso.gob.pe/ntley/Imagenes/Leyes/02193.pdf>. “y no permite el ejercicio público de otra alguna.”

⁷² David P. Werlich, *Peru: A Short History* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), 148.

⁷³ ARP, CC, Leg. 053 (Puno), 1921, Natalia H. v. de Alvarez against Fernando A. Stahl, and Ezequiel Urviola, Puno, August 6, 1920, “Don Fernando A. Stahl soliviantó a la indiada de Capachica, en especial a la Isla de Amantaní, incitándola a sublevarse contra los propietarios, expulsándoles viva fuerza, y a desconocer a las autoridades constituidas.”

⁷⁴ ARP, CC, Leg. 053 (Puno), 1921, Natalia H. v. de Alvarez against Fernando A. Stahl, and Ezequiel Urviola, Puno, August 6, 1920, f. 67, Señor Prefecto del Departamento from Fernando A. Stahl, Puno, Aug. 13, 1920, “he venido a descubrir que como arma de ataque en contra de nuestra Institución religiosa i de nuestra propaganda, se esta haciendo circular la creencia, de que yo i mis compañeros, estamos infundiendo en los indígenas propósitos de sedición, desobediencia o desconocimiento a las autoridades del departamento, lo que importa una clamorosa calumnia.”

followers “patriotic sentiment, giving lessons in civic-mindedness, and teaching them to carry out the duties of serving the Patria.”⁷⁵ In this case, the good reputation of Stahl and the Adventists and the lack of evidence presented by the plaintiff resulted in the court’s dismissal of the case.⁷⁶

Conclusion

During the decade of 1909-1919, the emergence of important pro-indigenous organizations like the *Asociación Pro-Indígena* and the Adventist missionaries in Puno created institutions to which indigenous petitioners could turn for assistance and advocacy. Indigenous activists utilized these organizations to reinforce their petitions to government officials, or to empower themselves through education and literacy. For some Peruvians during this period, these advocates played an important role in creating a nation in which the indigenous population gained the education and access to rights that they, like any other citizen, deserved. For others, these actors only worsened the racial division within Peru by empowering the indigenous people to claim their due rights. The “once peaceful indigenous race” was now seen as a threat, ready to revolt or petition against the local landowners and authorities at any provocation.⁷⁷ But, on the whole, these *indigenista* advocates and their interaction with the indigenous petitioners forced the issues of indigenous people to be addressed in public and political forums, and neither

⁷⁵ ARP, CC, Leg. 053 (Puno), 1921, Natalie H. v. de Alvarez against Fernando A. Stahl, and Ezequiel Urviola, Puno, August 6, 1920, *El Eco de Puno*, Señor Director de “El Eco de Puno” from E.H. Wilcox, Director de la Misión Evangélica, October 8, 1920. “Hemos fundado la Misión para hacer de los indígenas mejores ciudadanos, enseñándoles el respecto a las autoridades y propietarios, para que desaparezca esa enemistad entre el *blanco* y el *indio*.” “no descuidamos el inculcar al indígena el sentimiento patriótico, dándoles lecciones de civismo, y de que cumplan con el deber de servir a la Patria.”

⁷⁶ ARP, CC, Leg. 053 (Puno), 1921, Natalie H. v. de Alvarez against Fernando A. Stahl, and Ezequiel Urviola, Puno, August 6, 1920; f. 103, Secretario de la Corte Suprema de Justicia, June 10, 1922.

⁷⁷ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 199, 1917, Prefect of Puno from Sub-prefect of Sandia, Sandia, Dec. 18, 1917.

government officials nor landowners could ignore their growing presence. The next chapter describes how the populist president Augusto B. Leguía responded to the political challenges of the indigenous people and their advocates by taking up the idea of pro-indigenous activism within his government from 1919-1930.

Chapter 4:
Rebellious Sons and Daughters of the “New Fatherland”:
***Indigenismo* during the Government of**
Augusto B. Leguía, 1919-1930

Introduction

The increased activism of indigenous people and their advocates during the second decade of the twentieth century coincided with greater political mobilization among some workers and students. The second presidency of José Pardo (1915-1919), a member of the *Civilista* party, was plagued by national strikes. The strikes were organized by men and women working in industries and the public sectors who called for protective legislation for workers. Groups of students also supported the strikes and pressured for their own demands of greater representation in university affairs. In an attempt to maintain his legitimacy and quell the unrest, Pardo implemented some social reforms to benefit the growing social movements. On January 1919, for example, he enacted a supreme decree establishing the eight-hour work day for state employees. However, the protests continued. As a result of the turmoil and the government's inability to satisfy the demands of the protestors, many people turned against the ruling party in the national elections in May 1919.¹

¹ Thomas M. Davies, *Indian Integration in Peru: A Half Century of Experience, 1900-1948* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), 65-66; David P. Werlich, *Peru: A Short History* (Carbondale:

The opposition candidate, Augusto B. Leguía, took advantage of this growing resistance to the *Civilista* party among the popular classes. Leguía had been a *Civilista* president from 1908 to 1912, but in the years following his presidency he separated from the *Civilista* Party over disagreements about the priorities and leadership of the party, as evidenced during the 1912 presidential campaign when he decided not to back the *Civilista* candidate Antero Aspíllaga. After the 1912 election, Leguía was accused of conspiring to kill President Billinghurst (1912-1914) of the Democratic Party and forced into exile in 1913. With the 1919 elections, Leguía returned from exile in Great Britain in order to renew his political career. His experience in politics, his separation from the flailing aristocratic *Civilista* Party, and his populist rhetoric made him a strong candidate with the citizens who were growing tired of “politics as usual.” Many students, workers, and *indigenistas* who called for a new direction for Peru came to support the Leguía campaign.²

Leguía answered this call by insisting that his presidency would bring about a “*Patria Nueva*,” or New Fatherland, in which the elitist tendencies of the past aristocratic leadership would be eradicated. Leguía intended to transform the country into a new, modern, and more egalitarian fatherland with himself in the role of father to the nation. Peruvian society was already changing, and to a large extent the government leadership was rushing to catch up to the calls of the people. The growing clamors of indigenous people in the highlands and the protests of the urban and coastal workers were continuous reminders to the national leaders that “politics as usual” was not working. Leguía, with

Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), 149-150; Peter Flindell Klarén, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 236-237

² Werlich, *Peru*, 134-136.

his apparent political savvy, offered a populist platform calling for something new and different in order to garner the support of the popular classes.³

Leguía was able to convince the majority of the electorate to support his candidacy in the May 1919 election, which he won by a respectable margin. However, the majority in congress opposed his return. Claiming that the hostile congress intended to prevent him from being sworn in, Leguía took matters into his own hands. In early July, he instigated a coup d'état in which he, with the support of elements in the military, assumed provisional control of the government almost two months prior to his planned inauguration. He immediately dissolved the *Civilista*-controlled congress, and called for the election of a new National Assembly that would also rewrite the Constitution. Although President Pardo made an attempt to counter Leguía's coup his effort quickly failed because he could not garner sufficient military or popular support. Within a few weeks of the coup, Leguía was comfortably installed in the presidential palace and had control over the newly-elected congress.⁴

Leguía's populist tendencies, including promises to expand the democratic process and civil rights and his emphasis on modernizing the Peruvian economy and society came together under an authoritarian leadership style in which Leguía justified the temporary suspension of democratic institutions in order to remake the political system to fit with his vision of a new Peruvian nation. Thus, Leguía came to office as a civilian dictator, eschewing the electoral system with the justification that he had the support of the common people.

³ Klarén, *Peru: Society and Nationhood*, 242-244; Werlich, *Peru*, 150.

⁴ Werlich, *Peru*, 151.

The policies of Leguía's early administration addressed national concerns that had often been ignored under past presidencies, including under his first presidency. Among the most urgent of these issues was the "Indian problem," made manifest in the frequent pilgrimages of indigenous petitioners from the Andean highlands to the presidential palace and congressional buildings in Lima. The numerous grievances of these indigenous petitioners were taking up the time of many government officials.⁵ The national debate being stirred up by *indigenistas* in Lima and other cities like Cuzco and Puno placed further pressure on government officials. Also, successful efforts at educating indigenous people by Adventists demonstrated that change was possible.

In response, Leguía focused on creating government policies that would improve the lives of indigenous people throughout Peru. He even fancied himself the "protector of the indigenous race" and was known to be called "taita," or father in Quechua, by indigenous people.⁶ Many scholars have shown that despite the president's unprecedented will to change, his policies were not particularly effective at improving the everyday living conditions of indigenous people.⁷ The explicit support of the Leguía government for indigenous rights, at least during the first half of his *oncenio* government, nonetheless legitimized the demands and concerns of indigenous people.⁸ Concurrently, groups such as students and workers gained organizational strength under the early years of the Leguía government and interacted regularly with indigenous messengers in Lima. As one scholar has argued, the *oncenio* was "a gestation period for Peru's modern labor-

⁵ Dora Mayer de Zulen, *El indígena peruano a los cien años de república libre e independiente* (Lima: Imprenta Peruano de E.Z. Casanova, 1921), 52-53.

⁶ Dora Mayer, *El oncenio de Leguía* (Callao: Tip. Peña, 1932), 79-82.

⁷ Werlich, *Peru*, 162; Thomas M. Davies, Jr., *Indian Integration in Peru: A Half Century of Experience, 1900-1948* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974), 77.

⁸ "Oncenio" is a Spanish term that has been used to refer to the eleven-year term of Leguía's second presidency (1919-1930).

left parties—the Communists, Socialists, and the nation’s own APRA party.”⁹ The political climate under the early Leguía government and the solidarity among students, workers, and indigenous activists greatly improved the ability of indigenous people to organize in subsequent years, particularly on a national scale, by contributing to the formation of indigenous leaders and the strengthening of a shared political and cultural identity among indigenous people, students, and workers. Whereas in previous decades the indigenous majority was seen as a barrier to Peruvian nationhood and modernization, in the 1920s, the struggles of indigenous people, buoyed by the initial support of the Leguía government and the networking with student and labor organizations, led to widespread recognition of the crucial role of indigenous people in national politics in order to strengthen and modernize the nation. Nevertheless, many people of the elite classes attempted to disregard this reality, and feared the growing organization of indigenous people. The resulting political pressure by members of the elite would eventually force President Leguía to waver in his support of the indigenous activists by the middle of his *oncenio*. Even so, indigenous activists continued to press for their demands. By the mid-1920s, a precedent was set, and elites could no longer deny the abilities of indigenous men and women to organize and demand their rights, nor could they deny the growing strength of indigenous citizens in Peruvian society and politics.

Official Indigenism under the Leguía Government

At the end of 1919, the first major duty of the newly elected Congress was to rewrite the Constitution. Modeled on the Mexican Constitution of 1917, the Peruvian

⁹ Werlich, *Peru*, 164.

Constitution, promulgated on January 18, 1920, included greater social guarantees and made gestures toward the decentralization of the government by creating regional congresses in the north, central, and southern regions of Peru.¹⁰ The new constitution also included provisions that would advance indigenous rights. Unlike previous constitutions it directly affirmed the government's commitment to protect indigenous people, even though the specificities of this protection were not detailed. In Article 58 it stipulated that "the State will protect the indigenous race and will dictate special laws for their development and culture in harmony with their needs." More specifically, it stated that "the Nation recognizes the legal existence of the indigenous communities and the law will declare their corresponding rights."¹¹

One demonstration of this government protection of indigenous people was the creation of an investigatory commission to study the situation of indigenous people in Peru with the goal of developing specific legislation for their protection. In July 1920, with the encouragement of the congressional deputy from Puno, José Antonio Encinas, the Leguía administration decreed a Supreme Resolution to create a commission to travel to the southern departments of Puno and Cuzco to investigate the situation of the indigenous people. The commission was originally composed of the lawyers Erasmo Roca, Enrique Rubín and Humberto Luna, but after a few weeks Enrique Rubín returned to Lima for health reasons. The commission arrived in Puno on August 1, 1920 and within a few days the group divided with Erasmo Roca traveling to the Puno provinces of Chucuito, Huancané, and Lampa, accompanied by a translator who spoke Aymara and

¹⁰ Davies, *Indian Integration*, 71; Klarén, *Peru*, 151.

¹¹ Perú, Constitución de 1920, <http://www.congreso.gob.pe/biblio/index1.htm> (accessed June 20, 2008).

Quechua, and Enrique Rubín and Humberto Luna going to the Puno provinces of Azángaro and Ayaviri and then on to the department of Cuzco.¹²

In the report of the commission, the authors provided an ethnographic account of their observations of the communities they visited, a summary of these communities' denunciations of abuse and their own observation of abuses, and a proposal for legislation to protect indigenous people. Describing their visits to Puno and Cuzco, the commissioners noted that they were impressed by the sense of patriotism among the indigenous people, particularly those educated by the Adventists. Roca wrote that when they arrived in Puno:

Around two thousand indigenous evangelicals of the region of Platería (district of Acora), in correct military formation and guided by two musical bands, paraded before the Commission. The militant aspect of the improvised battalions and the pride with which they hoisted our flag filled us with pleasure and satisfaction, as we observed that the Indian, previously refractory to military instruction, no longer would be only cannon fodder, but a group [of people] conscious of their patriotic duties who would gladly flock to the barracks when the Fatherland needs them.¹³

Despite the commissioners' satisfaction with the patriotism of the indigenous Adventists, they raised questions about what constituted a unified sense of nationalism, and how well the government was working to bring about this sense of nationalism. For example, in the province of Huancané an indigenous man asked the commissioners "Why, if we are Peruvians, do we use Bolivian money?" To which the commissioners, unable to answer, resolved to raise the question before the national authorities. Indeed, most fees and

¹² P. Erasmo Roca Sánchez, *Por la clase indígena* (Lima: Biblioteca de la Revista de Economía y Finanzas, 1935), 191.

¹³ Roca Sánchez, *Por la clase indígena*, 192. "a cerca de dos mil indígenas evangelistas de la región de la Platería (distrito de Acora), que, en correcta formación militar y guiados por dos bandas de música, desfilaron ante la Comisión. El aspecto marcial de esos batallones improvisados y el orgullo con que enarbolaban nuestro bicolor nos llenaron de gozo y satisfacción, al considerar que el indio, refractario en toda época a la instrucción militar, ya no sería sólo carne de canon, sino un factor consciente de sus deberes patrióticos, que afluya gozoso a los cuarteles cuando la Patria necesite de él."

salaries were paid in *Bolivianos*, even those paid to Peruvian religious and government officials in the Puno provinces bordering Bolivia. Furthermore, in the author's summary of his visit to the province of Chucuito, he wrote:

In sum, in this province the Indian lives under the yoke of a brazen exploitation. And upon considering his misfortune, after having lost his lands, animals, home, and freedom, he looks for a saving refuge from hunger dedicating himself to thievery or emigrating to Bolivia, where, they say, it is more hospitable....and we believe that this fact raises a very grave question for national interests.¹⁴

Indeed, this threat (or last resort) of moving to Bolivia or another country was a consideration if the Peruvian government did not grant or enforce the rights the indigenous people deserved. In a memorial to President Leguía from messengers from the province of Lampa in the department of Puno, they wrote, "we came for the last time to demand justice, and in case we do not receive it, Mr. President, we will have to achieve it by ourselves in order to save our family from hunger, shame, and dishonor, or emigrate to some other Republic, where the constitutional guarantees are not meaningless." The frustration of the indigenous messengers at the impunity of their abusers and the lack of a government response is quite evident in this memorial when they acknowledged that they would have contemplated violent measures had it not been for the presence of the Commission. They explained:

Mr. President, if we had wanted to take justice into our own hands, as we were resolved to do, and did not because of the observations, promises, and advice of Dr. Rubin, what would four to five hundred *gamonales* and eight to ten Sub-prefects achieve against four hundred thousand indigenous people? Nothing, absolutely nothing. But before arriving at such extreme measures, and listening to

¹⁴ Roca Sánchez, *Por la clase indígena*, 220-222, 235. "Por qué siendo nosotros peruanos usamos la moneda boliviana?" "En suma, el indio vive en esta provincia bajo la férula de una explotación descarada. Y al considerara su infortunio, después de haber perdido sus tierras, sus animales, su casa y su libertad, busca como refugio salvador para el hambre, el dedicarse al robo o emigrar a Bolivia, en donde, dice, encuentra más hospitalidad....y creemos que este hecho envuelva una cuestión muy grave para los intereses de la nacionalidad."

the advice of the Commission, we want first to exhaust all the means possible to achieve justice.

In this memorial, the messengers acknowledged the positive role the “Pro-Indigenous Commission” was making in the department of Puno, and that they presented their written and verbal complaints before the commission. Nevertheless, they decided to organize a group of messengers to travel to Lima to present memorials directly to President Leguía, since they could not wait for the commission to return and write up its report. In fact, they made reference to the report in 1902 that Alejandrino Maguiña wrote about his investigation of the abuses against indigenous people. Because the current commission had not yet finished its investigation and issued a report, they suggested that the government “reexamine the report from 1902...that ought to exist in the Ministry of Government, in order to convince themselves of the truth of our complaints and the impunity [our oppressors received]...”¹⁵

A fellow messenger from the province of Azángaro in the same commission to Lima in his memorial simply asked that the rights of indigenous people be respected. His memorial stated:

We do not pretend to promote a race war nor privileged castes. Public and private laws are respected by the indigenous people of “Tahuantinsuyo,” today called South America, and as we respect the laws of this unfortunate Nation, that at one

¹⁵ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 216, 1920, Lima, Oct 30, 1920, To Señor Presidente de la Republica from Inocencio Condori de Pucara. “...hemos venido por última vez, a implorar justicia; y caso de no conseguir, señor Presidente, tendremos que hacérnosla por nosotros mismos, para salvar a nuestra familia del hambre, de la vergüenza y de la deshonra, o emigrar a alguna otra república, donde las garantías Constitucionales, no sean letra muerta.” “Si quisiéramos, señor Presidente, hacernos justicia por nosotros mismos, como estábamos resueltos a hacerlo y solo debido a las observaciones, promesas y consejos del doctor Rubín, no lo hicimos, qué serían cuatrocientos o quinientos gamonales y ocho o diez Subprefectos, contra cuatrocientos mil indígenas?... Pero antes de llegar a medidas extremas y escuchando los consejos de la Comisión, queremos antes agotar todos los medios posibles para alcanzar justicia...” “basta al Gobierno, volver a fojear el informe que en 1902 elevó el doctor Alejandrino Maguiña, hoy Fiscal de la Suprema, que mandado en comisión especial a la provincia de Chuchito, y que debe de existir en el Ministerio de Gobierno, para convencerse de la verdad de nuestras quejas y de que al amparo de la impugnidad[sic]...”

time was a great and rich Empire, we ask that our rights also be respected and that our tyrannical enemies be subjected to the punishment of the law.

Moreover, in his petition he demanded more profound changes from the government, which he claimed was the only way for the nation to progress: “We don’t ask for superficial measures and tranquility for only a moment. We desire that all [our demands] become reality. This is the only way that there will be progress and tranquility on this Continent; we are tired of seeking justice for over fifty years.”¹⁶

Another group of messengers from the department of Huánuco in central Peru traveled to Lima and submitted a memorial to President Leguía in December 1920. They had heard about the government commission to investigate the situation of the indigenous people in the southern departments of Peru, and suggested in their memorial that the government send the same commission, or another one, to their province to carry out a similar investigation. This group had met directly with President Leguía, but apparently had not had enough time to explain all the details of the abuses in their community and President Leguía suggested scheduling another meeting. However, the messengers needed to return to their home communities, so they submitted this new memorial specifying the details of the abuses committed against the indigenous people of their community. Their primary complaint was against the sub-prefect of their province:

It is not conceivable that in a period of civilization and progress, and in the shadow of an enlightened, eminently patriotic, and well-intentioned Government, that as its representatives, sub-prefects could exist, such as Roman Rios Fajardo, a prototype of ignorance, vice, and crime.

¹⁶ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 216, Lima, Nov. 11, 1920, To Señor Presidente de la República from Eugenio Mangoturpa. “no es que nosotros pretendemos a promover lucha de Razas ni de castas privilegiadas. –Los Derechos Públicos y Privados son respetados por los Indígenas del “Tahuantinsuyo”, hoy llamado Sub América”, así como nosotros cumplimos con las Leyes de esta Patria de desdichada que en un tiempo fue un Imperio grande y rico, pedimos que también nuestros derechos sean respetados y cayga la sanción de la justicia contra nuestros verdugos opresores.” “No pedimos medidas pasajeras y tranquilidades solo por horas. Deseamos que todo sea una realidad, solo así abrá progreso y tranquilidad en este Continente, cansado nos hallamos de pedir justicia, desde hacen mas 50 años.”

In the memorial they explained that one of their fellow messengers who returned home to his community at the end of November was imprisoned and tortured by the local authorities, and “to the screams of the defenseless victim, the family arrived only able to free him from prison and the torments after paying ten pounds.” They also described how the wife and daughter of another messenger were imprisoned and raped by the gendarmes, which “produced a great scandal in which all the neighbors of Panao were witnesses, because they approached the prison, attracted by the heartrending screams for help by the victims.” The indigenous petitioners claimed they could not get justice from the courts in their province either because the judge in their province was a “habitual drunk” and charged exorbitant sums that they could not afford.¹⁷

In a second petition from these same messengers, they explained that sub-prefect Ríos Fajardo “shouts everywhere that he is your godson, Mr. Minister, and for this reason ‘he does and will do whatever he wants.’” However, in this petition the petitioners were careful not to show a lack of respect toward the Minister of Government for his relationship with the abusive sub-prefect. They stated: “the title of spiritual parentage that [the sub-prefect] claims to have with you, Mr. Minister, on the contrary, ought to

¹⁷ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 216, 1920, Lima, Dec. 9, 1920, To Señor Presidente de la Republica from Jacinto Trinidad, Alejandro Postillo, etc., delegados de los indígenas comuneros de la villa de Panao, provincia de Pachitea. “No es concebible que en un periodo de civilización y de progreso y a la sombra de un Gobierno, ilustrado, eminentemente patriótico y bien intencionado, puedan subsistir, como sus representantes, Subprefectos, como Román Ríos Fajardo, prototipo de la ignorancia, del vicio y del crimen.” “A los gritos de la indefensa víctima, acudió la familia que solo pudo libertarlo de la prisión y los tormentos, mediante el pago de Diez libras que exigió como condición previa.” “produciéndose un gran escándalo de que fueron testigos todos los vecinos de Panao, por que se acercaban a la Cárcel, atraídas por los desgarradores gritos de auxilio que daban las victimas.” “un ebrio habitual.”

oblige him to follow your example of decency, patriotism, and worthy and honorable collaboration with the Government.”¹⁸

Following these petitions submitted by the indigenous messengers, the prefect of the department of Huanuco responded to Director of Government saying that all the accusations the indigenous messengers made were true. The prefect explained that he went to investigate the accusations in the province and found that the sub-prefect had fabricated a story of finding arms and other evidence of a planned indigenous revolt in order to extract money from the indigenous people in the region. In his letter to the Government, the Prefect wrote: “Senor Director, I made unprecedented efforts to dominate my indignation in light of all the classes of abuses that these unfortunate victims faced; and that in tears, these men and women communicated to me, asking me for immediate justice against the authors of such crimes.”¹⁹ He explained that he could not refer the cases of abuse to the provincial courts because they were likewise corrupted, but nonetheless he promised the indigenous people that “the abuses would not again occur while he was Prefect of the Department and while they were governed by the paternal Government that today determines the nation’s destiny, which had not yet dealt [with the problem] only because it was unaware of what was occurring.”²⁰ Indeed, the

¹⁸ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 216, 1920, Lima, Dec. 14, 1920, To Senor Ministro de Gobierno from Jacinto Trinidad, indígena, comunario de la villa de Panao. “quien vociferando por todas partes, que es ahijado suyo, señor Ministro, y que por esta razón ‘hace y hará lo que le dé la gana.’ “El titulo de parentesco espiritual que invoca, tener con Ud. Señor Ministro, muy al contrario, debería de obligarlo a seguir su ejemplo de honradez, de patriotismo, de digno y honorable colaborador del Gobierno.”

¹⁹ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 216, 1920, To Director de Gobierno from the Prefect of Huanuco José de La Torre, Jan. 24, 1921. “Necesité, señor Director, hacer esfuerzos inauditos para dominar mi indignación, ante los atropellos de todo género de que habían sido victimas esos infelices y que hombres y mujeres me comunicaban entre lagrimas, pidiéndome justicia inmediata contra los autores de tanto crimen.”

²⁰ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 216, 1920, To Director de Gobierno from the Prefect of Huanuco José de La Torre, Jan. 24, 1921. “ofrecíles que el Gobierno la haría en forma ejemplar, garantizándoles que esos atropellos no se volverían a repetir mientras yo fuera Prefecto de este Departamento I mientras estuvieran gobernados por el paternal Gobierno que hoy rige los destinos de la Nación, el que solamente por no saber lo que ocurría, no había atendido HASTA la fecha.”

government did enact changes and within a few weeks the government archived the petitions because the sub-prefect had been replaced.²¹

Overall, the Commission's travels through southern Peru and the publication of its report in May 1921 raised indigenous people's hopes that the government was indeed working on their behalf. The commission's final proposal included 356 articles recommending legislative reform to improve the situation of the indigenous people in Peru.²² However, when the executive branch sent it to Congress, it was not discussed and soon archived.²³ While the legislative reform proposal was largely ignored, the upsurge of criticism against corrupt local authorities and *gamonales* and the acknowledgement that many of the reports of abuse were true led the government to respond positively to certain indigenous petitioners' demands, particularly when they involved removing corrupt local authorities. Moreover, the apparent support and interest of the government to address the concerns of indigenous people, as demonstrated by the creation of the investigatory commission to the southern departments, encouraged other indigenous people to press their demands and gain the support of the government.

The Leguía government also implemented bureaucratic changes to address indigenous concerns. The government created a Section of Indian Affairs in the Ministry of Development in 1921 and the *Patronato de la Raza Indígena* (Guardianship of the Indigenous Race) in 1922. Officials created "Indian Day," to celebrate Peru's indigenous peoples, and erected statues of indigenous heroes such as Atahualpa.

²¹ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 216, 1920, Lima, 11 Feb. 1921. "Habiendo sido reemplazado el subprefecto a quienes se acusa, archívese. Dirección de Gobierno."

²² Mayer de Zulen, *El indígena peruano*, 147.

²³ Roca Sánchez, *Por la clase indígena*, 13.

While the statues and the celebration of an Indian Day symbolically demonstrated the support of the government for the indigenous race, the Section and the *Patronato* demonstrated their support tangibly. The Section of Indigenous Affairs, created as a division of the Ministry of Development, investigated the situation and problems of indigenous people, and would later register indigenous communities as legal corporations with inalienable lands. While some indigenous communities took advantage of this opportunity, many were unable because of the limited support offered to the Bureau to survey lands. By the end of Leguía's government about 400 communities out of thousands had registered. Although this did not seem much in comparison to the thousands of existing communities, it was a start. Over the next two decades, this process of registration would increase and many more indigenous communities would be registered. Furthermore, the Section of Indigenous Affairs helped authorize official representatives from indigenous communities in hopes of cutting down on abuses by individuals who falsely claimed to represent the communities.²⁴

The *Patronato de la Raza Indígena*, or Guardianship of the Indigenous Race, was created by a Supreme Resolution on May 29, 1922. A central board of the *Patronato* was set up in Lima, and led by the archbishop. Local boards also were set up in departmental capitals, led by religious and political leaders from the department. In Cuzco, for example, Dr. Humberto Luna, who was one of the members of the government commission sent to the southern departments in 1920 to investigate the indigenous abuses, participated on the board.²⁵ In many instances, the local *patronatos* took over judicial cases involving indigenous individuals, and a list of the complaints was

²⁴ Werlich, *Peru*, 162; República del Perú, Dirección General de Asuntos Indígenas, *Legislación indigenista del Perú* (Lima: Talleres Gráficos de la Penitenciaría Central, 1948), 41-44.

²⁵ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 232, 1922, Cuzco, Oct. 30, 1922.

published in local newspapers.²⁶ The central board in Lima served as another place, besides the presidential palace, congress, and the newspapers, where indigenous messengers or delegates could deposit their petitions and memorials. In some cases, the archbishop would even provide a place for the petitioners to stay while in Lima, such as the Seminary of Santo Toribio.²⁷ While the *Patronato* was similar to organizations such as the Pro-Indigenous Association in that it advocated for indigenous people by acting as mediators between the petitioner and the government, it also held some judicial power in cases involving indigenous people. This could become complicated when a decision of the *Patronato* conflicted with an official judicial ruling.²⁸ The *Patronato* also occasionally used its power to suggest the enactment of potential legislation to government officials. For example, when a petitioner in the department of Puno complained about “*chajeo*,” a practice in which local authorities would take animals of indigenous individuals to serve supposed official business, the *Patronato* suggested that the Ministry of Government prohibit the practice.²⁹ Overall, the new legislation and institutions set up to protect indigenous people and deal with their demands provided indigenous people and their advocates more avenues to press their demands.

²⁶ See, for example, “Patronato indígena: resumen de las quejas presentadas ante el Comité Departamental,” *El Siglo*, Puno, June 27, 1923, p.1.

²⁷ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 272 (Vp-Zp), 1927, Lima, August 12, 1927, Carlos Huaman to Señor Presidente de la República, “me hallo en esta capital alojado y alimentado en el Seminario ante la generosidad del Sr. Arzobispo, noble apostal y protector;” and AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 283 (Bp-Cp), 1928, Lima, Oct. 24, 1928, Santos Calcina to Señor Ministro de Estado en el Despacho de Gobierno,

²⁸ Davies, *Indian Integration in Peru*, 79.

²⁹ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 233, 1922 (Vp-Zp), Oct. 10, 1922, José Zapata to the Presidente del Patronato Indígena; Nov. 6, 1922, Juan José Calle to Señor Ministro de Gobierno.

Rebellious Sons and Daughters of the “New Fatherland”

Although the government took steps to address the concerns of indigenous people and other marginalized groups such as workers during the early years of the Leguía presidency, the efforts did not sufficiently satisfy many indigenous people and workers. Nor were members of the traditional elite pleased by Leguía’s apparent support of workers and indigenous people. They feared their previous power was slowly being taken away, particularly as marginalized groups began gaining organizational strength. The 1920s were a time when numerous organizations emerged promoting worker, student, and indigenous rights. Although some of the new organizations had the backing of President Leguía, many members of these organizations came to criticize the government for not effectively dealing with their concerns. As these sons and daughters of the “new fatherland” made their criticisms and demands known, and as members of the traditional elite continued to pressure the president, Leguía began to withdraw his support from some indigenous people and workers and took actions to repress the rebelliousness of their new organizations.

The 1920s were also a time to reflect on the past history of the nation because of the centennial celebrations that occurred in 1921, when independence was declared from Spain by José San Martín, and in 1924, when the Spanish troops were officially defeated in Ayacucho. These celebrations provided an occasion for journalists and activists to evaluate the state of the nation, and to organize their own meetings. The centennial was a time when the government, intellectuals, and citizens alike could reflect on the changes, advances, and difficulties of the past one-hundred years of Peruvian nationhood. While the government predictably focused on the successes, *indigenistas* and indigenous

activists focused on many of the failures during the previous century that had limited the equal rights of indigenous people. *Indigenistas* and indigenous activists invoked the rhetoric of the centennial to demand substantial changes for indigenous people and the future of the nation.

In commemoration of the centennial, the *indigenista* activist and writer Dora Mayer de Zulen published a book on the status of the indigenous people during the first century of the Peruvian republic. In her book she provided a list of the abuses against the rights and livelihood of indigenous Peruvians over the previous century, arguing that instead of progressing, the situation of indigenous people had regressed. The purpose of her book was to act as a counterweight to all the pomp and circumstance that would inevitably unfold during the centennial celebrations. She wrote that she wanted “the distant cry for help of the forgotten race to resound above the triumphant hymns the bands play in the principal plazas of the cities and the exhibitions of modern art where gloved audiences meet.” Because of the government’s neglect and lack of seriousness toward the indigenous population over the last century, she feared that “it is not likely that the race, if it is maintained in the condition of slave, will reach the second Centennial.” She hoped that her study of the situation of indigenous people in the past century would contribute to a comprehensive overhaul of previous attitudes and policies toward the indigenous people so that in the next century, “the nation’s own son can celebrate, together with the immigrant, the glories of national history.”³⁰

³⁰ Mayer de Zulen, *El indígena peruano*, v-vi. “Acápiteme por acápite se hará resonar el lejano grito de socorro de la raza olvidada por sobre los himnos triunfales que tocan las bandas en las plazas principales de las ciudades, y los conciertos de arte moderno que reúnen a concurrencias enguantadas.”; “El indígena, el verdadero peruano, pide su emancipación en el Primer Centenario de la Independencia Nacional. ¿Sería posible que en lugar de darle esa emancipación se le diese la muerte? Una de las dos alternativas tendrá que acontecer, pues no es probable que la raza si es mantenida en condición de esclava, alcance el segundo

In her study, she turned traditional elite ideas about the inability of indigenous people to contribute to the nation on their head by listing the consequences Peru faced because it had refused to allow indigenous people to participate in the nation. She wrote: “A people who are not proud of their race, who don’t love their family sufficiently enough to present it in the international arena well-nurtured and developed, what role will they play in the world?” Furthermore, she stated that anyone who examined that national history will “perceive with frightening clarity that the crime against humanity and the state that has been perpetrated carries in its entrails its implacable punishment.” According to Mayer, one of the punishments the Peruvian republic had brought upon itself was its loss of prominence in South America. In the colonial period, Peru held a place of great importance, but after one century of independence, it had fallen behind the nations of Brazil, Argentina, and Chile. In Mayer’s estimation, if Peruvians were not careful, “in another hundred years, it is possible that Peru will fall behind Bolivia and Ecuador.”³¹

Moreover, like her contemporaries, Mayer worried about the depopulation of Peru and its effect on the future generations. She understood the depopulation of Peru as a consequence of the government’s inability to unify the nation and protect all its citizens. As a result of the government’s recklessness and failures, Peruvians were “killed for punishable carelessness, drowned in blood, fleeing across borders, escaping persecution to places where strangers were more merciful than one’s own people...That is how

Centenario.”; “y que tal vez, después de un siglo más, pueda el hijo propio del país celebrar junto con el inmigrado las glorias de la historia nacional.”

³¹ Mayer de Zulen, *El indígena peruano*, 8, 88. “Un pueblo que no se enorgullece de su raza, que no ama a su familia lo suficiente para presentarla bien cuidada y fomentada en el concierto internacional ¿que papel juega en el mundo?” “y quien revisa la historia patria...percibe con claridad aterradora que el delito de lesa humanidad y lesa patria que se viene perpetuando lleva en sus entrañas su implacable castigo.” “y que, con otros cien años más, caerá posiblemente a retaguardia detrás de Bolivia y el Ecuador.”

[Peru] has been left anemic, devoid of physical strength and living consciences.” She claimed that “Brazil and Bolivia gather our pariahs, while we invite English, German, and North Americans to try their fortune on our deserted shores.” She asked, “If nationality is meaningless, why do we still insist on this fiction of nationality? Why are we ready to work for this chimera: the Nation?”³²

Despite the numerous failures of the Peruvian nation in its first century, many indigenous people still held out hope of becoming part of “this fiction of nationality.” In particular, President Leguía and his government offered opportunities never before seen in the republican period to advance the rights and improve the conditions of indigenous people. In a memorial from the Province of Andahuaylas, the indigenous petitioners used much of the same criticism mentioned by Mayer de Zulen, when they stated:

Mr. President, soon it will be the Centennial of our political emancipation, in which the liberty and independence of the Republic was proclaimed, but we continue to be slaves as in the time of the conquest, oppressed by our authorities and the ambitious *gamonales*, owners and masters of our lives and land.

However, they continued their petition acknowledging their hope for substantial changes under the Leguía administration, stating “the thousands of indigenes who constitute our communities have set their sights on you, Mr. President, putting their destinies and future in your hands, hoping that you will bring them justice.”³³ In this case, in response to their

³² Mayer de Zulen, *El indígena peruano*, 65. “Muertos por descuidos punibles, ahogados en sangre, huídos a través de las fronteras, escapando de las persecuciones adonde la gente extraña, más piadosa que la propia, así el Perú ha perdido a sus hijos;--así se ha desangrado el país—así ha quedado anémico de fuerzas físicas y de conciencias vivas!”; “El Brasil y Bolivia recogen nuestros parias, mientras nosotros invitamos a ingleses, alemanes y norteamericanos a probar fortuna en nuestras playas desiertas.”; “En fin, si la nacionalidad es nada, por qué insistir todavía en la ficción de la nacionalidad? ¿por qué estar listos a trabajar por esa quimera: LA PATRIA?”

³³ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 216, 1920, Señor Presidente de la República from Fermín Huarguachí, Mariano Ialache, Jesús Pillaca, y Francisco Pipa, en representación de los comuneros de Uripa, etc. (distrito de Chincheros, Provincia de Andahuaylas), Lima, Dec. 1, 1920. “Ya falta poco tiempo Sr. Presidente, para el Centenario de nuestra emancipación política, en que se proclamó la Libertad e Independencia de la República, pero nosotros todavía continuamos esclavos como en tiempos de la conquista oprimidos por nuestras autoridades y los ambiciosos gamonales, dueño y señor de nuestras vidas y terrenos.”; “Los miles

pleas, the prefect and sub-prefect investigated their complaints, and finding them to be true, took action by dismissing the governor and lieutenant governors.³⁴ While these petitioners put their faith in the hands of President Leguía, other indigenous people put faith in their own abilities by organizing themselves in a national indigenous movement.

A pro-indigenous movement, called the “Central Committee Pro-Indigenous Rights ‘Tahuantinsuyo,’” was formed on June 16, 1920 by a group of indigenous individuals who had been living in Lima advocating for the indigenous people in their home communities.³⁵ This organization also consisted of sub-committees that were organized in indigenous communities and from which delegates were elected to participate in the Central Committee activities. Although the Central Committee Pro-Indigenous Rights ‘Tahuantinsuyo’ took much of its inspiration from the Pro-Indigenous Association that was organized by Dora Mayer, Pedro Zulen, and other *indigenistas* in 1909, the Central Committee was meant to be organized for, and by, indigenous men and women. It received the explicit support of the Leguía government in its first years of existence.

One of the first major achievements of the Central Committee ‘Tahuantinsuyo’ was the organization of the First Indigenous Congress, held in Lima in July 1921. According to one former participant, the members of the Central Committee decided to organize the First Indigenous Congress as part of the celebration of the centennial in response to a suggestion by the writer José Carlos Mariátegui.³⁶ Like Dora Mayer de

de indígenas que constituye nuestras comunidades, tienen puesto la vista en Ud. Sr. Presidente, esperando la hará justicia para lo cual ponen en sus manos sus destinos y su porvenir futuro.”

³⁴ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 216, 1920, Carpio, Abancay, 19 Feb. 1921; and, Señor Prefecto from Subprefecto José Castañeda, Andahuaylas, 3 Feb. 1921.

³⁵ “Tahuantinsuyo” is a Quechua term used in Incan times to represent the four regions of the Incan empire.

³⁶ Wilfredo Kapsoli, *Aylos del sol: anarquismo y utopía Andina* (Lima: TAREA, 1984), 236.

Zulen, the organizers wanted to use the centennial celebrations as a forum to debate the issues surrounding the successes and failures of government policies in relation to the indigenous population.

In the Central Committee's publication "El Tahuantinsuyo," the editors provided their own analyses of the first century of republican history. In one editorial, they wrote: "Indigenous brothers: the century of *freedom and independence* that you will celebrate has been a century of shame and dishonor, darkness, and ignorance for the glorious race of Tahuantinsuyo. With the agony of this century, the awakening of our children has begun."³⁷ In a second editorial regarding the centennial, the editors suggested that indigenous people had nothing to celebrate:

The 28 of July 1921 cannot have any other significance for us than that of considering it a beginning point at which we have summarized the past disgraces and ready ourselves to begin a new era where we will learn not to be quiet and resigned to the disgraces we suffer, but to protest and rise up against the oppressing hand...

In the same editorial, the editors insisted that the indigenous people must become literate because "[the gamonal] knows that the day that the Indian learns to read and write his reign will have ended." However, the editors acknowledged that many indigenous people had already become educated: "today the Indians are enabled to do for themselves what the Supreme Government could not." If the government was unwilling to provide adequate schools in their communities, the editors suggested the regional sub-committees should work to better their own schools, or create new ones, if none existed. They concluded that "the luck of the Indian will be different," if within ten years each

³⁷ Editorial of *El Tahuantinsuyo* (Órgano del Comité Central Pro-Derecho Indígena) 1, no. 5, July 15, 1921, cited in Kapsoli, 1984, 250. "Hermanos indígenas: el siglo de vida *libre é independiente* cuya celebración vais á festejar, ha sido un siglo de vergüenza y oprobio, obscurantismo é ignorancia para la raza gloriosa del Tahuantinsuyo. Con la agonía de este siglo ha comenzado el despertar de nuestros hijos."

community had opened a school, for “he will have bettered himself by his own means; respectable for his knowledge, he will have strong fists with which to make sure his rights are respected.”³⁸

During the process of organizing the first congress during the centennial celebration, indigenous activists met with government authorities to receive official permission for the event. They also worked alongside *indigenistas* such as Dora Mayer, Manuel Quiroga, Dr. Hildebrando Castro Pozo, and Miguelina Acosta Cárdenas, among others, to organize the event. The organizers also solicited government financial assistance for hosting and travel expenses for the delegates. The government complied and also sent a representative to address the delegates at the inauguration of the congress. The Archbishop of Lima, who would later head the *Patronato* of Indigenous People, also attended the event.³⁹

During the congress, 320 delegates from across Peru discussed a variety of issues, with interpreters provided for both Quechua and Aymara speakers. Some of the discussions centered on the indigenous uprisings and massacres that were occurring in a variety of regions throughout Peru. Other delegates condemned the abuses against indigenous people that resulted from the Roadwork Conscription Law (Law no. 4113).

This law had been implemented by the Leguía government in 1920 fitting with his plan to

³⁸ *El Tahuantinsuyo* 1, no. 6, July 28, 1921, cited in Kapsoli, *Ayllos del sol*, 251. “Por todo esto, el 28 de julio de 1921 para nosotros no puede tener otro significado que el de que lo consideremos como un punto de partida en que hemos recapitulado la desgracia pasada y nos alistamos para comenzar una era nueva, donde aprenderemos, no á saber callar y resignarnos con la desgracia que sufrimos, sino á protestar y sublevarnos contra la mano opresora.” “Al gamonalismo no conviene que el indio se eduque; él sabe que el día que éste sepa leer y escribir habrá terminado su reinado; por esto el gamonalismo impide solapadamente, el funcionamiento de escuelas y centros escolares donde no deberían faltar.” “Pero hoy los indios están capacitados para hacer ellos mismos lo que el Supremo Gobierno no pudiera.” “Si dentro de diez años cada comunidad tiene su escuela, la suerte del indio será otra y habrá mejorado por su propio esfuerzo; respetable por su saber tendrá los puños fuertes para hacer valer sus derechos.”

³⁹ Teresa Ore, *Memorias de un viejo luchador campesino: Juan H. Pévez* (Lima?: Illa, TAREA, 1983), 143-155.

modernize Peru. The law legislated that all able-bodied men were required to dedicate a certain number of days to road construction work, unless they paid a fee to opt out of the work. Critics of the law claimed that it was indigenous people who were primarily affected by this law and was a slap in the face to indigenous activists and pro-indigenous advocates who had struggled to protect indigenous people from any form of obligatory service.⁴⁰ The road conscription law became a dominant point of contention between indigenous activists and the government during the 1920s. At the end of the indigenous congress, documents were drafted to summarize the discussions and to call on the government to pass legislation in support of indigenous rights. A decision was also made to hold yearly congresses for indigenous people.⁴¹

As the preparations and activities of the First Indigenous Congress were underway, landowners and local authorities in some of the departments with large indigenous populations expressed renewed fear of rebellions. They took the increased political activity of the indigenous people as a sign of potential revolts. One group of *vecinos* and landowners from the Department of Puno wrote in a letter to President Leguía:

It is public knowledge that the struggle between the races that has existed since the Conquest has intensified in the past ten years or so, and particularly in this Department. We can affirm without fear of error that the socialist ideas or doctrines prevailing in Russia have become known among the indigenous race of Peru, vehemently nurtured by the memory of the patriarchal communism that existed in the Incan Empire.

They claimed that indigenous people were organizing a general rebellion against the landowners and the “white race,” and that because many of the indigenous people were trained soldiers and were hoarding arms and dynamite, they feared that the rebellion

⁴⁰ Mayer de Zulen, *El indígena peruano*, 33-34.

⁴¹ Teresa Ore, *Memorias de un viejo luchador*, 143-155.

would be “militarized, with elements of modern warfare.” Besides claiming that the indigenous people were well armed and “fanatical in their socialist doctrines and hatred of the white race,” the landowners also insisted that the link between indigenous people and the Seventh-Day Adventists was proof of their subversive nature. They stated: “There, where the Adventists have set up their camps and have taken control of the spiritual direction of the Indian masses, as in Chucuito, Acora, and Capachica, that is where the vindictive and extreme socialist ideas are concentrated and from there radiate the threat of destruction.”⁴² It is unclear whether the government took this petition seriously. The document was archived and within a year, one of the primary signatories of the document, Justo Riquelme, bishop of Puno, resigned his post.⁴³

In another letter, sent a few months later from Putina in the department of Puno, the signatories, who included both religious and municipal authorities, wrote fearfully that “all the residents of this important population are threatened to be devoured by the man-eaters that surround us.” They claimed that their town, with its many natural resources and commercial importance, “has always been coveted by the indigenes as is demonstrated by the different events that have occurred since 1867, in which [the town] was a theatre of horrifying crimes committed by the rioting indigenes, who ate the cadavers of the *vecinos* Eyzaguirre, Samanez, and others.” From these petitions that

⁴² AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 224, 1921, (Part Vp-Zp), Puno, April 1, 1921. “La lucha de razas existente desde la conquista, es público y notorio que ha recrudecido desde hace diez años más o menos, y en especial en este Departamento; pudiendo afirmar sin temor de equivocarnos, que las ideas o doctrinas socialistas reinantes en Rusia, han llegado al conocimiento de la raza indígena del Perú, acariciadas con vehemencia ante el recuerdo del comunismo patriarcal que existía en el Imperio de los Incas.” “ya no será por el estilo que acostumbraban los indígenas empleando la historica honda, sino que será militarizada y con elementos de guerra modernos.” “...el fanatismo en sus doctrinas socialistas y el odio a la raza blanca.” “Allí donde los adventistas han sentado sus reales y se han apoderado de la dirección espiritual de la indiada, como en Chucuito, en Acora, en Capachica, allí es donde las ideas reivindicacionistas y ultrasocialistas hanse enfocado y de allí irradian con amenaza de incendio.”

⁴³ Perú, Resolución Legislativo No. 4543, “Proponiendo como obispo de Puno al canónigo doctor don Fidel P. Cossio,” Lima, November 16, 1922. “con el objeto de que sea presentado a Su Santidad para la provisión del Obispado del Puno, vacante por renuncia aceptada al doctor Justo P. Riquelme.”

suggested great impending doom for the white provincial elites, it is clear that the mobilization of indigenous people at both the local and national level, as in the Central Committee, was very threatening to them. Moreover, the fact that the Leguía government seemed to be supporting the political activities of the indigenous people was potentially even more threatening to the provincial elites.⁴⁴

As the Central Committee gained organizational strength in the provinces, many local authorities and *gamonales* worked to limit their successes and to pressure President Leguía to take away his support of the Central Committee. Despite the concerns of some provincial elites, the Central Committee Tahuantinsuyo continued to function over the next few years, though support from President Leguía gradually waned. Congresses were held annually, and leaders of the Central Committee worked as intermediaries between the government and indigenous individuals and communities who suffered injustices, often sending petitions to government officials.⁴⁵ Leaders within the Central Committee were also sent on commissions to meet with indigenous communities and also to investigate reports of uprisings and massacres. Although these informal commissions had the backing of the Leguía government, the delegates often faced retribution from some *gamonales* and regional authorities. For example, Juan Péves, who travelled to Capachica in the department of Puno in 1922 to investigate a supposed massacre, barely

⁴⁴ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 224 (Part. Vp-Zp), 1921, Señor Ministro de Gobierno from autoridades y vecinos del Distrito de Putina, provincia de Azángaro, departamento de Puno, Putina, 11 Oct. 1921. “Estamos pues todos los moradores de esta importante población expuestos a ser devorado por los antropófagos que la rodean...” “La ciudad de Putina es uno de los pueblos que por sus riquezas naturales e importancia comercial ha sido siempre objeto de la codicia de los indígenas como lo demuestran los diferentes acontecimientos realizados desde el año de 1867 que fue teatro de horrosos crímenes cometidos por los indígenas sublevados, quienes se comieron los cadáveres de los vecinos Eyzaguirre, Samanez, y otros.”

⁴⁵ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 261 (1925), Señor Ministro de Gobierno from Enrique Espinar y R. Orduna Zavallos, Lima, Nov. 4, 1925.

escaped with his life after having a run in with local *gamonales*.⁴⁶ Presidential support for indigenous activism did not necessarily translate to the provinces. There, landowners and local authorities often defied or ignored the central government's mandates.

Along with the organizing of indigenous people in congresses, many students and workers came together through the implementation of popular universities. The popular university in Lima was officially founded in January 1921, though the agreement to found the popular universities in Peru was made at a national congress of the federation of students in Cuzco in March 1920. Many university students believed it was their duty to open popular universities for laborers, bringing together "manual intellectual and workers" in a common endeavor to improve the lives of Peruvians overall.⁴⁷ Other branches of the popular universities soon opened up in Arequipa, Trujillo, Cuzco, and Vitarte (outside of Lima) among other places. The schools were not officially affiliated with the national universities, but instead were supported by the volunteer efforts of students from the national universities. The overall goal of the popular universities was to provide an opportunity for workers to educate themselves in night classes. Classes were taught on Peruvian and world history, hygiene, physical fitness, mathematics, art, and other topics. They also held special literacy classes.⁴⁸

The leader of the popular universities was Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, a student who grew up in the northern coastal town of Trujillo. He was from a middle-class family, though his mother had come from family with an aristocratic past. However, as a

⁴⁶ Ore, *Memorias*, 166-175.

⁴⁷ Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Anna Melissa Graves Papers, box 3, folder 1, Haya de la Torre to Anna Melissa Graves, March 1925. "Formemos el frente único de la juventud de trabajadores manuales e intelectuales."

⁴⁸ Steve Stein, *Populism in Peru: The Emergence of the Masses and the Politics of Social Control* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), 139-141; "Página de la Universidad Popular 'González Prada,'" *Claridad* 1, no. 1, (1923), 9-10. "Que es una obligación de los estudiantes el establecimiento de Universidades Populares."

student, Haya began identifying with and supporting the activities of labor organizations. He moved to Lima in 1917 to attend the University of San Marcos to study law, and began working with the Federation of Peruvian Students. During the labor strikes of 1918 and early 1919 under the Pardo presidency, Haya and the Federation of Students actively supported the workers. The alliances with workers that Haya and the Federation built during this period would contribute to the success of the popular universities.⁴⁹

One of the principles of the popular universities was that the students stay away from “all dogmatic and partisan influences” and instead work toward the “modern postulates of social justice.” The universities were implemented to bring about cultural changes in Peruvian society, particularly among the lower classes, through educational programs. According to the organizers, the goal of the popular universities was to “neither make doctors nor produce politicians. In them, one aspires to the profession of man.”⁵⁰ Eventually, the popular universities were renamed the Popular Universities “González Prada” in commemoration of the radical thinker and writer Manuel González Prada who passed away in 1919. González Prada was known for his scathing criticism of the traditional elite and had frequently addressed the injustices against indigenous people in his writings. One of his most famous statements, “Old men to the grave, youth to work!” was taken up as a motto for the students at the popular universities.⁵¹ The students did not see their work as overtly political with plans of overthrowing the

⁴⁹ Klarén, Peru, 233-237.

⁵⁰ “Página de la Universidad Popular ‘González Prada,’” *Claridad* 1, no. 1, (1923), 9-10. “que estén libres de todo espíritu dogmático y partidario y que intervengan en los conflictos obreros inspirando su acción en los modernos postulados de la justicia social.” “La Universidad popular ‘González Prada’ no hace doctores, ni factura políticos. En ella sólo se aspira a la profesión de hombre.”

⁵¹ Manuel González Prada, *Páginas libres, horas de lucha* (Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1988?) 46; Josefa Yarlequé de Marquina, *El maestro ó democracia en miniatura* (Vitarte: Imprenta J. Alvarez A., 1963), 37; Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Anna Melissa Graves Papers, box 3, folder 1, March 1925. “Los viejos a la tumba, los jóvenes a la obra.”

traditional political elite, rather they saw their work as empowering themselves and workers to become men and take up responsibilities to begin leading Peru in a new direction that broke down the old hierarchies.

Although the popular universities were frequented mainly by urban laborers, many indigenous people and recent migrants to Lima also attended them.⁵² In addition, some students were women and children. A woman who attended the popular university in Vitarte, Josefa Yarlequé de Marquina, recalled the nightly sessions and the visits by the rector of the popular universities, Víctor Haya de la Torre. She recalled that some of his speeches addressed the importance of learning about indigenous people, their language, and their history. She remembered Haya de la Torre stating that “we should bring in the Indian and love and respect him because he is our brother. We ought to make him feel how useful he is and that he is not a slave or beast of burden. He should not see in us the image of a tyrant or conqueror, but rather feel our friendship, our brotherhood.”⁵³

The situation of indigenous people was also occasionally discussed in *Claridad*, the journal of the popular universities. In one statement addressed to “brothers of the enslaved race,” the editors wrote:

You are awakening....The voices of the old Incas are calling you to work to end the present injustice that has you as slaves....Stand up and march! The new youth of Peru, who do not believe in politicians and who fight for the ideal of equality...salute you. Our arms are open to you.⁵⁴

⁵² Ayala, José Luis, and Mariano Larico Yujra, *Yo fui canillita de José Carlos Mariátegui:(auto) biografía de Mariano Larico Yujra* (Lima: Kollao, Editorial Periodística, 1990), 97, 117, 140.

⁵³ Yarlequé de Marquina, *El maestro*, 59-60. “Debemos atraer al indio, predicaba Victor Raul, debemos amarlo, respetarlo, porque es nuestro hermano. Debemos hacerle sentir lo mucho que vale y que no es un esclavo ni una bestia de carga. Que no vea en nosotros la imagen del tirano ni del conquistador. Que sienta nuestra amistad, nuestra fraternidad.”

⁵⁴ “¡Hermanos de la Raza Esclava!” *Claridad* 1, no. 2, (1923), 20. “Vosotros estáis despertando...Las voces de los viejos Incas os están llamando a la obra de acabar con la injusticia actual que os tiene

In another editorial, the authors call on other newspapers to publish the complaints and stories of indigenous people without charging them exorbitant fees. They encouraged the other publishers to “Say with us, if you will, something that the people of the bourgeoisie deny: that the Indians are men, too.”⁵⁵ Although indigenous rights were not the primary concern of the popular universities, the organizers certainly viewed the plight of indigenous people to be tied to the struggles of urban workers and to the overall goals of the popular universities. According to the leaders of the popular universities, this fraternal perspective toward indigenous people was one component of uniting the manual and intellectual laborers through education and cultural enlightenment that would hopefully bring about positive changes for the Peruvian nation. Male workers, students, and indigenous men shared the common bond that in the eyes of the traditional political elite they were viewed literally or figuratively as children and not as men. However, they rebuked these assumptions and worked to show that their cultural and educational organizing was a demonstration of their new form of manliness—one that was not tied to the traditional elite forms of manhood which were based on domination over others. The new youth and the new men of the popular universities hoped to change Peruvian society so that all were equal.

In 1923, students involved in the popular universities started causing problems for Leguía. Students of the popular universities had previously refrained from overt political action against the Leguía government. On May 23, 1923, however, groups of students and workers protested against Leguía’s attempt to dedicate Peru to the Sacred Heart of

esclavos.... ¡De pie y en marcha! La nueva juventud del Perú, que no cree en los políticos y que luchan por el ideal de la igualdad...os saluda. Nuestros brazos están abiertos para vosotros.

⁵⁵ “Por la raza indígena,” *La Claridad* 1, no. 3, (1923), 22. “Decid con nosotros, siquiera, algo que las gentes de la burguesía niegan: que los indios son hombres también.”

Jesus. With this dedication, Leguía apparently hoped to garner the support of the Catholic Church for his reelection campaign. However, the protests by students and workers turned into a riot when the police attempted to intervene, resulting in the death of a student and a worker. The following day, students and workers called a general strike and held a large demonstration that was again broken up by police. Leguía also ordered the arrest of many of the leaders of the demonstration and worked to shut down the activities of the popular universities. In October, 1923, during the elections for the presidency of the Student Federation, police arrested and deported Haya de la Torre, and the government closed down the popular universities and deported many of the former student teachers. In January 1924, the popular universities reopened but were carefully watched by the Leguía government. By 1927, the popular universities no longer functioned. However, many of the former participants began coming together in other organizations. During Haya de la Torre's exile in Mexico, he along with other Peruvian and Latin American students formed APRA (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance), and some others in Peru organized themselves into socialist or communist parties.⁵⁶

In the department of Puno, indigenous people who had attended the Popular Universities and also participated in the Central Committee Tahuantinsuyo began organizing their communities using some of the lessons they had learned from their organizational activities. On August 7, 1923, the indigenous communities of Wancho in the province of Huancané in the department of Puno founded a new town called Wancho Lima. They held a short ceremony to commemorate the event and to make plans for the construction of the new town and its buildings. Months earlier, Antonio F. Luque and

⁵⁶ Werlich, *Peru*, 165-166; and Jeffrey L. Klaiber, "The Popular Universities and the Origins of Aprismo, 1921-1924," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 55, no. 4 (November 1975): 708-711.

Carlos Condorena, indigenous messengers from Wancho, had travelled to Lima to meet with President Leguía in order to discuss their plan to found a new town. According to the two men, President Leguía verbally supported their plans and presented them with a map of Lima that could serve as a model for the construction of the new town. Indeed, at the ceremony to establish the new town, they used the map of Lima to plan the layout of the town, which would include government buildings, a church, schools, plazas, and designated areas for artisans to set up their shops. Over the next few months, the indigenous people of Wancho Lima worked on the construction of their town and held a weekly market. They no longer traveled to the town of Huancané, which was the official capital of the province, to attend the market or other events. The leaders of the new town told indigenous people in the region that the new capital of the province was Wancho Lima. In fact, according to some accounts, the new town was to be the capital of the Republic of Tahuantinsuyo. It was to be an indigenous republic within, but separate from, the Peruvian republic.⁵⁷ The indigenous leaders did not want to depend on the non-indigenous or “*misti*” administrative authorities in Huancané and instead hoped to create an indigenous administration and town that completely separated them from the non-indigenous authorities.⁵⁸

The indigenous people decided to build the new town because the local authorities had committed numerous abuses against the indigenous people in the Wancho region. However, unlike other regions in the department of Huancané, the communities near Wancho had few non-indigenous large landowners. The region consisted mainly of

⁵⁷ Ayala and Larico, *Yo fui canillita*, 108; José Luis Ayala, *El presidente Carlos Condorena Yujra* (Lima: Editorial San Marcos, 2006), 171-174

⁵⁸ Ayala, *El presidente*, 171-174; José Tamayo Herrera, *Historia social e indigenismo en el altiplano* (Lima: Ediciones Trentatrés, 1982), 233-235.

small landholdings owned by indigenous people and as a result there were fewer conflicts over issues of land between the *misti* and indigenous populations than in other regions in Puno.⁵⁹ Moreover, the Aymara indigenous population was the majority in the department and according to one estimate only 0.9% of the population consisted of white and *mestizo* individuals.⁶⁰ However, despite the smaller number of white and *mestizo* large landowners in the region, abuses still occurred with frequency. In particular, indigenous people complained that the local government and religious authorities of Huancané forced the indigenous people to work at a variety of obligatory jobs without pay. Some indigenous people were obliged to provide firewood or work as domestic servants in the homes of the local authorities, others had to cultivate land or take care of the animals of the authorities. Even women and children were subject to certain obligatory labor, and families were often had to provide animals or produce for the “official business” of the authorities. Overall, the forced labor took time and resources away from indigenous people’s own subsistence.⁶¹

Prior to their decision to found the new town, the indigenous communities organized to petition the government to complain about the abuses through legal avenues. For example, in 1922 community leaders sent a letter to the Prefect of Puno asking for guarantees to allow them to meet peacefully in order to organize and build schools where their children could become educated and learn to read and write.⁶² Some even traveled to Lima to meet with government officials and other indigenous activists. Carlos Condorena and Mariano Pako among others had made connections in Puno and in Lima

⁵⁹ Tamayo Herrera, *Historia social*, 230.

⁶⁰ Dan Hazen, “The Awakening of Puno: Government Policy and the Indian Problem in Southern Peru, 1900-1955” (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1974), 12.

⁶¹ Tamayo Herrera, *Historia social*, 231-232.

⁶² Ayala, *El presidente*, 161-162.

with members of the Central Committee of Pro-Indigenous Rights Tahuantinsuyo and other *indigenistas*. The both attended the first indigenous Congress in 1921 and also affiliated themselves with an organization called “*Federación Indígena Obrera Regional del Sur*” (Southern Regional Indigenous Workers Federation).⁶³ Moreover, they along with other delegates from the Central Committee Tahuantinsuyo attended the González Prada Popular Universities where they learned about history as well as Peruvian laws.⁶⁴ Carlos Condorena was also close with Ezequiel Urviola, an *indigenista* from Puno, who had helped many indigenous messengers draft petitions to government officials.⁶⁵ Influenced by their connections to *indigenistas* and their participation in Central Committee Tahuantinsuyo, the indigenous leaders of Wancho worked to end the abuses in their communities and empower their fellow community members through non-violent means.

The creation of Wancho Lima was also meant to be a legitimate, non-violent action to separate the indigenous people from the activities of abusive authorities. However, in early December 1923, the previously peaceful resistance to local authorities came to an end. A battle broke out between the indigenous people in Wancho and the non-indigenous people of Huancané which then spread to other areas of the region. According to one account, the local authorities became greatly concerned about the activities of the indigenous people of Wancho-Lima and decided to upset their organizing by sending in a local *misti* to trick the indigenous people and provoke them to rebel against the landowners. The local authorities knew that the indigenous leaders Antonio

⁶³ Ayala, *El presidente* 112-113; Tamayo Herrera, *Historia social*, 233-237; AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 250 (1924), Señor Ministro from Hipólito Salazar, Lima, January 21, 1924.

⁶⁴ Ayala and Larico, *Yo fui canillita*, 97, 117.

⁶⁵ Ayala and Larico, *Yo fui canillita*, 140-142

Luque and Carlos Condorena had travelled to Lima to meet with government authorities and would not be around to prevent the uprising. In the meantime, the non-indigenous *vecinos* and authorities heavily armed themselves and prepared for the assault. They also made plans to inform authorities in Puno of the revolt so that they would send a military battalion to quell the attackers. In another version of the events, the indigenous leaders of Wancho decided to attack the *vecinos* and local authorities and organize other nearby communities to also revolt in order to take control of region and get rid of the non-indigenous people in the region. Whatever the motivation, the attack by a group of indigenous men from Wancho Lima took place at the end of 1923. In response, the army was sent and hundreds of indigenous people were killed. Many people were also arrested and thrown in prison. Others fled the region, leaving behind land and animals that were apparently seized by some of the local authorities and *vecinos*.⁶⁶

News of the events in Huancané spread to Lima. Relatives of Carlos Condorena managed to flee during the confrontation, which they described as a massacre of Wanch Lima's population. They travelled to Lima to denounce what they had seen. Condorena and his relatives worked with *indigenistas* such as Ezequiel Urviola and José Carlos Mariátegui to denounce the atrocities before the authorities.⁶⁷ They also requested that the authorities free indigenous men who had been imprisoned as a result of the confrontation, and asked for help in reclaiming their animals and land. Soon after the massacre, Urviola helped arrange a meeting with President Leguía for Condorena and other survivors of the massacre. At the meeting, they delivered a memorial describing the events of the massacre to President Leguía and asked that he punish the people

⁶⁶ Tamayo, *Historia social*, 235-240.

⁶⁷ Ayala and Larico, *Yo fui canillita*, 146.

responsible for the deaths. However, Leguía apparently did not respond well to the demands of the Condorena group, and the survivors left unconvinced that the president would help them.⁶⁸ In the end, the central government did send an investigatory committee headed by the bishop of Puno, but, overall, little resulted from the official investigation. Condorena was arrested during a visit back to Huancané and thrown into prison with other supposed instigators of the rebellion. Indigenistas such as Manuel A. Quiroga worked to free him, but it was not until five years later, on April, 1928 that a general amnesty was written into law that freed the prisoners involved in indigenous uprisings. However, this amnesty also ended any possibilities that indigenous people could take legal action against the local authorities in Huancané.⁶⁹

The events in Wancho-Lima were not the only activities that encouraged the government of Leguía to begin reining in the growing power of the popular movements. In 1923, President Leguía learned of a supposed plot to overthrow his government by his Minister of Government and cousin, Germán Leguía y Martínez, and others in the government who were *indigenistas*. Leguía quickly deported his cousin and others involved in the plot.⁷⁰ Also, by the mid-1920s, many members of the provincial elite also began putting pressure on President Leguía to withdraw his support from the Central Committee and other indigenous activities. One of their justifications to the Leguía government was that the indigenous activists had begun rebelling against local authorities, resisting their duties to the nation, such as military service. Another reason was that they claimed indigenous people were distributing disturbing propaganda that seemed linked to anarchism, communism, or race wars, and elites did not approve of the

⁶⁸ Ayala and Larico, *Yo fui canillita*, 90.

⁶⁹ Tamayo Herrera, *Historia social*, 243. The amnesty law is ley no. 6194, April 28, 1928.

⁷⁰ Werlich, *Peru*, 155.

growing connections between indigenous activists and workers and student movements. These events seemed to confirm the fears of many members of the elite that the social movements in both Lima and the provinces were detrimental to political, economic, and social stability.⁷¹

In 1925 delegates from Puno and Cuzco submitted a petition to the government denouncing the fact that three of their fellow delegates from Cuzco were imprisoned in Arequipa on their return home from Lima. They explained that they had been in Lima to submit petitions to the Bureau of Indigenous Affairs and that this action did not constitute a crime and therefore their companions should not have been imprisoned. They wrote: “Soliciting constitutional guarantees and denouncing horrendous crimes that the *gamonales* and some bad authorities commit in their province is not an offense or a crime, on the contrary, Article 58 of the Constitution provides special protection to the Indian.”⁷² While Article 58 of the 1920 Constitution does state that “the State will protect the indigenous race and will decree special laws for their development and culture in harmony with their needs,” it does not provide a specific course of action for government officials to follow in such cases.⁷³ The Prefect of Arequipa wrote to the Prefecture in Lima that he had received reports that the three individuals, who were now imprisoned, were traveling home with the purpose of leading the indigenous people and

⁷¹ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 262, 1925, To Señor General Prefecto from the Prefect of Arequipa, Arequipa, April 18, 1925; AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 261, 1925, To Señor Subprefecto from C. Manrique, Gobierno Político del Distrito de Paucarcolla, Paucarcolla, Jan. 12, 1926.

⁷² AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 262, 1925, Lima, 28 Feb 1925, To Sr. Presidente de la Republica y Ministro de Gobierno from indigenous delegates from Puno and Cuzco. “Solicitar garantías constitucionales y denunciar los horrendos crímenes que cometen los gamonales de provincias y algunas malas autoridades no es falta ni delito, al contrario a favor del indio existe la protección especial acordada por el art. 58 de la Constitución Política...”

⁷³ Peruvian Constitution of 1920, “Artículo 58.- El Estado protegerá a la raza indígena y dictará leyes especiales para su desarrollo y cultura en armonía con sus necesidades. La Nación reconoce la existencia legal de las comunidades de indígenas y la ley declarará los derechos que les corresponden.”

workers in rebellion. Upon their arrest, he found that the indigenous men carried anarchist pamphlets and other writings, from groups such as the Regional Federation of Indigenes and Workers of Lima.⁷⁴

In a letter from the imprisoned messengers to the Director of Development in the Ministry of Development, the messengers denied these charges, claiming that they only had educational books and other documents given to them by the Ministry of Development. Furthermore, they said that the *gamonales* of their region had used their power to falsely imprison them, and then appealed to the Director by saying:

Given your noble sentiments, immeasurably inclined to protect the indigenous race both in and outside your authority as Director of Development, we appeal to you from our cell so that you advocate for the restoration of our documents and supplies taken by the authorities in Arequipa and that you grant us our freedom, lifting the weight of the shame of imprisonment from us, which has left us physically and materially depleted.⁷⁵

In a second case, a delegate at the Fifth Indigenous Congress, Segundo Tapia, asked the government for guarantees for the indigenous people in the region of Paucarcolla in Puno.⁷⁶ However, the municipal mayor replied to the government that it was Segundo Tapia who was exploiting the indigenous people by forcing them to pay the “*Rama*” to defend their rights in Lima. He further undercut Tapia’s claims by stating that it was “the delegates who inculcate bad ideas to the indigenous *comuneros*,” by

⁷⁴ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 262, 1925, To Señor General Prefecto from the Prefect of Arequipa, Arequipa, April 18, 1925. “habiéndoseles encontrado diversos impresos anarquistas, títulos, oficios y cartas de la Federación Indígena Obrera Regional Peruana de Lima, para distintas Federaciones Indígenas de las Provincias de los Departamentos de Puno y Cuzco.”

⁷⁵ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 262, 1925, To Enrique Zegarra from Mariano Chacce, Santiago Huampuma, and Pedro Maququi, Intendencia de Lima, March 25, 1925. “Dado sus nobles sentimientos desmedidamente inclinados a proteger a la raza indígena dentro y fuera de su autoridad como Director de Fomento apelamos a ellos desde nuestro calabozo, para que abogue por la restauración de los documentos, útiles y poderes quitados por las autoridades de Arequipa y nos den nuestra libertad quitándonos de encima el peso vergonzoso de la rejas que tiene enferma nuestra salud moral y materialmente.”

⁷⁶ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 261, 1925, Señor Ministro de Gobierno from Enrique Espinar and R. Orduna Zavallos, Lima, Nov. 4, 1925.

encouraging them to “not obey superior orders...and instead of telling the indigenes to faithfully fulfill the laws of Obligatory Military Service and Road Conscription given by the Supreme Government, they oppose the fulfillment of the these [duties].”⁷⁷

In a similar case, a sub-prefect wrote to the prefect that he had received information about subversive activity among the indigenous people in his province, and that they were organizing some conferences in the mountain highlands. Furthermore, he complained that many of the indigenous population refused to work on the roads and they “had manifested that they did not have to participate in the forced labor, given that commissions had arrived that would defend them in all cases.”⁷⁸ He included a letter from a gendarme who wrote that four indigenous individuals called meetings in the central plaza of a town, where they pronounced in the Quechua language “that they ought not to obey the specific orders of the authorities, and that they had come to liberate the Indian from slavery.”⁷⁹ The four individuals, along with a group of three hundred indigenous men, went to the Sub-prefect office to announce their intention of organizing indigenous sub-committees. Moreover, the gendarme stated that these individuals handed out flyers, one entitled “Manifiesto of the Central Committee Pro-Indigenous Rights Tahuantinsuyo,” and the other, “Indigenous Committee of the Local Workers’ Federation of Lima.”

⁷⁷ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 261, 1925, To Señor Subprefecto from C. Manrique, Gobierno Político del Distrito de Paucarcolla, Paucarcolla, Jan. 12, 1926. “es uno de los primeros que esta inculcando a los indígenas el que no se acate no obedezcan las órdenes superiores...i es uno de los que en vez de indicarles a los indígenas el fiel cumplimiento de las leyes del Servicio Militar Obligatorio, i de la Conscripción Vial dadas por el Supremo Gobierno, se opone al cumplimiento de estas.”

⁷⁸ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 264-A, 1926, To Prefect of Department from Subprefectura of Antabamba, Tizón Amézaga, June 20, 1926. “habiendo manifestado que no tenían por que concurrir a trabajo alguno, puesto que habían llegado comisionados que se encargarían de su defensa en todo orden de cosas.”

⁷⁹ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 264-A, 1926, To Prefect of Department from gendarme of Apurimac, July 1, 1926, “que no debían obedecer las distintas ordenes de las autoridades y que ellos venían a libertar la esclavitud del indio.”

The “Manifiesto” called for indigenous communities to organize sub-committees and delegates in preparation for the Sixth National Indigenous Congress. It stated:

If the indigenous race, from cradle to grave, and from barracks to battlefield, offeres all of their valiant worth, then they should have the authorized right to receive direct benefits from the public powers, such as school,... sacrosanct respect for their individual guarantees as given in the Magna Carta, conservation of the customs and traditions that do not conflict with the cultural dynamism of the present....⁸⁰

Furthermore, it authorized a Propaganda Commission, headed by the General Secretary of the Central Committee Tahuantinsuyo, Juan G. Zapata, to travel to different regions in central and southern Peru to organize Sub-committees. The other flyer included two laws, written in both Spanish and Quechua, which were passed by the Southern Regional Congress and authorized by Leguía in July, 1922, prohibiting forced labor and stating that any authority who violated the law would be removed from his post. The flyer also included the lyrics to “The International” in both Spanish and Quechua. In Quechua it is titled “*Llapa Lllacctapa Taquin*,” and was apparently translated into Quechua by a delegate of the Local Worker’s Federation in Lima. At the bottom of the flyer was printed a common saying among indigenous people: “*Ama Suhua, Ama Ccella, Ama llulla!*” (Don’t be a thief, don’t be lazy, and don’t be a liar), and also “Long live the union of workers between indigenes and coastal people!”⁸¹

⁸⁰ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 264-A, 1926, To Prefect of Department from gendarme of Apurimac, July 1, 1926, included document entitled “Manifiesto La Junta Central Pro-Derecho Indigena Tahuantinsuyo”, Lima, 1926, “Si nuestra raza desde la cuna hasta el sepulcro, desde el cuartel hasta el campo de batalla, ofrenda todos los valores anímicos a la patria, en cambio, debe tener el derecho autoritario, de recibir de los poderes públicos, beneficios directos, como son: escuelas, ...respeto sacrosanto a sus garantías individuales, conforme señala nuestra Carta Magna, conservación de sus costumbres y tradiciones, que no estén en pugna con el dinamismo cultural de nuestros días...”

⁸¹ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 264-A, 1926, To Prefect of Department from gendarme of Apurimac, July 1, 1926, included document entitled “Comité Indígena de la Federación Obrera Local de Lima a todos los hijos del Sol y en general de la Republica,” “Llapa Lllacctapa Taquin”—“La Internacional” “Llaccta ricchari ama punuycho!--¡Pueblo despierta y no duermas!,” “Por un serrano. Traducido por un Delegado de la Federación Obrera Local de Lima. Gratis para toda la comunidad. Amor (Cuyanacuy)

As a result of the increasing suspicion by some local authorities and landowners of the indigenous delegates of the Central Committee and its sub-committees, they continued to press the Leguía government to withdraw its support. In 1927, the Leguía government caved into the elite pressures and decided to clamp down on the activities of indigenous activists by banning the Central Committee. The Central Committee and the sub-committees were ordered to dissolve. This decree had consequences for other indigenous organizations with similar goals that likewise were prohibited.⁸²

In 1927, indigenous delegates from the province of Melgar in the department of Puno wrote to the Minister of Government that the Peruvian flag hoisted in front of the local office of their Indigenous Federation was taken by the Sub-prefect of the province. They wrote: “that we do not pursue anything against the government, we raise the flag only because of the pride we have of being Peruvians and having at the front of the reigns of our government a patriot and Peruvian like ourselves: we refer to the illustrious leader whom we consider our Liberator.”⁸³ They asked that the flag be returned to them. In response to the complaint, the sub-prefect replied to the prefect:

In response to the Supreme Resolution of August 19 of this year that prohibits the functioning of the Central Committee and its sub-committees of Pro-Indigenous Rights Tahuantinsuyo, it was made known to all the indigenous inhabitants of the province by edicts published in every district, in which they ordered that every committee deliver to the political authorities...all the seals and emblems that they used to symbolize their official nature.⁸⁴

Justicia (Cuscanchasca), Libertad (Cacharisca Cason); ¡No seas ladrón! ¡Ama Suhua!, ¡No seas flojo! ¡Ama Ccella!, ¡No seas mentiroso! ¡Ama llulla!, ¡Viva la Unión de los Trabajadores Entre Indígenas y Costeños!”

⁸² Davies, *Indian Integration in Peru*, 88, 92.

⁸³ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 271, 1927, To Señor Ministro de Gobierno from Agustin, Matias, and Andres Arela, indígenas de la Provincia de Melgar, Lima, 19 Oct 1927. “que nosotros no perseguimos nada en contra del Gobierno, pues enarbolamos la bandera tan solamente por que tenemos el orgullo de ser peruanos y tener al frente de las riendas del Estado a un patriota y peruano como nosotros: nos referimos al insigne Mandatario que lo consideramos como nuestro Libertador.”

⁸⁴ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 271, 1927, Señor Prefect from Sub-prefect Felipe Aguirre Macedo, Ayaviri, Nov. 14, 1927. “En merito de la resolución suprema de 19 de Agosto del año en curso que

He stated that the president and the secretary of the Indigenous Federation willingly turned over their emblems and the flag as long as they be given to a worker's sports organization in the province. This occurred after he verified with the national government that their Indigenous Federation, which was not officially associated with the Central Committee, fell under the same prohibition. The sub-prefect justified the prohibition of this organization because it held similar goals to the Central Committee, which he demonstrated by including a flyer of the Indigenous Federation that called for the organization of delegates to represent their communities so that "soon we will stop being the eternal sheep that serve as food for rapacious wolves, represented by capital, the military and the priest."⁸⁵

The shutting down of the Central Committee "Tahuantinsuyo" and similar organizations in 1927, along with the closing of the popular universities, seemed to suggest an end to the radical activities of indigenous people, workers, and students. Indeed, many of the most vocal leaders of the student and worker organizations had been deported. However, the promotion of worker, student, and indigenous rights continued in other ways, most importantly through written and cultural work. José Carlos Mariátegui's influential journal *Amauta*, founded in 1926, is a prime example of this type of cultural work that presented radical perspectives on Peruvian politics and society but

prohíbe el funcionamiento del Comité Central y sus dependencias del Derecho Pro Indígena Tahuantinsuyo, la que se hizo saber a todos los habitantes indígenas de la Provincia por Bandos publicados en cada distrito y en ellos ordenaba que cada Comité entregaran a las autoridades políticas de sus jurisdicciones, todos los sellos y emblemas que usaban para simbolizar su carácter oficial."

⁸⁵ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 271, 1927, Señor Prefect from Sub-prefect Felipe Aguirre Macedo, Ayaviri, Nov. 14, 1927, included document entitled: "Federación de Campesinos: Instalación de la Asamblea Provincial efectuada 17 de Febrero de 1924. "Esto hace confiar en que muy pronto dejaremos de ser los eternos corderos que sirven de alimento a los lobos rapaces, representados por el capital, el militar y el cura."

in less confrontational ways than street protests. Though he eventually formed the Socialist Party of Peru in 1928.

By the time José Carlos Mariátegui (1894-1930) had founded the journal *Amauta*, he held firm socialist beliefs. In 1920, president Leguía sent Mariátegui to Europe with government funds as a form of deportation for criticizing the efforts of the government. In Europe, Mariátegui spent most of his time in Italy, marrying an Italian woman, and befriending European socialists. Upon his return from Europe in 1923, Mariátegui taught classes in the Popular Universities, advised indigenous delegates of the Central Committee Tahuantinsuyo, and helped organize workers. Although he never attended a national university, he had educated himself and wrote prolifically on political, economic, and social affairs of the Peruvian nation. He helped publish the Popular University journal *Claridad* after Haya de la Torre was deported from Peru in 1923, then he founded his own journal, *Amauta*, which became a popular journal among leftist intellectuals throughout Peru and abroad. The influence Mariátegui had on workers and indigenous activists as well as on the left-leaning intellectuals made him a prime target for the Leguía government. Mariátegui's failing health was perhaps the reason for Leguía's decision not to deport him along with the other leaders in 1927. The government, however, did not ignore Mariátegui's influence, and on one occasion arrested Mariátegui and held him in a military hospital. The government also temporarily shut down his journal *Amauta*, but soon allowed it to continue since it was such a well-known journal among intellectuals across the Americas and in Europe. The international attention that

could result with the continued prohibition of the journal seems to have served to inhibit the government.⁸⁶

Mariátegui also distanced himself from the political mobilizing of Haya de la Torre and his newly formed APRA movement in the late 1920s. Mariátegui did not approve of the growing populist bent of the organization nor did he agree with the decision to convert APRA into a political party that hoped to one day take political power in Peru. Mariátegui had a strong belief that united workers needed to prepare themselves to overthrow the capitalist system through revolutionary means (not electoral) and bring about a socialist system. He differed from some traditional internationalist Marxists, however, in that he believed that each nation had its own unique situation that needed to be studied and addressed. In the case of Peru, the large rural indigenous population in comparison to the relatively small industrial worker population needed to be adequately integrated into the revolutionary movement in order for it to succeed. Waiting for an urban, industrialized proletariat to lead Peru toward a socialist revolution would be impractical. Mariátegui died from his illness in 1930, and never saw the final results of his activities.

However, the influence of Mariátegui and his journal *Amauta* on Peruvian society was significant. He brought about important changes in how Peruvians viewed indigenous people and workers in the nation. His journal provided a venue for cultural and political discussions of Peruvian society, and promoted a pride in the indigenous past and present of Peru. This cultural promotion of indigenous people was an important

⁸⁶ Werlich, *Peru*, 179-180.

component of the *indigenista* movement in the 1920s and 1930s, particularly when government repression restricted other forms of activism.⁸⁷

Conclusion

The prohibition of the Central Committee of Pro-Indigenous Rights ‘Tahuantinsuyo’ and President Leguía’s clamp down on other organizations and leaders was a clear sign that the Leguía government would no longer tolerate the rebellious activities of the social movement actors. His support for indigenous people waned, in part, because of the growing suspicion of radical activities among indigenous activists that linked their goals to socialist or anarchist ideals. But this prohibition was also a sign that the Leguía government was becoming less stable, and more susceptible to elite pressures, as popular support for his government waned.

Despite the banning of the Central Committee and the repression of other social movement activities, indigenous activists and petitioners during the first half of the Leguía government had made some useful advances. Their activism had forced the government to institute organizations like the *Patronato* and the Section of Indigenous Affairs. But, most importantly, the indigenous activists gained a sense of unity around shared goals as well as a sense of solidarity with workers and students. Likewise, some activist workers and students came to recognize the importance of indigenous people in their shared struggles. Not only did this period allow indigenous people to demonstrate to non-indigenous people that they, too, were active citizens willing to organize for their rights, it also helped encourage an acknowledgement, if not a sense of pride that the

⁸⁷ Alberto Flores Galindo and Ricardo Portocarrero Grados, ed., *Invitación a la vida heroica: José Carlos Mariátegui, textos esenciales* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2005), 429-432; Werlich, *Peru*, 180, 185-187.

uniqueness of Peruvian national identity was contingent on Peru's indigenous history. As will be discussed in the next chapter, this fervent indigenous political activity in the early 1920s, helped propel a cultural and artistic movement in which indigenous people and culture came to represent a new national aesthetic that would redefine the idea of Peruvianness.

Chapter 5:

Depicting the “National Soul”: Artists, Feminists, and the “Indian Woman” in Peru in the 1920s and 1930s

Introduction

Although Leguía’s political support of indigenous people began to wane by the mid-1920s, pro-indigenous ideas promoted by artists and intellectuals through cultural expressions continued to spread throughout the decade and into the 1930s and would retain a lasting influence on national life. José Carlos Mariátegui’s journal *Amauta* contributed to this process in the late 1920s by regularly publishing images of indigenous people painted by Peruvian artists. This artistic emphasis on indigenous culture had emerged during the early 1920s alongside social movement organizing by indigenous people, workers, and students. In part, this was a result of the fact that some artists were actively involved in or sympathetic to the activities of students, workers, and indigenous people. It was also a result of government support of artists and the opening of a School of Fine Arts in Lima in 1919. In the early 1920s, in the salons of the newly-inaugurated School of Fine Arts in Lima, art students learned the techniques and traditions of fine art taught to them by many European-educated professors. However, the hiring of an art teacher at the school, José Sabogal, who supported the reform efforts being made by

various social movements, helped to invigorate an artistic trend toward a focus on indigenous culture. Sabogal taught students to look less toward Europe and more toward the traditions of their own continent, and in particular, their own nation of Peru. Thus, alongside the learning of European artistic traditions, a transition was occurring in the school--the emergence of a particularly Peruvian style of art that focused on indigeneity.¹

As part of this new artistic focus, individuals of indigenous heritage, particularly indigenous women, were brought into the classrooms as models. Many of the models were indigenous people who had travelled to Lima as messengers to petition government officials. These models represented a Peru that had been previously ignored by many in Lima, particularly members of the elite.

The new art that emerged reflected the struggle of many indigenous activists, students, *indigenistas*, and feminists to create a more inclusive nation. This chapter examines how the indigenous women who posed as models at the School of Fine Arts, and others who like them sought out justice from government officials, participated in the creation of a new national aesthetic that inextricably linked indigenous heritage with Peruvian national identity. Moreover, it looks at specific interactions among indigenous activists, artists, and feminists and how together they helped shape a discursive contest over race, gender, and the nation.

Messengers and Models

During Leguia's "New Fatherland" in the 1920s, a handful of indigenous women traveled to Lima as messengers in search of justice. While in Lima, some of these

¹ José Torres Bohl, *Apuntes sobre José Sabogal: vida y obra* (Lima: Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 1989), 17-20.

women not only made connections with government officials and other indigenous petitioners, but they also befriended *indigenista* activists and feminists, and worked as models for local artists.

One such woman, María de la Paz Chanini, from Juli in the department of Puno, journeyed to Lima to complain that all her land had been taken from her. She stated that she and her family “used to live on the shores of lake Titicaca in their modest homes, dedicated to agricultural work...But, from night to day, the damned caste of *gamonales* dispossessed them of all their belongings.”² In a description of herself published in a Lima newspaper, she stated:

I lost my husband; my children are abandoned....Since 1905 I haven't found justice. In vain, I've had repeated meetings with Presidents Billinghurst and Leguía. I've brought various memorials to all the institutions and investigative commissions, without receiving sanction or justice.

Furthermore, she stated that “because I have complained [to the authorities], [my enemies] threaten and pursue me in order to kill me, without taking into consideration my sex or age.”³ In spite of her difficulties, María de la Paz found a way to seek out supporters and in the process managed to befriend prominent *indigenista* activists such as Pedro Zulen and José Carlos Mariátegui. She also became acquainted with Dora Mayer and María Jesus Alvarado Rivera, both of whom worked within the *indigenista*

² Wilfredo Kapsoli, *Ayllus del sol: Anarquismo y utopía andina* (Lima: TAREA, 1984), 222. (Urviola translated her statement) “ella y toda su familia vivían a orillas del lago Titicaca, en sus modestas cabañas, dedicadas a sus trabajos agrícolas...Pero, de la noche a la mañana, fueron despojados de sus propios bienes, ganados y todo lo que poseían por la maldita casta de los gamonales.”

³ *La Crónica*, Aug. 8, 1923 quoted in Kapsoli, *Ayllus del sol*, 213. “He perdido a mi esposo; mis hijos están abandonados...Desde 1905 no encuentro justicia. En vano he tenido repetidas audiencias con los señores Presidentes Billinghurst y Leguía. Elevado varios memoriales a todas las instituciones y comisiones investigadoras. Sin tener sanción ni justicia.” “Y últimamente, por lo que me he quejado, me amenazan y persiguen para victimarme a bala, sin consideración de mi sexo ni edad....Soy una mujer anciana y desamparada y la sanción de la vindicta publica seguramente sabrá hacerme justicia al borde de mi sepultura.”

movement as well as in the newly-developing feminist movement.⁴ A fellow indigenous activist from Puno, Mariano Larico, said of Chanini's interaction with the *indigenistas* of Lima that "Mariátegui taught her to think," and that Chanini frequented Mariátegui's home as well as the home of Dora Mayer.⁵

Nicasia Yábar, a young woman from Juli, accompanied María de la Paz Chanini at times while in Lima. They apparently were friends from Juli, where Nicasia had attempted to found schools for indigenous children. However, her activities resulted in her persecution by local authorities and *gamonales*, and eventually her arrest.⁶ According to Nicasia's contemporary, the writer Elvira Garcia y Garcia, the situation became so difficult that Nicasia "was obligated to flee and then thought to travel to Lima to ask [the authorities] for justice and assistance in the work [for the schools] that she had already initiated."⁷ Elvira Garcia y Garcia stated that Nicasia traveled from Juli to Tacna on foot, and stayed there until she was able to afford to pay the passage on a ship to Lima. Carleton Beals, a U.S. journalist in Peru, mentioned that in 1920 Nicasia Yábar, who spoke Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara, "headed a commission of thirty delegates to protest to President Leguía against the mistreatment of her people."⁸

While Chanini and Yábar initiated their pilgrimages to Lima in order to seek justice for mistreatment that they both faced individually, their personal struggles led them to connect to other indigenous activists and to fight for indigenous rights more

⁴ See chapter 2 and 3 for further discussions of Pedro Zulen, Dora Mayer, Maria Jesus Alvarado Rivera, and José Carlos Mariátegui.

⁵ José Luis Ayala and Mariano Larico Yujra, *Yo fui canillita de José Carlos Mariátegui: (Auto) biografía de Mariano Larico Yujra*, (Kollao, Peru: Editorial Periodística S.C. R., 1990), 93. "Mariátegui le enseñó a pensar..."

⁶ Ayala and Larico, *Yo fui canillita*, 94.

⁷ *Mundial*, Sept. 15, 1923, quoted in Kapsoli, *Ayllus del sol*, 212-213. "que se vio obligada a huir y entonces pensó en venir a Lima, a pedir que se le hiciera justicia y se le ayudara en la obra que tiene iniciada."

⁸ Carleton Beals, *Fire on the Andes* (Philadelphia: J.B Lippincott Co., 1934), 337.

broadly. As a result, they both participated in the Pro-Indigenous Congresses held in Lima in the early 1920s. In the Third Indigenous Congress in 1923, for example, they both spoke out against the Roadwork Conscription Law (*Ley de Conscripción Vial*). María de la Paz Chanini said that the “law [was] the whip for the indigenous race,” and Nicasia Yábar commented that “none of the laws are good for the Indian. But the day will come when the *gamonales* work under the orders of the Indian!”⁹ Yábar hoped that the organization of indigenous people would ensure that the *gamonales* would one day no longer predominate in rural communities.

Like other indigenous messengers who stayed in Lima weeks or months, these women needed to support themselves economically, since they could not always rely on the hospitality of *indigenista* activists. For example, María de la Paz Chanini made some money selling items such as food and sweaters that she knit.¹⁰ Also, she at times washed clothes, and when she injured her hand on an electric wire, she carried large bundles on her back for people in the market.¹¹ In addition, according to Mariano Larico, Chanini “worked at the School of Fine Arts sitting on a chair so that students could paint her.” Larico’s sister, Rosalía, also worked as a model for the art students. They had both travelled to Lima with their family after the massacre in Wancho Lima in 1923.

Although Mariano Larico does not mention whether Nicasia Yábar participated as a model, it is possible that she did given her friendship with María de la Paz Chanini.

According to Mariano Larico, María de la Paz and Rosalía “dressed up in their *polleras*,

⁹ “Actas del III congreso indígena,” Lima, 1923, quoted in Kapsoli, *Ayllus del sol*, 223. “Esa ley es el azote para la raza indígena;” “¡Ninguna de las leyes es buena para el indio! Llegará el día en que los gamonales trabajen bajo las ordenes del indio!”

¹⁰ Larico Yuyra, *Yo fui canillita*, 93.

¹¹ María Jesus Alvarado Rivera, “Una victima más del gamonalismo” Lima, 21 junio 1923, Cendoc-Mujer, *Clio*, CD-rom, reg. 10568. Alvarado writes about a María Mamani in this article, but María de la Paz Chanini claims that she is actually the María Mamani discussed by Alvarado; see Kapsoli, *Ayllus del Sol*, 213.

mantones, [and] *sombreros*” in order for the students to paint them.¹² Although these women may have gone to the School of Fine Arts to earn money, their participation as models in the *indigenista* art movement ultimately helped to redefine popular understandings of Peruvian art and the nation.

***Indigenista* Art as a National Art**

The government of José Pardo had decreed its intention to found a National School of Fine Arts in September 1918. The school opened its doors the following year. When Augusto B. Leguía became president in 1919, the school became one of the many symbols of his efforts to modernize Peru. In a book of photographs presented to President Leguía by the Ministry of Development, the Ministry praised the School of Fine Arts along with other public works as a demonstration of the triumph of Leguía’s modernization project. The book stated that the construction of urban works of both “useful and decorative value proclaim before one’s countrymen and foreigners the quickly changing progress of the country.”¹³ In the closing of the 1921 school year, Leguía gave a short speech at the School of Fine Arts in which he reaffirmed his support for the goals of the school: “when the national soul is revealed through artistic work, it is the duty of the public administration to assist with its development and perfection.” In his speech he also referred to the historical traditions of artistry that existed in pre-colonial Peru and had been carried on by present day indigenous people. He commended

¹² Larico Yujra, *Yo fui canillita*, 93. “Esa señora...trabajaba en Bellas Artes sentándose en una silleta para que los jóvenes la pintaron.” “...mi hermana Rosalía también iba con ella para que a las dos las retrataran, yo no he visto sus retratos, pero ellas se vestían con sus polleras, mantones, y sombreros y allí en Bellas Artes las pintaban.” *Polleras* are traditional indigenous skirts, *mantones* are shawls, and *sombreros* are hats. Often, indigenous women wear specific styles of hats or skirts that mark them as belonging to a specific indigenous community or region.

¹³ Ministerio de Fomento, *Álbum obsequiado al Sr. D. Augusto B. Leguía* (Lima: Imp. Torres Aguirre, 1930), n.p.

the “notable aesthetic vocation manifested by our aborigines who have converted some regions like Huamanga, Cuzco, and Arequipa in stimulating vivariums of artists.”¹⁴

Leguía continued to extol the work of the Art School in his speech by stating that with “patriotic satisfaction” he has often heard praise from foreigners for the artistic talent and beauty of Peruvian artwork.¹⁵ The Cuzco school of art from the colonial period, as well as art and architecture from Incan and other pre-colonial cultures were part of Peru’s past and set it apart from other regions of the world. The “discovery” of Machu Picchu by Hiram Bingham in 1911 put Peru on the front pages of popular newspapers and magazines in the United States that highlighted the ingenuity and artistry of pre-colonial Peruvians. For example, *National Geographic* devoted the entire April 1913 issue to Hiram Bingham’s expedition.¹⁶ Many members of the elite lamented that contemporary indigenous Peruvians, in their estimation, failed to demonstrate the ingenuity of their predecessors. But for Leguía these discoveries represented a source of national triumph, one in which indigenous people as well as others could take pride.

The establishment of the School of Fine Arts and the new direction of *indigenista* art taken by a few of the professors created an opportunity to exalt Peru’s indigenous past. The pre-colonial artistry found in archeological ruins certainly impressed Professor José Sabogal. Sabogal, however, also had an expressed interest in the contemporary Andean world that often was hidden from people in Lima. The use of indigenous

¹⁴ Augusto B. Leguía, *Discursos, mensajes y programas*, Tomo III, (Lima: Editorial Garcilaso, 1926), “Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes—Clausura del año escolar de 1921, 22 enero 1922, 15-16. “Cuando con relieves artísticos se destaca el alma nacional, es deber de los poderes públicos coadyuvar a su desarrollo y perfección. Estad, pues, seguro de que mi Gobierno, que aplaude vuestra obra y aprueba los rumbos que habéis impreso a este instituto, os prestará el apoyo más decidido.” “Hablo sólo de la notable vocación estética manifestada por nuestros aborígenes y que convierte a algunas comarcas, como Huamanga, Cuzco y Arequipa, en sugestivos viveros de artistas.”

¹⁵ Leguía, *Discursos*, 15-16. “satisfacción patriótica.”

¹⁶ Hiram Bingham, “In the Wonderland of Peru,” *National Geographic* 24, no. 4 (April 1913).

models in the classroom provided an opportunity for students, who perhaps had never traveled beyond Lima, to observe and draw an aspect of an indigenous Peru with which they had little contact. A book produced by the School of Fine Arts in 1922 stated that the study of the live models was an opportunity for the students to “employ all of their faculties of observation, visual sensibility and above all their interpretation that saves the student from falling into the capital defect of making a servile and impersonal copy of the model.”¹⁷

Sabogal frequently stepped out of the classroom to travel to the interior of Peru in order to observe the indigenous cultures of Peru and document them through painting, and encouraged his students to do likewise. In fact, on his return to Peru from his studies in Europe, Sabogal visited the southern indigenous regions of Peru, including Puno and Cuzco, where he began depicting images of the nation. During this time, Sabogal stated that his “intention was to paint Peru” and that with his artwork he would “reveal beautiful things never before depicted.” He also became an expert at xylography, or wood engraving, taking inspiration from a vernacular form of Peruvian art called “*mates burilados*,” which were engraved gourds (see image 5.1). In Lima in July 1919, Sabogal held an exposition of his art painted during his time in Cuzco, which caused a great stir among the public in Lima. Sabogal recalled this exposition stating that the showing strongly affected the Limeño public “as if were [depicting] motifs of an exotic country.”¹⁸

¹⁷ Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes, *Monografía histórica y documental sobre la Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes* (Lima: C.F. Southwell, 1922), 49. “...se principia el estudio del modelo vivo, donde se deben emplear todas las facultades de observación, sensibilidad visual y sobre todo la interpretación que salva al alumno de caer en el defecto capital de hacer la copia servil e impersonal del modelo.”

¹⁸ José Sabogal, *Del arte en el Perú y otros ensayos* (Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 1975), 11, 109. “Mi intento fue pintar el Perú, y acampando entre los primorosos muros del viejo Cuzco imperial, inicio la cruzada pictórica que más tarde la extendiera por todo el Perú, contribuyendo con mis telas a revelar bellezas hasta entonces inéditas.” “Cayó esta muestra como si fueran motivos de exótico país; el medio



Figure 5.1: José Sabogal, *India de Collao*, 1925, (xylograph).

(Source: José Torres Bohl, *Apuntes sobre José Sabogal: vida y obra*, Lima: Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 1989, 51.)

In 1921, the Ministry of Instruction hired one of Sabogal's students, Elena Izcue, to construct a room in the National Museum representative of an Incan style in preparation for the centennial festivities. She stylized the walls, the roof, the floor, and furniture, and incorporated objects that reflected the Incan past. One of her contemporaries, Elvira Garca y Garcia, stated that the significance of her work was that "the foreigners who visited that small exhibition could convince themselves that there really had existed a Peruvian art." Later, for the celebration of the 1924 centennial, the government commissioned artists to decorate a large salon in the presidential palace that commemorated the history of Peru. Elena Izcue was in charge of presenting the era of Tahuantinsuyo. García y García described the artwork she presented as "worthy of praise from the best critics." One painting in particular, "*La Ofrenda*," represented a "ñusta", or a young Incan princess who carried a golden cup filled with myrrh that she offered to

limeño aún permanecía entre los restos de sus murallas virreinales, con más conocimiento de mar afuera de mar adentro."

the sun god. Leguía so admired her work that he acquired one of her pieces, “*La Tejedora*,” which was an image of an indigenous woman weaving.¹⁹

Leguía demonstrated his dedication and interest in the creation of a national art that reflected the rich indigenous past, fitting with the modern future, by providing material and moral support for Peruvian art. In addition to remodeling the School of Fine Arts, the Leguía government through the Ministry of Development commissioned artists to produce numerous monuments. One project was the beautification of a large park, called *Parque de La Reserva*, where José Sabogal helped design an Incan *Huaca* (a tomb or sacred place), which was a group of large buildings and monuments built in the Incan style. Also, in this park, statues of Indian men and women were placed around fountains. In one central fountain called “*La Fuente de los Huacos*,” artists erected statues of indigenous individuals representing different concepts important in the Andean world such as “Maternity,” “Abundance,” and “Music.” In cities outside of Lima, monuments were also being constructed to represent the greatness of the Peruvian past. In Ayacucho a park was created and a monument erected of María Parado de Bellido, a heroine of the national independence movement.²⁰ Parado de Bellido was an Indian woman who was tried in 1822 and later executed as a traitor by the Spanish army for serving as a messenger to send warnings about the movements of the royal forces.²¹

¹⁹ Elvira García y García, *La mujer peruana a través de los siglos* (Lima: Imp. Americana, 1925), Tomo II, 541. “Los extranjeros, que visitaron esa pequeña exposición, pudieron convencerse de que realmente, había existido un arte peruano, que una mano joven trataba de darle vida.” “y allí pueden admirarse sus obras admirables, dignas de ser elogiadas por los mejores críticos.”; PERUCULTURAL.org.pe Centro Cultural Virtual, “La escuela nacional de bellas artes 1919-1926,” <http://izcue.perucultural.org.pe/bellas.htm>.

²⁰ Ministerio de Fomento, *Álbum obsequiado*, n.p.; and, Augusto B. Leguía, *Yo Tirano, Yo Ladrón*, (Lima: Impreso en los Talleres de la Editorial Ahora, S.A., 1930s), 68-69.

²¹ Ministerio de Fomento, *Álbum obsequiado*, n.p.; Leguía, *Yo Tirano, Yo Ladrón*, 68-69; García y García, *La mujer peruana*, Tomo I, 235-238.

In other countries in Latin America, some governments also poured resources into the development of national art. The most well-known example is in Mexico, where the Minister of Education, José Vasconcelos, hired artists in the early 1920s to paint murals on public building. The Mexican revolution, fought in the preceding decade, had resulted in a new revolutionary vision of the Mexican nation that, by the 1920s, the government of Alvaro Obregón attempted to promote to the public. As a result of the government support for revolutionary art, Mexican muralist painters, such as Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco, David Alfaro Siqueiros, and Fernando Leal depicted images of the revolutionary struggle and Mexican history in large murals throughout the country. In these depictions, indigenous people, culture, and history were often portrayed as symbols of this new revolutionary Mexico.²²

In Peru a political revolution had not occurred, but the focus on creating a sense of nationalism through art aligned with Leguía's political perspective in the early 1920s. The School of Fine Art's early tendency to focus on indigenous elements of Peru fit well with Leguía's goals for his "New Fatherland:" to create a modern, more unified nation. Art and artistic symbols from the pre-colonial and contemporary period were useful to help define Peru as unique from other modernizing nations within Latin America. From Leguía's perspective, the uniqueness of Peru's history and culture allowed it to stand out from other nations, and claim a rich and complex past that could provide the cultural foundation for a modern and prosperous future.

The U.S. journalist Carleton Beals tackled the issue of art and its relationship with national politics by stating "in Peru, as in Mexico, aesthetics are interwoven with every

²² Dawn Ades, *Art in Latin America: The Modern Era, 1820-1980* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 151-155.

national effort. The geographical setting, the quality of the light, the intensity of color, the tones of the landscape, the racial heritages, make aesthetic fulfillment essential to any political fulfillment.” According to Beals, in Peru’s recent past art had never managed to unify national sentiment. He stated that art in the past resulted in “nothing vitally Peruvian, nothing consciously carved into beauty in harmony with national feelings and aspirations, nothing that draws upon the entire energies of a people and also interprets its aspirations.” Only recently, Beals claimed, “a Peruvian art is ... being born,” and its success has been in “teaching Peruvians to know Peru.” While artists like Sabogal were striving for a national art, this foreign observer recognized that they had an uphill battle because “they are painting for an unborn society.... they cannot paint effectively for a society they can only surmise.”²³

Representations of the “Indian Woman” in Art

In the process of “teaching Peruvians to know Peru,” *indigenista* artists focused on elements in Peru’s past and present that visually represented Peru’s uniqueness. Thus, one technique concentrated on replicating images from the Incan past. Elena Izcue’s reconstruction of Tahuantinsuyo in a salon of the presidential palace is a good example of this. Another was to focus on the contemporary experiences of indigenous people in Peru. The struggles of indigenous people for justice and equal rights were a visible reality on the streets of Lima as well as in rural and provincial towns throughout Peru. The realities of the marginalization of indigenous peoples encouraged Sabogal and his students to explore this theme, making it visible through art. Thus, one of the first steps

²³ Beals, *Fire on the Andes*, 432-433.

was to take what was typically understood as indicative of indigenous people and culture, yet made invisible in dominant society, and transfer it onto the canvas or into sculpture. Clothing, hairstyle, facial features, and other physical marks were included in these depictions. While indigenous men were physically marked as “Indian” by a few of these features, indigenous women were more commonly seen as embodying an indigenous identity in its entirety. As anthropologist Marisol de la Cadena has demonstrated in her study of late twentieth century Peruvian *campesinos*, “women are more Indian [than men]” because of the physical markers of clothing, as well as other indicators such as language and education.²⁴ Thus, a primary way artists in the *indigenista* art movement were “teaching Peruvians to know Peru” was by focusing on indigenous women. When Rosalía Larico and María de la Paz Chanini dressed up in their “*polleras, mantas, and sombreros*,” as Mariano Larico recalled, they embodied a form of female indigeneity that would be represented over and over again in different versions throughout this period (see images 5.2 & 5.3). In effect, images of indigenous women became an icon of the indigenist art movement over the course of the 1920s and 1930s.

Indigenista artists, such as José Sabogal and his students Julia Codesido, Elena Izcue, and Teresa Carvalho, explored different understandings of female Indianness in their representations of indigenous women. During their careers, they also depicted other Peruvian “types,” such as creole women, nuns, and marketwomen, but their largest bodies of work tended to focus on indigenous women and society.

²⁴ Marisol de la Cadena, “Las Mujeres son más indias: etnicidad y género en una comunidad del Cusco,” *Revista Andina*, 9 (1) 1991, 7-47.



Figure 5.2 (left): José Sabogal, *Hilandera*, 1923.

(Source: Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, www.bcrp.gob.pe/images/stories/Museo/03.jpg)

Figure 5.3 (below): José Sabogal, *Plaza Serrana*, 1932.

(Source: ARTstor)



Julia Codesido (1883-1979) is an excellent representative of the *indigenista* art movement and its focus on indigenous women. Similarly to many students of fine arts, Codesido produced a series of paintings of nude women early in her career. In keeping with the creation of a new Peruvian aesthetic, indigenous women were included in this series of nudes. In one, entitled “*India desnuda*,” a young indigenous woman is standing next to a stone wall indicative of Incan stonework, and she is naked from the waist up.

She has a colorful Indian textile covering the bottom half of her body that does not quite seem to be a skirt since she is grabbing on to it with both hands as if to prevent it from falling down. Even if the woman had been painted entirely naked, and not placed in a scene reminiscent of Incan buildings, her black hair parted down the center of her head and combed behind her back in braids, her large feet, and strong hands and forearms signal her indigenous identity. She did not even need to wear a *pollera*, *manta*, or *sombrero* to reveal her indigeneity. In another nude, entitled “*arcilla dorada*,” a young indigenous woman, possibly the same woman as in “*India desnuda*,” is seated, wearing a dark blue *pollera*, with her large toes sticking out (see image 5.4).²⁵ Her arms are wrapped across her naked chest, as if she were hiding her nakedness from someone. Again, the woman’s braided hair, large feet, and *pollera* mark her indigeneity.

Julia Codesido represented a group of artists working in the 1920s and 1930s who hoped that by depicting images of previously ignored segments of the population a new vision of Peru could emerge, one that affirmed the centrality of the nation’s indigenous and racially-mixed past and present in the creation of a better future. When discussing her beliefs about her art during these years, Codesido remarked on the indigenous themes of her work, stating “for me, the Peruvian Indian is a revelation of human force, resignation, patience, and faith. His ancestral intelligence is overflowing....Even today he reveals to us surprising teachings, in practical fields as well as scientific and spiritual.” Similarly to Sabogal, Codesido found inspiration for her art when she left the urban landscape of Lima to travel to rural regions in Peru where the majority of the indigenous populations lived. Early in her artistic career she recognized the importance of travelling to these distant regions to study the indigenous peoples and cultures in their native

²⁵ “Arcilla Dorada” can be translated as “golden clay” or “gilded clay”.

settings, stating “I won’t do anything good until I go to the Sierra (highlands).”²⁶

Throughout her career, she travelled to the highland regions of Peru numerous times. In a description of her travels, she recalled that “for me, my first trip to the *sierra* was

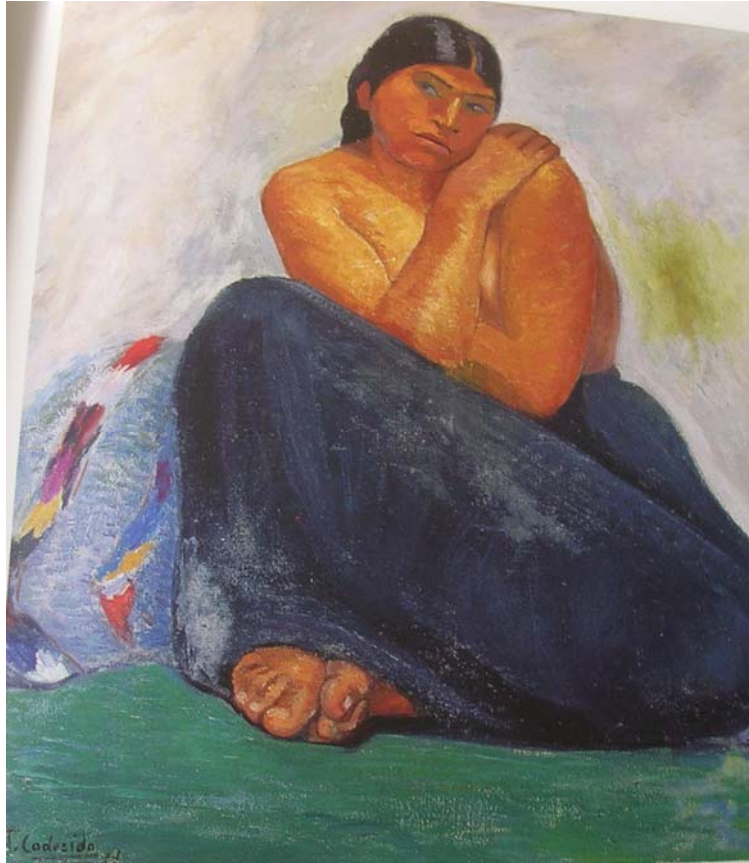


Figure 5.4: Julia Codesido, *Arcilla Dorada*, 1923.

(Source: Julia Codesido and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, *Julia Codesido(1883-1979): muestra antológica*, Lima: Centro Cultural PUCP, 2004, 25.)

²⁶ Evangelina, “Exposición de pintura en la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos”, *El Comercio* (Lima), 19 de setiembre de 1931, 4, cited in Julia Codesido and Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, *Julia Codesido(1883-1979): muestra antológica* (Lima: Centro Cultural PUCP, 2004), 16. “No haré nada bueno hasta que no vaya a la sierra.”

dazzling,” because it opened up a new visual realm of images, light, and colors. She painted during her trips and also took inspiration from the vernacular forms of art that she encountered, particularly the ceramics, textiles, and wood engravings.²⁷

Not only did Codesido focus on indigenous people and society in the highlands of Peru during her career, but she also travelled to remote jungle regions of the eastern lowlands. The indigenous cultures and people of the jungle lowlands were even less known to limeño society than the highland indigenous cultures, and her study of the jungle region, which she saw as a “fascinating and serious task,” depicted the diversity of indigenous society in Peru for urban audiences. In the lowlands, Codesido was especially fascinated with the native women she encountered, commenting that they were “responsible for the greatest amount of work” contributing to their families and communities and in artisanal work. Specifically, she admired the ceramics, textiles, and clothing in these communities that were hand-printed with a “magnificent and curious finishing technique.”²⁸

Similarly to other *indigenista* artists in Peru, Codesido was also inspired by the Mexican mural artists. As a student she sought out images of the Mexican artists from friends abroad and aspired to travel to Mexico to meet Rivera, Orozco, and Siqueiros, as Sabogal had in the early 1920s.²⁹ It was not until 1935 that she finally went to Mexico,

²⁷ René Métras, *Julia Codesido: Obras 1938-1965* (Barcelona: Galería René Métras, 1966), n.p. “El indio peruano es para mí una revelación humana de fuerza, resignación, paciencia y fe. Su inteligencia ancestral es desbordante... Hoy mismo nos traza enseñanzas sorprendentes, tanto en el terreno práctico como en el científico, espiritual.” “La primera salida por la sierra fue para mí un deslumbramiento.”

²⁸ Métras, *Julia Codesido*, n.p. “Tuve oportunidad de visitar grandes campamentos y conocer su vida en la que la mujer lleva la mayor parte del trabajo.” “Adentrarse en el estudio de la selva resulta cosa seria y fascinante.” “Sus labores en cerámica y tejidos estampados son, al igual que sus trajes, de un acabado técnico curioso y magnífico.”

²⁹ Swarthmore College Peace Collection, DG 015, Anna Melissa Graves Papers, Reels 74.7-74.8, Julia Codesido to Anna Melissa Graves, Lima, February 8, 1930; September 19, 1923; Torres Bohl, *Apuntes sobre José Sabogal*, 54-57.

when she gave an exposition of her work in the Palace of Fine Arts. At her exposition she received the accolades of the Mexican artists. David Alfaro Siqueiros wrote that she “possesses everything that is indispensable to realize the great task of Revolutionary American Art....With José Sabogal, [this] painter will realize...the transformative work that will impel art to be used in the struggle of the great masses.”³⁰ Her success in Mexico resulted in the opportunity to travel to New York the following year. Orozco recommended her to Delphic studio in New York, where he had previously exhibited his work.³¹

Codesido’s artistic style transformed over the course of her career, experimenting with abstract art near the end of her career, but her thematic content rarely altered. She consistently highlighted indigeneity and Peruvian culture in her art. Moreover, Codesido avoided creating extravagant compositions. She preferred subtlety in art, stating that “the most simple, most basic [images] carry the greatest expression.”³² Indeed, critics affirmed that her “simplistic” art elicited meaningful insights into understanding Peruvian culture and national identity. For example, one reviewer, who saw the “*Arcilla Dorada*” piece at an exposition of Codesido’s work in 1929, said the image of the indigenous girl possessed an “almost primitive modesty.... Modesty without culture, without decadence, without reflection: purity” (Image 4).³³ Another critic, Carmen Saco, who was also a sculptor and classmate of Julia Codesido, described this same exposition as “a collection

³⁰ Métras, *Julia Codesido*, n.p. “Julia Codesido posee todo cuanto es indispensable para realizar la gran tarea del Arte Revolucionario Americano, tal como demuestra su presente exposición.... Con José Sabogal, nuestra pintora realizará, estoy seguro de ello, el trabajo transformador que impele al arte a ser usado en la lucha de las grandes masas.”

³¹ Codesido and Wuffarden, *Julia Codesido(1883-1979)*, 90.

³² Métras, *Julia Codesido*, n.p. “Siempre tratando de lograr el mayor sintetismo—creo que en todo lo más simple, lo más sencillo lleva la mayor expresión—y pienso que la expresión junto con la proporción dan el mayor equilibrio y profundidad.”

³³ Xavier Abril, “Catalogo de la Exposición de Julia Codesido,” *Amauta* no.27 (Nov.-Dec. 1929), 100. “Pudor casi primitivo.... Pudor sin cultura, sin decadentismo, sin espejo: pureza.”

of samples of our races amalgamated into one whole, of one single face with a thousand facets of splendor, sadness, and happiness.” Saco further stated that Codesido’s paintings “are a light that illuminate the confused sensation of our souls, giving us the key to a new ideal...because from our racial tragedy, from our biological drama, will sprout our new life, our new civilization...”³⁴

Representations of the “Indian Woman” in Peruvian Society

Along with artists, numerous *indigenista* intellectuals, scientists, and doctors in the early twentieth century studied and analyzed indigenous people. Few, though, broached the subject of indigenous women. And when intellectuals did investigate and represent indigenous women their portraits were at times quite unflattering. For example, one *indigenista* writer, Juan José del Pino wrote a very detailed description of his conception of Indian women in 1909:

The first impression that an Indian woman produces is of profound disgust and even repugnance. Savageness is found portrayed in her physiognomy, in her distrustful and unsociable attitude. She does not reveal intelligence, imagination, or reason, not even common sense, only sadness and stubbornness...Meekness is her natural state, distrust her arm of defense, gossip and lies are her tools to win sympathies and to sow disharmony when useful; treachery and intrigue are the fruit of her distrust; theft, drunkenness, and licentiousness are the amusements that dissipate her eternal and innate melancholy; her paltriness is the cloak of her poverty; her hypocrisy is the mask of her baseness; vengeance and crime are the consequences of her depravity.³⁵

³⁴ Carmen Saco, “Exposición Codesido, sugerencias del arte de Julia Codesido,” *Amauta*, n. 27, Dic 1929, 17-20. “es un muestrario de nuestras razas que se amalgaman en un todo, de un solo rostro de mil facetas de esplendor, de tristeza y de alegría.” “son una luz que ilumina la sensación confusa de nuestras almas, dándonos la clave de una idea nueva; la idea fundamental de nuestro destino, que se revelará en el crisol de las sangres filtradas, o corriendo paralelas, porque de nuestra tragedia racial, de nuestro drama biológico, brotara nuestra vida nueva, nuestra nueva civilización enriquecida con dones espontáneos y mutuos.”

³⁵ J.J. del Pino, “La psicología de la mujer india,” in Wilfredo Kapsoli, *El pensamiento de la asociación pro-indígena* (Cuzco: Centro Las Casas, 1980), 103-5.

Del Pino's description, however, was a contradictory portrait. Despite the negative characteristics he attributed to indigenous women, he argued that they nonetheless possessed three positive sentiments: spirituality, an ethic of hard work, and love and devotion to family. He described indigenous women as better workers than their male counterparts and as the support system of the family because they were the "incarnation of maternal love" and the selfless caregivers to parents and siblings.³⁶

He highlighted these three positive characteristics of the "Indian woman" to provide a comparison between the social realities of Peru and more "advanced" societies. For example, he noted the detrimental effects of civilization and progress on marriage and family in France, where, he claimed, women used abortion and infanticide to avoid motherhood, and where "infidelity" and "anarchy" reigned. Del Pino asserted that in more advanced societies such as France, "the maelstrom of moral perversion buries the most noble and sacred affections" whereas in Peru "the ignorant, uncultured, and miserable Indian woman is still a good mother, good wife, good daughter, and above all, she does not drown out the voice of nature." Del Pino argued that indigenous women may have many negative characteristics, but at least they "secure the prosperity of domestic order" within society, while French women do not. Thus, del Pino hoped that because of the presence of indigenous women, Peru would follow a path to modernity that prioritized traditional values of marriage and family.³⁷

Del Pino did not blame "nature, heritage, or habit" for the negative characteristics and ignorance of Indian women, but rather condemned the lack of education for their situation. Through education, indigenous women would have vital influence on the

³⁶ Del Pino, "La psicología," 104.

³⁷ Del Pino, "La psicología," 103-105.

development of the nation to which they could bring “an era of national resurgence and well-being.” In other words, they could be the solution to the “Indian problem.”³⁸

Other representations of indigenous women emerged in the early twentieth century among physicians and politicians whose concerns about under-population, infant mortality, and the modernization of the state resulted in a more focused attention on the notion of maternity and the female sexual body.³⁹ While negative stereotypes about the unhygienic and promiscuous Indian woman were prevalent, positive notions about indigenous women were also available. Similarly to del Pino, some physicians described indigenous women as ideal mothers. One aspect of this was related to indigenous women’s bodies. For example, some physicians valorized the female Indian body because they believed that the particular configurations of Indian women’s sexual organs and bone structure made birthing easier. Another reason indigenous women were seen as ideal mothers was the fact that they breastfed their own children, a practice that public health advocates began to encourage among elite women during this period in order to guarantee the health and vigor of future generations.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the apparent scarcity of indigenous female prostitutes and the low incidence of syphilis among indigenous women made physicians reevaluate their beliefs about promiscuity and sexual relations in indigenous communities.⁴¹ Some physicians and *indigenistas* concluded that indigenous sexuality was more natural and pure than that of mestizas and whites, resulting in relatively stable conjugal and family structures.⁴²

³⁸ Del Pino, “La psicología,” 103-105.

³⁹ María Emma Mannarelli, *Limpias y modernas: género, higiene y cultura en Lima del novecientos* (Lima: Ediciones Flora Tristan, 1999), 72-73.

⁴⁰ Mannarelli, *Limpias y modernas*, 100, 192-5.

⁴¹ Emilio Romero, *Monografía del departamento de Puno* (Lima: Imp. Torres Aguirre, 1928), 219-220.

⁴² Mannarelli, *Limpias y modernas*, 246-7.

According to the discourse of *indigenistas* and physicians, the value of Indian women resided in their supposed naturalness and purity. For physicians, this naturalness was directly linked to the specific characteristics of their physical body. For *indigenistas* such as del Pino, the value of indigenous women resided in romantic ideals about indigenous culture in which the women's intimate relationship to the land resulted in natural familial relationships. These sentiments of indigenous purity, particularly female indigenous purity, can be exemplified by Dora Mayer's description of the Indian woman as "the healthy woman who could live happily in a very pure environment if only humanity was not so bad."⁴³ According to *indigenistas*, the natural state of indigenous people and culture was corrupted by non-Indians and the uncontrolled process of modernization. *Indigenistas* such as del Pino hoped that society could harness the virtues of that natural state as well as educate the indigenous population in order to transform Peru into a morally-rich modern nation.

As with del Pino, other *indigenistas* saw education as the key to make the Indian woman into the promoter of a domesticated modernity in Peru. The well-known Puneño educator José Antonio Encinas argued that changes in Peruvian society and the roles of women necessitated a reform of the educational system to allow "the liberation of women."⁴⁴ He stated that educators ought to recognize and embrace the new demands by women because "no one, nor anything, can detain woman in her pursuit to triumph over the egoism of men, who have hidden behind the Church and the Law."⁴⁵ Another

⁴³ Dora Mayer de Zulen, "Introducción" in *La india peruana* by Consuelo Ramirez de Torres Luna (Lima: Imp. "Lux," 1941), 23.

⁴⁴ José Antonio Encinas, *Un ensayo de escuela nueva en el Perú* (Lima: Imp. Minerva, 1932), 240-1, "la liberación de la mujer."

⁴⁵ Encinas, *Un ensayo*, 241. "Nadie ni nada podrá detener a la mujer en su propósito de triunfar sobre el egoísmo de los hombres, que se han escudado detrás de la Iglesia y de la Ley."

indigenista, Emilio Romero, lamented the lack of emphasis on female education, particularly since he found the women of Puno to be hardworking, “energetic, mannish, and tenacious.” He, like del Pino, emphasized the moral superiority of women over men, when he wrote:

If the husband is weak, or when he has vices, the woman tirelessly works in the fields, in commerce and in all activities of life...even as *tinterillos*⁴⁶ If, to this, one adds her contexture of moral strength and loyalty, one will see that a great error has been committed by neglecting the education of the woman on the Titicaca plateau.

Romero stressed women’s education for her own well-being and development, but even more so for the benefit of Peru’s future: “the educated puneña woman will be mother to new generations, new in the ideological sense of the word.” Overall, he, like del Pino and Encinas, stressed the role of the education of women, both for indigenous and white (or *misti*) women, as a way to create an integrated, modern nation.⁴⁷

Although it could be argued that *indigenistas* perceived indigenous and white women as having similar attributes of moral superiority and domestic values, one key difference is the role of work. Indigenous women were praised for their hard work in both the home and the field, whereas white women, particularly those of the upper

⁴⁶ *Tinterillos* are informal lawyers or legal advisors who are quite common in indigenous and rural communities. The *tinterillo* is briefly described in Ricardo Salvatore and Carlos Aguirre’s introduction “Writing the History of Law, Crime, and Punishment in Latin America,” eds. Ricardo D. Salvatore, Carlos Aguirre, and Gilbert M. Joseph, *Crime and Punishment in Latin America: Law and Society since Latin Colonial Times* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 1-32.

⁴⁷ Romero, *Monografía*, 379. “La mujer trabaja incansablemente, es enérgica, varonil, tenaz.” “Si el esposo es débil, o cuando es vicioso, la mujer trabaja infatigable sobre los campos de las cosechas, en el comercio y en todas las actividades de la vida. Se han visto hast mujeres ‘tinterillos’ hacer el papel de abogados con energía anecdótica. Si a esto se agrega su contextura moral fuerte y leal, se verá que se ha cometido un verdadero error al descuidar la educación de la mujer en la meseta del Titicaca. Y nos referimos no solamente a la mujer blanca sino a la mujer indígena.” “La mujer puneña educada, será madre de generaciones nuevas; nuevas en el sentido ideológico de la palabra.”

classes, were only expected to take charge of the home.⁴⁸ Even within the home, the work requirements were quite different for white and indigenous women. For elite white women, the home seemed to entail more supervision than actual physical labor since the domestic chores, childrearing, and even breastfeeding, were done by servants who were often indigenous or black women. The failure of many elite women to breastfeed or engage in the everyday activities of childrearing led doctors, hygienists, and politicians to fear that elite women's neglect of maternal duties would negatively effect the health and vigor of Peru's future generation of citizens. Given these concerns, one could argue that indigenous women who breastfed their own children and worked hard in both the home and field potentially represented to observers such as del Pino a better model of motherhood to help advance Peru into a modern nation than white women.⁴⁹

These differences between the roles of white and indigenous women must also be examined in relation to the expectations about the roles of white and indigenous men in Peruvian society. White men of the upper classes were full citizens and active participants in the public sphere as well as the providers for the family economy. Indigenous men, however, were often dependent on other men such as landowners for their livelihood, and therefore less commonly seen as breadwinners. Moreover, indigenous men as well as other men from the lower classes were often associated with alcoholism, a poor work ethic, and rebelliousness.⁵⁰ Thus, some *indigenistas* viewed indigenous women as having to take on the work of their male counterparts, becoming

⁴⁸ More and more women of the emerging middle classes began working outside the home in the early twentieth century. However, this was criticized by many (Mannarelli, *Limpias y modernas*, 42-3), whereas indigenous women were *expected* to work their land.

⁴⁹ Mannarelli, *Limpias y modernas*, 16, 193, 201, 227-228

⁵⁰ José Deustua and José Luis Rénique, *Intelectuales, indigenismo y descentralismo en el Perú, 1897-1931* (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas", 1984), 70.

“mannish,” as Romero describes them, in order to compensate for the supposed failures of their men.⁵¹ In a sense, then, indigenous women, acting as substitutes for their men, took on a more public role than white women. Perhaps this is why *indigenistas* such as del Pino held such hope that indigenous women, if properly educated, could be the solution to the “Indian problem” and agents of “national resurgence.”⁵² Likewise in art, indigenous women took on great significance representing what was traditional about Peru, but also that which could be transformative about Peru.

Peru’s Budding Feminist Movement

Educating women, both indigenous and non-indigenous women, and demonstrating their importance to Peruvian society became key goals among intellectuals and artists who actively participated in the feminist movement. Julia Codesido and other female artists such as Carmen Saco participated actively in the budding feminist movement, which coincided with the development of the *indigenista* art movement. A few of the female indigenous models and messengers even participated in some of the events sponsored by the organizations within the feminist movement. One of the most significant events in the early feminist movement in Peru was the visit of Carrie Chapman Catt, the United States suffragist, who arrived in Peru at the end of February, 1923. Her visit to Peru was part of an eight-month trip during which she toured South America and Europe as a representative of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance and the Pan-American Women’s Association. In addition to visiting Peru during her trip through Latin America, she met with women’s organizations in Brazil, Argentina,

⁵¹ Romero, *Monografía*, 379.

⁵² Del Pino, “La psicología,” 105.

Uruguay, Chile, and Panama.⁵³ During her six days in Lima, Catt addressed eight meetings, and met with more people than in any other country she visited in Latin America. At one meeting, she met with approximately thirty aristocratic women, all of whom understood English. She also met with women of other social classes at the public events where her speeches were translated into Spanish. In Lima, Catt also visited with President Leguía and, according to Catt, “he volunteered the opinion that he saw no objection to woman suffrage and hoped the women would organize a Pan-American auxiliary, an opinion which he allowed the women to make public.”⁵⁴

One of the main organizers of Catt’s visit was María Jesús Alvarado Rivera, a writer and arguably the most significant feminist in Peru in the early-twentieth century. In 1911, she gave a speech on feminism to the Geographic Society in Lima, and during that time participated actively in the Pro-Indigenous Association along with Dora Mayer and Pedro Zulen. In 1914, she founded the organization “*Evolución Feminina*” that besides the goals of pacifism and patriotism sought to achieve the “equality of civil rights for men and women,” and to “dignify women’s work.” Alvarado Rivera’s organization also opened a school in 1915 called “*Moral y Trabajo*” (Morality and Work) that promoted the education and protection of working-class girls. By the early 1920s, Alvarado Rivera’s organization *Evolución Feminina* had gained strength, and numerous other women’s organization existed, though many were more conservative in nature and often affiliated with the Catholic Church. Some of the members of these more

⁵³ See articles by Carrie Chapman Catt about her trip: “Crossing the Equator,” *Woman’s Journal* 7, no. 21 (1923), 9-10, 26-27; “South American Contrasts,” *Woman’s Journal* 7, no. 23 (1923), 10-11, 32; “A New World for Women,” *Woman’s Journal* 8, no. 2 (1923), 11-12; “Summing Up South America,” *Woman’s Journal* 8, no. 1 (1923), 7-8, 26; “The Two Panamas,” *Woman’s Journal* 7, no. 25 (1923), 10-11, 26; “Picturesque Peru,” *Woman’s Journal* 7, no.26 (1923), 9-10, 24-25.

⁵⁴ Catt, “Picturesque Peru,” 10.

conservative groups disagreed with many of Alvarado's beliefs. The visit of Carrie Chapman Catt, however, provided an opportunity in which the various women's organizations could attempt to come together in order to create a more unified voice.⁵⁵

During a meeting sponsored by Alvarado's organization "*Evolución Femenina*," Carrie Chapman Catt spoke along with María Jesús Alvarado Rivera and the leader of the popular universities, Víctor Haya de la Torre. The newspaper *El Tiempo* described the event as "a true social triumph." The report elaborated further, explaining that "the spacious salon of the Federation of Students was completely filled by women of all social classes...: distinguished women from the universities, teachers, laborers, and also the humble Indian women who traveled from their distant ayllus in demand of justice."⁵⁶ In Catt's description of her visit to Peru, she mentioned that at this meeting "several Indian women in their distinctive dress were there, and after the meeting one came up to the platform and throwing her arms around me smilingly patted me on the back."⁵⁷ Catt explained her encounter with the Indian woman by saying that "I didn't know whether she was a convert, or I an interesting curio." In a photo taken after the meeting, Carrie Chapman Catt is standing next to María Jesús Alvarado Rivera and is surrounded by many members of the audience including the messengers and models Nicasia Yábar and María de la Paz Chanini who are sitting on the floor in front of Catt.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Elsa M. Chaney, "Old and New Feminists in Latin America: The Case of Peru and Chile," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 35, no. 2 (May 1973), 332-336; Margarita Zegarra Flórez, "María Jesús Alvarado y el rol de las mujeres peruanas en la construcción de la patria," in *Mujeres, familia y sociedad en la historia de América Latina, siglos XVIII-XXI*, ed. Scarlett O'Phelan and Margarita Zegarra Flórez (Lima: CENDOC-MUJER, PUCP, Instituto Riva-Agüero, IFEA, 2006), 498-515.

⁵⁶ "La actuación de Evolución Femenina en honor de Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt," *El Tiempo*, Lima, March 3, 1923. "El espacioso salón de la Federación de Estudiantes presentaba un lleno completo, hallándose congregadas señoras de todas las clases sociales; distinguidas damas universitarias, maestras, empleadas y también las humildes indias que vienen de sus lejanos ayllus en demanda de justicia."

⁵⁷ Catt, "Picturesque Peru," 10.

⁵⁸ *La Crónica*, Lima, March 5, 1923.

The following evening a meeting sponsored by the women's literary organization "Entre Nous" was held at San Marcos University, attracting a more aristocratic audience. Catt explained that these meetings and her visit prompted the numerous women's organizations to come together and form an umbrella organization that would bring together the different interests in the various women's groups. Of this organizing process, Catt said "it was difficult for the women to decide on a board of officers which would be acceptable to the aristocratic minority and the mass majority, but one was finally agreed upon with members from both classes on it."⁵⁹ Initially, however, many women resisted assuming positions of leadership. A second meeting consolidated the process, with women accepting particular posts of leadership and a plan of work agreed upon. Among some of the women who accepted leadership roles were María Jesús Alvarado Rivera and Julia Codesido as secretaries. Chapman Catt recognized the talent of Alvarado Rivera and told her that the presidency could go to a woman with prominent social status, but she wanted Alvarado Rivera as the secretary because "the secretary is the soul and arm of the institution."⁶⁰ The organization was called the National Council of Peruvian Women (*Consejo Nacional de Mujeres Peruanas*), which would be an auxiliary of the Pan-American Association of Women. Catt summed up her visit to Peru and the creation of the Council by saying:

We have told some hundreds of Peruvians the story of woman's new place in the civilized world. The press has sent the message on to thousands more. Most will forget; a few remember. Perhaps we have only blazed a narrow trail, perhaps the somewhat timid organization brought into being on that day when past and future met ...will bear aloft the standard of women's right to an equal share of things until the new order prevails.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Catt, "Picturesque Peru," 24.

⁶⁰ Elsa M. Chaney, "Old and New Feminists in Latin America: The Case of Peru and Chile," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 35, no. 2 (May 1973), 335.

⁶¹ Catt, "Picturesque Peru," 24- 25.

Despite the founding of the National Council of Peruvian Women, it was largely ineffective in the first few months of its existence. María Jesús Alvarado Rivera explained the reasons for the inactivity in a letter to a U.S. peace activist and writer, Anna Graves, who had previously visited Peru and was in correspondence with many Peruvians including Julia Codesido and Víctor Haya de la Torre:

[The Council] remains inactive up until now because of a thousand fears and restrictions of the majority of its members. Women in this country do not yet have the spirit of solidarity, or consciousness of a social mission, nor true altruism. They only act under the impulse of personal interests, under a thousand prejudices and conventionalisms that impede a broad and truly renovating work. Women still do not feel the rebelliousness of their dignity against the slavery that they suffer; they are content with their passive role, and censure whoever tries to grab them from their weakness and servitude, calling them to the active and fruitful life of human beings...⁶²

Conflicts among women within the Council tended to reflect fears within society about the place of women within a more modern nation. In Alvarado's talk before she introduced Carrie Chapman Catt at the Federation of Students, she mentioned the fears and prejudices that many people held toward feminist ideas, particularly "the accusation that feminism would provoke a war of the sexes, distancing the woman from the home and producing anarchy and the dissolution of the family." She responded by saying that these assumptions were completely erroneous and that, on the contrary:

Feminism tries to consolidate the home and strengthen the family ties, making matrimony more noble, more complete, more harmonious, by...correct[ing] atavistic vices, inertia and feminine frivolity, and elevating the intellectual and

⁶² Swarthmore College Peace Collection, DG 015, Anna Melissa Graves Papers, Reel 74.7, María Jesús Alvarado Rivera to Anna Melissa Graves, Lima, Nov. 16, 1923. "...permanece inactivo hasta ahora por mil temores y restricciones de la mayoría de sus miembros. La mujer en este país no tiene aun espíritu de solidaridad, ni conciencia de su misión social, ni verdadero altruismo. No actúa aun sino al impulso de intereses personales, bajo mil prejuicios in convencionalismos que obstaculizan una labor amplia i verdaderamente renovadora. Todavía la mujer no siente la rebeldía de su dignidad contra la esclavitud que sufre; está contenta con su papel pasivo, i censura a quien pretende arrancarla de la molicie i servidumbre, llamándola a la vida activa y fecunda de la persona humana..."

moral level of women...Feminism is a doctrine of pure justice that tries to vindicate the rights of woman, not for being a woman, but for being a human being.⁶³

In a later interview, Alvarado made a similar comment that legislation needed to be enacted to “recognize the plenitude of the rights of the human being, without distinction of sex or race.” She believed that the new Council of Women should embrace racial as well as sex equity as its goal.⁶⁴

Alvarado’s strong views on feminism and race equality scared many elite women away from her campaign. These women worried that her radical beliefs would tarnish the Council. Indeed, a debate emerged within the Council of Women as to whether or not they should encourage legislation to be drawn up that would call for civil equality between men and women. This debate emerged in response to a petition initiated by María Jesús Alvarado that was signed by 135 women and submitted to a government commission charged with reforming the Civil Code of 1851. In the petition, the women called for civil and juridical equality between men and women, and asked that equal rights of inheritance be granted to natural children. Among the signatories were Julia Codesido, Carrie Chapman Catt, and Miguelina Acosta Cárdenas, one of the first female lawyers in Peru. The Civil Code of 1851 made women dependent on fathers and husbands, denied women legal rights over their children, and limited women’s ability to represent themselves in a court of law without the permission of a husband or father.

⁶³ “Discurso de la Srta. Alvarado Rivera,” *La Crónica*, Lima, March 5, 1923. “la acusación que se hace al feminismo de que provoca la lucha de sus sexos, alejando a la mujer del hogar y produciendo la anarquía y disolución de la familia;” “el bien entendido feminismo, trata de consolidar el hogar y fortalecer los vínculos de la familia, haciendo la unión matrimonial más noble, más completa, más armónica, por medio de la cultura integral y perfecta, que corrige los vicios atávicos, la inercia y la frivolidad femeninas, elevando el nivel intelectual y moral de la mujer, y dándole el verdadero concepto de su misión de esposa y madre...: el feminismo...es una doctrina de justicia pura que trata de reivindicar los derechos de la mujer, no por ser mujer, sino por ser persona humana.”

⁶⁴ “La escritora peruana Alvarado Rivera nos formula interesantes declaraciones,” *La República*, Buenos Aires, Junio 15 de 1925.

Although many in the Council supported the proposed reform, others did not, particularly women from organizations that were affiliated with the Catholic Church. According to Julia Codesido, of the thirty or so organizations that made up the Council, most were of a “religious nature” and many of the members rejected reforms that would conflict with Catholic teachings. Moreover, the women who were affiliated with religious organizations wanted to seek the approval of the Archbishop for their activities in the Council. As a result of the conservative nature of many of the women within the Council, the organization had difficulty agreeing on statutes that Catt had suggested to them, which called for ensuring “women’s demands” and “civil rights.” Instead, the majority of the members preferred that the Council’s goal be “to improve the condition of women’s lives.” Codesido disapproved of this decision because she felt the goal was “very vague” and not a strong enough stance in favor of specific women’s rights. She understood, however, that such a general goal would not threaten “high society.”⁶⁵

Despite internal disagreements, in December 1924, members of the Council hosted the second Pan-American Women’s Congress, which coincided with the third Pan-American scientific congress in Lima. At the women’s congress, women from throughout Latin America attended as did a few observers from the United States. The event included discussions about women’s education, literature, work, domestic sciences, social assistance, and children’s welfare. In a few of the sessions, the situation of indigenous women was discussed. For example, Consuelo Harvey Cisneros talked about ways to protect indigenous girls, particularly those who were sent to work as domestic

⁶⁵ Zegarra Flórez, “María Jesús Alvarado,” 508; Chaney, “Old and New Feminists,” 335-336; Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Julia Codesido to Anna Melissa Graves, Lima, May 15, 1923 and May 7, 1924. “caractère religieux,” “revendications de la femme,” “droits civils,” “La meilleure condition de vie de la femme,” “bien vague,” “haut élément social.”

servants in urban areas. According to Elvira García y García, the congress was successful at raising many important issues related to the advancement of women and allowing for open discussions and civil conversations about different perspectives. The meeting also helped Peruvian women to reorganize and reinvigorate the National Council of Peruvian Women, and also found a Society called “*Bien de Hogar*” devoted to the diffusion of domestic sciences to help mothers become better homemakers.⁶⁶

Around the same time as the women’s congress, María Jesús Alvarado was arrested by order of the Leguía’s government, accused of printing and distributing anti-Leguía propaganda. According to Dora Mayer, the printing press that she owned with her organization had been donated by the President Leguía to Alvarado’s organization. Although Alvarado was not the author of the anti-government propaganda, she did allow the printing of the leaflets that students and workers had asked her to print. As a result, Alvarado was imprisoned for three months, despite campaigns for her release. By early-1925, Alvarado was forced into exile and took refuge in Buenos Aires, returning to Peru only twelve years later. Other feminists like Dora Mayer also separated from the Council of Women, apparently over disagreements about the priorities within the organization. Mayer had helped create a pro-indigenous committee in 1926 that was to be affiliated with the Council. She and the other organizers of the group sent a letter to the president of the Council of Women asking that the Council support the “highly nationalistic and humanitarian work” of the committee that, along with non-women’s groups, was striving to “honor the Race that has mattered most in the development of the Nation.” The leaders within the Council of Women, however, did not reply to the request. Because of the absence of support for the pro-indigenous committee, Mayer decided to renounce her

⁶⁶ García y García, *La mujer peruana*, 925-936.

participation in the Council in 1929. Mayer clearly rejected the Council's apparent indifference about promoting the rights of indigenous women. Julia Codesido also distanced herself from the Council of Women and focused on her art and teaching.⁶⁷

The more radical strand of the early feminist movement in Peru was disrupted by the exile of María Jesús Alvarado.⁶⁸ In general, the struggles of feminists during the first few decades of the twentieth century focused on improving women's education or on gaining civil rather than political rights. However, after Alvarado left, a few feminists did pursue campaigns for women's suffrage. The most prominent example is Zoila Aurora Cáceres, the daughter of a former president and military hero from the War of the Pacific, General Andrés Cáceres. She founded a women's organization called "*Feminismo Peruano*" in 1924. The primary goal of "*Feminismo Peruano*" was to promote legislative reform that would guarantee equality between men and women, specifically with regards to the right to vote.⁶⁹

It was not until 1930 when Leguía's eleven-year rule came to an end that Cáceres' organization had the opportunity to lobby for women's suffrage. When Lt. Col. Sánchez Cerro became president in 1930, he proposed reforming the Constitution. With the prospect of new elections for the Constituent Assembly, "*Feminismo Peruano*" took this opportunity to ask for women's suffrage. Zoila Aurora Cáceres petitioned President

⁶⁷ "La escritora peruana," *La República*; Zegarra Flórez, "María Jesús Alvarado," 508-09; Mayer de Zulen, *Memorias*, 204, 212-13. "para secundar en la forma que mejor pudiese la labor altamente nacionalista y humanitaria que el sexo femenino intenta realizar al lado de las diversas instituciones del elemento masculino de índole semejante con la esperanza de que el Perú pague algún día su deuda de honor a la Raza que tanto significa en el desenvolvimiento de la Patria." Swarthmore College Peace Archives, Julia Codesido to Anna Melissa Graves, Lima, September 15, 1925.

⁶⁸ Zegarra Flórez, "María Jesús Alvarado," 509.

⁶⁹ García y García, *La mujer peruana*, 734; Roisida Aguilar Gil, "La 'aurora' del sufragio femenino en el Perú: Zoila A. Cáceres, 1924-1933," in *Mujeres, familia y sociedad en la historia de América Latina, siglos XVIII-XXI*, ed. Scarlett O'Phelan and Margarita Zegarra Flórez (Lima: CENDOC-MUJER, PUCP, Instituto Riva-Agüero, IFEA, 2006), 517-535.

Sánchez Cerro on a number of occasions asking that he grant women the right to vote and the right to be elected for government positions. In one petition, she included over four thousand signatures from people who supported the granting of women's suffrage.⁷⁰ She wrote:

Mr. President, because of your brave effort a new era of greatness is opening in Peru, breaking the hateful system of oppression and tyranny through which [the former regime] sought to debase the entire nation by impeding electoral freedom. No greater noble deed of civic glory could exist than that of proclaiming equality before the law without excluding women who constitute the national soul by giving children to the Nation.

She also suggested that Sánchez Cerro could be remembered in history for granting women the right to vote: “If the freedom of the slaves is owed to the field officer Castilla, then the freedom from another slavery as humiliating as the first—the slavery of women—ought to be owed to Sánchez Cerro.” As the daughter of a former president and military hero, Zoila A. Cáceres hoped that her status and patriotic appeals would convince Sánchez Cerro to support her cause. She argued that women were indelibly patriotic, and stated in a petition to Sánchez Cerro that “love for the fatherland, abnegation, gratitude, and sacrifice constitute our strength and this strength is what will accompany you always in the immortal work that you will do making justice for women who comprise more than half the inhabitants of Peru.”⁷¹

⁷⁰ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 317, 1931, Zoila Aurora Cáceres, Lima, August 20, 1931. In this letter, she mentions that in her previous petition she included a list of over four thousand signatures supporting the petition.

⁷¹ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 317, 1931, To Presidente de la Junta de Gobierno, Don Luis M. Sánchez Cerro from Zoila Aurora Cáceres, Dec. 1, 1930. “Señor Presidente: debido a vuestro valeroso esfuerzo se abre una nueva era de grandeza en el Perú, rompiendo el odioso sistema de opresión y tiranía con que se pretendió envilecer a toda la Nación impidiendo la libertad electoral. Mayor timbre de gloria cívica no puede existir que el proclamar la igualdad ante la ley sin excluir a las mujeres que constituyen el alma nacional al dar hijos a la Patria.” “Si a un militar: el Mariscal Castilla, se debió la libertad de los esclavos, al Teniente Coronel Sánchez Cerro se deberá la libertad de otra esclavitud tan humillante como la anterior; la esclavitud de las mujeres, a que las somete le ley negándoles la ciudadanía al mismo tiempo que les exige ser patriotas como a los ciudadanos.” “El amor a la Patria, la abnegación, la gratitud y el sacrificio

However, not all female activists agreed with the political activities of women such as Zoila Aurora Cáceres. The poet and activist Magda Portal, who participated in the popular universities and was a strong supporter of Haya de la Torre and the APRA party, disagreed with women who fought primarily for women's political rights. She claimed that these women "pertained in their entirety to the upper class, without any ideology besides that of obtaining this right [to vote], and have demonstrated their little faith in the triumph of this supposition that does not satisfy the wide-ranging aspirations of the women of Peru."⁷² Portal believed that a greater social struggle was needed, one that included radical economic and social changes to improve the overall lives of working men and women. Nonetheless, she recognized the complicated situation women activists faced, and understood that even in the most progressive political parties that championed the rights of workers, women experienced considerable challenges. In a letter to Anna Melissa Graves, Magda Portal explained her concern about the difficulties of female activists:

Marxists say that in the family the man is the oppressor and the woman the oppressed. In other words, the man is the bourgeois and the woman the proletariat. In our old feudal societies in America woman still suffers from the prejudices of the middle ages. Woman is a white slave, a toy for pleasure, or a domestic worker, whose rebelliousness and desire for liberty are interpreted as a scandalous crime. Because of that, we women who fight have twice the enemies. [We fight] against the common enemy of social injustice, and against the prejudices of society, whose sprouts are found even among our own *compañeros*!

Because the prejudices of society were so pronounced against women, Portal believed most women "continued being an appendix of man, the classic biblical rib, without personality," and that the reason for this was that "woman lacks faith in herself and

constituyen nuestra fuerza y esta os acompañará siempre en la inmortal obra que realizáis haciendo justicia a mas de la mitad de los habitantes del Perú que lo forman las mujeres."

⁷² Magda Portal, *El Aprismo y la mujer* (Lima: Editorial Cooperativa Aprista "Atahualpa," 1933), 5.

strength to deal with the responsibility of being her own person.” Furthermore, she stated that if more women took an active role in society, many things would change. Dora Mayer also questioned the goal of women’s suffrage, but for reasons different than Magda Portal. Mayer worried that women’s suffrage and participation in political parties would sully the feminine and domestic qualities of women.⁷³

In the end, the Sánchez Cerro government did not change the electoral rules for the 1931 election to allow women to vote, nor did the Constituent Assembly grant women’s suffrage in the 1933 Constitution, despite the vocal support of numerous assemblymen. The 1933 Constitution did allow women to vote in municipal elections, though in practice these elections were not held in subsequent years because a series of military governments imposed autocratic rule. Furthermore, the 1933 Constitution still specified the criteria of literacy for individuals to vote. So, although a much larger number of people were enfranchised after the 1933 Constitution, it was still largely educated men from the elite and middle classes. It was not until 1955, under the military dictatorship of General Odría, that literate women were granted the right to vote, and not until 1979 that illiterate men and women could vote.⁷⁴

⁷³ Swarthmore College Peace Collection, DG 015, Anna Melissa Graves Papers, Reel 74.8, Magda Portal to Anna Melissa Graves, Sto. Tomas, October 10, 1935. “Los marxistas dicen que en la familia el hombre es el opresor i la mujer la oprimida. Valga decir, el hombre es el burgués i la mujer el proletario. En nuestras viejas sociedades feudales- en America la mujer sufre todavía los prejuicios de la edad media- la mujer es una esclava blanca, juguete de placer o domestica, cuya rebeldía i anhelo de libertad se interpreta como un delito escandaloso. Por eso, las que luchamos, tenemos dobles enemigos. Contra el enemigo común, o sea la injusticia social, i contra los prejuicios del medio, cuyos gérmenes se encuentran aun entre nuestros propios compañeros!” “La mujer continúa siendo un apéndice del hombre, la clásica costilla bíblica, sin personalidad. I es que a la mujer le falta fé en sí misma i valor para afrontar la responsabilidad de ser ella misma.” “Se limita a decir lo que los hombres le permiten que diga. I ésto no es feminismo. Pero creo que si las mujeres tomasen parte activa en los negocios del mundo, cambiaría en muchos aspectos la faz de la humanidad.” Mayer de Zulen, *Memorias*, 209.

⁷⁴ Portal, *El Aprismo y la mujer*, 7; Aguilar Gil, “La ‘aurora’ del sufragio,” 532-535; Contreras and Cueto, *Historia del Perú*, 324.

Resistance to *Indigenista* Art

While some feminists and *indigenista* artists were calling for a more inclusive nation that would grant civil and political rights to all people regardless of race or sex, other individuals, particularly among the wealthy classes, had more difficulty accepting changes in the social hierarchy of the early twentieth century. This rejection was evident in some responses to *indigenista* art.

The new national art created by Sabogal and his students provoked sharp criticism from members of the elite classes. Carleton Beals recounted a visit with the family of sugar plantation owners in northern Peru who criticized the artwork of Sabogal. Beals wrote that Don Rafael, the family patriarch, commented that: “I simply can’t see anything beautiful in [Sabogal’s artwork]. Why does he paint Indians and zambos and negroes? And if he must paint them, why does he pick such ugly types?” According to Beals, this plantation owner studied pre-Colombian Mochican culture and collected and valued its artifacts, but held lesser esteem for modern Peruvian culture. Beals analyzed this encounter by saying that a similar attitude emerged among many of Mexico’s elite class when Diego Rivera and Clemente Orozco began painting modern portrayals of contemporary Mexico. Beals acknowledged that “in Sabogal’s work, though not directly propagandist like the Mexican school, are social implications little relished by an owner of broad acres.” Beals clearly admired the work of Sabogal, and in his book on Peru, *Fire on the Andes*, Sabogal was the illustrator.⁷⁵

In a similar situation, Dora Mayer recounted her dismay at the response from friends to a painting that Elena Izcue gave her as a gift. The painting entitled “*la hilandera*” (the woman who spins wool) was a picture of an indigenous woman holding a

⁷⁵ Beals, *Fire on the Andes*, 197-199.

baby on her lap. Dora Mayer commented to her friends that the indigenous woman looked like the Virgin Mary, to which her friends reacted in “pious horror.” Her friends called her comment a “sacrilege” and they wondered “how she could pretend that the portrait of a *chola* with a baby could be equated to the image of the Sainly Virgin!” Dora Mayer’s retort was that her friends should look at the images of the Virgins that they revere so much, and they would see that “they are pictures of Italian peasants made by Italian painters.” In response, her friends said “but the painters chose their models because they were beautiful,” insinuating that the indigenous woman painted in Izcue’s painting was ugly and that ugliness was inherent in her race. Dora replied to this last comment by saying: “My friends you scorn deplorably, being Peruvians and sustaining that the indigenous peasant is not as worthy to represent the queen of the Catholic heaven as any townswoman in Europe.”⁷⁶

Neither Don Rafael nor Mayer’s friends viewed the indigenous images, particularly of Indian women, as worthy of representing a national art because they saw them as “ugly.” In their responses they did not seem to deny the “Peruvianness” of the images, they just claimed to not find them aesthetically pleasing. Would the sugar plantation owner have liked the paintings if the indigenous women in Sabogal’s paintings were actually delicate, white women dressed up in indigenous clothing? Or, perhaps, if the paintings were from a previous era, such as the Mochican period, and not ones that

⁷⁶ Dora Mayer de Zulen, “La Virgen Indígena,” *Concordia Revista* 1, no. 6, (Dec. 1, 1928), Clio CD-ROM, CENDOC-Mujer, Lima. “con piadoso horror.” “Cómo pretender que el retrato de una chola con un bebe puede figurar como una imagen de la Virgen Santísima.” “son pinturas de campesinas italianas hechas por pintores italianos.” “Ah, pero los pintores escogían sus modelos por lindas...” “Amigas mías Uds. se apocan deplorablemente, siendo peruanas al sostener que la campesina indígena no sea tan digna de representar a la reina del cielo católico como lo ha sido la aldeana de cualquier pala de Europa.”

were meant to represent the modern Peruvian nation, would he have collected them and shown them off proudly to foreign visitors?

While the art of Sabogal and his students tried to provide more inclusive images of Peru as a nation, many Peruvians were confronted for the first time with visual images that upset their past conceptions of Peruvianness and how this was expressed aesthetically. The descriptions of indigenist art as “ugly” were another way of saying that not only did the artists lack talent and refinement but that they were motivated by their political beliefs. For example, one critic in 1939 argued that the artists aimed at being “indigenists before being painters.” He went on to say that the error of the indigenists has been that they “try to extract all Peruvianness” from the theme of “the Indian.” He claimed that indigenist art was “simply a regional art” rather than a national art.⁷⁷ Sabogal, however, believed these accusations to be exaggerated and politically motivated. He claimed that the critics nicknamed them *indigenistas* “with malice,” because they “wanted to label us as agents of a fantastic Incan restoration.” Moreover, Sabogal’s reaction to critics who labeled the indigenists as “exponents of ugly art,” was that these critics “came from that legion of our Peruvian society that does not have a hold on the popular soul.” In other words, Sabogal saw these critics as elitists who were detached from the lives of the majority of Peruvians.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Raúl María Pereira, “Consideraciones sobre la pintura Peruana” *Mercurio Peruano* no. 51 (Sept 1939), 397-403, quoted in Torres Bohl, *Apuntes sobre José Sabogal*, 106. “todos pretenden ser indigenistas antes que pintores.” “La escuela neoperuana se nutre argumentalmente del indio. Olvida todo lo que le sea extraño a éste o trata de olvidarlo. Se da, de esta manera, una importancia capital al tema y, desde este tema, se pretende extraer toda la peruanidad...La pintura indigenista es simplemente un arte regional.”

⁷⁸ Sabogal, *Del arte en el Perú*, 110. “...se nos tildó de ‘Cultores del Arte Feo’. Y dentro de su punto de vista se encontraban en lo justo, pues estos proyectiles de algodón procedían de esa legión de nuestro medio peruano que no tiene asidero en el alma popular;” “Querían señalarnos como gestores de una fantástica restauración incaica.”

Other criticisms of indigenist art arose from intellectuals who saw the indigenist school as a romanticized expression of Peru, rather than as an art of denunciation. In reference to the indigenist school of art, the surrealist poet César Moro opined that “I can affirm that I don’t believe in the messianic future of the Indian: I see their irrefutable present, I see that all attempts to contain [the Indian] in the anecdotal is nothing but a ploy of the worst kind; I see like anyone else can see it—their exploitation in greater or lesser degree.” Another critic of the indigenist art was Jorge del Prado, a beginning painter and a friend of José Carlos Mariátegui. At one point, del Prado expressed to Mariátegui that he saw the art of the indigenists as “lacking political, militant, ideological content, and perhaps, emotion.” He understood that they painted images of indigenous people never before depicted in Peruvian art, but that the images, unlike the work of the Mexican muralists, “did not take into account the social condition [of indigenous people], nor their concerns of vindication.”⁷⁹

According to del Prado, Mariátegui believed that although the art of Sabogal was different from the Mexican muralists, it was still a worthy and innovative art form. Mariátegui viewed art as generally fitting into two categories: decadent or revolutionary art. He claimed that “new art” was only revolutionary if it portrayed a “new spirit” and not just a new technique. Indigenist art fit this definition. Mariátegui explained to del Prado that the revolutionary aspect of the art of Sabogal and Codesido was that it “broke down the ostracism still faced by the people of Quechua, Aymara, and other ethnic

⁷⁹ Torres Bohl, *Apuntes*, 104. “Puedo afirmar que no creo en el porvenir mesiánico del indio: veo su actualidad incontestable, veo que todo intento de confinarlo en lo anecdótico no es sino una maniobra de la peor reacción; veo como cualquiera puede verlo, su explotación en mayor o menor grado;” Jorge del Prado, *En los años cumbres de Mariátegui* (Lima: Ediciones Unidad, 1983), 46-49. “Yo consideraba sus obras faltas de contenido ideológico, político-militante, y quizá de emoción.” “Se pintaba lo que nunca antes se había hecho...pero...sin tener en cuenta su condición social, sus problemas reivindicativos.”

origins.” Moreover, their art represented a “cultural liberation,” that according to Mariátegui, “had to flow together as a torrent in the great river of the socialist revolution in Peru.” Furthermore, Mariátegui understood that the expression of art in Peru would be different than in Mexico because of the dissimilar social and political realities. He wrote that in Mexico “the State has ceded the walls of large public buildings in order that their best revolutionary painters enrich them indefinitely.” This made Mexican art “public and monumental.” In Peru, art did not have such a public presence, despite Leguía’s early support of the indigenist art, and could often only be viewed at expositions or in the workshops of artists. Mariátegui’s journal *Amauta*, however, attempted to undo this fact by providing a forum for the indigenist art in Peru to be viewed by national and international audiences. The journal included examples of work by José Sabogal, Julia Codesido, Carmen Saco, Camilo Blas, and Teresa Carvallo among others. Wood cuts of indigenous people by Sabogal or Codesido were often displayed on the front cover of *Amauta*. Not only were images of these artists shown in the journal, but the cultural and artistic significance of the work was often described.⁸⁰

Sabogal also responded to the criticism that indigenist art was not as political as the Mexican artists and their murals of the Mexican revolution. He stated that despite his

⁸⁰ Del Prado, *En los años cumbres*, 46-49. “Yo consideraba sus obras faltas de contenido ideológico, político-militante, y quizá de emoción.” “Se pintaba lo que nunca antes se había hecho...pero...sin tener en cuenta su condición social, sus problemas reivindicativos.” “Eso implicaba romper el ostracismo en que aún se encontraba la población de origen quechua, aymara y otras etnias...” “...sería disminuirla el no reconocerle el valor de un movimiento inicial en la lucha por la liberación cultural de nuestro pueblo, liberación que tenía que confluír como un torrente en el gran cauce de la revolución socialista en el Perú.” “Aquella constituye un arte público, monumental. El Estado ha cedido las paredes y los muros de grandes edificios públicos para que los enriquezcan sine-die sus mejores pintores revolucionarios.” José Carlos Mariátegui, “Arte, revolución y decadencia,” in *Invitación a la vida heroica: José Carlos Mariátegui, textos esenciales*, ed. Alberto Flores Galindo and Ricardo Portocarrero Grados (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2005), 359-362. “un espíritu nuevo.”

admiration for Mexican artists, as an artist from Peru he had to respond to Peru's own social and political climate. He wrote:

If up until now we do not have the opportunity to express ourselves on a large scale, in mural paintings, in that which arrives directly to the people, it is not because we are not technically skilled to undertake that work; it is due to the fact that the climate necessary for this maximum expression of painting has not yet occurred.

Moreover, he and the other *indigenista* artists believed that although Peru had not undergone a revolution like in Mexico, the potential for a political and cultural revolution still existed. This potential was what gave their movement real strength, and it also incited fear into members of the elite class in Peru. Also, although Sabogal did not agree with much of the negative criticism, he was pleased that his art at least elicited commentaries and debate. He stated that the public debate surrounding his art "was gratifying to me, because there was not an attitude of indifference." Moreover, according to Sabogal, the media attention allowed more students to learn about the School of Fine Arts and resulted in increased enrollment at the school.⁸¹

Despite the criticisms from members of the elite and some contemporary artists, José Sabogal, Julia Codesido, Elena Izcue, and others continued to pursue their forms of *indigenista* art into the thirties and forties. In 1931, Julia Codesido began working at the National School of Fine Arts as an instructor. In 1932, after the death of Daniel Hernandez, the director of the National School of Fine Arts, José Sabogal became the new director. This transfer of leadership to Sabogal affirmed the predominance of the

⁸¹ José Sabogal, *Del arte en el Perú*, 94-95, 11. "Pero nosotros sólo seguimos pintando y si hasta hoy no tenemos la oportunidad de expresarnos en grande, en pintura mural, en esa que llega directa al pueblo, no será porque nosotros no estemos aptos técnicamente para acometer esta empresa; ello es debido a que no se ha producido aún el clima necesario para esta expresión máxima de pintura." "En la opinión pública se suscitó acalorada controversia. Esta actitud que levantara mi muestra, fue para mí muy grata, pues no hubo ante ella actitud de indiferencia."

indigenist art movement in Peru in the early 1930s. However, the influence of the *indigenista* movement did not last and it increasingly came under criticism during the 1930s. Sabogal held this post until 1943, when he resigned under pressure from the government. In a letter to a friend about his renunciation, Sabogal stated that although he had left over disagreements with Ministry of Education officials, he believed that the critics of his work influenced the decision of government officials who were “responding to the public clamor about our School of Ugly Arts.”⁸² Julia Codesido and other teachers of the *indigenista* school such as Camilo Blas also resigned in protest, and eventually joined Sabogal at the newly-founded Institute of Peruvian Art (1946) that was affiliated with the National Museum of Peruvian Culture. This new Institute promoted the study of traditional and contemporary popular art.⁸³ Sabogal, Codesido, and Carvallo, among others, continued to use their influence to promote vernacular art from Peru’s past and present. This was one of the main accomplishments of the indigenist art movement—to recover and validate art and culture that represented a new picture of that which was distinctively Peruvian.

Conclusion

During the artistic movement of *indigenismo*, artists worked together with intellectuals, writers, and indigenous activists to bring indigenous issues front and center in the political and cultural realms that resulted in a redefinition of the meaning of Peruvian identity. Art and social activism, when combined, doubly threatened the elite

⁸² Letter from José Sabogal to Ricardo Florez, August 7, 1943, quoted in Torres Bohl, *Apuntes*, 124. “satisfaciendo así el clamor público sobre nuestra Escuela de Feas Artes”

⁸³ Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, *Julia Codesido (1883-1979): muestra antológica* (Lima: Centro Cultural Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú and Banco Interamericana de Fianzas, 2004), 18.

because it not only called for the acceptance of a new idea of Peru but it also displayed this new vision for Peruvians and foreigners alike to see. The images of indigenous people that artists depicted put forth a new representation of Peruvian culture, one in which indigeneity, or indigenous heritage, was fundamental to their understanding of Peruvian national identity. Furthermore, indigenous women tended to be the focal point of this new change in emphasis in defining national identity through art. For these artists, Peru was no longer solely a creole or white nation that ignored the rural indigenous people: it was emerging as a nation of indigenous people, of workers, and of women who deserved equal consideration and equal rights.

Because painters during this time rarely titled their works with the actual name of the model, it is difficult to know with certainty which paintings of the *indigenista* artists depict María de la Paz, Nicasia Yábar, or Rosalía Larico. However, when these indigenous messengers participated as models for the *indigenista* artists they reinforced the connections made between indigenous messengers and intellectuals and artists. In many ways, they all shared similar goals of raising awareness about indigenous people and their concerns and wanting to place indigenous people at the forefront of debates on the state of the nation. It is also unclear what happened to some of these female messengers and whether or not their petitions to government officials resulted in positive outcomes. If María de la Paz Chanini's struggles to recuperate her lost lands continued to fall on deaf ears, despite her meetings with presidents and government officials, it is possible that she decided to stay in Lima permanently. By the 1920s, migration to cities seemed to be a more common alternative for indigenous people who were losing lands or faced violent repression from abusive landowners or authorities. Rosalía Larico,

however, returned to her home near Huancané in Puno. She married and had numerous children, taking care of some of the lands her family possessed. However, she had conflicts with neighbors over her land that, in 1940, resulted in her brutal rape and murder, supposedly by these neighbors. Despite strong efforts by indigenous people to improve their situation in the 1920s through organizations and petitioning, conflicts over land and abuse by local authorities continued to have severe consequences for indigenous people for decades to come.⁸⁴ The indigenous women who worked as messengers and models, such as Rosalía Larico, Maria de la Paz, Nicasia Yábar, in their fight to gain rights for indigenous people, joined forces with artists, feminists and other activists, and demanded a more inclusive nation. Although some of them suffered horribly for their actions, their participation as messengers and models helped redefine “the national soul” of Peru to highlight indigenous identity and raise awareness about indigenous rights.

While the indigenist artists continued to promote their art into the 1930s and early 1940s, the Peruvian government erupted into chaos. A military coup in 1930 successfully removed President Leguía from office, but a contentious presidential election in 1931 resulted in political violence between the new government of Lieutenant Coronel Luis Miguel Sánchez Cerro and members of the APRA party. The assassination of President Sánchez Cerro in 1933 by an APRA party member resulted in the installation of a military government under the leadership of General Oscar Benavides. During this period of national crisis, indigenous people were often considered to be subversives, which limited their ability to demand changes and government assistance. It was not until the democratic election of President Manuel Prado y Ugarteche in 1939 that the

⁸⁴ José Luis Ayala, *El presidente Carlos Condorena Yuyra* (Lima: Editoriales San Marcos, 2006), 300, 354-55, 374.

government again began to attend to some of the concerns of indigenous people. The next chapter will examine the struggles of indigenous petitioners during this period of political upheaval and reconciliation.

Chapter 6:

Indigenous Communities and the Militarized Peruvian State, 1930-1939

Introduction

Cultural representations of indigenous people continued to dominate the artistic scene during the course of the 1930s, and in the political realm, indigenous issues were also frequently debated by government officials. Often, however, indigenous demands took backseat to more pressing political conflicts. In the 1930s, political rivalry between the APRA party of Haya de la Torre and the military governments under Lt. Colonel Sánchez Cerro and General Benavides resulted in the government focusing attention and resources on ending political strife and subversive activity. At times, however, strategies to end the political strife went hand in hand with working to resolve the “Indian problem.” By appealing to indigenous people’s concerns, military leaders and politicians hoped to minimize the support for the APRA party from indigenous people.

Despite some efforts by military leaders over the course of the 1930s to co-opt some of APRA’s pro-indigenous discourse, state repression in the 1930s was severe. It targeted those who espoused socialist or Aprista ideas. Although indigenous people had been accused of being socialist or communists before, particularly during the 1920s, in

the early 1930s, derogatory characterizations of communism and APRA party affiliations overlapped. While the military regimes of the 1930s maintained some of Leguía's paternalism regarding indigenous people, state propagandists tended to label anyone who disagreed with the government, including indigenous people, as "aprocomunists." Furthermore, some large landowners and local authorities took advantage of the political climate to make false accusations against indigenous people who were defending the rights of their communities.

Despite the militarization of the government, some indigenous people persisted in pressing for their demands. Likewise, the official government organizations set up during the Leguía government to directly deal with indigenous concerns continued addressing the petitions received from indigenous individuals and communities. The Section and later Bureau of Indigenous Affairs also worked throughout the 1930s to help indigenous communities gain formal government recognition of communal lands granted to them nominally in the 1920 and 1933 constitutions. Between 1925 and 1935, 470 indigenous communities officially registered their communities with the government. From 1935 to 1945, 637 more communities gained official recognition.¹ Thus, despite political instability and government focus on more pressing security matters, the growing bureaucratization of indigenous affairs allowed indigenous people to secure communal rights through legal means during the 1930s. However, a quandary emerged for some indigenous activists in the chaotic 1930s. Even though their work to formalize their communal rights was supported by the central government, the fact that they demanded

¹ Román Robles Mendoza, *Legislación peruana sobre comunidades campesinas* (Lima: UNMSM, 2002), 63-65. By the year 2000, according to Robles Mendoza, 5660 communities had registered with the government. The supreme resolutions from August 28, 1925 and September 11, 1925 refer to the process of inscription and official recognition of indigenous communities.

communal rights made them subject to accusations of “aprocommunism” by some local authorities and landowners.

Political Transformations, Pro-Indigenous Policies, and the “Aprocommunist” Threat, 1930-1936

The accusations of the growing menace of “aprocommunism” emerged from the violent political confrontations that occurred during the first few years of the 1930s. During this short period, the government underwent dramatic transformations, and the burgeoning APRA party, founded by the student leader Haya de la Torre in the 1920s, went from an alliance among groups of students and urban workers to a viable political party that competed for the presidency.

The political turmoil of the early 1930s began on August 22, 1930, when an army officer in Arequipa, Lieutenant Coronel Luis Miguel Sánchez Cerro, led his troops to rebel against the Leguía government. Although Leguía had held the support of many people from the lower classes during much of his presidency, by 1930 his overstay in office, the growing economic crisis caused by government overspending and worsened by the great depression, and his turning away from populist politics had weakened his political base of support. Thus, when Sánchez Cerro called for the rebellion against the government, few Peruvians made any efforts to defend Leguía.²

Few Peruvians knew Sánchez Cerro’s background or military history when he arrived in Lima in 1930. Sánchez Cerro grew up in the city of Piura on the northern coast

² Steve Stein, *Populism in Peru: The Emergence of the Masses and the Politics of Social Control* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), 83-85.

of Peru to a middle-class mestizo family. His father was a notary who was able to send Sánchez Cerro to primary and secondary schools in Piura. After finishing school, he decided to enter the military enrolling in the national military school in Chorrillos. During his tenure in the army, he was not unfamiliar with military revolts. He had participated in the overthrow of President Guillermo Billinghurst in 1914 and in an unsuccessful military revolt against President Leguía in 1922. In the 1914 overthrow, Sánchez Cerro received a promotion for his actions, but in 1922 he was imprisoned on Taquile Island in Puno and later, as a form of deportation common under the Leguía government, sent to Italy for military training. In 1929 he was allowed to return, and was sent to command an army unit in Arequipa where he soon began plotting his overthrow of the Leguía government. He gained the support of a group of military officers in Arequipa who were disgruntled with politics in Lima and eager to overthrow Leguía. They wrote and distributed a “*Manifiesto de Arequipa*” that explained their justifications for the rebellion. Specifically, they condemned the Leguía government for its corruption and dictatorial characteristics. With the overthrow of Leguía, they hoped to clean up the government, control government spending, and allow free elections and freedom of the press.³

Within a few days of Sánchez Cerro’s call for rebellion, Augusto Leguía had fled the presidential palace, and on August 29, 1930, Lt. Col. Sánchez Cerro arrived in Lima from Arequipa, receiving the welcome of over eighty thousand Limeños who proclaimed him the “Second Liberator of Peru.” In Lima, he became the new president of Peru,

³ Werlich, *Peru: A Short History* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), 189; For more details on Sánchez Cerro and the overthrow of Leguía, see Stein, *Populism*, 85-87.

heading up a military *junta*. As the president of the military government, he acted quickly to remove Leguía supporters from government and judicial posts and to impose order, arresting or exiling anyone who resisted his policies. The military soon captured President Leguía and imprisoned him on corruption charges. Leguía remained in prison until he died from an illness on February 6, 1932.⁴

As president, Sánchez Cerro initially received a wide base of support from people in different social classes. He garnered even more support from indigenous people and workers when he abolished Leguía's hated *Conscripción Vial* (Roadwork Conscription) soon after the rebellion. The *Conscripción Vial* was originally instituted under President Leguía as a way to modernize the interior of Peru through the creation of new roads. While it was meant to require all able-bodied men to participate in the road projects, wealthier individuals could pay a fine to opt out of the labor service. In effect, the law mainly affected indigenous men and poor workers, who were forced to take time off from their own labor to participate in the road construction. Another popular move by Sánchez Cerro early in his presidency was to promulgate the Law of Absolute Divorce and Obligatory Civil Marriage on October 4, 1930.⁵ Congress had originally passed a law creating obligatory civil marriage in December, 1897, but the law was never enforced. Likewise in 1920, the Law of Absolute Divorce and Obligatory Civil Marriage was proposed by Congress, but receiving pressure from religious sectors, Leguía's government halted its promulgation. Sánchez Cerro's decision to promulgate the law was motivated by his belief in a greater separation of powers between the Catholic

⁴ David P. Werlich, *Peru*, 188.

⁵ Decreto-Ley No. 6889: Promulgation of the Law of Absolute Divorce and Obligatory Civil Marriage. (Promulgando la Ley de Divorcio Absoluto y Matrimonio Civil Obligatorio).

Church and the State. His intention, however, was not to anger or alienate the Catholic Church since he knew he needed to court its support. Nonetheless he bore the wrath of the Catholic sectors for his decision to promulgate this law.⁶

Although Sánchez Cerro's government had received early support from many within Peru, after a few months, a campaign against Sánchez Cerro took hold among members of the military and political elite. Many military officers of higher rank resented the fact that a lesser officer held the presidency. Moreover, some of Sánchez Cerro's early supporters from Arequipa turned their back on him as promises for shared political power or favors were not fulfilled. So when Sánchez Cerro expressed his desire to continue in the presidency and called for a quick election that would most likely guarantee his political desire, opposition to his government intensified. A series of small military revolts erupted against Sánchez Cerro in different regions of Peru that eventually forced his resignation from the presidency of the military government on March 1, 1931. While Sánchez Cerro went to France in exile, a provisional government was installed with the civilian leader David Samánez Ocampo as president. Under his leadership, the government made plans for elections to be held on October 11, 1931 to elect a new president and members of the constituent assembly. Samánez Ocampo also revised electoral laws removing property qualifications for male voters, which increased the electorate by 59% to 323,623.⁷

While in exile, Sánchez Cerro decided to run for president, and he quickly became a frontrunner. While some sectors of the military and the elite strongly resisted

⁶ Werlich, *Peru*, 190; Stein, *Populism in Peru*, 91.

⁷ Werlich, *Peru*, 190; Stein, *Populism in Peru*, 94-98; Peter Flindell Klarén, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 268-269.

the return of Sánchez Cerro as a presidential candidate, he had some adamant supporters. Thus, in early July 1931, the provisional government allowed Sánchez Cerro to return from exile and formally begin his presidential campaign. He formed the Revolutionary Union (UR), a right-wing nationalist party, and gained the support of the mayor of Lima, *El Comercio*, an important newspaper in Lima, and former members of the *civilista* party. Furthermore, many people in the working class supported his campaign, in part because his darker color and “cholo” identity strengthened his appeal among the *mestizo* working class populations.⁸ Many supporters also believed that Sánchez Cerro’s role in overthrowing Leguía earned him the right to be president for a term. Neighborhood organizations of “*Sanchezceristas*” emerged in working class areas of Lima during the election campaign. According to one estimate, over 20,000 members participated in these neighborhood clubs.⁹

In his campaign, Sánchez Cerro’s portrayed himself as a strong moral leader who would maintain political and social order. According to Steve Stein, much of his campaign rested on his charismatic leadership style and his role in overthrowing Leguía rather than his political platform.¹⁰ Nevertheless, some of his campaign promises involved providing social security for workers, full citizenship, land rights and technical assistance for indigenous people, and nationalistic economic and political policies to repair the supposed damage done under the Leguía government.¹¹

⁸ Stein, *Populism in Peru*, 102.

⁹ Carlos Contreras and Marcos Cueto, *Historia del Perú contemporáneo: desde las luchas por la independencia hasta el presente* (Lima: IEP/ Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en el Perú, 2000), 2nd ed., 239-241; Stein, *Populism in Peru*, 126.

¹⁰ Stein, *Populism in Peru*, 107-110.

¹¹ Klarén, *Peru*, 272.

Sánchez Cerro's main competitor was Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, head of the Peruvian Aprista Party. Haya de la Torre and his newly formed APRA party were making their first attempt to capture government power, and the enthusiasm among its supporters was strong. Haya de la Torre and the APRA party proposed radical changes to government policies. In a "Minimum Program for Peru" and other proposals, Haya de la Torre proposed over three hundred economic and political reforms. They included the decentralization of government, the nationalization of certain industries, women's suffrage, and the elimination of literacy requirements that disenfranchised a large segment of the voting-age population. Haya de la Torre also attempted to appeal to the indigenous populations through his proposals to increase rural education for indigenous peoples and to create an agrarian reform policy that would gradually expropriate large landholdings, with compensation for the owners. While these indigenist policies were not the main priority of the APRA party, they were incorporated into a broad-based populist message that appealed to the lower classes.¹²

According to Steve Stein, both Haya de la Torre and Sánchez Cerro used populist politics to gain political support. Haya de la Torre referred to his past experience with the Popular Universities and working with students and the popular classes. Sánchez Cerro promised social security and land reform in his campaign. The fact that they both attempted to gain the support of the working class and indigenous people demonstrated that Peruvian politics had shifted more toward the left over the last decade and that the "aristocratic republic" of the Civilist party no longer held political dominance. Because both candidates engaged in a populist rhetoric, workers and indigenous people could be

¹² Werlich, *Peru*, 191-193; Stein, *Populism in Peru*, 162-

found on both sides. Moreover, members of the elite and middle-class also split in their support of the candidates. Although APRA tried to portray itself as a more authentic party of the common people, some wealthy landowners threw their political and financial support behind the APRA party.¹³

Election season ushered in a period of immense change and possibility, but also brought about political instability. Overall, the elections were fraught with bitter rivalry. The APRA forces tried to discredit Sánchez Cerro for his military background. The Sánchez Cerro supporters ranted against Haya de la Torre for his youth and radical politics. In the end, the elections of October 11, 1931 resulted in the election of Sánchez Cerro. He received 152,000 votes to Haya de la Torre's 106,000 votes. Because Haya had an early lead in the elections, APRA supporters claimed that the elections had been manipulated. As a result of this dispute, Haya de la Torre and many APRA party members refused to recognize the Sánchez Cerro government. Over the next few years, they worked to delegitimize the Sánchez Cerro government and formulated plots to overthrow the government. These activities eventually resulted in intense government violence and repression of APRA party members.¹⁴

However, the elections and change in leadership briefly created a new opportunity for some indigenous petitioners to ask for assistance from the government, particularly if past petitions had failed or had been met with indifference from the previous government. As was true in earlier decades, petitioners routinely offered evidence of their deference and loyalty to the new president. Indigenous people from Castovirreyna, for example,

¹³ Stein, *Populism in Peru*, 8, 170; For more on Aprista support from indigenous people in Ayacucho, see Jaymie P. Heilman, "We will no longer be servile: Aprismo in 1930s Ayacucho," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 38, no. 3 (August 2006): 491-519.

¹⁴ Werlich, *Peru*, 194-195; Klarén, *Peru*, 273-275.

wrote a petition to President Sánchez Cerro in 1932 complaining about the owner of the hacienda where they lived and worked. They stated that the owner, Martin Obradovich, forced them to work without pay to build a bridge and to pay a fee for the animals they owned and the land they worked. In their petition, they called on President Sánchez Cerro to initiate an investigation of Obradovich's actions. To demonstrate their loyalty, the petitioners referred to the recent presidential elections and claimed that Obradovich attempted to control their votes. They wrote:

Sr. Obradovich...wanted to obligate us to vote against our will for the Aprista party, and because we did not vote for APRA, he now is committing all these abuses against us. According to what is written in the electoral rules, he who forces another to vote against his beliefs will be punished with imprisonment. All the neighbors on this *hacienda* who are free to act, voted spontaneously for your Excellency; that is to say, for he who freed us from the tyranny of Leguía, and who now will also free us from the most cruel tyranny of Sr. Obradovich.

They demonstrated their loyalty not only by voting for President Sánchez Cerro but also through their willingness to denounce Sr. Obradovich's disrespect for President Sánchez Cerro. They claimed that when they complained to Sr. Obradovich about not receiving payment for their work on a bridge, Sr. Obradovich made fun of them by cynically replying "go ask Sánchez Cerro for your wage." They also referred to Sánchez Cerro's sense of paternalism through their emotional pleas when they wrote, "all the indigenes who sign this petition beg you with tears in our eyes, and with the incessant pain of our anguished souls, that you allow yourself to listen to us as if you were listening to the voice of the souls of the Good Peruvians who were martyred by a cruel destiny."¹⁵

¹⁵ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 328, 1932, Excelentísimo Presidente de la Republica Teniente Coronel Luis M. Sánchez Cerro from los hijos de Castovirreyna, March 5, 1932. "El Sr. Obradovich, en los días en que se iban a realizar las elecciones presidenciales, quiso obligarnos a votar contra nuestra voluntad por el partido aprista; y como nosotros no aceptamos firmar por el apra, ahora se venga cometiendo con nosotros

In this petition, the indigenous petitioners also appealed to President Sánchez Cerro's sense of nationalism. Many critics blamed President Leguía for selling out the nation to foreign interests, and praised Sánchez Cerro for overthrowing him in order to reclaim the nation and the national interests for Peruvians. The petitioners highlighted the fact that Sr. Obradovich was from Czechoslovakia and therefore of a "foreign race" who "expels Peruvians from their land while he enjoys the hospitality that noble Peru grants him." They explained that their parents told them that in previous eras they did not receive such abuse from the landowners, and that it was the foreigner Sr. Obradovich who most egregiously abused them. They wrote:

Not all times have been adverse, there was a time when there existed owners of this hacienda...who had a heart filled with humanity for their neighbors; they had the conviction that the Indian is a being who possesses all virtues, if one guides him on the path of civilization and progress; and he is also an element who helps the Nation with his work and with his fulfillment of his duties for the State and for his family.

Because of their dutiful actions towards the Peruvian state and their families, the petitioners claimed they had earned the right to receive protection from the government, and their rights should be protected more than those of a foreigner. Furthermore, they highlighted their faith in President Sánchez Cerro and the laws of Peru: "we are on our own land, and protected by a constitutional government that defends the well-being and tranquility of all its citizens and especially for the always-martyred indigenous race." As

todos los abusos que estamos denunciando. El que hace fuerza a otro a votar contra su opinión, tiene pena de cárcel, según está anotado en la misma libreta electoral. Todos los vecinos de esta Hda que quedamos en ese tiempo libres de actuar, votamos espontáneamente, por su excelencia, es decir, por áquel que nos libró de la tiranía de Leguía, y que ahora, también nos libraré de la tiranía aun más cruel del Sr. Obradovich." "Vayan a cobrar su trabajo a Sánchez Cerro." "Todos los indígenas que firman la pte. Solicitud, os suplican con lagrimas en los ojos, y con el dolor incesante de sus angustiadas almas, que os dignéis escucharlos como si escuchaseis la voz de las almas de los Buenos peruanos que fueron martirizados por un cruel destino."

a result of their petitioning, government officials intervened in the dispute obligating both sides to fulfill the responsibilities of their original agreement.¹⁶

During the Sánchez Cerro presidency, the rewriting of the Peruvian constitution also resulted in an opportunity for leaders to debate the state's obligation to indigenous people. In its final draft, the Assembly did take the issues of indigenous people into consideration. Similarly to the 1920 Constitution, the 1933 Constitution recognized the existence of indigenous communities, but it also went one step further, guaranteeing that community property was "inalienable." Furthermore, it demanded that the administration of the communal property be in the hands of the community and not any other local authority or corporation. If communities did not have sufficient lands for the necessities of their population, the government had the right to expropriate private lands with proper compensation and give them to the indigenous communities.¹⁷

The new legal guarantees for indigenous communities created another avenue for indigenous petitioners to pursue in order to push forth their rights as communal landowners of indigenous property. Over the next few decades, indigenous communities worked to register their communities and gain their communal rights. However, the violence and instability during the Sánchez Cerro government and throughout the 1930s placed indigenous petitioners in a precarious position. If they did not demonstrate their

¹⁶ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 328, March 5, 1932. "El Sr. Obradovich de raza extranjera, expulsa a los peruanos de su tierra, y él, goza así, de la hospitalidad que le brinda el noble Peru." "No todos los tiempos han sido adversos, hubo época, en que existieron propietarios de esta Hda. Sinto, (como los Señores Solares) que tuvieron un corazón empapado de humanidad para con sus prójimos; tenían la convicción de que el indio es un ser que posee todas las virtudes, si se le guía por el camino de la civilización y progreso; y también es un elemento que da entradas a la Nación, con su trabajo, y con el cumplimiento de sus deberes para con el Estado y para con su familia." "Nosotros estamos en nuestro terruño propio, y bajo un gobierno constitucional, que vela por el bien y tranquilidad de todos sus ciudadanos y especialmente por la siempre martirizada raza indígena."

¹⁷ Republic of Peru, Constitution of 1933, Arts. 207-212. See also Robles Mendoza, *Legislación peruana*, 65-67.

loyalty to the military government, or if they found themselves in disputes with devious local authorities or landowners, they could easily be accused of being subversive “aprocommunists,” and suffer the consequences of those accusations.

In January 1932, the new Sánchez Cerro government instituted Law 7479, or the Emergency Law, to control social protest and dissent. The Emergency Law allowed the police to arrest and detain anyone for any action or propaganda against the government. It also gave power to the Ministry of Government and Police to suspend any meetings or manifestations and close down any organizations they deemed disruptive. Despite the implementation of the law, the APRA party continued to protest against the government. In February, a plot to overthrow the government was discovered, and Sánchez Cerro ordered the arrest of Aprista congressmen in the Constituent Assembly. A few weeks later, a young Aprista shot Sánchez Cerro at a church. Sánchez Cerro was not killed, but the government clamped down on Apristas and other protesters. In May, the authorities arrested Haya de la Torre, and a day later military forces loyal to APRA rebelled. The government managed to suppress the revolt, and executed eight of the military resisters by firing squad. The chaos continued and in July 1932 over one thousand Aprista supporters attacked and overtook an army barracks in the northern coastal city of Trujillo. They then attacked the police headquarters and other government buildings, taking as prisoners supporters of the Sánchez Cerro government. When the government responded to this attack, sixty of the prisoners were killed. Government-led soldiers responded with

fury, arresting or killing a great number of APRA sympathizers. Over the next few days, between one and five thousand people were executed by the military.¹⁸

The domestic chaos that bordered on civil war continued into the following year when on April 30, 1933 another Aprista fired on Sánchez Cerro, this time killing the president. The constituent assembly made the military leader General Oscar Benavides interim president. Benavides promised to hold elections within a few months of his interim government and even offered a general amnesty for all political prisoners. However, social unrest forced him to hold off elections. During this process, he declared the APRA and communist parties illegal. Eventually, Benavides cancelled the elections, and declared that he would continue as president until Sánchez Cerro's term would have officially ended in 1936.¹⁹

The continuation of the Emergency Law during the first few years of the Benavides government resulted in the imprisonment of numerous individuals, most of whom were affiliated with the APRA or communist parties. This law was also used against numerous indigenous people, whether or not they were affiliated with the APRA or communist parties. Indeed, any sort of political activity including simply submitting petitions to government officials could be interpreted as an infraction of the Emergency Law. For example, in the department of Ayacucho, landowners pressured the local authorities to arrest an ill and elderly indigenous man, Francisco Enciso, on charges of being a communist. Prior to his illness and arrest, Enciso, representing his indigenous community before government authorities, had traveled to Lima as a messenger to

¹⁸ Werlich, *Peru*, 198; Klarén, 275-276.

¹⁹ Werlich, *Peru*, 205-209; Klarén, 276-279.

denounce the landowners for usurping community lands. In response to Enciso's denunciation, the ministry of government asked that the prefect of the department investigate the charges and make sure that in future cases he attend to and protect the petitioners there so that they can "avoid burdensome trips [to Lima]."²⁰ According to members of Enciso's family and community who submitted a petition to the minister of government, the landowners, by having Enciso arrested, were "taking revenge in a cowardly way" for Enciso's previous activities in defense of his community. Furthermore, the petitioners claimed that the local authorities viewed any sort of denunciation made by indigenous people as a "communist action" even though it was completely legal. They wrote that the practice of intimidating and discrediting the indigenous people of the community was common. They stated: "For many years [local authorities and landowners] persist in slandering the indigenes of Sacraca as insubordinate, abusive, and communists, and terrorizing and threatening them with prison and punishment." Emphasizing the supposed passive nature of indigenous people, the petitioners asked:

How can Indians, whose respect for the law and fear of the Courts is well known by the tribunals, be communists? How can those who are accustomed to suffer resignedly the greatest ignominy that one can imagine be communists? How can the Indians, who in the service of our military serve and obey our nation with discipline, be communists?

They then referred specifically to the imprisoned indigenous man: "How could Francisco Enciso, an Indian who barely reads and writes, who is over sixty years old and suffers from chronic pain that has left him prostrate in his bed without energy for anything be a

²⁰ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 303, 1930, Señor Prefecto del Departamento from Dirección de Gobierno, Lima, October 28, 1930. "...para lo sucesivo que estas personas encuentran protección en ese Despacho evitándoles viajes que son honerosos para sus pequeños intereses."

communist?” In response to the submitted petition, the ministry of government inquired about the case to the authorities of the department. According to the sub-prefect, Enciso was released on bail after 35 days or so even though he was convicted and sentenced to one hundred days of imprisonment.²¹

Similar accusations against indigenous people as Aprista or communist subversives throughout Peru were common. In a case in Chumbivilcas, Cuzco, in which indigenous delegates of their community were accused of being communists, the subprefect discredited the petitions of the individuals, writing:

One clearly sees that a subversive [element], aware that my authority is a barrier against infection of the demagogical tendencies in this province, has tried... to surprise the superior offices with such cynical assertions, weapons only known to those who form the ABHORANT APROCOMMUNIST OCTOPUS.”²²

In a petition from Cuzco, a group of indigenous men who had been detained on charges of being communists appealed to the perceptions of indigenous people as ignorant, stating “we could never participate in communist ideas in our situation of ignorance, and

²¹ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 337, 1933, Señor Ministro de Gobierno y Policía from Naturales del Pueblo de Sacraca, Lima, June 19, 1933. “vengarse cobardemente de las denuncias...” “desde hacen años se empeñan en calumniar a los indígenas de Sacraca de insubordinados, abusivos y comunistas y de atemorizar y amenazarlos con prisiones y castigos.” “Cómo pueden ser comunistas los indios cuyo respeto por la ley y temor a la Justicia es un hecho comprobado por los tribunales? ¿Cómo pueden ser comunistas quienes están acostumbrados a sufrir resignadamente las ignominias más grandes que se pueden imaginar? Cómo pueden ser comunistas los indios que la servicio de nuestro ejército, sirven y obedecen disciplinadamente a la Patria?” “¿Cómo va a ser comunista, Francisco Enciso, un indio que apenas lee y escribe, de más de sesenta años de edad, que víctima de una dolencia crónica se halla postrado en su lecho, sin energías para nada.

²² AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg.364, (Hp-Mp), 1936, Señor Prefecto from subprefecto of Chumbivilcas, Victor Núñez Gamero, Santo Tomás, February 12, 1937. “Se ve pues claramente, que algún subversivo, viendo que mi autoridad es una barrera para la infección de las tendencias demagógicas en esta Pcia., ha querido, valiéndose del anónimo i la farsa sorprender a los despachos superiores, con tan cínicas aseveraciones, armas únicamente propias de los que forman el ASQUEROSO PULPO APROCOMUNISTA.”

the only thing we did was to demand our rights....”²³ In the department of Huánuco, landowners denounced a group of over two hundred indigenous men and women who invaded land “carrying red flags and with shouts of ‘distribution’ and ‘possession.’” The landowners claimed that “known COMMUNIST elements have upset the tranquility of the indigenes..., and the idea of distribution has penetrated deeply into the ignorant conscience of those indigenes.” As a result of the landowner’s petition, a few Civil Guard officers were sent to the region and dislodged the indigenous squatters. The officers recommended that a permanent Civil Guard post be installed in the area.²⁴

Despite the clamp down on APRA supporters and supposed communists that at times resulted in the imprisonment of indigenous activists, the institutionalization of indigenous programs within the government allowed some indigenous people to resolve conflicts and secure community rights even in the midst of severe government repression. Government officials within the Section of Indigenous Affairs in the Ministry of Development interceded in conflicts between indigenous communities and large landowners. In one example, the head of the Sectopm of Indigenous Affairs, Humberto Tello, traveled to the department of Puno on an official government commission to lead a process of conciliation between representatives of the indigenous community of Huatta and the owners of the nearby Hacienda Moro. The primary disagreement was over land ownership rights. According to the landowners, the indigenous community had invaded

²³ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 364, (Hp-Mp), 1936, Constantino Huanca y Segundo Quispe, indígenas de Calca, Cuzco, February 10, 1936, “que nosotros nunca podríamos participar de ideas comunistas en nuestra situación ignorante y lo único que hemos hecho es reclamar nuestros derechos...”

²⁴ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 346, (Vp-Zp), 1934, Emilio Orna, Hereclio Herrera, Gevando Cortvarría, etc. Ambo, January 22, 1934. “enarbolando banderas rojas y a los gritos de ‘Reparto’, ‘posesión.’” “conocidos elementos COMUNISTAS han perturbado la tranquilidad de los indígenas..., y la idea de reparto ha penetrado, profundamente, en la conciencia ignorante de dichos indígenas.”

the lands of the hacienda and refused to leave. During the conciliation process, each side presented its demands and legal documentation to support its claims. Tello analyzed the validity of the documentation and discussed the causes of the conflict. He also traveled from the town of Puno to the hacienda in order to examine the disputed land. Humberto Tello met with members of the four ayllus of the indigenous community of Huatta to verify that they agreed with the conciliation process and that the leaders representing the community were in fact supported by the community.²⁵

After Tello examined the documentation and visited the disputed land, both sides came to an agreement about the terms of the conciliation. As the lawyer of the indigenous community, the *indigenista* Manuel A. Quiroga presented the demands of the community to receive five hundred hectares from the hacienda, the establishment of a school for the children of the indigenous communities, fishing rights in the waters adjacent to the hacienda, and an agreement to end all legal battles between the community and the landowners. The landowners concurred that it was in their best interest to cede five hundred hectares to the community in exchange for an agreement that the indigenous community agree to vacate the remaining land of the hacienda. The landowners requested that the lands of the community and the hacienda be demarcated by engineers in the presence of the head of the Section of Indigenous Affairs. They also agreed to allow fishing rights for the indigenous people and suspend any legal disputes they had with community members. The establishment of the school, however, would depend on the interest and procedures of the ministry of education. In the written

²⁵ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 350, 1935, "Acta," Humberto Tello, Enrique Molina, E. Frisancho, etc. Puno, May 26, 1935.

minutes of the conciliation process, both sides thanked Humberto Tello for his intervention and expressed their gratitude that President General Benavides agreed to send a representative of the central government to resolve the conflict. The owners of Hacienda Moro declared their admiration for the government and for its desire to “establish harmony and concord within the Peruvian family.” However, to ensure that all remained harmonious and the agreement was enforced, Humberto Tello requested that the prefect of Puno send a pair of civil guards to watch over the region for six months. Moreover, he requested that the indigenous community of Huatta go through the process of gaining official recognition in accordance with the supreme resolutions of 1925.²⁶

The pro-indigenous activities of the *indigenista* lawyer Manuel A. Quiroga, who represented the community members of Huatta, soon resulted in his imprisonment as a result of another case. In Puno in 1935, two indigenous men, Emeterio Mamani and Ildelfonso Machi, were imprisoned with Quiroga, who had been acting as their lawyer, for supposedly publishing in a local newspaper a copy of a petition they sent to the Section of Indian Affairs in the Ministry of Development. The petition denounced abuses committed by local authorities against indigenous members of their community. The local authorities had broken into the homes of indigenous individuals, taken clothing and other items, and threatened the residents with retaliation if they refused to participate in the construction of the road between Tacna and Puno. The residents, who had agreed to build the roads when they were promised to be paid one *sol* per day, refused to continue

²⁶ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 350, 1935, “Acta,” Humberto Tello, Enrique Molina, E. Frisancho, etc. Puno, May 26, 1935. “...por su elevado sentido de establecer la armonía i la concordia entre la familia peruana.” The supreme resolutions from August 28, 1925 and September 11, 1925 refer to the process of inscription and official recognition of indigenous communities. Communities were required to list male and female members of the community, major industries in the community, schools, and animals, and to demarcate the community lands. See Robles Mendoza, *Legislación Peruana*, 63-65.

working after receiving only 10 cents per day. The people who were unable to participate in the roadwork project had to pay money or animals to get their clothing back. In his explanation to the Director of Government, the Prefect alleged that Manuel Quiroga was involved in a “completely leftist campaign,” and was a “noxious element to society and to the Government for his divisive ideas.” Furthermore, he stated that Quiroga “encourages and persuades the Indians to revolt, since the majority of them are communists, and therefore the work of Dr. Quiroga in the department is completely unwelcome, and he ought to suffer the punishment imposed on him.” Also, the Prefect claimed the individuals who were supporting Manuel Quiroga and asking for his freedom, such as congressional representative Dr. Romero, were “the aprista element in the department.”²⁷

The detained indigenous men presented a petition of habeas corpus to the President of the Correctional Tribunal, stating that there was no legitimate reason for their imprisonment since no judge had ordered their detention, nor had they committed any crime.²⁸ Likewise, Manuel Quiroga’s wife submitted a petition of habeas corpus wanting to know the exact cause of her husband’s arrest and demanding his release.²⁹ The office of the district attorney asked that the judges of the Correctional Tribunal submit a petition to the sub-prefect asking for the exact text of the resolution used to

²⁷ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 350 (Puno), 1935, To Director de Gobierno from Armando Sologuren, Puno, November, 28, 1935, and December 5, 1935. “Dr. Quiroga hace una campaña completamente izquierdistas..., siendo dicho individuo un elemento nocivo a la sociedad y al Gobierno por sus ideas disociadoras.” “El Sr. Representante Romero, está apoyado en el Departamento por el elemento aprista, i son estos los que se mueven i gestionan sea puesto en libertad el Dr. Quiroga.” “El Dr. Quiroga es el que alienta e insta a los indios a la revuelta, pues la mayor parte de ellos son comunistas, de modo que la labor del Dr. Quiroga en el Departamento, es completamente ingrata, debiendo sufrir la pena que se le ha impuesto.”

²⁸ ARP, Puno 159, 1935, Ex. 17, f.2, Emeterio Mamani y Ildefonso Machi, Puno, October 19, 1935.

²⁹ ARP, Puno 159, 1935, Ex. 17, f.8, Mercedes del C. de Quiroga, Puno, October 19, 1935. (refers to Art.345 of Penal Code)

imprison the three individuals in order to verify whether the petition for Habeas Corpus was justified. As a result, tensions between the Tribunal and the Prefect came to light. The Prefect of the Department, Armando Sologuren, responded angrily to the Tribunal that he had notified it that the individuals were being held under the Emergency Law “simply as an act of courtesy to you.”³⁰ He further stated that the Tribunal “is completely unaware of the specifics of the [Emergency] law,” which “empowers the Ministry of Government to act, and not the tribunals of justice, because the spirit of the law is the conservation of public and social order.” He ended his letter stating that he “[was] not obligated to give any information about the case to the [Tribunal],” and that the actions of the Tribunal in stepping out of its jurisdiction had sullied the relationship between itself and the Prefecture.³¹ In response, the District Attorney suggested that the case be sent to the Supreme Court in Lima for a decision.³² By the time the Supreme Court responded that it had no jurisdiction over the case because of the Emergency law, the imprisoned men had already been released.³³ Thus, according to the Supreme Court, in cases involving violations of the Emergency Law, the jurisdiction fell entirely to the Ministry of Government. Moreover, this case demonstrated that once an individual was arrested under the Emergency Law, little could be done to defend him or herself.

³⁰ ARP, Puno 159, 1935, Ex. 17, f.11, Armando Sologuren, October 25, 1935, “que simplemente por un acto de cortesía i atención dí cuenta a Ud.”

³¹ ARP, Puno 159, 1935, Ex. 17, f.11, Armando Sologuren, October 25, 1935. “...ese Tribunal desconoce completamente el articulado de la citada Ley...; encarga al señor Ministro de Gobierno su aplicación, i nó a los tribunales de justicia, por ser el espíritu de ella, la conservación del orden publico i social.” “En consecuencia, siento mucho manifestar a Ud., que esta Prefectura no está obligada a dar a Ud., ningún informe sobre el particular, i que, la actitud de ese Tribunal normará mis actos en lo futuro.”

³² ARP, Puno 159, 1935, Ex. 17, f.20, Cáceres Olazo, Fiscalía de la Corte Superior de Justicia, Puno, March 14, 1936.

³³ ARP, Puno 159, 1935, Ex. 17, f.28-29, To Señor Presidente de la Corte Superior de Puno from Corte Suprema de la Republica, Lima, December 4, 1936.

Many members of the APRA party were also feeling the repression from the government. One APRA member noted that “there is an absolute prohibition on the entry [to the country] of any books or magazines of a social character. Writing is censured in every way.”³⁴ Some APRA members still dared to defy the restrictions, such as one party member in Puno who, in 1935, was arrested for dispersing fliers at night in the local artisan’s market. The fliers criticized Benavides’ new policy to use paper bills. For the criminal case against the APRA member, in which he was tried for disturbing the peace and sedition, the police investigated the fliers comparing the typed letters to local printers. They found a match with the printer of “El Pututo,” a local pro-indigenous newspaper owned by Manuel A. Quiroga. Although Quiroga claimed not to know anything about the flyers, his typesetter did, and directed the police to Ruperto Hinojosa, a local artisan. Both the typesetter and Hinojosa were members of the APRA party, and Hinojosa’s APRA membership card was confiscated. When police asked where he met his “ideological companions,” Hinojosa said that the only meetings he attended were with the Fraternal Brotherhood of Artisans, and their statutes prohibited any political or religious activities. Admitting his guilt, Hinojosa stated that he had acted alone because “everyone here is timid, they lack the spirit to take responsibility [for political actions].” Indeed, with the police investigating and imprisoning anyone who was even slightly critical of the government, most people did try to dissociate themselves from any political activities or discussions.³⁵

³⁴ Swarthmore College Peace Collection, DG 015, Anna Melissa Graves Papers, Reel 74.8, Magda Portal to Anna Melissa Graves, Lima, May 7, 1937. “Prohibición absoluto de ingreso para libros i revistas de carácter social. Lectura censurada en todos sus aspectos.”

³⁵ ARP, CC, Puno Leg. 160, 1935, Ex. 905/48, Ministerio Fiscal against Ruperto Hinojosa and Daniel Aguirre, Cercado, May 17, 1935, f.10.

At times, however, even members of the police force were labeled “aprocomunists.” In the province of Chucuito in Puno a corporal who was in charge of the Civil Guard post was found to be a supporter of APRA. The Prefect of the department denounced him to his superiors, stating that the corporal was an “active propagandist of *Aprismo*, and receives a great quantity of newspapers from Lima, and among them, arrive flyers and pamphlets of apro-communism.”³⁶ In Lima and Trujillo, many members of the military also sided with APRA.³⁷

Many loyal APRA party members refused to dissociate themselves from party activities, suffering repression from the government as a result. During the 1930s, numerous APRA members and leaders were imprisoned in places such as the island of El Frontón near Callao, or Taquile Island in Lake Titicaca in Puno, and even in the jungles of Madre de Dios.³⁸ The poet Magda Portal was imprisoned in 1935 in the women’s prison of Santo Tomas for supposed subversive activities. She was told that she would be held for five hundred days, but the protests of friends and activists around the world helped force the government to release her a few weeks earlier. Portal’s letters to the U.S. peace activist and writer Anna Melissa Graves reveal that activists such as Graves, French author Romain Rolland, and members of the Women’s League for Peace and Liberty in Paris sent letters to President Benavides.³⁹ In her analysis of the political

³⁶ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 350 (Puno), To Senor Director de Gobierno from Corl. Prefect Armando Sologuren, Puno, August 20, 1935, “persona ingrata para el Gobierno i activo propagandista del Aprismo, quien recibe periódicos de Lima en grandes cantidades i entre estos paquetes, vienen folletos, volantes del aprocomunismo.”

³⁷ Daniel M. Masterson, *Militarism and Politics in Latin America: Peru from Sánchez Cerro to Sendero Luminoso*, Westport: Greenwood Press, 1991, 47-50.

³⁸ Swarthmore College Peace Collection, DG 015, Anna Melissa Graves Papers, Letter from Magda Portal to Anna Melissa Graves, Sto. Tomás, January 16, 1936.

³⁹ Swarthmore College Peace Collection, DG 015, Anna Melissa Graves Papers, Letter from Magda Portal to Anna Melissa Graves, Lima, March 14, 1936.

situation in Peru while in prison, Portal wrote “here we are little less than savages. If we don’t lower our head before the boss—the government—we will pay with our bodies and ideals in the depths of the prisons.”⁴⁰ Indeed, numerous APRA party members spent many years in the prisons, and even if they were released, they continued to face persecution from the government. After Magda Portal was released from prison in 1936, she wrote: “No one has recuperated their liberty; no one maintains constitutional rights to fight. I, myself, am still part prisoner, whose every movement is watched and who can’t even find work, since there is a real boycott against us in the economic sphere.”⁴¹ Apparently, the government prohibited employers from hiring APRA members. The *indigenista* lawyer, Manuel Quiroga, who allied himself with the APRA party, also suffered state repression even after being released from prison. In 1936, the government persecution was so intense that he fled to Chile and later Bolivia to avoid being imprisoned again. Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre also continued to be persecuted after his release from prison in August 1933, forcing him to remain underground for most of the 1930s.⁴²

Pro-Indigenous Policies under the Benavides Military Dictatorship (1936-1939)

In 1936, Benavides decided to hold national elections since his term was coming to an end. In the elections, Benavides supported the candidacy of Jorge Prado, a

⁴⁰ Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Magda Portal to Anna Melissa Graves, Sto. Tomas, January 16, 1936, “Aquí somos poco menos que salvajes. Si no inclinamos la cabeza ante el amo – el gobierno- vamos a dar con nuestros cuerpos i con nuestros ideales al fondo de las prisiones.”

⁴¹ Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Anna Melissa Graves Papers, Magda Portal to Anna Melissa Graves, Lima, May 29, 1936, “Nadie ha recuperado su libertad, nadie disfruta de garantías para luchar. Yo misma soi una medio prisionera, cuyos pasos se vigilan i a quien ni siquiera se permite trabajar, pues hai un verdadero boicot contra nosotros en el terreno económico.”

⁴² Thomas M. Davies Jr. and Victor Villanueva, *300 documentos para la historia del APRA: conspiraciones apristas de 1935 a 1939* (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1978), 111-113; Werlich, *Peru*, 208.

moderate conservative with democratic ideals. Two other candidates on the right participated: Luis Flores, of Sánchez Cerro's Revolutionary Union party and Manuel Vicente Villarán, a university professor and politician. On the moderate left, Luis Antonio Eguiguren, of the Social Democratic Party ran. Since APRA was proscribed and could not put forth a candidate of their own, Haya de la Torre and APRA members threw their support behind Eguiguren. The early results of the election showed Eguiguren had won the most votes. However, as accusations grew that APRA members supported Eguiguren's campaign, Benavides decided to suspend the elections. He replaced his cabinet with all military officials and called on the national assembly to void the election, extend his term of office for another three years, and empower him to legislate by decree. After the assembly agreed, Benavides then asked the national assembly to dissolve themselves, which they did.⁴³

Although it could be assumed that the Benavides military government was completely repressive toward indigenous people and workers during his clamp down on political unrest, this was not entirely the case. In fact, the Benavides government made efforts to address some of the pressing social issues of the time. As mentioned earlier, the Bureau of Indigenous Affairs regularly engaged in conciliatory processes between indigenous communities and landowners. Benavides also implemented a system of social security for workers. Furthermore, after the national assembly was dissolved in 1936,

⁴³ Werlich, *Peru*, 210.

Benavides decreed numerous policy changes that dealt specifically with indigenous issues, expanding many policies originally initiated under Leguía's government.⁴⁴

One issue in particular that the Benavides government addressed after 1936 was an aspect of indigenous society that had long been ignored in legislation—indigenous children. The Supreme Decree of July 2, 1937 attempted to deal with the custom of poor families giving their children to more prosperous families to raise them. In some cases these children were treated well and educated, but often the children ended up working as domestic servants.⁴⁵ The Benavides government recognized that this custom often resulted in children being subject to “exploitation and abandonment.” In the decree, the government acknowledged its “duty” to take measures to protect these children. As such, the decree dictated that adults traveling with children under 16 years old within Peru must have proper authorization from judicial authorities and also required transport companies to present lists of adults with children to police posts. In addition, it required adults who cared for children who were not their own to register them with the judicial authorities. The decree did not seem to have had much success in eradicating the abuses against indigenous children because a more comprehensive decree was declared almost a decade later in 1946 citing the failures of the previous decree. This later decree empowered the

⁴⁴ Contreras and Cueto, *Historia del Perú*, 251-152; Dan Hazen, *The Awakening of Puno: Government Policy and the Indian Problem in Southern Peru, 1900-1955*, PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1974, 281.

⁴⁵ For an anthropological perspective on the contemporary circulation of children in Peru, see Jessaca B. Leinaweaver, *Familiar Ways: Child Circulation in Andean Peru*, PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan, 2005.

Bureau of Indigenous Affairs to protect indigenous children who worked as domestic servants through vigilance, registration, and legal means.⁴⁶

Benavides also reorganized the government institutions of Indigenous Affairs during his last three years in office. Instead of having a Section of Indigenous Affairs within the Ministry of Development, he created a Bureau of Indigenous Affairs within the Ministry of Public Health, Work, and Social Welfare. According to the decree, the move was meant to improve the ability of the government to “procure the definitive incorporation of indigenous people into national life, but also to uplift their level of culture, assuring their economic well-being and attending to the defense of their physical and moral health.”⁴⁷ In a supreme decree of June 1938, President Benavides delineated the specific functions of the new Bureau of Indigenous Affairs. Similarly to the Section of Indigenous Affairs, the new Bureau was responsible for studying all aspects of the “Indian problem” and for proposing legislation and administrative changes to improve the economic and cultural well-being of the indigenous people. Furthermore, it was to receive and resolve all indigenous complaints, organize arbitration tribunals to resolve disputes among indigenous people and between indigenous people and non-indigenous people, and set up surveys of land. Most likely influenced by the *indigenista* art movement, the Bureau was also to promote indigenous art in all of its forms, and to organize art schools and regional expositions. The Bureau was also required to constitute itself anywhere in Peru, or send commissions, where there were conflicts that

⁴⁶ República del Perú, Dirección General de Asuntos Indígenas, *Legislación indigenista del Perú* (Lima: Talleres Gráficos de la Penitenciaría Central, 1948), 139-141.

⁴⁷ República del Perú, *Legislación indigenista*, 139-141. Ley N. 8547. “procurando no sólo la incorporación definitiva del indígena a la vida nacional, sino también elevando su nivel cultural, asegurando su bienestar económico y atendiendo a la defensa de su salud física y moral.”

involved indigenous people. As part of this process to investigate conflicts at the location of the disputes, the new decree created “visitors” of indigenous communities who were Bureau administrators charged with the specific task of travelling throughout Peru to investigate disputes for the Bureau. These “visitors” were responsible for enacting conciliation processes, surveying lands, and helping communities register with the government.⁴⁸

The decree of June 1938 also specified the process in which indigenous communities could gain legal recognition, expanding the original procedure delineated during the Leguía administration. It required that communities deliver documentation to the Bureau that listed all the members of the community by sex and age, the industries and crops cultivated in the community, the number of animals owned by the community, the number of schools, a map of the lands that form the community, and titles to the community land. A decree in July 1938 outlined the process by which communities should elect their community representatives who would legally represent the community before the Bureau. Potential representatives must be adult males, know how to read and write, be registered in the Obligatory Military Registry, and live in the community. Along with adult males, female heads of households were allowed to vote for the representative.⁴⁹

In May 1939, a few months prior to leaving office, the Benavides government set up Indigenous Education Brigades (*Brigadas de Culturización Indígena*). In Puno in the early 1930s, a similar type of brigade had been created by the doctor Manuel Núñez

⁴⁸ Manuel D. Velasco Núñez, *Compilación de la legislación indigenista concordada* (Lima: Editora Médica Peruana, 1959), 33-34; República del Perú, *Legislación indigenista*, 80-82, 117-122.

⁴⁹ República del Perú, *Legislación indigenista*, 117-124.

Butrón with the support of the Director of Public Health, who travelled the countryside to educate indigenous people on public health issues. The Indigenous Education Brigades were aimed at providing adult educational opportunities in rural communities, particularly to address adult illiteracy. Through a series of classes or conferences in native languages the brigades were meant to improve the conditions of indigenous people in order to “incorporate them into civilization.” Only a few brigades were sent out before the election of 1939 when Manuel Prado y Ugarteche became the new president.⁵⁰

By the end of Benavides’s presidency in 1939, the government had dictated numerous policies in support of indigenous people and communities. In part, these new decrees were a result of the Benavides government trying to gain popular support in order to minimize the potential for the continuation of violence and political clashes. By ameliorating the problems indigenous people faced through the strengthening or creation of new government institutions and policies, Benavides hoped that indigenous people would be less inclined to turn to the APRA or communist parties. Benavides also struggled against the more radical elements of the right-wing in Peru who were pushing for a type of fascism within Peru, such as Luis A. Flores, the leader of former president Sánchez Cerro’s party, *Unión Revolucionaria*, who defined himself as a fascist and criticized Benavides for his more moderate perspective. During his presidency, Benavides struggled to hold a middle ground, keeping the radical forces on the right and the left marginalized, in order to maintain political stability. He accomplished this in part

⁵⁰ República del Perú, *Legislación indigenista*, 237-238. “para incorporarlo a la civilización.” Dan Hazen, *The Awakening of Puno*, 284; Marcos Cueto, “Tifus, viruela e indigenismo: Manuel Núñez Butrón y la medicina rural en Puno,” in *El regreso de las epidemias: salud y sociedad en el Perú del siglo XX* (Lima: IEP, 1997).

by expanding the influence of the state and making overtures to indigenous people and other working class individuals.⁵¹

Conclusion

Although the civil strife between some APRA party members and the military governments during the 1930s had made indigenous people subject to accusations of “aprocommunism,” the government continued to legislate for greater state protections of indigenous people. In fact, by the end of the Benavides government, the expansion of state policies of social welfare was evident and the trend would be continued under the subsequent presidencies of Manuel Prado y Ugarteche (1939-1945) and José Luis Bustamante y Rivero (1945-1948). According to some scholars, Benavides’ support of the activities of the Bureau of Indigenous Affairs and other social welfare programs was a strategic move on his part to minimize the appeal of the APRA party among the lower classes.⁵² Government cooptation of aspects of APRA’s political platform by providing protections for workers and indigenous people would diminish the likelihood that lower classes would want to organize against the state. Moreover, the violence and state repression against “aprocommunists” pushed many indigenous people away from radical politics.

The cumulative effect of the repression of radical politics and the promotion of pro-indigenous policies resulted in indigenous people utilizing the new government policies set up for their protection. More and more communities officially registered with

⁵¹ Contreras and Cueto, *Historia del Perú*, 251-152; Klarén, *Peru*, 279-280.

⁵² Contreras and Cueto, *Historia de Perú*, 250-251, 256.

the Bureau of Indigenous Affairs, and others made use of the conciliation opportunities set up within the Bureau. As Florencia Mallon argues in her study of capitalism and peasant struggle in the central highlands of Peru, the Bureau of Indigenous Affairs provided an alternative avenue that indigenous peasants readily utilized to deal with disputes that could not easily be handled at the local level. In some ways, however, the new Bureau regulation also limited possibilities for indigenous people unless they were members of official indigenous communities. If indigenous communities were not officially registered with the government, they were not qualified to receive full benefits and protection from the state. As a result, during the 1930s, these new policies encouraged communities to register with the Bureau of Indigenous Affairs.⁵³

By the end of the Benavides government, the relationship between the state and indigenous people had changed dramatically. The activism of the indigenous messengers during the first two decades of the twentieth century had produced only a few isolated investigations of abuses by the government. However, by the 1930s, an unspoken agreement was made between indigenous people and the state: the government would provide assistance and protection and indigenous people would refrain from more militant politics. This agreement would continue into the 1940s under the presidency of Manuel Prado y Ugarteche.

⁵³ Florencia E. Mallon, *The Defense of Community in Peru's Central Highlands: Peasant Struggle and Capitalist Transition, 1860-1940* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 304-305; Davies, *Indian Integration*, 124.

Chapter 7:

Epilogue

In a 1940 government document, President Manuel Prado's new administration declared that the policy to send official "visitors" to indigenous communities that the Benavides government put into place and Prado continued had helped eliminate "the painful pilgrimages of the indigenes to the capital of the Republic."¹ While this statement is not entirely true, since indigenous representatives still ventured to Lima during the 1940s to meet with Bureau of Indigenous Affairs officials and other political leaders, it does suggest a dramatic shift in the relationship between the government and indigenous people over the course of the early twentieth century. Instead of indigenous "messengers" taking their complaints directly to government officials in Lima as they did in the first decades of the twentieth century, now central government officials who dealt with indigenous affairs were placed in offices throughout the country, and would regularly send "visitors" or inspectors to indigenous communities to study conflicts and arbitrate disputes. According to the Prado government, with this change in government institutions, the "painful pilgrimages" of messengers could generally be avoided by indigenous communities as these new avenues of government representation within rural areas were utilized.

¹ Manuel Prado y Ugarteche, *Un Año de Gobierno: 8 de diciembre 1939-1940* (Lima: Oficina de Informaciones del Perú, 1940), vol. 2, 110. "con lo que ha desaparecido la dolorosa peregrinación de los indígenas a la capital de la República."

Prado himself also travelled to regions in Peru never before visited by Peruvian presidents. In his first year of office, he acted as a “visitor” or inspector by taking the presidency directly to distant regions of Peru. He visited Arequipa, Cuzco, Puno, Tacna, and other cities and towns. In each city, he met with religious, judicial, and political authorities, educators, workers, indigenous communities, and anyone who greeted him along the way. While visiting Cuzco, he traveled to the archeological sites of Machu Picchu and Sacsahuamán, where he proclaimed the greatness of Peru’s indigenous past. Furthermore, on various stops along his journey President Prado reiterated his commitment to the indigenous people of Peru and vowed to not only integrate them into the “national family” but to offer some form of reparations for their past suffering. In Cuzco, he stated that “our homage to Cuzco and to its glorious past has above all a human sense of historic reparation to the native race.”² Prado’s travels to regions that had often been isolated from national politics demonstrated to Peruvians the changing face of the Peruvian government and nation. It suggested that modernization projects had made it easier to travel to distant regions of Peru. More importantly, this symbolic gesture showed that the government was larger and had taken upon itself to attend to, or at least portray itself as attending to, previously ignored sectors of the population.³

The chaos and violence of the 1930s had nearly torn apart the nation, and in an effort to avoid further political unrest, the Prado administration utilized political rhetoric advocating for democracy and the unification of the nation. In one recorded speech to congress, for example, he explained, “the union of the great Peruvian family...is the best prize and the best encouragement that I can achieve for my patriotic vigilance. National

² Prado y Ugarteche, *Un Año de Gobierno: Diciembre 8, 1939-1940*, Vol.3, 159. “Nuestro homenaje al Cuzco y a su glorioso pasado, tiene sobre todo, un sentido humano de reparación histórica a la raza nativa.”

³ Werlich, *Peru*, 213-215; Prado y Ugarteche, *Un Año de Gobierno: Diciembre 8, 1939-1940*, Vol.3

unity is one of my chief governmental ideals.”⁴ As part of this process of promoting national unity and maintaining political stability, the Prado administration regularly published books transcribing Prado’s speeches, describing the activities of the government, and extolling its successes. In the introduction to one of these government publications, it described Prado as a statesman who valued and practiced democratic principles: “With the profound democratic sense that characterizes him, President Prado always tends to mix in with the people in order to learn personally about their worries and desires, or to give them a truthful account of his actions as president.”⁵

Prado’s travels throughout southern Peru were also meticulously described in a government publication. The publication portrayed Prado’s trip as a “genuine and beautiful patriotic pilgrimage of the *Caudillo* [strongman] of democracy.”⁶ As such, he brought his message of national unity and demonstrated his commitment to creating a nation of equals simply by greeting and meeting with individuals of all social classes and sectors. Moreover, the book also included speeches and comments from local authorities who met with Prado along the journey and who applauded the government’s visit and commitment to distant regions of Peru. For example, the President of the Superior Court of Puno gave a speech praising Prado for his gravitas when visiting the towns and villages of Peru, stating that Prado “stopped to descend, in a kind and Christian-like way, from his high place of honor to shake hands and hug even the most humble and simple

⁴ Manuel Prado y Ugarteche, *Palabra y acción de Manuel Prado: Unidad Nacional: trayectoria de una doctrina democrática* (Lima: Ediciones Periodismo Peruano, 1944), 46. “La unión de la gran familia peruana...es el mejor premio y el mejor estímulo que puedo obtener para mis desvelos patrióticos. La unión nacional es uno de mis más altos ideales gubernativos.

⁵ Prado y Ugarteche, *Un Año de Gobierno: Diciembre 8, 1939-1940*, Vol.2, 3. “Con el amplio sentido democrático que le caracteriza, el Presidente Prado tiende siempre a confundirse con la ciudadanía ya sea para recoger personalmente sus inquietudes y anhelos, ya sea para darle leal cuenta de sus actos como Gobernante.

⁶ Prado y Ugarteche, *Un Año de Gobierno: Diciembre 8, 1939-1940*, Vol.3, 3. “la genuina y hermosa peregrinación patriótica del Caudillo de la democracia.”

peasant, before the stupefied people who were not accustomed to such a rare and beautiful gesture.”⁷

In his speeches on creating a more unified nation, Prado portrayed himself as working to erase the privileges of the past, emphasizing the need for a sense of camaraderie and equality among all (men) who were willing to work for the nation. In a speech before congress in 1941, he explained:

I govern in the name of the Nation...without exclusivity or exceptions, without prejudices and without grudges, soliciting the cooperation of all capable and honest men, workers and patriots, regardless of where they come from, as long as they have decided to be active protagonists of the material and spiritual progress of our democracy.⁸

For President Prado, the creation of a healthy democracy was a major priority and an essential step if the nation was to become more unified. In another speech before congress he argued that Peru should move beyond a political democracy, and focus on “that other democracy of a social-economic form, whose effectiveness, which we are currently realizing, is based on the abolition of privileges; the equality of opportunities and the utilization of the most capable....” However, he also clarified what he meant by equality: “democracy does not suppose the absurd equality that equates an honorable man with a delinquent, or a worker with an idler, but instead this other efficient equality of opportunities where each individual can demonstrate his own merits.” He highlighted the importance of a type of merit system that made the best use of “all kinds of intelligence and all the physical strength” in order to be “united in the patriotic desire to

⁷ Prado y Ugarteche, *Un Año de Gobierno*, 221. “se detiene para descender bondadosa, cristianamente, de su alto sitial a dar la mano y a abrazar hasta al más humilde y sencillo campesino, ante la estupefacción de las gentes no acostumbradas a semejante raro y bello gesto.”

⁸ Prado y Ugarteche, *Palabra y acción*, 46. “Gobierno en nombre de la Nación y para ella, sin exclusivismos ni excepciones, sin prejuicios y sin rencores, solicitando la cooperación de todos los hombres capaces y honestos, trabajadores y patriotas, vengan de donde vinieren, siempre que estén decididos a ser los activos protagonistas del progreso espiritual y material de nuestra democracia.”

work for the aggrandizement of Peru.” Furthermore, Prado insisted that democracy did not need to coincide with “the weakening of the State, the breakdown of the principle of authority, [and] the tolerance of disorder,” claiming that to accept this would be “national suicide.” Instead, he promised to maintain order and the integrity of the state, and bring a healthy democracy to the nation.⁹

One way that Prado attempted to maintain order was with populist gestures meant to minimize social and political discontent. An aspect of this populism was to continue and expand the policies of the Benavides regime with regards to indigenous issues. This is not particularly surprising since he was elected in 1939 with Benavides’s strong support. Prado was a banker and civilian, though he had served in the military as a young man, and like Benavides, held moderate conservative values. While still supporting private industries, Prado and Benavides believed in a more expansive, modern state that provided some state protections and safety nets for more marginalized populations within the nation. Besides the “visitors” of indigenous communities, Prado also continued Benavides’s Indigenous Education Brigades, sending educators and health officials out to rural communities to improve the conditions of indigenous people in an effort to incorporate them into the modern nation. Prado also expanded the public education system by building more schools and promoting literacy. Prado greatly supported modernization and development projects, thus resources and technical training were given to some indigenous communities to modernize their agricultural production.

⁹ Prado y Ugarteche, *Palabra y acción*, 11-12. “esa otra democracia de tipo económico-social, cuya efectividad, que actualmente estamos realizando, se fundamenta en la abolición de los privilegios; la igualdad de oportunidades y la utilización de los más capaces;” “La democracia no supone la igualdad absurda que nivela al hombre honrado con el delincuente, al trabajador con el holgazán, sino esa otra eficiente igualdad de oportunidades para que cada cual demuestre sus propios meritos.” “tienen cabida todas las inteligencias y todos los brazos, a condición de estar unidos en el patriótico anhelo de trabajar por el engrandecimiento del Perú.” “Eso no sería la democracia, sino el suicidio de la Nación.”

Prado also opened up jungle regions for agricultural production. For example, in Puno an office was set up to help indigenous people from overpopulated regions around Lake Titicaca migrate to jungle regions with promises of work and land.¹⁰

Another new reform that Prado initiated was meant to make the relationship between the state and indigenous people more efficient and curtail abuses. In November 1941, Prado installed a *Procuraduría Gratuita de Indígenas* or a free legal office within the Bureau of Indigenous Affairs. The purpose of the decree was to provide free consultation and advice for “the indigenous commissions that constantly and in large numbers travel to the capital of the republic,” and to “eliminate foreign elements that continue to exploit their ignorance, charging them enormous sums.” Furthermore, the decree also provided stipulations to set up free legal offices throughout Peru in order that indigenous commission could avoid traveling to Lima. This decree was ostensibly about eliminating possibilities of the exploitation of indigenous people by political parties, *tinterillos*, or abusive local authorities and landowners, since it eliminated middlemen and channeled indigenous petitioners directly into bureaucratic institutions or programs of the state. However, in this process of channeling indigenous concerns through specific institutions of the state, programs such as these contributed to a greater distinction between indigenous and non-indigenous individuals in political society. One had to be an indigenous person or community member in order to receive the special protection and benefits from the state.¹¹

¹⁰ Werlich, *Peru*, 221-223; Klarén, *Peru*, 276-285; Davies, *Indian Integration*, 131-132.

¹¹ República del Perú, Dirección General de Asuntos Indígenas, *Legislación indigenista del Perú* (Lima: Talleres Gráficos de la Penitenciaría Central, 1948), 89-93. “consiste en facilitar a los comisionados indígenas que constantemente y en gran numero acuden a la Capital de la Republica...a fin de evitar que elementos extraños sigan explotando su ignorancia, cobrándoles fuertes honorarios...;” Davies, *Indian Integration*, 134-135.

In the judicial system, the differentiation between indigenous and non-indigenous people was commonly acknowledged throughout the period of the 1920s-1940s. In criminal cases, for example, judges had the ability to give indigenous defendants special consideration in trials. Article 45 of the 1924 penal code specified that indigenous individuals could be given special consideration because they were “ignorant and semi-civilized.”¹² In many judicial cases involving indigenous people in Puno during the 1930s and 1940s, lawyers highlighted the indigenous nature of their defendants in order to obtain more lenient verdicts. In one case, a woman was accused of infanticide and held in prison. She claimed that the five-day old baby died on the way to the town of Acora, and she buried the child by the side of the road because the baby was not yet baptized. The district attorney argued that the woman buried the un-baptized child by the side of the road because she did not know any better, and that “taking into consideration her personal condition of ignorance,” and the fact that she had already spent eight months in prison, she should be released.¹³ In a petition to the Correctional Tribunal to ask for her freedom, the defendant reinforced this sentiment by stating that “the Tribunal ought to take into account my condition as an ignorant and uncivilized indigene, because this is the only reason that makes me guilty, it constitutes my only crime. But our law is put into effect in my case, and it has exonerated my responsibility.” In an effort to support his point that this indigenous woman would not have purposefully killed her child, the district attorney wrote:

One ought to take into account the psychology of the indigene who not only loves her children with a love that nature requires, without the relaxations or artifices of

¹² Peru, *Código Penal de 1924*.

¹³ ARP, Puno Leg. 159, Ex.189, 1935, f.74, Puno, August 23, 1935. “este Ministerio es de parecer, de que con la carcelaria sufrida, bien puede darse libertad a la referida Nina, teniendo en cuenta sus condiciones personales de ignorancia.”

social conventions, but also considers children almost immediately as helpers or workers, since from the earliest age indigenous children help in the pasturing of animals.

He suggested that time be given for a proper investigation, and if no further evidence of a crime emerged, the woman should be released from prison.¹⁴

In another case, Jesus Quispe was accused of the homicide of Sabino Maquera. On Thursday of Carnaval, both men were dancing around the plaza of Pilcuyo, when Jesus's dance troop began to whip the members of Sabino's dance troop. In the process, Jesus hit Sabino in the head with a "*wichi*," a whip with metal on it, and Sabino fell to the ground. Within two weeks, Sabino passed away from his injuries, and Jesus was detained in the public prison for the crime. While it was evident in the trial that Jesus had injured Sabino and that this resulted in Sabino's death, it was less clear what his punishment should be. The prosecuting attorney wrote in his conclusions of the case that "it is proven that the accused Jesus Quispe is not properly an illiterate and semicivilized indigene, that is to say protected under Art. 45 of the Penal Code, since he manifested to this Tribunal that he was a servant from a very young age...and surely knows how to speak and read Spanish, even though he denies it because he is aware that he could be protected by the stipulation of the cited legal code." As a result, the prosecuting attorney recommended that Jesus Quispe receive a punishment of four years in prison and pay civil reparation of eight hundred *soles* to the family of Sabino Maquera. The defense attorney, however, argued that Sabino Maquera died as a result of an infection from the

¹⁴ ARP, Puno Leg. 159, Ex.189, 1935, Autoridad Política contra Gregoria Nina y Simon Nina, Chucuito, December 12, 1935, f.56. "Además el Tribunal, debe tener en cuenta mi condición de indígena ignorante é incivilizada, i esto es lo único que me puede hacer culpable i que constituye mi único delito. Pero nuestra ley, se ha puesto in mi caso, i ha exonerado mi responsabilidad." "En el estudio de esta causa debe tenerse en cuenta la psicología del indígena que no solamente am a sus hijos con el amor que la naturaleza impone, sin los relajamientos ni artificios de los convencionalismos sociales, sino que los considera como auxiliares o elementos casi inmediatos de trabajo, pues desde la más tierna edad los niños indígenas ayudan en el pastoreo del ganado."

wound because he did not receive proper medical assistance, and therefore his client was not responsible for Sabino's death. Furthermore, he highlighted some extenuating circumstances and showed that Jesus Quispe should be protected by Art. 45 when he wrote: "it is proven that the members of both dance troops were intoxicated and that the quarrel was produced as a result of effects of the alcohol and the rivalry that exists in these cases due to the ignorance of the indigenous members of the dance troops who attend these festivities." He argued that if Jesus were not pardoned, then the two years he had already spent in prison awaiting trial should be considered punishment enough, and that the civil reparation be lowered to the minimum amount. In the end, the Correctional Tribunal did take into account some extenuating circumstances, included among them, they wrote: "it is also taken into consideration that the accused was intoxicated, even though not in such a way that he would have been deprived of judgment, and the circumstances of being an illiterate and semi-civilized indigene...." As a result the Tribunal ordered that Jesus Quispe be imprisoned for a total of three years, discounting the two years he already spent in jail, and that he pay reparation of seven hundred soles.¹⁵

In criminal cases, special consideration often helped alleviate the punishment for indigenous defendants, but for indigenous victims or plaintiffs, this special consideration could be less than helpful. In the case of the death of Sabino Maquera, Sabino's wife was

¹⁵ ARP, Chucuito 169, 1940, E-s/n, Juli/Ilave, February 24, 1940, Ignacia Fuentes v. de Maquera por el homicidio de Sabino Maquera contra Jesus Quispe, f. 169, 170, 175. "Está probado que el acusado Jesus Quispe, no es propiamente un indígena analfabeto y semicivilizado, es decir amparado por el art. 45 del C.P., pues ha manifestado ante el Tribunal, haber sido sirviente desde su tierna infancia, de la familia del señor Pasto Gallegos y seguramente sabe hablar castellano y leer, pero niega tal cosa, porque sabe que puede ampararse a la disposición legal citada...." "Está probado que los componentes de ambas comparsas se encontraban en estado de embriaguez i que la reyerta se produjo como consecuencia de la excitación del alcohol i de la revalidad que existe en estos casos por la ignorancia de los indígenas entre las comparsas que acuden a las fiestas." "que también se tiene en cuenta que el acusado estuvo embriagado, aunque no en forma que hubiera estado privado del discernimiento, i las circunstancias de ser indígena analfabeto semicivilizado...."

probably less appreciative than Jesus Quispe for the reduction in Quispe's punishment. Similarly, in a case involving the kidnapping and rape of a young woman by two indigenous brothers, the special consideration given to the indigenous woman was much less favorable than that conceded to the young men. In fact, the district attorney focused more on the behavior of the indigenous woman than on the indigenous men. He stated that "in her attitude, one sees that it involves an indigenous woman, who offered herself to Juan, and also to Manuel, which leaves much to say on the issue of morality and honor that ought to take precedence over these cases." Furthermore, he stated that "taking into account the condition of the indigenes, it is not possible to apply the same sanction as that of the civilized who have another standard of morality." He argued, therefore, that Manuel Quispe's only crime should be that of kidnapping, and not rape, and that the six months he had spent in prison were punishment enough. In the end, the Superior Court stated that there was not sufficient evidence for the kidnapping charges either, and that the crime against sexual honor should not have been taken up by the public authorities because the indigenous woman was older than the age that the penal code allows for those types of cases, nor did any injuries or death result.¹⁶

During the Prado government, special consideration toward some indigenous individuals moved beyond legal cases and spread into other political areas as well. For example, in 1943 the Peruvian embassy in Bolivia wrote to the Ministry of Foreign Relations about an indigenous man from Peru, stating that "an extremely regrettable

¹⁶ ARP, Puno Leg. 255, E-467, 1940, Luciano Pari, delitos de rapto i violación en agravio de su menor hija Remigia Para por Mariano Quispe, Puno, December 5, 1940, f.42, 61-62. "pero de la actitud de ella se ve que se trata de una indígena que así como se ofreció a Juan, también lo hizo a Manuel, lo cual deja mucho que decir del aspecto de moralidad y de honor que debe primar en estos casos..." "Teniendo en cuenta la condición de los indígenas no es posible aplicar la misma sanción para los civilizados, que tienen otro principio de moral..."

event just occurred.”¹⁷ The indigenous man, Vicente Soncco, had a basket of 100 eggs taken from him by the Civil Guardsmen at the Peruvian border town of Yunguyo. The Civil Guardsmen took the eggs because they believed Soncco was planning to travel to La Paz, Bolivia and sell them as contraband. Soncco did plan to sell the eggs in La Paz, but as he told the Embassy officials, his motivation was “with the earnings from the selling of the eggs, to be able to request a prayer for the dead for a son who recently passed away in La Paz.” The embassy official wrote that as soon as Soncco arrived in La Paz, he “visited the Consulate General and this Embassy, requesting in a pitiful way that the confiscated articles be returned.”¹⁸ The Ministry of Foreign Relations passed the information about this case to the General Director of Government, who ordered the prefect of Puno to investigate the case and to take measures to protect Soncco’s rights.¹⁹ The prefect sent documentation that showed that Soncco’s wife received the 100 eggs from the Civil Guard the day after the eggs were taken from Soncco. He even had the sub-prefect verify with Soncco that his wife received the eggs, and Soncco said that she did.²⁰ Soncco’s emotional appeals to the Peruvian Embassy in Bolivia resulted in intervention and resolution by the highest officials of the government.

In other petitions from the 1940s, some petitioners used photographs to emphasize their indigeneity in hopes of receiving special consideration from the government. In

¹⁷ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg.439 (Puno), 1943, Letter to Señor Director General de Gobierno from Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Lima, November 20, 1942, “Acaba de producirse un hecho por demás doloroso.”

¹⁸ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg.439 (Puno), 1943, Letter to Señor Director General de Gobierno from Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Lima, November 20, 1942. “para poder, con el producto de su venta, mandar rezar unos responsos a un hijo recientemente fallecido en La Paz.” “El indígena Soncco, al llegar a La Paz, ha visitado el Consulado General y esta Embajada, reclamando en forma lastimera la devolución del artículo decomisionado.”

¹⁹ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 439 (Puno), 1943, Letter to Senor Secretario General del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores from Director General de Gobierno, Lima, 21 November 1942.

²⁰ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 439 (Puno), 1943, Manuel Liza to Señor Prefecto, December 23, 1942.

essence, these petitioners tried to prove their authentic indigenous nature to take advantage of the pro-indigenous policies of the government. In one petition, a husband and wife complained to the Ministry of Government that a man had taken advantage of them, expropriating their land using false documents. They included a photograph of themselves and their petition stated: “we ask that given our condition, as evidenced by the photogravure-portrait that we include, you be kind enough to agree [with our petition].”²¹ In the photograph the couple is standing against a wall. The man is shorter than the woman and is wearing a poncho, and the woman is wearing a *pollera* and shawl, typical indigenous clothing. In the woman’s testimony, she explained why they had not denounced the expropriation of land previously, saying “she didn’t complain opportunistly because she had to take care of her young children and could not get involved in those activities, and her husband is a disabled individual, incapable of doing any sort of transactions.” The husband also said that they had not denounced it previously because “they lacked the resources and because they had not met anyone who could suggest how to go about the process properly.” Indeed, investigators saw that this couple was tricked “given the ignorance of the petitioners,” but opined that this was a matter to be dealt with in the courts, not by the Ministry of Government.²² In a similar petition that involved a complaint regarding land issues and multiple thefts, an indigenous woman also included a photograph of herself. She appears elderly, is wearing a hat and clothing typical of an

²¹ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 451, 1944, To Ministro de Estado en el Despacho de Gobierno from Isaac Quispe Hinojosa i Candelaria Pillpa, Acobamba, August 6, 1944, “A Ud. suplicamos que dada la condición que llevamos comprobada por el Fotograbado-Retrato que acompañamos, se sirva acordar conforme.”

²² AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 451, 1944, To Ministro de Estado en el Despacho de Gobierno from Isaac Quispe Hinojosa i Candelaria Pillpa, Acobamba, August 6, 1944, f.15-17. “Que no se quejó oportunamente porque tenía criaturas a quienes atender i no podía andar en esos ajetreos, puesto que su marido es individuo inútil incapaz de hacer tramite alguno.” “que no se quejó con anterioridad porque carecía de medios i porque no encontró a nadie que le sugiriera en tal sentido.” “dada a la ignorancia de los recurrentes, Ruperto Serpa aprovechó tal situación.”

indigenous woman, and is barefoot. In her petition, she complained that the men she accused returned to vandalize her house, and that “upon seeing some improvements in my home, my condition that the accompanied portrait demonstrates, and their impunity from the first crimes, they returned again to violate my home.”²³

A third indigenous woman included a photo of herself in a petition about conflicts over land titles in the department of Cuzco. She apparently had tried numerous strategies to receive justice. Besides the picture that clearly demonstrates her indigeneity, showing her with an indigenous shawl around her shoulders, she complained before the local authorities of the Civil Guard, and “upon not receiving justice from these local authorities, and tired of crying, tired of going in circles at the doors of the authorities in the province of Espinar, tired of this sad and humiliating luck...I appeared before the Inspector of Indigenous Affairs...” Furthermore, she stated that she traveled to the city of Cuzco, “but unfortunately I am an illiterate and defenseless indigene, [and] I have not achieved any form of favorable justice.” And because she was unable to achieve justice in Cuzco, she then sent her petition to the Ministry of Government and Police in Lima. An investigation of her case was carried out by the sub-prefect of the province, and while he was suspicious that her petitions were motivated by her male companion, he agreed to guarantee her safety. He assured her that the Inspector of Indigenous Affairs was investigating her case for them.²⁴

²³ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 451, 1944, Señor Director de Gobierno from Andrea Huarcaya vda de Pariona, “al ver un algo de reparo del mismo hogar, la condición mía que el retrato acompañado acredita, i impunidad de los primeros delitos, volvieron a renovar a violar mi domicilio.”

²⁴ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 451, 1944, To Señor Ministro de Gobierno I Policia from Marcela Chara vda de Ollachica, Cuzco, April 29, 1944, f.4, “Al no alcanzar justicia ante estas autoridades locales, cansada de llorar, cansada de dar vueltas por las puertas de las autoridades de la provincial de Espinar, aburrida de esta suerte tan triste I humillante...me ocurrió ante el Inspector de Asuntos Indígenas...” “pero por la desgracia que soy indígena analfabeta e indefenso, no he alcanzado ninguna justicia favorable...” Sub-prefect Valentín Martínez to Prefect of Department, Yauri, October 11, 1944.

While some indigenous petitioners made reference to their humble origins to gain favor from the government, other petitioners appealed to the patriotic attitudes of the authorities. In a petition from Huancayo, an indigenous man complained about another man who stole some animals and money from him. The petitioner, proud of his indigenous heritage and of the attitudes of the national authorities, wrote to the Prefect of the Department of Junin:

Knowing of the highly human and paternal sentiment of your administration as the First Authority of this heroic department, which in no way deviates from the elevated, correct, visionary, and patriotic labor that Mr. Manuel Prado y Ugarteche is carrying out from the Highest National Magistracy, including conceiving as erroneous any political tendency that in any way undermines the sacred interests of the ancient proprietors and occupiers of the lands of Tahuantinsuyo: the Indian, I appeal to your dignified and respectable office...²⁵

Petitioners were not the only ones to acknowledge President Prado's support of indigenous people. Government officials were also cognizant of the president's emphasis on indigenous rights, and they worked to demonstrate their commitment to those ideals. In one example from Cerro de Pasco, the sub-prefect made an extra effort to demonstrate his support for indigenous people in his written reports about a supposed indigenous plot against a landowner. The landowner, Alcira Benavides, accused indigenous people of committing acts of terrorism on her hacienda, and for supposedly stealing religious relics from the church on her property. Upon receiving news from Alcira Benavides that the indigenous workers planned to start an uprising, the sub-prefect sent two Civil Guard officers to investigate. When they arrived, they accompanied Alcira Benavides to inquire

²⁵ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 451, 1944, to Señor Director de Gobierno from Cipriano Quinto Quispe, Huancayo, December 10, 1943, f.22, "Conocedor del sentido altamente humano y paternal de vuestra administración como Primera Autoridad de este heroico Departamento, que en nada desdice de la elevada, recta, visionaria y patriótica labor que el señor Manuel Prado y Ugarteche viene realizando desde la mas Alta Magistratura Nacional, al extremo de concebir como desacertada cualquiera tendencia política que en alguna forma fuera a menoscabar los sagrados intereses del antiguo propietario y ocupante de las tierras del Tahuantinsuyo: el Indio, ocurro a su digno como respetable Despacho..."

about the religious relics at the home of a supposed leader of the uprising. This leader was not home but his wife was. She reacted violently to Benavides' inquiries, and according to the Civil Guard, this indigenous woman took out dynamite threatening "that those explosives would make the hacienda house disappear if the hacienda did not become a communal property by other means as they desired."²⁶ The Civil Guard proceeded to detain the woman and twelve other indigenous individuals and conducted them to the sub-prefect's office. In his report to the prefect, the sub-prefect stated that when the indigenous individuals arrived at his office he acted with "sagacity, good sense, and serenity, respecting in every moment their psychology, [and] made them reflect on their behavior at [the hacienda]."²⁷ The sub-prefect then explained that he offered to call the Director of Indigenous Affairs, which the indigenous individuals accepted. The director said that an inspector of Indigenous Affairs, Manuel Velasco Núñez, would arrive within a few weeks to investigate the situation. The sub-prefect then let the indigenous men and women return to their homes, telling them to return on the day when the inspector arrived.

In his letter to the prefect, the sub-prefect tried to demonstrate his support of the indigenous members of his community, and show that he understood that the situation of indigenous people required that the authorities take special measures when resolving conflicts between indigenous populations and landowners. He wrote that he was "inspired by the authentic, democratic guiding principles of this illustrious regime which

²⁶ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 434, 1943, To Sargento 2do. Comandante de Puesto from Guardia Jefe de Pareja, Cerro de Pasco, May 17, 1943, "manifestando que con esos explosivos tenía que hacer desaparecer la casa hacienda y otras en caso que en buena forma la hacienda no se convirtiera en posesión comunal como ellos deseaban."

²⁷ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 434, 1943, To Señor Prefect from Sub-prefect, Cerro de Pasco, June 7, 1943, "el informante respetando en todo momento la psicología de las mismas, con sagacidad, tino y serenidad, las reflexionó sobre su proceder en 'Huarautambo'."

acts without any arbitrariness or violence, previously informed by a highly humanitarian, understanding, and equitable spirit, especially when dealing with elements of our indigenous race.”²⁸ He then explained why his actions were representative of these guiding principles: “the fact that I freed these specific individuals, despite the contents of the police report and the seizure of the explosives, is the most conclusive and incontrovertible proof of the highly equitable spirit with which this office of the Sub-prefect acted.”²⁹

However, despite his good intentions, the sub-prefect explained that Alcira Benavides, knowing of the imminent arrival of the Inspector of Indigenous Affairs, denounced the thirteen indigenous individuals before the criminal court judge. When the judge ordered the sub-prefect to arrest the thirteen individuals, the sub-prefect was obliged to comply. The sub-prefect made clear that this arrest was not on his order, and reminded the prefect that he, “from the outset, encouraged the intervention of the Office of Indigenous Affairs.”³⁰

In his report, the sub-prefect explained his actions in minute detail in an attempt to demonstrate that he was not acting arbitrarily or willfully against the indigenous individuals. His report aimed to refute an article that was published in a newspaper about this case. After the arrest of the thirteen individuals, a few members of the community

²⁸ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 434, 1943, To Señor Prefect from Sub-prefect, Cerro de Pasco, June 7, 1943, “actuación inspirada en los auténticos principios rectores democráticos del ilustre régimen al que sirve, carente, en lo absoluto, de arbitrariedades o violencias; antes bien informado de un espíritu altamente humanitario, comprensivo y equitativo, sobre todo tratándose de elementos de nuestra raza indígena.”

²⁹ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 434, 1943, To Señor Prefect from Sub-prefect, Cerro de Pasco, June 7, 1943, “Pues el hecho de haber puesto en libertad a las indicadas personas, no obstante el tenor del parte policial de su referencia y la incautación de explosivos, es la prueba más concluyente e incontrovertible del espíritu altamente equitativo con que procedió esta Subprefectura.”

³⁰ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 434, 1943, To Señor Prefect from Sub-prefect, Cerro de Pasco, June 7, 1943, “la Subprefectura propició, desde el primer momento, la intervención de la Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas.”

traveled to Lima to denounce the abuses and demand justice. As a result of their actions, an article had appeared in a major newspaper that denounced the local authorities and praised the support of the Ministry of Government, the Director of Indigenous Affairs, and peasant and workers organizations that supported the indigenous petitioners, such as the *Federación de Campesinos Yanacones del Peru*. According to the newspaper,

One of the most interesting aspects of the current governmental policies is that which protects the economically weakest sectors of our country ... a result of the vision of the statesman who guides Peru's destinies. Through these policies, the indigenous race has earned greater protection because for so long they have been deprived of true social justice.

The writer then criticized the local authorities: “unfortunately the local authorities of Cerro de Pasco, against government policies, and through antisocial and antidemocratic methods, continue to trample upon that martyred race, as is occurring with the community members of Huarotambo.” The sub-prefect took great offense at this publication, calling it “defamatory,” and requested that the Prefect ask his superiors to advise the director of the newspaper to refrain from publishing libelous articles. The sub-prefect did not want his superiors to believe he was working against the pro-indigenous and democratic ideals of the president. That type of negative reputation could certainly cause him to lose his government post.³¹

This case also demonstrates that despite the good intentions of government authorities and the Bureau of Indigenous Affairs to minimize abuses against indigenous

³¹ AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 434, 1943, “Los comuneros de Huarotambo reclaman justicia,” *Renovación*, No. 4, May 1943, 17. “Uno de los aspectos más interesantes de la política gubernativa actual, es la de amparar a los elementos económicamente más débiles de nuestro país en concordancia con la carta del Atlántico a la cual el país se ha adherido debido a la visión del estadista que rige los destinos del Perú. Dentro de esa política, la raza indígena viene mereciendo acentuada protección ya q'ella ha permanecido por espacio de mucho tiempo huérfana de una verdadera justicia social.” “Desgraciadamente las autoridades subalternas de Cerro de Pasco en oposición a la política gubernamental y aplicando métodos antisociales y antidemocráticas siguen atropellando a esa raza mártir como sucede con los comuneros de Huarotambo.”

people, indigenous people could still be mistreated by local landowners who utilized other means outside the purview of the Bureau of Indigenous Affairs. In this case, the landowner utilized the criminal court judge to punish the indigenous people when the sub-prefect offered a more conciliatory outcome.

Conclusion

After the political upheavals of the 1930s, President Prado tried to create a more unified and democratic nation, portraying himself as “the Caudillo of democracy.”³² He hoped that through his political rhetoric of national unity, all citizens would work together, despite their different races and skills, for the common goal of a democratic and unified nation. Moreover, as Benavides had attempted before him, Prado made a silent pact with indigenous people by elevating them from their place of government neglect and abuse in exchange for loyalty. In this process, his government extended its reach, and policies were continued and expanded from previous administrations that specifically addressed indigenous issues.

Many indigenous people understood this shift, and skillfully adapted to their new relationship with the state. Petitioners toned down their more assertive language of entitlement commonly used in the first few decades of the twentieth century and made efforts to demonstrate their submissiveness and loyalty. Some petitioners utilized paternalistic assumptions about the “poor Indian,” emphasizing their indigeneity in hopes of receiving special consideration from government officials. In part, the result of this

³² Prado y Ugarteche, *Un Año de Gobierno: Diciembre 8, 1939-1940*, Vol.3, 3. “Caudillo de la democracia.”

institutionalization of pro-indigenous policies for indigenous people during the Benavides and Prado governments was that many were corralled into government bureaucracies, where submissive and loyal behavior was rewarded. Of course, not all indigenous people accepted this new situation easily, and as a result they continued to suffer government repression.

Although the Bureau of Indigenous Affairs's increased interaction with indigenous communities helped minimize the need for indigenous messengers to travel to Lima, it did not necessarily end this process. While providing more direct means by which indigenous people could make claims on the state, the institutionalization of indigenous issues within the government reinforced the difference between indigenous and non-indigenous people. These institutions and policies contributed to segregating indigenous people, particularly *comuneros* or community members, as a distinct group that needed to be dealt with separately as a special class of citizens. In practice, this special consideration continued the tradition of state paternalism that limited the full effects of policies aimed at equality and unity.

This history of the relationship between the government and indigenous people is not necessarily one with a triumphant ending. Indigenous petitioning was part of a process of slow, intermittent change in the state's willingness to address the concerns of indigenous people and to include them into the national project. It was never completely successful, in part because racism held a strong grasp on Peruvian society, and in part because the government never found a way to create and enforce effective laws to protect the rights of indigenous people that also worked to change the perceptions of many members of the elite classes toward indigenous people. Nor did the popular classes

collectively rise up against the political and economic elite in a revolution as in Mexico or Bolivia. However, as this dissertation demonstrates, momentary triumphs were won by indigenous individuals and communities and some gradual changes improved the lives of indigenous people. The efforts of militant activists in the 1920s and 1930s forced governments to alter their policies toward indigenous people, creating a more populist and paternalistic rapport. Moreover, the interactions between indigenous people and *indigenista* intellectuals and artists helped propel a change in the cultural and political realms, linking indigeneity to Peruvian national identity.

This collective struggle for indigenous rights reemerged on other occasions, as did drastic transformations in the relationship between indigenous people and the state, such as during the leftist military governments of the late 1960s and into the 1970s, and then again in the 1980s with the emergence of *Sendero Luminoso*, which superficially united with the cause of indigenous and poor Peruvians. Also, in the twenty-first century, during the election and the presidency of Alejandro Toledo, who claimed Quechua heritage, indigenous groups in Peru began organizing on ethnic grounds, in partial response to other strong indigenous movements in neighboring countries such as Bolivia and Ecuador. As a result of this latest wave of indigenous activism, a few indigenous people became political representatives in the national congress, including Paulina Arpasi, an Aymara woman from Puno, and more recently, Hilaria Supa Huamán, a Quechua woman from Cuzco. The struggles of indigenous people in the early-twentieth century paved the way for these indigenous women in twenty-first century to take leadership roles within the Peruvian government. This story is an example of the

ongoing struggle of Peruvians to come to terms with their history and cultures and to deal with the challenges that this history has dealt them.

Appendix

Appendix A

From Chapter 3, footnote # 50 (p.82)

AGN, MI-Prefecturas, Leg. 208, 1919:

Señor Ministro de Gobierno:

Mariano Puma, Simón Atco, Eduardo Puma, I Tiburcio Arapa, indígenas del distrito de Samán, de la Provincia de Azángaro, del departamento de Puno, por medio del señor Diputado don José Antonio Encinas, con el más profundo respeto, nos presentamos a exponer:-

Que hace más de doce años que el gamonalismo más despiadado azota a nuestro pueblo arrebatándonos nuestras tierras, victimando en repetidas masacres a nuestros compañeros quejosos, saqueando nuestras humildes viviendas hasta el extremo de no dejarnos pan ni abrigo, llegando hasta a quemar vivos a nuestros indefensos hijos, como lo constató el Comisionado del Gobierno Mayor Gutiérrez Cuevas.

Cansados de buscar JUSTICIA i no conseguirla en ninguna parte, desesperados de nuestra situación i más desesperados de la oprovio-herencia que íbamos a dejar a nuestros hijos, nos hemos resuelto a seguir las enseñanzas del Evangelio que predicán los Adventistas que han comenzado la redención de nuestra raza siquiera en su parte moral e intelectual; mas los curas i las autoridades, fingiendo ignorar que tenemos libertad de

cultos, han comenzado desde el mes de junio próximo pasado a perseguirnos sin piedad para desterrarnos de nuestro pueblo por el delito de creer en los evangelios.

Varias veces hemos ocurrido a la Subprefectura de Azángaro i a la Prefectura del Departamento pidiendo garantías i no hemos sido atendidos, hasta que ha culminado la perversidad de nuestros adversarios gratuitos en el atentado del 17 de este mes que consiste en la destrucción de las paredes edificadas por el Pastor evangélico Mr. Fernando Stahl, en terreno comprado por la Misión con el objeto de fundar una escuela para la educación de nuestros hijos. Los autores principales son el cura don Ernesto Hinojosa i el Gobernador don Graciano Enríquez que encabezaban una cantidad como de trescientos indios embriagados que como una jauría infernal nos han estropeado manifestando que tenían orden del señor Prefecto para victimarnos por apostatas i herejes, desterrándonos de nuestro pueblo i amenazándonos con la muerte si volvemos.

POR LO EXPUESTO: A UD. Pedimos que se digne ordenar a las autoridades departamental i provincial, que nos otorguen garantías para nuestras vidas i para la libertad de nuestras conciencias, permitiendo además que nuestros hijos, que son los futuros defensores de la Patria, reciban la instrucción que generosamente nos proporciona la Misión Evangélica de los Adventistas del séptimo día.

Puno, 20 de octubre de 1919.

Por los recurrentes que no saben firmar, por los comunarios de Samán i por sí mismo.

Mariano Puma

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