

# THE NEW PROFILE OF PERUVIAN HISTORY

*Heraclio Bonilla*

*Instituto de Estudios Peruanos and  
Universidad Católica, Lima*

In the last decade in Peru, there have been substantive changes in thinking about Peruvian history and society. Although this change is visible in all the social sciences, in a special way economic analysis and historical investigation have made some important gains. Economics no longer consists, in the works of its better adherents, of vague meditations or the crude accounting of a druggist; and historical studies are also finally beginning to reach a minimal level of seriousness. Once the end product of only a few particularly lucid minds, the concept that we have today of history and the work of the historian is now shared by a much larger group. It is interesting, therefore, to see where these changes have been made, not only because of the academic necessity of giving a correct accounting, but also because the outlines of this new consciousness of its past that Peruvian society is acquiring need to be underscored. The study of history in Peru, more than any other social science, is part of the continual struggle to redraw the past of Peruvian society and to destroy the collective amnesia of the masses. These two objectives have always been sought but only now are they being achieved by works of indisputable rigor.

The purpose of this review is to recount the achievements of Peruvian historiography in the past decade in understanding the process that began with the incorporation of Peru into the international market in the sixteenth century and ended with the impact of the 1929 world crisis on its economy. Any inventory is arbitrary in that it shows the preferences of its author and because it tends to start with the most representative works. In this sense, a complete bibliography of the historical literature of the last ten years might well reveal that most still hold the traditional view of history and that the change postulated here is not so evident. But it is the existence of this breach, however small, that it is important to note.

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*The Transition from the Andean to the Colonial System*

The great movements in pursuit of freedom from the colonial oppression imposed on the peoples of Asia and Africa; the revolutions, like those in Mexico, Bolivia, and Cuba; and the crisis in Western historiography caused by its inability to account satisfactorily for the changes occurring in these "peoples without a history" have made it indispensable to reconsider the process of colonial societies and to form concepts and instruments that are adequate to reconstruct it. In the case of Spanish America, this change implied abandoning the idea of colonial history as a mere extension of European history and replacing it with one that dealt with the characteristics peculiar to colonial society and favored the testimony of those colonized. The break imposed by the conquest thus converted the heroic epic of Pizarro and his men into an investigation of the dismantling of the mechanisms that upheld *Tawantinsuyo* and the effects of this destruction on the native population. This "vision of the vanquished," to use the beautiful expression coined by the Mexican Miguel Leon Portilla, permitted Nathan Wachtel to reconstruct, in *La Vision des Vaincus: Les Indiens du Pérou devant la Conquête Espagnole, 1530–1570* (Paris: Gallimard, 1971), the dramatic process of the destructuring of Andean society. Similarly, Karen Spalding, in *De indio a campesino* (Lima: IEP, 1974) extended this type of analysis into the colonial period, and Franklin Pease, in *Del tawantinsuyo a la historia del Perú* (Lima: IEP, 1978), showed the implications of this approach for Peruvian historiography. Another example of this type of analysis is Steve Stern's "The Indian People of Huamanga, Peru, and the Foundation of a Colonial Society, 1532–1640" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1979), which shows how colonial order in any region was established in response to the Andean peasant and his struggles. For this Andean view of the history of the conquest and the colonial period, the support of anthropological thought and the works of John V. Murra on the fundamentals of Andean civilization before 1532 have been indispensable. Investigators in this field, given the weakness of social history in Peru, call such work "ethnohistory."

One of the problems that it is important to discuss in an examination of the transition from the Andean to the colonial system is how to measure the impact of the conquest on the size of the native population. This problem has long occupied the leisure time of those interested in both Spanish and Indian studies, and defenders of both the black and rosy accounts of the conquest. Demographic history in Peru still has no Borah, or Goubert, or Laslett, but progress has been made. Noble David Cook, in "The Indian Population of Peru, 1570–1620" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1973), and Günter Vollmer, in *Bevölkerungspolitik und Bevölkerungsstruktur in: Vizekönigreich Peru zu Ende der*

*Kolonialzeit, 1741–1821* (Berlin: Bad Homburg von der Höhe, 1967) have offered the first figures on the evolution of the native population for the colonial period; Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, in *Indios y tributos en el Alto Perú* (Lima: IEP, 1978), has examined, although for only a limited area, the relationships among population, tribute, and the native economy.

As for the Hispanic population, the other component of early colonial society, two recent books go beyond mere reiteration of the deeds of the men of the conquest. *Spanish Peru, 1532–1560* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968) and *The Men of Cajamarca* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972), both by James Lockhart, show the social position of the conquistadores and the new institutions they were creating in the very midst of the wars of conquest.

Study of Andean religion was for a long time a minor appendix to the institutional history of the Catholic Church. Here, too, anthropological thought has obligated historians to change their perspective. Besides the initial works of Pease, Pierre Duviols' *La Lutte contre les Religions Autochtones dans le Pérou Colonial* (Lima: Institut Français d'Etudes Andines, 1971), and the current research coordinated by José Matos Mar, based on documents of the extermination of idolatry, should be mentioned in this new context.

### *The Colonial Mining Economy*

The need to understand the mechanisms of the primitive accumulation of capital has attracted the attention of North American and European historians to the mines and precious metals of colonial Peru. The works of Earl J. Hamilton, of Huguette and Pierre Chaunu, and Pierre Vilar, to mention only the most relevant, are testimony to this interest. But, for obvious reasons, these analyses emphasized the role that the export of precious metals from Latin America played in changing the European economy of the sixteenth century and in unleashing rising secular price trends. Later works by Álvaro Jara, *Tres ensayos sobre economía minera hispanoamericana* (Santiago: Universidad de Chile, 1966) and Peter J. Bakewell, "Registered Silver Production in the Potosí District, 1550–1735" (*Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas*, Band 12, [1975]), although they showed carefully the fluctuations in production, did little to change the orientation of studies on colonial mining.

Now, however, if the hypothesis put forth by Murra on the functioning of the pre-Columbian economy is correct, it is logical to suppose that it began to erode with the opening of the mines at Potosí and Huancavelica and the circulation of the metals, as the commodity—money, from their place of production until they were shipped out from Callao and Buenos Aires. Carlos Sempat Assadourian has dedicated two important works to an examination of the formation of this Andean

economic space and the production of silver: "Sobre un elemento de la economía colonial: producción y circulación de mercancías en el interior de un conjunto colonial" (Santiago: *Eure*, no. 8 [1973]) and "La producción de la mercancía dinero en la formación del mercado interno colonial" (Lima: PUC, *Economía* 1, no. 2 [1978]). The problem of the *mita* and its implications for the Peruvian economy of the eighteenth century has been studied by Enrique Tandeter in "La rente comme rapport de production et comme rapport de distribution: le cas de Potosí, 1750–1826" (Thèse de 3è Cycle en Histoire, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales [Paris], 1980). Finally, John Fisher, in *Minas y mineros en el Perú colonial* (Lima: IEP, 1977), has set aside the idea of an extreme crisis in mining in the last third of the eighteenth century, showing that production at Cerro de Pasco, even if it never reached the former levels at Potosí, nevertheless permitted the mining sector to function until the very eve of independence.

### *Colonial Agriculture*

The rural economy and society of colonial Peru have not yet been treated to a study like that which François Chevalier conducted for Mexico; until now, the most suggestive points have been outlined by Pablo Macera, particularly in *Trabajos de historia*, 4 vols. (Lima: INC, 1977). However, this vacuum has been filled partially in the last few years by several solid regional monographs that show the profound diversity of the colonial agrarian structure from the very beginnings of its development: among these are, for the north coast, the work of Susan Ramirez-Horton, "Land Tenure and the Economics of Power in Colonial Peru" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1977); and, for the central coast, the magnificent book by Robert Keith, *Conquest and Agrarian Change: The Emergence of the Hacienda System on the Peruvian Coast* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976); the problem of the stability of the middle- and small-size holdings in the countryside of Arequipa has been discussed extensively by Keith Davies in "The Rural Domain of the City of Arequipa, 1540–1665" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut, 1974). The most efficient haciendas were without doubt controlled by the Jesuits in the Peruvian coastal region; Nicholas P. Cushner has dedicated his book, *Lords of the Land: Sugar, Wine and Jesuit Estates of Coastal Peru, 1600–1767* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1980), to a study of how these haciendas operated.

To my knowledge, studies of this type do not exist for the traditional mountain haciendas nor for the evolution of the internal structure of the rural colonial communities. Except for the solid inspection given by Magnus Mörner in *Perfil de la sociedad rural de Cuzco a fines de la colonia* (Lima: Universidad del Pacífico, 1968), and the well-known thesis of

Karen Spalding for the region of Huarochiri, "Indian Rural Society in Colonial Peru: The Example of Huarochiri" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1967), the functioning of this kind of productive unit has yet to be investigated.

We are equally ignorant of the forms of labor and the transformation of relations of production. Frederick Bowser's monumental book, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1974) tells about the characteristics of slavery in early colonial times, but it is of little use in understanding the function of slavery within the colonial economy and the nature of its articulation with other forms of production. It would be important, in this context, to examine the problem of slavery in colonial Peru in light of the debate inspired by Eugene Genovese and Robert W. Fogel several years ago.

### *Obrajes and Colonial Industry*

The *obrajes*, like the mines, are significant for their capacity to induce internal changes in the regional economies, since they call for precise networks both for the supplies they require as well as for the distribution of their textile production. These facts, together with the type of labor force they employed, are sufficient to justify their study, not only to understand the functioning of the "industrial sector" of the colony, but also to figure out the logic of the colonial economic system. Unfortunately, with the exception of the old book by Fernando Silva Santisteban, only the recent work of Miriam Salas, *De los obrajes de Canaria y Chincheros a las comunidades indígenas de Vilcashuaman* (Lima, 1979), gives any information about Andean *obrajes*. Thus, Robson P. Tyrer's "The Demographic and Economic History of the Audiencia of Quito: Indian Population and the Textile Industry, 1600–1800" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1976), although it refers to modern Ecuador, will remain the fundamental reference work in this field until similar monographs are written for Peru.

### *The State and Colonial Finances*

The operation of the Peruvian colonial system revolved around the fiscal extraction of the surpluses it produced. These facilitated the reproduction of the internal system of political domination and maintenance of the metropolitan state; hence the special care taken by the colonial bureaucracy in keeping the accounts of the Cajas Reales of the viceroy. Thus, an analysis of this voluminous documentation not only gives a good idea of the extent of colonial exploitation but also gives information about the productive potentials of the different regions of the colonial sphere. Such has been the aim of the studies based on these sources by

Javier Tord and Herbert Klein and John TePaske. The former has published his preliminary findings in "Sociedad colonial y fiscalidad" (Lima: Universidad del Pacífico, *Apuntes* [1979]); the others are preparing to publish their statistical data in the series of the Institute for Peruvian Studies.

Discussion on the nature of the colonial state, on the other hand, has just begun. Inspired by the Weberian idea of patrimonial support of power, Richard Morse, in "The Heritage of Latin America," in *The Founding of New Societies*, ed. Louis Hartz (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc., 1964), and Magali Sarfatti, in *Spanish Bureaucratic Patrimonialism in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), were the first to initiate modern studies on the colonial state. Julio Cotler, in a more general work, *Clases, estado y nación en el Perú* (Lima: IEP, 1978), uses similar premises to examine specific characteristics of the colonial state. Without doubt, this is an area where collaboration between political scientists and historians is necessary. But even if theory, in this case political theory, is necessary in order for the historian to understand the reality he is studying, nevertheless, theorizing that is not backed by empirical evidence runs the risk of turning into pure metaphysics. The fact is that empirical investigations on the structure and functioning of the colonial state in Peru simply do not yet exist. Thus, the books by John Fisher, *Government and Society in Colonial Peru: The Intendant System, 1784–1814* (London: University of London Historical Studies No. 29, 1970); Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Los ministros de la audiencia de Lima en el reinado de los Borbones, 1700–1821: esquema de un estudio sobre un núcleo dirigente* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-americanos, 1974); Mark Burkholder and D. S. Chandler, *From Impotence to Authority: The Spanish Crown and the American Audiencias, 1687–1808* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1977); and Leon Campbell, *The Military and Society in Colonial Peru, 1750–1810* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1978), are important because these careful studies of the composition of the ruling class and the army provide the basic elements for a rigorous reexamination of the state and its multiple relations with colonial society.

### *The Crisis of Colonial Order*

When one thinks of the rupture of the colonial compact in Peru, the figure who immediately springs to mind is Tupac Amaru. Rightly or not, this Tungasuca cacique and the mobilization efforts of other, minor, chiefs, are the main preoccupation of the historiographers of this period. Since Boleslao Lewin's classic study of Tupac Amaru in 1957, recent efforts have contributed to a better understanding of the revolutionary bonfire that ignited the great rebellion. Many of these have been col-

lected, with an intelligent introduction, in a volume edited by Alberto Flores-Galindo, *Tupac Amaru II* (Lima: INC, 1976). Scarlett O'Phelan, having recorded most of the native rebellions of the eighteenth century, is finishing an important thesis on the same subject. But the most important contribution has been made by Jürgen Golte. His book, *Repartos y rebeliones: Tupac Amaru y las contradicciones de sistema colonial* (Lima: IEP, 1980), is an almost unnecessary demonstration of the correlation between *repartos* and rebellions; but its great value lies in showing how the distribution of goods stimulated the growth of the internal market at the same time as it regulated the extraction of the labor surpluses of the peasantry.

In 1971, Heraclio Bonilla and Karen Spalding noted, in *La independencia en el Perú: las palabras y los hechos* (Lima: IEP, 1971), that most of the propositions on Peruvian emancipation propounded by traditional, local historiography, were meaningless. At the same time, they formulated some questions for future investigations about independence. Despite the time that has passed, our knowledge of the period 1784–1824 does not seem to have increased perceptibly. The notable exception is Timothy E. Anna's recent book, *The Fall of the Royal Government in Peru* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979). Also there is the appearance of a collection of massive tomes, grouped under the title *Colección documental de la independencia de Perú*, edited by the National Commission for the Sesquicentennial of Peru. But these are only documents, no doubt important ones, that still await the patience and enthusiasm of some reader. . . .

#### *From Independence to the Crisis of 1929*

The hundred years through which Peruvian society passed from its independence from Spain until the explosion of the crisis of 1929 are divisible into four significant eras: contraction, 1821–40; guano, 1840–79; the war of the Pacific, 1879–84; and postwar reconstruction, until 1929.

Without doubt, the great work of Jorge Basadre, *Historia de la República del Perú*, 5th ed. (Lima: Ediciones Historia, 10 vols, 1962–64), continues to be the basic reference for this period, just as his *Introducción a las bases documentales para la historia de la República del Perú con algunas reflexiones* (Lima: Ediciones P.L.V., 1971) remains the principal reference for a detailed history of the Peruvian national period. It is equally certain that his earlier works, *Perú, problema y posibilidad* (Lima: F. Y. E. Rosay, 1931; 2d ed., 1978) and *La multitud, la ciudad y el campo* (Lima: Editorial Huscaran, 1947), have not only not lost their freshness, but have opened one of the most suggestive approaches to the study of Peruvian history; only recently has his approach been taken up again for the historiography of Peru. Beside the classic works of Basadre, another synthesis of this period, *Historia económica del Perú* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudameri-



cana, 1949; 2d ed., Lima, 1968), by Emilio Romero, is still highly informative. More recently, Ernesto Yepes del Castillo, in *Peru, 1820–1920: un siglo de desarrollo capitalista* (Lima: IEP, 1972), has presented an overall interpretation of the fundamental characteristics of the nineteenth century; and Cotler, in the book already mentioned, discusses the persistence and significance of the colonial character of the state and Peruvian society after 1821. An economic periodization for the nineteenth century, based on the behavior of Peruvian export trade, has been suggested by Bonilla in *Un siglo a la deriva* (Lima: IEP, 1980, chaps. 1, 2), and by Shane Hunt, in “Price and Quantum Estimates of Peruvian Exports, 1830–1962” (Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson School, Discussion Paper no. 33, 1973). In addition, a study of the finances of the period has been made by Javier Tantaleán A. in the Introduction to a forthcoming collection of annual reports by the ministers of the era. Another decisive contribution, *Peru, 1890–1977: Growth and Policy in an Open Economy* (London: MacMillan, 1978), by Rosemary Thorp and Geoff Bertram, is a careful analysis of the functioning of the modern sectors of the Peruvian economy since the end of the nineteenth century. If there is any lack to be regretted, it is the absence of a work similar to this one for the traditional sectors of the economy. It is these solid general works that indicate where more specific monographs are needed.

#### *The Contraction, 1821–1840*

These were two decisive decades in the process of loosening the bonds of the colonial system and forming a new national order, but an examination of this area has not yet been undertaken; studies have been done in reference to other, although not less significant, problems. In *Gran Bretaña y el Perú: los mecanismos de un control económico* (Lima: IEP, 1977), Bonilla has examined the conditions and effects of the British presence in postindependence Peru. The economy and culture peculiar to the south Andean region, that is to say, their notable potential within a framework of economic decline, has been treated by Flores-Galindo in *Arequipa y el Sur Andino, siglos XVIII–XX* (Lima: Horizonte, 1977), and by John F. Wibel, “The Evolution of a Regional Community within the Spanish Empire and the Peruvian Nation: Arequipa, 1780–1845” (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1975). The relations between communities and haciendas and the process of decomposition/recomposition within the former during this period have been studied in an exemplary manner in an unpublished manuscript by Christine Hunefeldt. Although not referring specifically to this period, since they are treatments within a larger chronological framework, the books of Victor Villanueva, *Ejército peruano: del caudillaje anárquico al militarismo reformista* (Lima: Editorial Juan Mejía Baca, 1973) and Jeffrey Klaiber, *Religion and Revolution in*



*Peru, 1824–1976* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976) tell something about the military and religious characteristics of this era.

*The Guano Era, 1840–1879*

In 1960, Jonathan Levin published *The Export Economies: Their Pattern of Development in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1960), beginning modern discussion of the impact of guano on the Peruvian economy as a whole. Levin's thesis, that the international mobilization of the factors necessary for the guano industry turned the Peruvian fertilizer into the mainstay of a typical "enclave" economy, has been questioned persuasively by Hunt in his work, *Growth and Guano in Nineteenth-Century Peru* (Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson School, 1973). Hunt, after patient statistical work, demonstrated that the Peruvian state, during the guano era, managed to capture between 65 and 70 percent of the income produced by the sale of guano, which contradicts the theory of an enclave economy, in which the returns are scant or nonexistent; he proposed the concept of a rentier economy to explain the economic situation of this period. William M. Mathew, in "Anglo-Peruvian Commercial and Financial Relations, 1820–1865" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1964), based on the private papers of the mercantile firm of Anthony Gibbs, one of the principal exporters of guano, shows the mechanisms for the commercialization of the fertilizer and the great autonomy on which the Peruvian government counted in the face of the dictates of English business firms. This last aspect, that of pressure by the English, has been developed by Mathew in a later article, "The Imperialism of Free Trade, Peru 1820–1870" (London: *Economic History Review* 21, 2d series [1968]), in which he argues, as does D. C. M. Platt, that the thesis of Gallagher and Robinson concerning the English imperialism of free trade had no relevance for Latin America.

In this same context, the impact that changes in the dominant class had on the policies to be followed in regard to the income from the sale of guano, as well as the effects of the international crisis of 1872 on Peruvian finances, were the principal themes treated by Juan Manguashca, in "A Reinterpretation of the Guano Age, 1840–1880" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1967). Finally, Bonilla, in *Guano y burguesía en el Perú* (Lima: IEP, 1974), examines the economic failure of Peru during the guano era in terms of the characteristics of the dominant class and the narrowness of the internal market.

The problem of the induced effects generated by guano is another theme that has begun to be investigated seriously. For a long time it was thought that the so-called "consolidation of the internal debt," the

fraudulent payments made to a great number of native creditors of the Peruvian state with the resources provided by guano, had been the origin of the process by which the Peruvian elite was reestablished economically. This idea has recently been challenged by Alfonso Quiros in "La consolidación de la deuda interna" (Tesis de Bachiller, Universidad Católica [Lima], 1980). After reviewing the relevant primary sources, Quiros found that the certificates of consolidation, as well as those of the external debt, circulated among a small group and ended up in the hands of merchant firms with strong foreign interests. The role of guano in the formation of productive capital has been demonstrated by Manuel Burga in an important book on the agrarian history of the Jequetepeque Valley on the north coast. *De la encomienda a la hacienda capitalista* (Lima: IEP, 1976), shows how the capitalization of one of its haciendas depended upon financial movement originated by guano. His work has been extended in a thesis written by Juan R. Engelsen, "Social Aspects of Agricultural Expansion in Coastal Peru, 1825–1878" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977).

It is already well known that guano produced both riches and misery. The fantastic inflation that took place in cities such as Lima in the early 1870s incited one of the first important mobilizations of the urban masses. The composition and objectives of this uprising have been studied carefully by Margarita Giesecke in *Masas urbanas y rebelión en la historia: golpe de estado, Lima, 1872* (Lima: Centro de Divulgación de Historia Popular, 1978).

On the other hand, demographic history of the period continues to be ignored. Although a national census was taken for the first time in 1876, Castilla had abolished the Indian tribute in 1854, thus doing away with the *Padrones*, one of the most important sources for tracing the demographic evolution of this population. Although several important works on this topic are in progress for the region of Cuzco, the early work of George Kubler, *The Indian Caste of Peru, 1795–1940* (1952; reprinted Homewood, Ill.: Greenwood Press, 1973), is still the basic reference.

### *The War, 1879–1884*

Over the last century, many books of varying value have been written about the war with Chile, and they will continue to be written as long as independence and war of the Pacific are the obligatory axes of official historiography. In 1975, Henri Favre, in "Remarque sur la Lutte des Classes au Pérou pendant la Guerre du Pacifique" (*Literature et Société au Pérou du XIXè Siècle à Nos Jours* [Grenoble: Université de Grenoble, 1975]), was the first to call attention to the necessity of examining the war from a different perspective. But the war is also a test case for analysis of more serious problems, such as the national question and

colonial survivals in modern Peru; for this reason, in 1978, in "The War of the Pacific and the National and Colonial Problem in Peru" (*Past and Present*, no. 81 [Oxford, November 1978]), Bonilla outlines a reexamination of both dimensions. Without doubt, the most important advance made since the problem was presented is the thesis of Nelson Manrique, "Campesinado y nación: la sierra central del Perú durante la guerra del Pacífico" (Tesis de Magister, Universidad Católica [Lima], 1979).

*From the Postwar Reconstruction to the Crisis of 1929*

The Peruvian economy recuperated from the breakdown produced by the conflict with Chile by means of severe monopolization of the productive resources and a massive injection of foreign capital. Thus began a process that continued until the great crisis of capitalism in 1929, characterized by the following traits. In economic terms, the concentration and denationalization of resources, associated with the change in the operation of foreign capital in Peru and the final replacement of British capital by United States capital, gave birth to complex productive units sustained by the massive extraction of raw materials and capitalist exploitation of the native work force. These "enclaves," as they have come to be called, were new phenomena in the economic history of Peru, both for the regional rearrangement they produced and for the new relations of production they established.

These productive units, in addition, introduced profound modifications within the regions where they operated, one of their effects being the takeover of the land of small- and medium-sized proprietors and of peasant communities. This fact, and the exploitation of the workers of the mining centers and the agro-industrial plantations, gave birth to the first great popular uprisings of the urban and rural masses and inspired the diverse ideologies that questioned the legitimacy of such domination.

The state of this republic of aristocrats articulated the linkages between the interests of the different fractions of the propertied class with those of imperialist capital. The frequent readjustments in the composition of and the relationships among the ruling forces indicate the precarious nature of such an arrangement, even though this period is one of the most stable in the political history of Peru. For this reason, the crisis of capitalism in 1929 and the accumulated internal tensions ended with the erratic efforts of Leguía to turn Peru into a "New Fatherland," that is, to modernize its economic and political order. Basic economic analysis of this period has been done by Thorp and Bertram; political analysis has been done by Cotler, and by Sinesio Lopez, in "El estado oligárquico en el Perú: un ensayo de interpretación" (San José: *Cuadernos Sociales Centroamericanos* [mayo-agosto 1978]). But the ground-

work on the basic questions called for by the economic and political process of 1895 to 1930 has been covered in the important book of Manuel Burga and Alberto Flores-Galindo, *Apogeo y crisis de la república aristocrática* (Lima: Ediciones Rikchay, 1979), which was inspired by the latest trends of French historiography; unfortunately, it lacks rigorous economic analysis.

A study of the origins of U.S. domination was attempted several years ago, without much success, by James Carey, in *Peru and the United States, 1900–1962* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1962). William S. Bollinger, in "The Rise of the United States Influence in Peruvian Economy, 1869–1921" (Master's Thesis, University of California, 1971) and Bonilla, in *Un siglo a la deriva* (chap. 3) have treated the same problem. The international migration associated with the new dynamism acquired by the Peruvian economy in these years has also begun to attract the attention of investigators. The impact of the Italian migration has been examined by Janet Worrall, "Italian Immigration to Peru: 1860–1914" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Indiana, 1972), and that of the Japanese by Clinton Gardiner, *The Japanese and Peru, 1873–1973* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975) and Amelia Morimoto, *Los inmigrantes japoneses en el Perú* (Lima: Universidad Agraria, 1979). On Chinese migration, the standard book is still Watt Stewart's *Chinese Bondage in Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1951), but new information, in a regional context, came from Arnold J. Meagher's "The Introduction of Chinese Laborers to Latin America: The Coolie Trade, 1847–1874" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Davis, 1975).

The functioning of the vast economic complexes that were installed in this period also has been treated in several solid monographs. For export agriculture, the most important works are Peter Klarén's *Formación de las haciendas azucareras y los orígenes del Apra*, 2d ed. (Lima: IEP, 1976), Bill Albert's *An Essay on the Peruvian Sugar Industry, 1880–1920* (East Anglia, 1976), and Michael Gonzales' "The Formation of a Rural Proletariat on a Peruvian Sugar Plantation" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1978). The problems connected with the birth of the mining proletariat have been explored by Bonilla in *El minero de los Andes* (Lima: IEP, 1974), Alberto Flores-Galindo in *Los mineros del Cerro de Pasco, 1900–1930* (Lima: Universidad Católica, 1974), and analyzed by Adrian De Wind in "Peasants become Miners" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1977) in the context of the Cobriza mines in Huancavelica. Rory Miller, in "Railways and Economic Development in Central Peru" (*Social and Economic Change in Modern Peru*, Liverpool, Center for Latin American Studies, 1974) has evaluated the role of the railroads in the economic expansion of the central mountain region.

Andean agrarian structure and conditions for the emergence of

capitalism have been treated by Martha Giraldo and Ana Liria Franch in "Hacienda y gamonalismo: Azángaro, 1850–1920" (Tesis de Magister, Universidad Católica [Lima], 1979), by Carmen Diana Deere in "The Development of Capitalism in Agriculture and the Division of Labor by Sex: A Study of the Northern Peruvian Sierra" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1978), and by Florencia Mallon in "The Poverty of Progress: The Peasants of Yanamarca and the Development of Capitalism in Peru's Central Highlands, 1860–1940" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1980). The specificity of the south Andean economy, which lay in the production and export of wool, and the role of commercial capital in the functioning of the productive structure of the region have been studied rigorously by Manual Burga and Wilson Reátegui in the monograph they have just completed on the Ricketts Company, one of the largest firms in this industry in Arequipa. The articulation of the modes of production, the link between capitalism and precapitalism, which is an intensely debated problem among social investigators, has been treated persuasively by Rodrigo Montoya for the region of Ayacucho-Apurímac in "Les Luites Paysannes pour la Terre au Pérou au XXème Siècle (Thèse de Troisième Cyclé, Université de Paris, 1977). Tom Davies has examined, in *Indian Integration in Peru: 1900–1948* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974), relations between the state and the native peasantry as they can be seen in the legislation of the era.

There exists virtually no work on the evolution of living conditions of the different groups of Peruvian society. The first, and only, work in this field is Shane Hunt's "Salarios reales y crecimiento económico en el Perú, 1900–1940" (Lima: PUC, *Economía* 3, no. 5 [1980]).

Studies on the beginnings of worker and peasant movements and their later development are numerous. An acceptable synthesis has been done by Dennis Sulmont, *El movimiento obrero en el Perú, 1900–1966* (Lima: Universidad Católica, 1975) and by Wilfredo Kapsoli in *Los movimientos campesinos en el Perú, 1879–1965* (Lima: Delva Editores, 1978). But the most extensive treatment of this problem for the period 1880–1920 is Peter Blanchard's "The Peruvian Working Class, 1880–1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1974).

The political ideologies of the twentieth century—anarchism, *aprimo*, and communism—also have been the subjects of important analyses. Piedad Pareja, in *Anarquismo y sindicalismo en el Perú* (Lima: Ediciones Rikchay, 1978), basing her work on study of *La Protesta*, the most important anarchist periodical, has examined the birth of these ideas and their effects on the emerging urban proletariat. The ideas of Mariátegui and Haya de la Torre also have attracted new interest for the value they still have for clarifying the political dilemma of contemporary Peru. On Haya and *aprimo*, the most recent works are those of Liisa North, "The Origins and Development of the Peruvian Aprista Party"

(Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1972), Carmen Rosa Balbi, "El Apra y el partido comunista en 1931" (Memoria de Bachiller, Universidad Católica [Lima], 1977), and Victor Villanueva, *El Apra en busca del poder, 1930–1940* (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1975). On Mariátegui, besides the analysis of his Italian experience written by Diego Meseguer in *José Carlos Mariátegui y su pensamiento revolucionario* (Lima: IEP, 1974), the most recent studies are those of Jesus Chavarria, *José C. Mariátegui and the Rise of Modern Peru, 1890–1930* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979); Alberto Flores-Galindo, *La agonía de Mariátegui* (Lima: Desco, 1980); and José Aricó's *Mariátegui y los orígenes del marxismo latinoamericano* (México: Pasado y Presente, 1978). The last contains a beautiful introduction by Aricó, which puts an end to the narrow provincial view so often taken of Mariátegui's work, and a selection of essays on the thought of the Peruvian Amauta. Elsewhere, César Germaná, in "La polémica Haya de la Torre-Mariátegui: reformo o revolución" (Lima: *Cuadernos de Sociedad y Política* [1978]), points out the major discrepancies in the thought of Haya and Mariátegui in light of Peruvian reality. But, if notable advances have been made recently in understanding the thought of Haya and Mariátegui, it is now indispensable to continue examining the political movements inspired by them, by means of a sort of "anthropology" of Peruvian aprismo and communism, analyzing the way in which their first members put into action the ideas of their founders.

Finally, the impact of the crisis of 1929 was studied in a pioneering work by Anibal Quijano, reprinted in *Imperialismo, clases sociales y estado en el Perú, 1890–1930* (Lima: Mosca Azul, 1978). Contemporary social history of Peru owes a great debt to Quijano because he suggested courses of analysis long before this discipline ever existed, even though his propositions did not always have solid empirical backing. Today, the best view of Peru in the twenties, and the problems caused by the crisis of 1929, is in the already mentioned book by Burga and Flores-Galindo. This view is admirably complemented by Stephen Stein's beautiful book, *Populism and Mass Politics in Peru* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), which studies the emergence and characteristics of the *aprista* and *sanchecerrista* forces that met in the election of 1931.

To sum up, I would suggest that much remains to be done. Nevertheless, an attentive reading of the works mentioned here confirms that today's view of the historical process of Peruvian society is very different from that which was formerly held. As has been pointed out, certain general outlines of the new historical profile were certainly anticipated in lucid minds like that of Jorge Basadre. But only ignorance could dismiss the fundamental fact that the deepening of the levels of analysis as well as the expansion of the frontiers of historical knowledge

are the most significant characteristics of Peruvian historiography of the past decade. This change has been made possible by various factors: first, the development of political consciousness by the masses and the political mobilization they inspired obliged social scientists not only to explore the possibilities of constructing a different future, but to try to recapture a past that was early snatched away. Second, the inspiration and teachings of a Marxism purified of its dogmatic interpretations forced historians to concern themselves with a study of the fundamental origins of social change. Finally, the impact of the conventional social sciences, such as economics and anthropology, obliged historians to substitute ingenuity for rigidity of thought.

Access to the achievements of this new historical investigation is, unfortunately, still limited to a "circle of initiates." Nobody denies the enormous gap that exists in Peru between the level reached by historical investigation and the content of the pedestrian "histories" that circulate at popular, school, and even university levels. To close this gap, to help forge a new historical conscience, is surely another of the tasks, perhaps the fundamental one, in the daily struggle of the Peruvian left.