

Exquisite Slaves

In *Exquisite Slaves*, Tamara J. Walker examines how slaves used elegant clothing as a language for expressing attitudes about gender and status in the wealthy urban center of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Lima, Peru. Drawing on traditional historical research methods, visual studies, feminist theory, and material culture scholarship, Walker argues that clothing was an emblem of not only the reach but also the limits of slaveholders' power and racial domination. Even as it acknowledges the significant limits imposed on slaves' access to elegant clothing, *Exquisite Slaves* also showcases the insistence and ingenuity with which slaves dressed to convey their own sense of humanity and dignity. Building on other scholars' work on slaves' agency and subjectivity in examining how they made use of myriad legal discourses and forums, *Exquisite Slaves* argues for the importance of understanding the body itself as a site of claim-making.

TAMARA J. WALKER earned her PhD in history from the University of Michigan. Her previous work has appeared in *Slavery & Abolition*, *Safundi*, *Gender & History*, and *The Journal of Family History*.

Exquisite Slaves

Race, Clothing, and Status in
Colonial Lima

TAMARA J. WALKER



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
4843/24, 2nd Floor, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, Delhi – 110002, India
79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906
Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107084032
DOI: 10.1017/9781316018781

© Tamara J. Walker 2017

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2017

Printed in the United States of America by Sheridan Books, Inc.

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Walker, Tamara J., 1978- author.

Title: Exquisite slaves : race, clothing, and status in colonial Lima / Tamara J. Walker.

Description: New York : Cambridge University Press, 2017. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016056215 | ISBN 9781107084032 (Hardback : alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Lima (Peru)—Social life and customs—18th century. | Clothing and dress—Social aspects—Peru—Lima—History—18th century. | Blacks—Clothing—Peru—Lima—History—18th century. | Slaves—Clothing—Peru—Lima—History—18th century. | Blacks—Race identity—Peru—Lima—History.

Classification: LCC F3601.9.B55 W35 2017 | DDC 985/.25500496009033—dc23
LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2016056215>

ISBN 978-1-107-08403-2 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

Acknowledgments	<i>page</i> vi
Introduction	1
1 Slavery and the Aesthetic of Mastery	20
2 Legal Status, Gender, and Self-Fashioning	43
3 Black Bodies and Boundary Trouble	78
4 <i>Casta</i> Painting and Colonial Ideation	97
5 Print Culture and the Problem of Slavery	128
6 Ladies, Gentlemen, Slaves, and Citizens	145
Epilogue	165
Endnotes	174
Bibliography	209
Index	226

Acknowledgments

This book has benefited from the support of several institutions and individuals who played instrumental roles at crucial stages. During my PhD studies, the Rackham School of Graduate Studies, the Department of History, and the Latin American and Caribbean Studies Program at the University of Michigan funded exploratory archival trips and regularly subsidized my travel expenses thereafter; the US Department of Education for the Fulbright-Hays DDRA Award funded dissertation research in Peru; and the Ford Foundation not only provided financial assistance during the dissertation writing process but also made me part of a supportive and enduring network of fellows.

While in graduate school, I also had the immense fortune of finding guidance and community at my home institution and when I traveled beyond its borders. To my dissertation chair, Rebecca J. Scott, I am thankful for her example, patience, encouragement, and eye for all manner of contextual, linguistic, logical, and mechanical detail. I also owe profound thanks to Sueann Caulfield, Michele Mitchell, Ifeoma Nwankwo, and Richard Turits, who helped shape the dissertation from conception to completion, and to Rachel O'Toole, whose arrival in Ann Arbor during the final stages of the writing process proved immeasurably fortuitous. I am also grateful to several readers and colleagues from near and far, including Carlos Aguirre, Herman Bennett, Carlos Contreras, Aisha Finch, Tanji Gilliam, Jean Hébrard, Jessica M. Johnson, Brandy Jones, Brooke Jones, Martha Jones, Silvia Lara, Johonna McCants, Stephanie McNulty, Jeremy Mumford, Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, Julia Paulson, Rebekah Pite, Vincent Peloso, Karen Spalding, and Ben Vinson, for their feedback on various components and drafts of the dissertation.

Throughout my time in Lima I have encountered only the most generous souls, including program coordinators, archivists, and researchers. I am especially grateful to Henry Harman, Marcela Harth, and Illa Quintanilla at the Peru Fulbright Commission, as well as to the staff at the the Archivo Arzobispal de Lima (AAL), the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú (BNP), the Insituto Riva-Agüero (IRA), and the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP) for their knowledge of the rich collections and their thoughtful guidance as I worked through them. Special thanks go to Yolanda Auquí and “Don Manuel” at the AGN; to Laura Gutiérrez and Melecio Tineo Morón at the AAL; to Greta Manrique Mondolfo at the IRA; and to Jesús Lopez at LUNDU.

After finishing graduate school and beginning my career at The University of Pennsylvania, I received early support in the form of a Mellon Postdoctoral Teaching Fellowship, a Trustees Council of Penn Women summer research stipend, and a School of Arts & Sciences Research Opportunity Grant, which enabled me to travel to Peru and Spain for additional research. I owe Ann Matter special thanks for showing stunning generosity when she replenished my research fund with a portion of her own. A Career Enhancement Fellowship from the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation provided support for me to take leave from teaching, and the opportunity to join another dynamic community of scholars. The departments of History and Africana Studies, along with the program in Latin American and Latino Studies at Penn, were also sources of both fiscal and scholarly generosity. I am particularly grateful to the History Department for organizing a manuscript workshop on my behalf, and to Kathleen Brown, Susan Deans-Smith, Ann Farnsworth-Alvear, Steve Hahn, Kris Lane, Daniel Richter, and Eve Troutt-Powell for providing close readings of my work. I am also thankful to the Annenberg Seminar in History and the English Department’s Latitudes Reading Group for the opportunity to present chapter drafts, and to the members of the Race and Empire Faculty Working Group at Penn for providing the kind of intellectual home we scholars always want to be part of but

viii ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

rarely encounter. I am particularly grateful to David Eng, Jed Esty, Tsitsi Jaji, Suvir Kaul, David Kazanjian, Ania Loomba, Christopher McKnight-Nichols, Deborah Thomas, and Chi-Ming Yang for their critiques, advice, and friendship over the years.

As was true when I was a graduate student, I have been lucky to find a diverse scholarly community that transcends institutional walls. I would have been totally unmoored as I embarked on revising my dissertation had it not been for the members of my various writing groups, including Michelle Chase, Marcela Echeverri, Anne Eller, Mikaela Luttrell-Rowland, Yuko Miki, Okezi Otovo, Rebekah Pite, Sarah Sarzynski, and Zeb Tortorici, to whom I give thanks for their well-read and thoughtful critiques of my drafts and for the pleasure of their company (in person, via Skype, over the phone, and in spirit) as we all climbed our respective mountains. In addition, I thank the following people and programs for the opportunity to present work in progress: Lee Ann Fujii, Susan Sell, and the IGIS Research Seminar Series at the George Washington University; Rebecca J. Scott and the “Leap on Shore Accompanied by your Scribe . . .”: Cultural Approaches to the History of the Iberian Atlantic and the Caribbean” Collaborative Workshop at the University of Michigan; Frank Guridy and the Department of History at the University of Texas at Austin; Ramnarayan Rawat and the History Workshop at the University of Delaware; Jenny Hirsh and the Maryland Institute College of Art; Daina Berry and the Sexuality and Slavery Workshop at the University of Texas at Austin; Sinclair Thomson and the New York City Latin American History Workshop; Larissa Brewer Garcia, Ashley Cohen, Matthew Goldmark, María Elena Martínez, Yolanda Martínez-San Miguel, Jocelyn Olcott, Shana Redmond, David Sartorius, Adam Warren, and the Tepoztlán Institute for the Transnational History of the Americas; and Ademide Adelusi-Adeluyi, Michael Gomez, and the African Diaspora Workshop at New York University.

It has been a genuine privilege and pleasure to work with Deborah Gershenowitz and Kristina Deusch at Cambridge University

Press. Debbie's early enthusiasm for the project has meant the world to me, as has her encouragement and kind support along the way. I owe additional thanks to the two anonymous readers for Cambridge University Press for their tremendously erudite, constructive, and animating suggestions. I also thank Herman Bennett and Herbert Klein for carefully critiquing drafts of the manuscript, and Kate Epstein, Lyman Johnson, Jennifer Morgan, and Ben Vinson for their generous advice, feedback, and support.

I owe my family more than I can ever repay, and give thanks to my mom, Phyllis, for all that I am and want to be. My sister Tanisha, the most curious and clever of us all, is the reader I considered most often as I wrote. I also thank my grandparents, the late John and Willie Mae, for giving me so much of their love for so much of my life, as well as for the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren who are their best legacy. That Uncle Buddy, Joyce, and Jackie are no longer around to read these words breaks my heart all over again. To my husband, Aaron Gabow, I owe my entire sense of balance and contentment, and I will forever hold dear the patient nurturing (and kind bullying) that pushed me to the finish. And to the rest of my chosen family – Niki Mandler Acosta, Sivonne Davis, Autumn François, Lee Ann Fujii, Patricia and Hal Gabow, Anna Holland Edwards, Brooke Jones, Mikaela Luttrell-Rowland, Stephanie McNulty, Angela Moore, Tenaya and Scott Newkirk, Julia Paulson, and Ellen Scott – thanks for always making me enjoy the world of the living as much as that of the long-dead.