MINING MARKETS, PEASANTS, AND POWER IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY PERU*

José Deustua
University of Illinois at Chicago

"Jauja, rinconcito de mi valle."
Andean folk song, Juan Bolívar

The military government of General Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968–1975) coined the phrase, "¡Campesino, el patrón no comerá más de tu pobreza!" ("Peasant, the patrón will feed no more on your poverty"). Clearly a favorite slogan of the self-described "Peruvian Revolution," this saying appeared frequently on posters and in newspaper notices.[1] Although linked to Velasco's agrarian reform program and peasant organizations like the Confederación Nacional Agraria (CNA), which emerged from the plan,[2] this aphorism was said to have originated with José Ga-

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1. Pertinent studies on the Velasco government and the reformist military experience in its first phase (from 1968 to 1975) and its second (between 1975 and 1980) include Henry Pease García, *El ocaso del poder oligárquico: lucha política en la escena oficial, 1968–1975* (Lima: Centro de Estudios y Promoción del Desarrollo [DESCO], 1977); also Pease García, *Los caminos del poder: tres años de crisis en la escena política* (Lima: DESCO, 1979). In the Anglo-Saxon academic world, studies worth highlighting include *The Peruvian Experiment: Continuity and Change under Military Rule*, edited by Abraham F. Lowenthal (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975), especially chapters on agrarian problems by Susan Bourque and David Scott Palmer (179–219) and by Colin Harding (220–53); see also *The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered*, edited by Cynthia McClintock and Abraham F. Lowenthal (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983). On the conscious or unconscious tendency of the generals and their advisors to view themselves as leaders of a "revolution," see *Velasco, la voz de la revolución: discursos del General de División Juan Velasco Alvarado* (Lima: Ediciones Participación and Oficina Nacional de Difusión del SINAMOS, 1972); and Augusto Zimmerman Zavala, *El Plan Inca: objetivo—revolución peruana* (Lima: Editora del Diario Oficial "El Peruano," n.d.).

2. On the agrarian reform process, in addition to works cited in note 1, see Mariano Valderrama, *Siete años de reforma agraria en el Perú* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1976); Henry Pease García, Fernando Eguren, Marcial Rubio, and Diego García Sayán, *Estado y política agraria: 4 ensayos* (Lima: DESCO, 1977); and José Matos Mar and José M.

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briel Condorcanqui, Tupac Amaru II, the *kuraka* who led an enormous indigenous uprising at the end of the eighteenth century.[3] Historians dutifully began to search in books, pamphlets, and documents for the famous quotation from Tupac Amaru, but they never found it. Evidently, the saying was invented by regime officials. This anecdote points out the uses (and abuses) of history to suit ideological purposes and to attain political goals.[4] Like memory (whether accurate or false), the act of forgetting can shape historical knowledge.[5] My interest in the slogan, however, centers on another aspect of it: the reference to social actors not always completely remembered in Peruvian history—the peasants and in this instance those of the nineteenth century, the predecessors of those targeted by Velasco's reforms.[6]

In 1970 a young French scholar named Jean Piel published an important article in the British journal *Past and Present*. His essay exam-

Mejía, *La reforma agraria en el Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1980). I take the agrarian reform process into consideration because of its impact on my generation, which experienced all of its effects intensely.

3. On the Tupac Amaru rebellion, see *Tupac Amaru II, 1780: sociedad colonial y sublevaciones populares,* edited by Alberto Flores Galindo (Lima: Retablo de Papel Ediciones, 1976); and Jürgen Golte, *Repartos y rebeliones: Tupac Amaru y las contradicciones de la economía colonial* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1980). More recent works include Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, *Rebellions and Revolts in Eighteenth-Century Peru and Upper Peru* (Cologne, Germany: Bohlau, 1985); and *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World: 18th to 20th Centuries,* edited by Steve J. Stern (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), esp. 34–139 and 166–92.

4. On this subject, see M. I. Finley, *The Use and Abuse of History* (New York: Elisabeth Sifton and Penguin, 1987; originally published in 1975). See also Adam Schaff, *History and Truth* (Oxford and New York: Pergamon, 1976); and Josep Fontana, *Historia: análisis del pasado y proyecto social* (Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 1982). Between 1920 and 1930, the "Indian community" of Chepén in the Jequetepeque valley in northern Peru reclaimed former lands of theirs that had become part of the Talambo hacienda. To bolster its claims, the community forged historical documents. In this chapter of Peruvian agrarian history and of peasant life, memory took precedence over historical documentation: once again the past was used for current political aims. See Manuel Burga, *De la encomienda a la hacienda capitalista: el valle del Jequetepeque del siglo XVI al XX* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1976), esp. 280–88. On the problems of historical memory for Peruvian popular classes, see also Alberto Flores Galindo et al., "Memoria y clase: los cañeros de Lambayeque," mimeo from the Oficina de Trabajo de Campo, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima, 1977.

5. The words of Czech novelist Milan Kundera are worth recalling here: "The struggle against power is the struggle of remembering against forgetting." See Kundera, *El libro de la risa y el olvido* (Barcelona: Editorial Seix Barral, 1982). The obligatory reference on the themes of forgetting and memory, literature and history is George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1949).

6. Rural poverty, including extreme poverty, has expanded in Peru following the agrarian reform implemented by Velasco, indicating that the program failed. Some of the factors contributing to this failure will be explained subsequently. On the extreme poverty in rural Peru, see José María Caballero, *Agricultura, reforma agraria y pobreza campesina* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1980). Caballero claims that in 1979 peasant families (one-quarter of all Peruvian families) had an average per capita income of only fifty dollars per year: "This places the majority of Andean rural areas at a level similar to the poorest regions of Asia and Africa" (p. 139). Also see Adolfo Figueroa, *La economía campesina de la sierra del Perú* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1981), esp. 15–20.

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ined the role of the peasantry in the Peruvian economy and society of the nineteenth century.[7] Piel had previously criticized native and international historians of Peru, saying that whenever indigenous Peruvians became obstinate and rebelled, "they were of no interest to creole historiography and were ignored by international historiography."[8] His research and his polemical provocations stimulated an intense debate that gave rise to a new current of Peruvian social sciences undertaking the study of "peasant movements."[9] More than two decades after Piel's criticisms, it is appropriate to assess the Peruvian peasant reality of the nineteenth century. To that end, I will examine the issue of the presence of Andean-Peruvian peasants in the market as producers of goods or commodities and also as suppliers of labor, particularly in the mining market. Peru has been a mining country since pre-Columbian times, and the nineteenth century was a major mining era, although not always recognized as such.[10]

Peasants, Markets, and Capitalism

The question of peasant presence in the market has been viewed ordinarily either as the result of devastating and continuous penetration of

7. See Jean Piel, "The Place of the Peasantry in the National Life of Peru in the Nineteenth Century," *Past and Present: A Journal of Historical Studies*, no. 46 (Feb. 1970):108–33. Piel recognized the centrality of Heraclio Bonilla's research to his own work (p. 109). Piel later completed his "doctorat d'etat." See his thesis, "Terre, agriculture et société au Pérou de l'ere du guano au lendemain de la Première Guerre Mondiale (1840–1920)," 3 vols., Université de Paris, 1973. It was eventually revised and published as a series of books. See Piel, *Capitalisme agraire au Pérou: originialité de la société agraire péruvienne au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Anthropos, 1975); *Capitalisme agraire au Pérou: L'Essor du neolatifundisme dans le Pérou republicain* (Paris: Anthropos, 1983); and *Crise agraire et conscience créole au Pérou* (Toulouse: Centre Regional de Publications de Toulouse, 1982).

8. See Jean Piel, "A propos d'un soulèvement rural péruvien au début du vingtième siècle: Tocroyoc (1921)," *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* (Paris) 14 (Oct.–Dec. 1967):375–405, citation on 377.

9. Piel accused "Creole historiography" of devaluing study of the Indian peasantry. The accusation extended to Jorge Basadre, who as a result expanded sections covering peasant movements in subsequent editions of his *Historia de la República del Perú, 1822–1933* (compare the 1968–1970 and 1983 editions with that of 1961–1964, esp. vols. 11–13 of the 1968–1970 edition, published in Lima by Editorial Universitaria). On the Peruvian school studying peasant movements, see José Deustua, "Sobre movimientos campesinos e historia regional en el Perú moderno: un comentario bibliográfico," *Revista Andina* 1, no. 1 (Sept. 1983):219–40 (published by the Centro Bartolomé de las Casas in Cuzco). The most important book on peasant movements in Republican Peru and a good example of this school is Wilfredo Kapsoli's *Los movimientos campesinos en el Perú, 1879–1965* (Lima: Delva, 1977).

10. See, for example, Jean Berthelot, "Une Région minière des Andes Péruviennes: Carabaya Inca et Espagnole (1480–1630)," thesis, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1977; and John R. Fisher, *Minas y mineros en el Perú colonial, 1776–1824* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1977). On a misidentified "crisis" and the "nonexistence" of nineteenth-century Peruvian mining, see Carlos P. Jiménez, "Reseña histórica de la minería en el Perú," in *Síntesis de la minería peruana en el centenario de Ayacucho* (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1924), 38–71, esp. 45; and Denis Sulmont, "Historia del movimiento obrero minero metalúrgico (hasta 1970)," in *Tarea, Revista de Cultura* (Lima), no. 2 (Oct. 1980):28–32, 30.

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capitalism in rural areas[11] or as cyclical and intermittent Indian participation in the market as one of several "strategies for Indian peasant social reproduction."[12] According to the first perspective, as soon as "capitalist development" reaches the countryside, its "penetration" becomes continuous and irreversible. This interpretation tends to ignore the cyclical evolution of the agrarian economy and capital. Nor does it recognize the fact that peasants often find ways to enter and leave the market economy and to resist its pernicious influences. Within this perspective, *capitalism* and *the market* are used as if they were synonymous, overlooking the fact that markets existed long before capitalism.[13] Some recent Latin American studies have reasserted the existence of large colonial and postcolonial markets, describing them without necessarily referring to the concept of capitalism and even positing the notion of an "internal colonial market" or an "internal market with colonial characteristics."[14] The second per-

11. The classic work theorizing on capitalism's intransigent advance in the countryside is V. I. Lenin, *The Development of Capitalism* or *Le Développement du capitalisme en Russie,* in *Oeuvres,* vol. 3 (Paris: Editions Sociales, 1969; originally published in 1899). It contains a similar framework to Karl Kautsky's *Die Agrarfrage* (original German edition, 1899), which was published in Spanish as *La cuestión agraria* (Paris: Ruedo Ibérico, 1972). A diametrically opposite vision is proposed in Alexander V. Chayanov, *Teoría de la organización económica campesina* (Buenos Aires: Nueva Visión, 1974; originally published in 1925). This work stresses the independent rationality of "peasant economies." Chayanov's work became the theoretical foundation of the majority of Latin American *campesinistas.*

12. See, for example, *La participación indígena en los mercados surandinos: estrategias y reproducción social, Siglos XVI a XX,* edited by Olivia Harris, Brooke Larson, and Enrique Tandeter (La Paz: Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Económica y Social, 1988).

13. See *Peasant Cooperation and Capitalist Expansion in Central Peru,* edited by Norman Long and Bryan R. Roberts (Austin: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas, 1978). Despite the diverse opinions of its contributors, this work evinces in part an evolutionary vision of the destructive advance of capitalism in the Andean countryside. For example, Long and Roberts comment that "the maintenance of the 'traditional' organization of peasant communities, based on smallholder farming, can be interpreted as functional for the development of dependent capitalism" (p. 303). A more subtle version of this perspective informs their second work, *Miners, Peasants, and Entrepreneurs: Regional Development in the Central Highlands of Peru* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984). Both studies nevertheless focus mainly on twentieth-century Peru. A more sophisticated framework related to the nineteenth-century central sierra is found in Florencia E. Mallon, *The Defense of Community in Peru's Central Highlands: Peasant Struggle and Capitalist Transition, 1860–1940* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983). See also Nelson Manrique, *Mercado interno y región: la sierra central, 1820–1930* (Lima: DESCO, 1987), which is concerned with the idea of the existence of an internal market. Two recent theoretical interpretations of the interaction of capitalism and the peasantry in other regions have presented differing views. James C. Scott presents the idea of everyday peasant resistance to aspects of political and economic domination. See Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985). Fernand Braudel argues the persistence of peasant production patterns over time. See Braudel, *L'Identité de la France: Les Hommes et les choses,* vol. 3 (Paris: Arthaud-Flammarion, 1986), esp. pt. 2, "Une Economie paysanne jusqu'au XXe siècle."

14. See, for example, Carlos Sempat Assadourian, *El sistema de la economía colonial: mercado interno, regiones y espacio económico* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1982); Juan Carlos Garavaglia, "Un capítulo del mercado interno colonial: el Paraguay y su región (1537–1682)," *Nova Americana* (Turin), no. 1 (1978):11–55; and Garavaglia, "La Production et la commer-

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spective, that of peasant strategic interaction with the market, has merit but risks underestimating the aspects of coercion and constraint that the market could entail for peasants, even those who might manage to use the market for their own benefit.

A third perspective is the more traditional and classical view, developed by anthropologists and some historians in the 1950s and 1960s, which considers Peruvian peasants as completely isolated from market relations, living in autonomous and almost closed or self-sufficient communities and villages that do not depend on the external world. It is precisely this perception of the Peruvian Andean peasant as a "primitive being" that Piel sought to challenge.

The Mining Conjuncture in Nineteenth-Century Peru: Markets and Capitalism[15]

Silver was the main product for most of the century. Calculations for the 1830s show that silver accounted for more than 90 percent of the value of national mining production, which also included gold, copper, tin, mercury, lead, coal, and iron.[16] Only during the 1860s was copper

cialisation de la 'yerba mate' dans l'espace péruvien (XVIe–XVIIe siècles)," doctoral thesis, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 1979. See also Luis Miguel Glave, "Trajines: un capítulo en la formación del mercado interno colonial," *Revista Andina* 1, no. 1 (Sept. 1983):9–76; and Glave, *Trajinantes: caminos indígenas en la sociedad colonial, Siglos XVI–XVII* (Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, 1989).

15. I allude here to the French historical school's famous distinction between *conjuncture* and *structure* and also to the celebrated work of Heraclio Bonilla, "La coyuntura comercial del siglo XIX en el Perú," *Revista del Museo Nacional* (Lima) 35 (1967–68):159–87, taken from "Aspects de l'histoire économique et sociale du Pérou au XIXe siècle," doctoral thesis, Université de Paris, 1970 (2 vols.). Bonilla examines cycles in nineteenth-century Peruvian exports to France and Great Britain. U.S. economist Shane Hunt also has studied these cycles, correcting the trends observed by Bonilla and covering Peru's other trading partners, such as the United States, Germany, and Chile. See Hunt, *Price and Quantum Estimates of Peruvian Exports, 1830–1962* (Princeton, N.J.: Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, 1973); and Hunt, *Growth and Guano in Nineteenth-Century Peru* (Princeton, N.J.: Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, 1973). Responding to Hunt's review, Bonilla discusses his own results (which include contributions from Hunt) in Bonilla, "El Perú entre la independencia y la guerra con Chile," in *Historia del Perú: Perú republicano*, vol. 6, edited by Juan Mejía Baca, 393–473 (Lima: Editorial Juan Mejía Baca, 1980). See also Heraclio Bonilla, "Peru and Bolivia from Independence to the War of the Pacific," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell, 3:539–82 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). Observations on the work of Bonilla and Hunt can be found in Pablo Macera, "Las plantaciones azucareras andinas (1821–1875)," *Trabajos de Historia* 4 (1977):9–307 (published in Lima by the Instituto Nacional de Cultura).

16. José Deustua, "El ciclo interno de la producción del oro en el tránsito de la economía colonial a la republicana: Perú, 1800–1840," *HISLA, Revista Latinoamericana de Historia Económica y Social* (Lima), no. 3 (1984):23–49; see also José Deustua, *La minería peruana y la iniciación de la república, 1820–1840* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1986); Deustua, "Producción minera y circulación monetaria en una economía andina: el Perú del Siglo XIX," *Revista Andina*, no. 8 (1986):319–78; and Deustua, "The *Socavón* of Quiulacocha and the Steam Engine Company: Technology and Capital Investment in Cerro de Pasco, 1820–1840,"

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mining competitive with silver mining, attaining 15 percent of the total value of exports to Great Britain and France.[17] Otherwise, silver dominated Peruvian mining until the 1890s, when copper again became competitive.[18] The transition from silver to copper mining also represented changing from one kind of productive system to another. Silver production involved the extraction and refining of a luxury good or monetary instrument with a high value per unit produced. Copper, in contrast, was an industrial good with little value per unit, which meant that copper had to be produced in large amounts. While silver mining entailed small-scale mining with little technological development, copper mining demanded greater capital investment with more advanced technologies. Concentrating, smelting, and refining copper required construction of true industrial plants.[19] Thus not until the 1890s, with the development of copper mining, can historians speak of the emergence of a mining proletariat, increased proletarianization in the Peruvian central sierra, [20] and greater peasant differentiation. Before the 1890s, a more or less stable system featured a mining economy compatible with the peasant economy.[21]

In previous studies, I have discussed the cyclical evolution of the nineteenth-century Peruvian mining economy.[22] Silver mining peaked in the 1840s when annual production levels reached 580,000 marks (some 131,000 kilograms), valued at five million pesos.[23] This peak was matched

in *Region and Class in Modern Peruvian History,* edited by Rory Miller (Liverpool: University of Liverpool, 1987), 35–75.

17. See Bonilla, "La coyuntura comercial," t. 7. This short peak period in copper mining resulted from an international price increase in copper. See Jiménez, "Reseña histórica," 48.

18. "Adapt, I have told you. [T]hese [scraps of silver] would amount to nothing but a waste of time, money, and patience, all the more so now that you inform me that you have sold your smelted bar at 7.80 *soles* . . . . [I]t would not be surprising if the bronzes of Colquijirca contain copper. This is the best business of the day." Letter dated 23 Apr. 1898, from Manuel Clotet to Eulogio Fernandini, Archivo del Fuero Agrario (AFA), Lima. Serie Algolán, ALG 205. See also Rosemary Thorp and Geoffrey Bertram, *Peru, 1890–1977: Growth and Policy in an Open Economy* (London: Macmillan, 1978), esp. 72–95. Also Deustua, *Mines, monnaie et hommes* 1:140–41 and t. 9.

19. The main industrial projects in the Peruvian central sierra were those of Tinyahuarco and Colquijirca in Cerro de Pasco, Tamboraque in the sierra of Lima, and above all Casapalca. See Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Historia de una industria peruana* (Lima: Editorial Científica, 1978), 107–23. The Backus & Johnston Company, the mining firm that built the Casapalca smelter, had financial assets in 1889 worth 200,000 gold dollars. By 1896 this sum had grown to 800,000 gold dollars. See Archivo Legal de la Empresa Centro-Min Peru (ALECMP), Lima, notarized deed dated 24 Dec. 1896, before the Lima notary, Juan Ignacio Berninzon. A study of Backus & Johnston in Peru can be found in chap. 5 of Deustua, *Mines, monnaie et hommes.*

20. See, for example, Andre DeWind, "Peasants Become Miners: The Evolution of Industrial Mining Systems in Peru," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1977.

21. See Carlos Contreras, *Mineros y campesinos en los Andes: mercado laboral y economía campesina en la sierra central, Siglo XIX* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1987).

22. See Deustua, *La minería peruana,* 32–109; Deustua, "Producción minera y circulación monetaria," 323–26; and Deustua, "The *Socavón* of Quiulacocha," 35–38.

23. These were eight-real silver pesos, which had equal value in most Latin American countries in the first part of the nineteenth century. Their monetary value also equaled the

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only to a lesser extent around 1870, but by then the price of silver on the international market was clearly declining. Around 1890, production volume again increased enormously, but prices were declining sharply.[24] Thus the overall tendency throughout the nineteenth century was stagnation on a national level. Cerro de Pasco mining, however, exhibited growth despite the severe crisis in other regional mining areas like Cajamarca and especially Hualgayoc, Arequipa, Lima, and Puno.[25] These marked regional differences underscore the existence of distinct regional markets. The Peruvian mining economy in the nineteenth century must be understood according to a market logic of parallel but disparate regional markets developing simultaneously. The situation was not a homogeneous, integrated national market, and one must therefore ask whether it can be called "capitalism."

The fact that independent regional markets were still developing weakly imposed a major limitation on the formation of Peruvian capitalism. How could a national economic system exist without the necessary links among different economic regions? In order to develop, capitalism needed to expand and to link one region to another, which was not the case in nineteenth-century Peru. My data tend to suggest that the mining economy in that era, one of the most developed sectors in the national economy, was more a set of autonomous economic regions than a well-articulated national system.

Turning now to the number of mines in nineteenth-century Peru, 1,323 mines were operating in 1790 and 1,876 in 1799, increasing to 2,171 by 1879 but declining to 1,778 by 1887.[26] At this point, 43 percent were located in the department of Junín, 26 percent in Ancash, 9 percent in Cajamarca, and 5 percent in Lima.[27] Cerro de Pasco's dominance in the department of

American dollar until at least the 1870s, and they were exchanged for the pound sterling at the rate of one pound sterling to five pesos. On this subject, see Deustua, *Mines, monnaie et hommes*, 2:634–745. See also Carlos Camprubí, *Historia de los bancos en el Perú (1860–1879)* (Lima: Talleres Gráficos de la Editorial Lumen, 1957); and Eduardo Dargent C., *El billete en el Perú* (Lima: Banco Central de Reserva del Perú, 1979).

24. Carlos P. Jiménez, "Estadística minera en 1915," entire issue of *Boletín del Cuerpo de Ingenieros de Minas del Perú* (Lima), no. 83 (1916). See also *Boletín del Cuerpo de Ingenieros de Minas del Perú*, no. 14 (1903):28. For other sources, see Antonio Mitre, *Los patriarcas de la Plata: estructura socio-económica de la minería boliviana en el Siglo XIX* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1981), p. 26, t. 1.

25. Deustua, *La minería peruana*, 55–109. On Cajamarca in the second half of the nineteenth century, see Lewis Taylor, "Main Trends in Agrarian Capitalist Development: Cajamarca, Peru: 1880–1976," Ph.D. diss., University of Liverpool, 1980.

26. See *Matrícula de los mineros del Perú, 1790*, edited by John R. Fisher (Lima: Seminario de Historia Rural Andina, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1975), esp. 2–33. See also "Estado de la industria minera según el empadronamiento," *Anales de la Hacienda Pública del Perú (1821–1889)*, edited by Emilio Dancuart and J. M. Rodríguez, 17:95–96 (Lima: Imprenta de La Revista, 1902–1926); also Ministerio de Hacienda, *Padrón General de Minas de 1887* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1888).

27. Ministerio de Hacienda, *Padrón General de Minas de 1887* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1988). My doctoral thesis focuses on this and other "padrones de minas" (mine censuses). See Deustua, *Mines, monnaie et hommes*, 1:155–68, 1:200–230.

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Junín is evident, but the other figures show that diverse mining centers sprang up in different regions of the country, illustrating once again the existence of various and autonomous regional markets where individuals and products converged.

The Mining Market of Goods and Productive Inputs

Figures on registered silver production in the official smelting houses up to 1834 show that the production of the more than 1,000 mines moved toward seven regional urban centers: Cerro de Pasco, Trujillo, Lima, Puno, Arequipa, Tacna, and Ayacucho.[28] This pattern facilitated designing channels for exchanging silver from the mining centers with smelting centers and thus establishing a series of regional circuits.[29] As for the circulation of the labor force, in 1799, 2,470 mining workers were employed in Cerro de Pasco, 920 in Huarochiri (Lima), 882 in Hualgayoc, and 632 in Huallanca. By 1827, 2,428 miners were working in Cerro de Pasco.[30] The national total in 1878 was 5,071 mining workers and 9,651 in 1905.[31] These statistics have led historians to estimate that mine workers and their families totaled some 4 percent of the country's peasant-dominated population. But mining centers like Cerro de Pasco, Hualgayoc, and Lampa in Puno also became important nodes of product exchange. These centers drew an array of Peruvians: merchants, mule traders, service providers, wanderers, travelers, and workers. As a result, markets of goods and labor developed in these mining centers.[32]

At the Cerro de Pasco market in the central plaza of Chaupimarca in the late 1830s, one could have found

potatoes and *alcaser* [green barley straw], the main products of Quinoa; but although its pastures are good, the temperature is too cold to produce corn; nev-

28. See Mariano Eduardo de Rivero y Ustáriz, "Razón de los marcos fundidos en la callana de Pasco, en los años que siguen," *Memorial de Ciencias Naturales y de Industria Nacional y Extranjera* (Lima) 1, no. 4 (Mar. 1828):160–66, esp. 164. Also by the same author, *Colección de memorias científicas, agrícolas e industriales* (Brussels: Imprenta de H. Goemare, 1857), 1:225–26.

29. See Deustua, *La minería peruana*, 55–109.

30. See Fisher, *Matrícula de los mineros;* and Fisher, *Minas y mineros*, 196–97, t. 10. See also Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Lima, Serie Minería C-12, expediente 61, "Lista or Matrícula de los Operarios de Minas y Haciendas según las razones que han presentado los mineros del Cerro de Yauricocha en esta Junta de Minas como aparece del libro de su referencia, Cerro, setiembre 3 de 1827."

31. Dirección de Estadística del Ministerio de Hacienda, *Estadística de las Minas de la República del Perú* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1879), 95–154; and Ministerio de Hacienda y Comercio, *Extracto Estadístico del Perú* (Lima: Imprenta del Ministerio de Hacienda y Comercio, 1931–1933), 134. There were 21,480 mining workers in 1915, 32,321 in 1929, but only 14,408 in 1933.

32. This symbiosis among mining centers, markets of goods, and labor market is exemplified by Oruro in Bolivia. See Liliana Lewinsky, "Les Places marchandes d'Oruro: Strategies commerciales et rapports de pouvoirs (XVIIIe–XXe siècle)," doctoral thesis, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 1987.

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ertheless, a league or two away, in a village called Cajamarquilla, the wheat grows, although in small quantities because there is little arable land. Here there are many small, carefully tended gardens, from which onions, cabbage, lettuce, and flowers for churches and chapels are taken and sold in the Pasco market, which throughout the year is well-supplied with a variety of fruits [and] full of good fresh meat and other provisions in abundance that come from the warm and temperate valleys, lakes and plains surrounding the mines.[33]

Among the consumer goods sold at these markets were cereals (corn and wheat), tubers (potatoes), vegetables (onions, cabbages, lettuce), fruits, flowers, and meat. Clearly the goods available provided the basic Andean diet (based on corn, potatoes, and *charqui*) as well as a European-style diet. Magdalena Chocano researched the *alcabala* of Cerro de Pasco from 1782 to 1819 and has quantified its consumer products, constructed a production geography, and detailed the commerce bound for Cerro de Pasco.[34]

Despite some methodological difficulties, Chocano's studies are the best available on the regional commerce (and market) of Cerro de Pasco around the turn of the nineteenth century. According to her data, 45 percent of the goods entering Cerro de Pasco were textiles, mostly European materials that had been imported through Lima; 31 percent were foodstuffs, and 10 percent were mining-related supplies and equipment. Lima served as the great product distribution center, with 82 percent of the goods entering Cerro de Pasco passing through the capital city. But less than half of the goods entering the provinces of Ica and Nazca originated in Lima, and only 30 percent of those entering Jauja. Thus the significant commercial connection linking Cerro de Pasco and Lima was attenuated in the bordering provinces. The 18 percent of goods arriving at Cerro de Pasco that did not pass through Lima came from the valleys and districts of Ica, Nazca, Chancay, Cajatambo, Huaraz, Huaylas, Conchucos, Huamalíes, Huánuco, Tarma, Huancayo, Jauja, Huamanga, Huancavelica, Cuzco, Andahuaylas, Puno, and Lambayeque, and all the way from Salta in Argentina. This trade represented an average annual value of 56,000 pesos.

Hence the Cerro de Pasco products and input market originated from twenty different points. How much of it resulted from peasant production? Clearly, an internal market existed that was organized around

33. See Archibald Smith, *Peru as It Is: A Residence in Lima and Other Parts of the Peruvian Republic* (London: printed by Samuel Bentley, 1839), 9–10.

34. In considering the *alcabalas* (colonial tax records), Chocano's studies do not take into account basic consumer products that were not subject to colonial taxation, such as flour, bread, corn, and potatoes. Consequently, *aguardiente de uva* (grape liquor) is listed as the most popular consumer good in the section on "foodstuffs and related goods." Similarly, according to her data, the regional commerce of Cerro de Pasco totaled 282,000 pesos in 1819, while the regional mining output the same year was 1,523,000 pesos. This comparison suggests that Chocano's data register only a small portion (18.5 percent) of the real trade in the area. See Magdalena Chocano, "Comercio en Cerro de Pasco a fines de la época colonial," thesis, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima, 1982; see also Magdalena Chocano, "Circuitos mercantiles y auge minero en la sierra central a fines de la época colonial," *Allpanchis* 18, no. 21 (1983):3–26 (published by the Instituto de Pastoral Andina in Cuzco).

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mining production and absorbed a large portion of peasant production. Magdalena Chocano has valued the goods that Lima merchants and other regional power groups brought to the market in Cerro de Pasco at 300,000 pesos per year. My data suggest that peasant production bound for this market had an equal or greater value.

Some goods bound for Cerro de Pasco came from as far away as Salta in northeast Argentina, although this long-distance transport was controlled by large-scale muleteers (such as the well-known Otero and Olavegoya families or the less-known Del Valle family).[35] But peasant production and peasant control of the trade networks were certainly stronger at the local level. They brought potatoes, corn, and poultry to the local market of Cerro de Pasco. For example, in 1889 an engineering student from Lima observed about the market of the Huarochiri mines located between the indigenous village of Chicla and the mining center of Casapalca: "The items coming from the interior are generally driven by their Indian owners or carried by others for commission. The second case is rarer, for it is not possible to have confidence in those who, for lack of education or custom, cannot think for themselves. These articles include potatoes, corn, cheese, etc."[36]

Ignoring the clear racism of this statement, it is obvious that most of the consumer goods of the Chicla mining market (potatoes, corn, cheese) were produced by peasants. The engineering student also noted that these goods were transported by muleteers (peasants).

My research on the Cerro de Pasco region and the central sierra has turned up additional evidence of this and other regional markets. Between 1813 and 1822, a well-documented series of mule teams operated in an area ranging from Cerro de Pasco in the north to Puquio in the south, some 935 kilometers, transporting and trading in *botijas de aguardiente* (jugs of grape liquor), *fanegas* of wheat, and textiles.[37] For example, small-

35. See Mallon, *Defense of Community*, 45–46; and Manrique, *Mercado interno y región*, 61–64, for the cases of Otero and Olavegoya. On Tucumán mule driver Martín del Valle, who later became a farmer and cattle rancher and the owner of the Casapalca hacienda, see ALECMP, Lima, "Testamento público de Martín del Valle, 10 de setiembre de 1870," Notario Manuel Víctor Morales, registro notarial, fojas 216, Jauja, escríbano Anselmo Flores Espinoza. To get a more precise picture of this long-distance trade with northwest Argentina, it would be helpful to conduct a notary study in Salta or Tucumán like those prepared by Mallon, Manrique, Contreras, and Wilson for the Peruvian central sierra. See also Contreras, *Mineros y campesinos;* and Fiona MacDonald Wilson, "The Dynamics of Change in an Andean Region: The Province of Tarma, Peru, in the Nineteenth Century," Ph.D. diss., University of Liverpool, 1978.

36. Archive of the Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería (AUNI), Lima, Michel Fort, "Informe sobre la mina de San Antonio de Bellavista-Huarochiri," Expedición, enero a marzo, 1889, Estudios 1884–1890, Informe de tesis, 1890.

37. See Biblioteca Nacional del Perú (BN), Lima, Serie Manuscritos Republicanos, Expedientes D9371 and D9372. See also *Colección Documental de la Independencia del Perú* 5, no. 1, docs. 1–28, pp. 1–61, Lima, 1971. Among the latter is the "Cuadernillo de cuentas perteneciente a Francisco de Paula Otero" from 1813.

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scale muleteer Manuel Palacios traded bolts of wool and cotton textiles (known as *jerga, bayetón, tocuyo,* and *maon*), shoes, ponchos, and screws. On one trip, he spent 168 pesos and took in 83, a deficit that left him dependent on the owner of a larger mule team, Francisco de Paula Otero.[38] This well-documented figure, a participant in Peru's drive for independence, provided goods to a circuit radiating from his hometown of Tarma, his center of operations. This trading area included the coastal valleys of Pisco and Ica, where he obtained his main trading goods (grape liquor and wheat), and Cerro de Pasco, where he sold his jugs for the key circulating commodity of silver metal or coins. Otero's annual capital flow has been calculated at 52,500 pesos, and part of his business was undoubtedly conducted with peasants who were farmers or transporters (like Palacios).[39] It should also be noted that much commerce, especially local and interregional trade, was transported by llamas, animals that were usually raised in peasant communities.

Thousands of jugs of grape liquor and hundreds of fanegas of wheat going to the Cerro de Pasco mining center clearly represent large-scale merchants organizing trade based on exchanging hacienda products, a scale of commercial activity beyond the reach of peasant-merchants. But peasants also participated in these trade networks by providing pack animals (mainly llamas), some consumer goods (such as the wheat grown by small producers in the valleys of Ica and Pisco), and crafts (hats, silverwork, and the like) and in transporting products carried by peasant muleteers and carriers. Thus a connection clearly existed between the central axis of large-scale commerce (carried out by large merchants trading goods produced on haciendas) and its auxiliary branches (small-scale or intraregional trade, based in local markets and conducted by peasants via peasant networks).[40] Generally the connection consisted of the auxiliary branches depending on the central axis. Much of the activity in these auxiliary branches was peasant commerce in goods produced by peasants.

For example, I found that in 1828 a peasant *colono* of the Matuchaca

38. "Cuadernillo de cuentas perteneciente a Francisco de Paula Otero," *Colección Documental de la Independencia del Perú* 5, no. 1, pp. 4–5, Lima, 1971.

39. See also "Cuadernillo de cuentas pertenecientes a Don Francisco de Paula Otero, Huancayo, 17 de abril de 1816" in *Colección Documental de la Independencia del Perú* 5, no. 1, pp. 12–15. I have calculated his annual capital flow based on data contained in his two "cuadernillos." See Deustua, *Mines, monnaie et hommes,* 1:270–97.

40. It is important to deal here with the question of the local and regional fairs. A series of local fairs held throughout the region clearly involved peasants. These fairs can even be conceptualized as occasional peasant markets. On the most famous fair of the central sierra, see José María Arguedas, "Estudio etnográfico de la feria de Huancayo," in *Dos estudios sobre Huancayo* (Huancayo: Cuadernos Universitarios de la Universidad Nacional del Centro del Perú, 1977). For the southern sierra, see Gordon Appleby, "Exportation and Its Aftermath: The Spatial Economic Evolution of the Regional Marketing System in Highland Puno," Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1978; Orlove, *Alpacas, Sheep, and Men,* esp. 146–53 and 155–73; and Burga and Reátegui, *Lanas y capital mercantil,* esp. 93–98. The last two sources discuss the wool trade.

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hacienda in Canta traded fruit and animal fodder between Cerro de Pasco and Tarma, passing through the hamlet of Pasco.[41] In the same district, Obrajillo was known as a village of peasant muleteers.[42] The village of Yauli played a similar role. According to the 1883 *Registro Cívico del Distrito,* among 300 heads of households in the village, the largest number were day laborers in the mines (77) and muleteers (68). These colonos' lives revolved around the mining economy: some formed part of the seasonal or temporary labor force, others transported goods or worked as small merchants carting products to and from the mines and carrying silver to other areas and urban centers. The third important group in the village of Yauli in 1883 consisted of sheepherders (57 heads of households) and animal breeders (another 57), occupations complementing the animal transport activities in the region. The village elite was composed of large interregional merchants (18 family heads) and mine owners (8).[43] Another example was the peasant community of Yanacanchilla in Cajamarca, not far from the mining center of Hualgayoc, where the main economic activities were farming, animal tending, and animal transport.[44]

Commenting on the economic contribution of communities and peasant villages like these, engineering students Julio Avila and Ulises Bonilla wrote in their 1889 research report on the mines of Parac and Colquipallana, "the only kind of easily obtainable animal transport is that of llamas" offered by peasants: "for the mules and donkeys, one has to go to neighboring places."[45] One might call this peasant contribution to the mining economy utilization of a "comparative advantage" in the sense that it became the most suitable (and cheapest) method of supplying foodstuffs and local transport.

Productive inputs in mining, as I have shown elsewhere, consisted primarily of mercury, salt, explosive powder, timber, and rocks. Between 1820 and 1840, mercury accounted for more than 13 percent of the total annual value of Peruvian mining production. Expenditures on salt equaled 10 percent of Cerro de Pasco's gross mining product in the same time period, while 3 to 3.7 percent of capital expenses went to buy explosive powder, which was used in building the *socavón* (shaft) of Quiulacocha in Cerro de Pasco.[46]

41. AGN, Lima, Sección Histórica del Ministerio de Hacienda (SHMH), Serie Documentos Particulares, PL 8, n. 203, 1828, "El Prefecto del Departamento de Junín acompañando el expediente."

42. Juan Jacobo von Tschudi, *Testimonio del Perú, 1838–1842* (Lima: Consejo Económico Consultivo Suiza-Perú, 1966), 269–70.

43. Archivo de la Dirección Regional de Minería de Huancayo (ADRMH), Huancayo, Registro Cívico del Distrito de Yauli, 1883, pp. 13–24.

44. AUNI, Lima, José Antonio Araoz, "Excursión a Hualgayoc," May 1889, thesis no. 25.

45. AUNI, Lima, Julio C. Avila y Ulises Bonilla, "Excursión a las minas de Parac y Colquipallana," 11 Mar. 1889, thesis no. 13 (17), 1884–1889.

46. See Deustua, *La minería peruana,* 168–89; also Deustua, "The *Socavón* of Quiulacocha," 40–63.

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Peasant contribution to this sector was less significant than in the markets of primary consumer goods, crafts, and transport of animals and merchandise in regional trade. As the market became more complex and the products exchanged required increased capital investment, peasant participation diminished. Among the more complex sectors of productive inputs, peasants were involved significantly only with salt.

The San Blas salt mines near Cerro de Pasco illustrate this form of peasant participation in input markets, along with its vulnerability. Until 1887 these mines belonged to the peasant community of Ondores and produced salt used for silver refining or miners' domestic consumption. Another portion of the salt trade, perhaps the largest one, came from the salt deposits of Huacho on the Peruvian coast.[47] But in March 1887, "control of some salt deposits located in the pastures of Patococha Hill in the district of Ondores was given by Mining Director Don Felipe Guerra to Don Daniel Useta of Lima." Similarly, "other salt deposits located in the same place were granted to Don Grimaldo del Solar, Agustín Tello, Amadeo del Solar, and Belisario Harate, and given the names San Antonio, San Pedro, San José, and Santa Rosa, all located in the pastures of Patococha Hill, district of Ondores."[48] Thus the Indian peasant community lost control of a strategic resource—first to regional investors and eventually to Agustín Tello, who was later to become "the richest man in the department of Junín."[49]

Encroachment onto Ondores holdings was not a new phenomenon. Some years earlier, "the [mining] interests of the Pato-cocha company" had settled on the southern border of the peasant community.[50] Until 1887, however, the peasant community managed to control part of the salt trade with Cerro de Pasco and other mining zones. After that point, other private interests took over the remaining salt business from the peasants.[51]

Although peasant economic participation in productive inputs was not as significant as in consumer goods and animal transport, it was not

47. John R. Engelsen, "Social Aspects of Agricultural Expansion in Coastal Peru, 1825–1878," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1977, 183–85.

48. ADRMH, Huancayo, Tomás de Razón de Amparo de Minas, 1885–1887, folios 30 and 30v, "Amparo, Yauli, Marso cinco de 1887."

49. Pedro Dávalos y Lisson, *¿Por qué hice fortuna?*, 2 vols. (Lima: Imprenta Gil, 1941–42), 2:9. See also Carlos Contreras, "Mineros, arrieros y ferrocarril en Cerro de Pasco, 1870–1904," *HISLA, Revista Latinoamericana de Historia Económica y Social* 4 (1984):3–34, esp. 5–6.

50. ADRMH, Huancayo, Tomás de Razón de Amparo de Minas, 1885–1887, folios 30 and 30v., "Amparo, Yauli, Marso cinco de 1887."

51. Agustín Tello at some point ended up monopolizing the salt trade after capturing the market from the other suppliers who had to cover long distances and pay higher transportation costs, especially on the salt deposits at Huacho. Around 1891 Ismael Bueno, representing several mine owners and salt traders, proposed that the salt trade with Huacho use the central railroad route. See Ismael Bueno, "Asiento del Cerro de Pasco," in *Boletín de Minas, Industria y Construcciones* (Lima) 6 (1891), t. 6, Escuela Especial de Ingenieros de Lima.

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negligible. This situation allows the hypothesis that silver mining (which was traditional and rather artisanal) was more bound up with the peasant economies, whereas copper mining (more capital-intensive and technologically advanced) tended to break down the peasant productive system, diminishing peasant market participation as producers and transporters and even appropriating their resources. Consequently, the shift to copper mining in late-nineteenth-century Peru initiated a process of proletarianizing peasant labor while industrializing mining production. These changes led to institutionalization of the input goods market through modern enterprises.

The Peasant Population

Much of the explanation for the enormous peasant participation in the market, especially in goods and transport, lies in an evident demographic fact: most of the Peruvian population lived in the countryside. According to the 1876 census, of the total population of 2,670,000, only 6 percent lived in population centers larger than 20,000 inhabitants, and only 16.9 percent in towns of more than 2,000. Thus when this second indicator is taken into account, 83 percent of the Peruvian population lived in rural areas.[52] Nearly 90 percent of these rural dwellers were peasants. The rest were landowners with large and medium-sized holdings, local officials, artisans, small traders, and storekeepers. Hence most of the rural economic activity was peasant production, which constituted an important part of national income. Yet much of the peasants' economic activity served subsistence purposes, which in turn explains the large role of hacienda production in the market.

A second reason why peasants became heavily involved in the market is that institutions of Indian tribute, such as the *contribución de indígenas* ("contribution from Indians"), forced their participation.[53] Twice a year, Peruvian peasants had to pay more than half a million pesos in silver coins, an obligation that forced them to obtain money by getting involved in market networks. Payment of tribute was also organized collectively according to the structure of the *ayllu*, the community, and the will of local Indian authorities. This turbulent history did not end with the

52. Dirección de Estadísticas, *Censo general de la República del Perú formado en 1876* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, 1878), 7 vols. and *Resumen general*. See also Centro de Estudios de Población y Desarrollo, *Informe demográfico del Perú* (Lima: Centro de Estudios de Población y Desarrollo, 1972), 50–61. In addition to the census, I have also consulted Héctor Maletta, "Perú, ¿país campesino?" *Análisis: Cuadernos de Investigación* (Lima), no. 6 (Sept.–Dec. 1978):3–51, esp. 11, t. 1; and Clifford T. Smith, "Patterns of Urban and Regional Development in Peru on the Eve of the Pacific War," in *Region and Class in Modern Peruvian History*, edited by Rory Miller (Liverpool: University of Liverpool, 1987), 77–101, esp. 81, t. 4.1. Both works arrive at the same population estimates.

53. See, for example, Christine Hünefeldt, "Poder y contribuciones: Puno, 1825–1845," *Revista Andina* 7, no. 14 (1989):367–407.

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liberal revolution of 1854–1855 and the decrees of Ramón Castilla, as has traditionally been assumed,[54] but lasted throughout the nineteenth century.

Recent studies have also shown that the majority of peasants lived outside the haciendas, countering the view derived from Piel's work of haciendas completely dominating the rural physical and social landscape in what he called "neo-latifundism." Pablo Macera has used the 1876 census to estimate that 27 percent of the rural population lived on haciendas,[55] leaving 73 percent living beyond them. Carlos Contreras has estimated the total population living in haciendas in the central sierra at that time at a mere 8 percent.[56] Similarly, José María Caballero wrote recently, "one of the most widespread images about land is that before the agrarian reform [of 1969]. . . , the useful land was highly concentrated in the hands of large landholders . . . ; however, it is an exaggerated image [that is] not supported by available statistical evidence. There was then—and is now—concentration of lands in the sierra, but much less than was commonly assumed."[57] Lewis Taylor's studies of Cajamarca, like Nils Jacobsen's of Puno, similarly reveal that land concentration in the hands of *hacendados* was less than traditionally believed.[58] The presence of peasant communities, with significant landholdings and linked to the market, continued until the twentieth century, despite the obvious advances of the haciendas in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Other indicators of peasant presence in Peruvian national life are the separate language, size, and degree of cultural independence characterizing the Andean peasant population. The ability of Peruvian peasants to maintain a certain linguistic autonomy suggests their strategic relations with the larger society and economy: they were involved without being overwhelmed by the mestizo, Spanish-speaking society surrounding them. At least three-fifths of the nineteenth-century Peruvian population did not even speak Spanish. Verbal contacts required for exchange were conducted mainly in Quechua. Yet Quechua never became the lingua franca of the republic, as did indigenous languages in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Paraguay. For example, in nineteenth-century Peru, Ayacucho-Chanca Quechua and Cuzco Quechua shared common linguistic traits but were not linked to Wanka Quechua, the language of the central sierra, or to the

54. For recent works on Indian tribute, see ibid. and Carlos Contreras, "Estado republicano y tributo indígena en la sierra central en la post-independencia," *Histórica* (Lima) 13, no. 1 (July 1989):9–44. See also William W. Stein, *El levantamiento de Atusparia* (Lima: Mosca Azul, 1988), esp. 58–67.

55. Pablo Macera, *Población rural en haciendas peruanas, 1876* (Lima: Seminario de Historia Rural Andina, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1974). See also Macera, "Las plantaciones azucareras andinas," esp. 281.

56. Contreras, *Mineros y campesinos,* 41.

57. José María Caballero, *Economía agraria de la sierra peruana* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1981), 92.

58. Taylor, "Main Trends in Agrarian Capitalist Development"; and Nils Jacobsen, *Land Tenure.*

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languages spoken in Ancash and Cajamarca. Thus Peruvian peasants, despite their partial integration into the market, preserved language barriers that represented true cultural frontiers and showed deep social and cultural autonomy.[59]

The Mining Labor Market

Given the discussion so far, it should not be surprising to find that the labor market for mining was basically a peasant market. Indigenous peasants migrated either freely or forcibly from their rural hamlets and villages to work in the mines.[60] In 1835 the Cerro de Pasco mining director requested "bringing in a community from among some of the adjoining villages and that this should be urged on the governor or village mayor whose people are called up."[61] In 1889 engineering students Celso Herrera and Felipe Coz made a similar observation about the Huarochiri mines:

> Nowadays almost all the mines, and among them the Rayo, have agents in Jauja, Huancayo, Tarma, whose goal is to hook (*enganchar*) people for work. These agents or recruiters for the Rayo earn a certain number of *soles* for each man they send, equal to the number of months of work they owe the mine operators; they are responsible for escapees, although this happens infrequently because it is known that regulations stipulate that one cannot work in a mine without a report of good conduct from another mine, and one escapee can sour good relations in the place he leaves. But the Rayo mine is not completely dependent on its agents; on the contrary, each day there are fewer and fewer; today only two are employed, one in Jauja and the other in Huancayo, while more than half the workers are not recruited and work in the mine voluntarily.[62]

According to this report, the mining labor market included several categories: "voluntary" peasant laborers, who went to the mines in search of money wages; "hooked" peasant laborers (*enganchados*); and agents recruiting workers. The Huarochiri mines drew on labor from the Mantaro Valley, including the towns of Jauja, Huancayo, and Tarma. Peru in the nineteenth century was experiencing the slow and cyclical creation of a free labor market in the mining sector, especially in the central sierra. The course of development was influenced by the fluctuations noted during the mining era and the gradual transition toward more industrial mining with the emergence of copper mining. This transition became more noticeable after the 1880s, with the influx of foreign capital in the

59. See Alfredo Torero, "Los dialectos quechuas," *Anales Científicos* 2, no. 4 (Oct.–Dec. 1964):446–78 (published by the Universidad Agraria in Lima). See also Alfredo Torero, *El Quechua y la historia social andina* (Lima: Universidad Ricardo Palma, 1974).

60. Contreras, *Mineros y campesinos*, 123–59.

61. Archivo de la Dirección Regional de Minería del Cerro de Pasco (ADRMCP), Libro copiador de notas desde 1832 hasta 1835, Correspondencia, "Comunicación de la Diputación de Minería del Cerro de Pasco al Subprefecto de la Provincia," Cerro de Pasco, 4 July 1835, f. 107.

62. AUNI, Lima, "Excursión a Huarochiri," by Celso Herrera and Felipe A. Coz, Apr. 1889.

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region, particularly from Backus & Johnston Company, which was owned by U.S. immigrants to Peru. The transition toward a more industrial form of mining production drew laborers away from traditional peasant activities, impairing the peasant economies to some degree. Hence scholars must modify the view of the Peruvian peasantry as always interacting strategically with mining markets for the peasants' own benefit.

Thus the mining labor market of the Peruvian central sierra was not completely "free" in the Marxist (or Leninist) sense of the word. It was certainly not a labor market in which one could come and go freely.[63] At times the market was difficult to enter, depending on demand. At other times, it could be difficult to leave due to the web of indebting mechanisms that anchored peasant workers in the mining centers as well as to coercive actions taken to co-opt this labor force.

These aspects of the labor market are illustrated by the Fernandini mines in Cerro de Pasco in the 1890s. There peasant workers were obligated to shop in the *cantina* (mine store), where they ended up spending much of their salary. Close study of the firm's accounting books illuminates this phenomenon in detail. According to these sources, between August and October 1894 (during what some have called the establishment of a "free" regional labor market), the firm's seventy-five workers spent an average of 38 soles per week, whether in the company store or in the mines themselves.[64] Nearly three-quarters of this amount was spent in the mine cantina on consumer goods like coca leaves, salt, and rice. In the four mines (Sacramento, San Antonio, San Rafael, and Dolores), peasant laborers had to pay for their tools and other supplies (like candles, gunpowder, and dynamite). In other words, peasant laborers were required to spend part of their salary in the company store, establishing a kind of forced consumption that tied individual workers to their place of work. Moreover, the prices of goods sold in the company store and especially those "coercively purchased" in the mines exceeded market prices notably. The income resulting from these operations (which might be termed the additional surplus obtained from the workers through these mechanisms of forced consumption) went to the company. Thus the company saved money by paying its workers low salaries, which dropped even lower when cantina and mine consumption was factored in. At the same time, the company secured additional earnings (beyond those derived from mining activities) by buying goods at lower prices and selling them to its captive consumer-employees at higher cost.

63. I owe this idea to Ruggiero Romano. See Romano, "Sens et limites de l'industrie minière en Amérique espagnole du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, no. 59 (1970):129–43. See also Romano, "American Feudalism," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 64, no. 1 (Feb. 1984):121–34.

64. AFA, Lima, Serie Algolán, ALG 203-1, Libro de gastos de la mina Peregrina, 130 ff. First volume, 1894.

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Hence mining enterprises in Peru at the end of the nineteenth century (at least in the Fernandini mines) employed several coercive mechanisms as well as free-market means to save costs and reap additional earnings. The Indian peasant laborers were tied to the enterprise through social relationships that were clearly atypical of a free labor market. For instance, mine workers paid part of what should have been the company's capital costs in being required to provide their own work supplies and to buy them at the company store at inflated prices with their own salaries.

These kinds of coercive mechanisms were giving way to even more impersonal ones. By 1894 the birth of a new "free" labor proletariat was visible, as reflected in the comment of engineering students Herrera and Coz that in the Huarochiri mines, "more than half the workers are not recruited and work in the mines voluntarily." But by the end of the century, Cerro de Pasco remained a more traditional mining area than Huarochiri, where railroad networks had been established in the 1870s. This development explains the modernity of Backus & Johnston in comparison with the backwardness of the Fernandini mines.

Finally, company records reveal various aspects of the organization of the Fernandini enterprise, which also included huge pastoral haciendas that at their peak encompassed 420,000 hectares.[65] The Sacramento and Dolores mines were operated more consistently throughout the year than were San Antonio, San Rafael, and Santa Catalina and provided steadier incomes for their workers. Spending by workers in the *cantinas de minas* was also more continuous at Sacramento and Dolores. Workers were shifted from mine to mine according to the productivity and quality of ores being mined, but their spending in the cantina on necessities continued at the same rate. Usually the balance between income and expenditures for a *peón enganchado* (a recruited unskilled peasant laborer) ended up in the negative column, forcing him to keep working in the mines, on the haciendas, or in the hacendado's house as a servant (*pongo*). Thus manipulation of mine workers' salary and spending created dependent relations in the workplace that went beyond typical arrangements based on a free work contract. It also led to clientelistic relations between overseers (*mayordomos de la mina*) and their crews, relationships that might have started in the peasant village or during the *enganche* process. The overseer could be the same person who had organized the recruitment network (the *enganchador*), an agent of that same network, the economic guarantor (*fiador*), or a powerful *compadre* in the peasant villages.

In these kinds of social relationships, a bond of personal depen-

65. Juan Sánchez Barba, "La vía terrateniente y campesina de desarrollo capitalista en la sierra central: el caso de Cerro de Pasco," in *Campesinado y capitalismo*, 147–234 (Huancayo: Instituto de Estudios Andinos, 1979). On the expansion of the Fernandini haciendas, see 165–66.

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dence developed that was reminiscent of the colonial era, when the *capitán de minas* would take members of his peasant community to work in the mining centers, or the colonial *kuraka* would establish clientelistic relationships with his subordinates.[66] Moreover, clear ethnic cleavages existed among the different social groups that worked or held positions of authority in the mining centers. The peasants-cum-miners did not speak the same language as the mine owners or their overseers. In the Fernandini mines, the overseers were Spanish-speaking mestizos while the mine owners belonged to a white Italian immigrant family that had become part of the Peruvian elite.

The practice creating these labor relations was the enganche. Begun in the colonial era (Macera traced its origin in the eighteenth century to the expansion of the Jesuits' haciendas),[67] it was designed to furnish the haciendas with Indian labor. In the second half of the nineteenth century, especially after the War of the Pacific (1879–1884), this practice stressed coercive action in controlling the peasant labor force. The enganche served two purposes: to create a "free" labor market in the mines and to separate agrarian producers from their most valuable means of production and life, the land.

Peruvian peasants nevertheless developed strategies to resist proletarianization. Although included in the market as subordinates, peasants sought this inclusion, attempting to keep one hand in the market and the other hand free of it. They also tried to earn money wages without becoming fully committed to the exploitative aspects, to retain some independence while being forced to stay on.[68] The market was thus an arena of power struggles.

It is therefore easy to understand peasant laborers' constant mobility. They came and went, attempting to enter or leave the mining market, shifting from one place to another. They participated in the labor market or avoided it, depending on their own production schedule, cultivation of their crops, care of their animals, and their survival strategies. These

66. On the *capitán de minas*, see John V. Murra, "La correspondencia entre un capitán de minas y su apoderado en Potosí," *Historia y Cultura* (La Paz), no. 3 (1978):45–58. See also Roberto Choque Canqui, "El papel de los capitanes de indios de la provincia Pacajes en el entero de la mita de Potosí," *Revista Andina* 1, no. 1 (1983):117–25 .

67. Pablo Macera, *Mapas coloniales de haciendas cuzqueñas* (Lima: Seminario de Historia Rural Andina, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1968), p. lxxv.

68. In this sense, it is easy to see how peasant workers ran away from the mines constantly, going back to their villages and their plots of land. In 1835, for example, the mine deputy at Cerro de Pasco reported, "the absolute scarcity of workers (*operarios*), which is experienced during the day, is because they have taken off for the valleys (*ausentado a las quebradas*)." See ADRMCP, Libro copiador de notas desde 1832 hasta 1835, Correspondencia, "Comunicación de la Diputación de Minería del Cerro de Pasco a la Subprefectura," 26 June 1835, f. 106. Even by the beginning of the twentieth century, "the workers stayed only for a few months in the mining towns, going later to their villages of origin." See Alberto Flores Galindo, *Los mineros de la Cerro de Pasco, 1900–1930* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1974), 61.

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strategies did not always succeed, and peasants sometimes found themselves up against coercive mechanisms reflecting and perpetuating the peasants' general subjugation to more powerful social groups. This coercive aspect of the mining labor market emerged more fully as mining activities became more industrialized.

What this picture reveals nonetheless is the existence of an agrarian cycle that continued to be visible through peasant interaction with the mining economy (and with the haciendas). Documents from the Fernandini mines show that the number of peasant laborers going to the mines increased enormously in the fall and winter seasons, a time of rest in the agrarian cycle, while decreasing at planting and harvesting times (from April to August for most crops). This cyclical quality observable in mining demonstrates that the mining cycle was dependent on the agrarian one.

My studies of Cerro de Pasco and other mining zones show, however, that the correspondence between peasant agrarian cycles and the rise and fall in the level of activity in the mines (which varied according to business cycles, the discovery of new deposits and exhaustion of old ones, and other factors) was rare. Rather, a lag generally occurred between the two cycles. This disjointedness led to scarcity or abundance of labor at some junctures. During times of labor scarcity, the enganche and other coercive methods of capturing the labor force became more common.[69]

A Closing Note on Peasants and Power

The Velasco government's slogan "¡Campesino, el patrón no comerá más de tu pobreza!" points to the existence of vertical relations between the *patrón* (from the Latin word for father) and peasant. This facet of the interaction between Peruvian peasants and the mining market has not been considered. In the world of the market, of buying and selling goods and commodities, contacts are established by money and via supply and demand, through a set of values supporting impersonal social relations. Peasants are agents who sell goods and services more than they buy them. But was nineteenth-century Peruvian society merely an array of impersonal relations? Was not the peasant world, the Andean rural world of the last century, more fully immersed in relationships of a personal kind, relationships in which individuals were known by their first names? What kind of relations did peasants have with power in the

69. See, for example, the issues of *El Comercio* in Lima dated 3 Jan. 1856, 8 Jan. 1857, 14 Jan. 1858, and 15 Jan. 1859. This series shows successive oscillations in the production curve that peaked in May 1855, September 1856, August 1857, and July 1858. For a study of this problem and a series of statistical illustrations, see Contreras, *Mineros y campesinos*, 82–108.

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abstract sense—with the power of priests and governors, landowners, local authorities, and *gamonales* (bosses)?[70]

This article has not attempted a full treatment of these questions. I raise them rather as a suggestive final note to show that peasant life and its interaction with the market cannot be understood from a purely economistic vantage point. For reasons that lie outside the bounds of this article, peasants were second-class citizens in nineteenth-century Peru. How could economic agents participating in the mining market economy as suppliers of indispensable consumer goods, mining inputs, and labor force have been excluded from other aspects of Peruvian social and political life? How can scholars explain this duality of the Peruvian Andean peasantry—of being economic agents in the market and at the same time subservient in the national political and social system? Or to phrase the question in terms echoing the theoretical debates discussed at the outset of this article, how does one explain the dual quality of peasant-market relations, with peasants using market access to their own advantage on the one hand and market relations nullifying peasant autonomy and becoming yet another expression of peasant subjugation to the powerful on the other?

The literature on the issue of power in Peru is sizable and cannot be covered here. I will comment only that sometimes the dimensions of power relations have been viewed in a traditional way: sometimes as systems of clientelist politics or as forms depending heavily on cultural background and social values that constrain "progress," with these factors being considered completely independently of material aspects. The Peruvian peasantry has also been analyzed from a behavioral vantage point that emphasizes a change in attitudes and values rather than material or social dimensions.[71] This body of literature could be compared with that produced at the beginning of the twentieth century in the Peruvian intellectual sphere: the analyses of Manuel Vicente Villarán and Javier Prado, which interpreted "Indians" as beings constrained by their traditional customs and lack of education. My understanding of the so-

70. My inspiration here is the theory of power developed in the more historicist works of French philosopher Michel Foucault (less characteristic of his more structuralist studies). For example, see Foucault, *Folie et déraison: Histoire de la folie à l'age classique* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1961); and *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1975). The U.S. edition of the first book, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (New York: Vintage, 1973) is only a brief version of a real masterpiece.

71. See, for example, Richard N. Adams, *A Community in the Andes: Problems and Progress in Muquiyauyo* (Seattle, Wash.: American Ethnological Society, 1959); Allan R. Holmberg, "Changing Community Attitudes and Values in Peru: A Case Study in Guided Change," in Adams et al., *Social Change in Latin America Today* (New York: Vintage, 1960); Eugene A. Hammel, *Wealth, Authority, and Prestige in the Ica Valley, Peru*, Publications in Anthropology no. 10 (Albuquerque: Department of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, 1962); Paul Doughty, *Huaylas, un distrito andino en pos del progreso* (Mexico City: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, 1964); and Fernando Fuenzalida et al., *El indio y el poder en el Perú rural* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1970).

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cially constituted power relations assumes a material dimension as well, but this material dimension itself cannot explain the totality of peasant life. The task ahead for researchers and theorists is to explore the interactions between culture and power as they defined and were in turn conditioned by market activities in nineteenth-century Peru.

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