

Index

- criollos*. See Spain and Spaniards
El Comercio (newspaper), 12
Lima por dentro y fuera (poem), 94
calidad, 2, 40
 socio-racial marker, 81–2
casta paintings, New Spain
 Diceño de Mulata yja de negra y español en la Ciudad de Mexico, 101
 Gabinete de Historia Natural, 103
 Indios Barbaros, 102
 contextual details in, 105
 financed by wealthy patrons, 103
 race-mixing process in, 105
 zoology-inspired terminology, 104
casta paintings, Peruvian, 11, 13, 16, 100–1, 106–20, 126–7
 “Chichimec” Indians, 101
 distinction between *casta* painting genres, 127
 facial features and dress in, 106
 imaginings for alternate future possibilities, 126
 importance of, 100–1
 inventory of, 98–9
 pseudoscientific labels, 104
 race-mixing process, absent Spanish women, 105
 transformation from African origins to almost pure, 113
 white marks on women’s temples, 110–12
casta paintings, Peruvian examples
 Español Quarterona de Mulato. Produce Quinterona de Mulato, 109
 Español. China. produce Quarterón de Chino, 119
 Español. Requinterona de Mulato. Produce Genteblanca, 112
 Mulata. con Español. Producers. Quarteron de mulato, 108
 Mulata. Y Mulato producen Mulato, 108
 Negra de Guinea o criolla. Español. Producen Mulatos, 106
 Negro. con Mulata Produce Sambo, 117
 Negros bozales de Guinea. Yden, 106, 117
 Quinterona de Mulato Requinterona de Mulato. Español, 110
 Español. Genteblanca. Quasi limpio de su Origen, 113–14
 Mestizo. con Yndia. Producen Cholo, 117
castas (Indians, Africans, and their mixed-race offspring), 2, 82 See also artwork, See also sumptuary laws and regulations
 attire and weapons of, 32–3
 lawsuits, 45
 ownership of slaves, 32
 shared housing, 67
cofradías (religious brotherhoods), 45
 status conflicts within, 66
criado/a (servant), 130, 132, 142
Diario de Lima (newspaper), 12, 127–8
 articles on owners of slaves, 139–40
 articles on slavery, 17, 135–7
 criticism of lazy slaves, Spaniards as passive victims, 142–4
 runaway slave notices, 129, 131–4
El Amor Duende (saynete, Monforte y Vera), 35–7
 “*la sorpresa no deseada*” the unwanted surprise, 39
El Negro (newspaper), 165
 “Bufonadas”, Afro-Peruvians in embarrassing situations, 166
 “La Esclava Americana”, 170
 Afro-Peruvian characters, 166–7
 anecdote of Dominga and portero, 166–7
 denigration and discrimination of Afro-Peruvians, 166–7
 Rimac River anecdote, 166
Escuela de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 114
exequias (funerary rites in honor of deceased monarchs), 40
Gabinete de Historia Natural, 103

- Gaceta de Lima* (monthly newspaper), 12
 funeral of Señora Doña Rosa de Ilardy y Sabedra, 40
- Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (Jacobs), 170
- La Abeja Republicana* (newspaper)
 appeal to women to “provide an example of virtue”, 148
 Spaniards as “casta maldita”, 152
- Life in Philadelphia* series, Harper’s Weekly, 170
- Mercurio Peruano* (newspaper), 143
 articles on slavery, 17, 135–6
 black as an epitome of disorder, 136
 letter complaining holiday of Corpus Christi costumes, 138–9
 letter detailing bond between his slave and child, 137–8
 Spaniards as passive victims of slaves’ sexual and social predations, 143
- New York Tribune*, 170
- Real Gabinete de Historia Natural* (Royal Cabinet of Natural History), 98, 126
- Slave and Citizen* (Tannenbaum), 171–2
- Systema Naturae* (Linnaeus), 99
- abolition, 3, 6, 146, 164, *See also* slaves and slavery
 “bobalition”, 169–70
- Acapulco, 23
- African descendents. *See also* *El Negro* (newspaper)
cuarterona libre, will of, 83, 86–7
morena libre, will of, 83, 87
 Jim Crow laws and segregation, 172
 mocked in poem by Terralla y Landa, 94–6
 women’s attire, 17, 33–4, 39
- Aguirre, Carlos, 3
- Aguirre, Joseph, mestizo, 124
- Alba, María de, 67
- Alvarado, José, zambo, theft for wife’s clothing, 55–60
- Alvarado, Sebastian de, 56
- Amat y Junyient, Manuel de, 16, 98–9, 120–2
casta paintings and racial purity, 144
Gabinete de Historia Natural, 103
 patron of Peruvian *casta* paintings, 103
 restrictions on mourning dress, 41
- Angrand, Leonce, 154
- Antonio Suárez, Juan, 65
- Arellano, Manuel, 101
 “Chichimec” Indians, 101
Diceño de Mulata yja de negra y español en la Ciudad de Mexico, 101
 focus on wealth of the colony, 102
- Ariola, Ana de, *morena libre*, 83–5, 87
- Armendariz, José de, 20, 35, 37
- artistic tradition
costumbrismo, 18
 depiction of color and status in early-republican era, 156
 dressed slaves identically to masters, 153
 monochrome engraving, 11
 watercolors, 11
 watercolors of daily life in Lima, 159
- artwork. *See also* *casta* paintings
 “A Merry Company on the Banks of the Rimac River”, 127–8
 “Convite al coliseo de gallos”, 162–3
 “El Capeador”, 158
 “En Amancaes”, 159–60
 “En día de fiesta”, 164
 “Esteban Arredondo”, 158
Tapada limeña, 159
- Ascarrunz, Orencio de (notary), 9, 86, 124
- Asempción, María, zamba, 124
- Aspertía, Manuela, parda libre, 86
- attire, 114, *See also* *casta* paintings, Peruvian examples, *See also* sumptuary laws and regulations, *See also* status and attire
saya y manto, 35–7, 95
tapada, 35, 38–9, 95, 157
 extravagant dress of lower class women, 160
- Gil de Castro, army uniform designer, 146
- headscarf, 112
- headscarf, (*tignon*) influence on
 Louisiana, 106, 109, 114, 116–17, 126
- livery, noblemen and slaves, 26–7, 31, 34, 38–9
- military uniforms, 12, 17, 26, 38, 148, 152
- plain shirt (unbuttoned) and cape, 117
- ponchos of plantation slavery, 106
- shoes, indication of labor and status, 59–60
- Spanish men’s sartorial splendor, 117, 120
- Victorian England, 156

228 INDEX

- Balcazar, Agustina, parda libre, 85–7
 Bautista Angel, Juan, Spaniard, 62–3, 70–2
 Bayly, Jaime, 158
 Beluzo, Antonio, 41
 Bennett, Herman, 4, 32
 Bentham, Jeremy, 74
 Berlin, Ira, 4
 Bernardo de Tagle, José, 151
 Betagh, William, 1–2
 Blanchard, Peter, 3, 148–9
 blood mending. *See* whitening
 Blumenthal, Debra, 25
 Bolaños, Manuela, 62, 69
 Bonnaffé, André Auguste, 154
 “El Capeador”, 158
 Bowser, Frederick, 3, 6, 24
 Brazil
 divorce proceedings and slave reputation, 60
 slave rebellion, 8
 Burns, Kathryn, 8

 Cabrera, Miguel, 102
 Calderón, Domingo (jornalero), theft for
 leisure and friends’ use, 65–6, 69–70
 Callao, 56–7, 61
 port near Lima, 22–4
 Calvo, Francisco, negro, 62–5, 69–72
 Camp, Stephanie M.H., 5, 48–9
 Canal, Joachin, *mulato*, 124
 Carabaya, gold mines of, 23
 Carmen, Clementina del, 73
 Carrera, Magali, 101
 Cartagena, 24
 Casal, Francisca, will of, 87
 and manumission of slave Enferma, 89
 Castro, Gil de, “Primer Pintor del Gobierno del Perú”, 146
 Catalina de Espinosa, Theresa, will of, 87
 Cavello y Mesa, Antonio, Spaniard, 129
 Cayetana de Escobar y Barrantes, María, 82
 census groups. *See also* racial identity
 Español/a, 104
 indios and *pardos*, 104
 mestizo/a, 104
 negros, 104
 Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de, 160
 Chachapoyas, gold mines of, 23
 Charles III (king), 16, 21, 98
 Cisneros Sanchez, Manuel, 161

 City of Kings. *See* Lima
 Clay, Edward W., *Life in Philadelphia* series, 170
 Cobo, Bernabé, 32–3
 Colegio Real de San Martin, school’s uniform casaca, 78
 color classifications, 13–15. *See also* racial identity
 Cortes, Petrona, cuarterona libre, 83, 87
 court records, civil and criminal, 6–10. *See also* divorce and annulment proceedings
 cofradías (religious brotherhoods) suits against, 45
 cruel and excessive punishment suits, 45
 slaves and marriage issues, 55
 stealing, motivation for, 10
 use and barriers of litigation, 46
 witnesses under duress, 53
 crimes. *See also* court records, civil and criminal. *See also* Ramos, Juan, *See also* Calvo, Francisco
 cimarronaje (running away) by male slaves, 47
 excuse for imposition of restrictive laws, 75
 José Alvarado theft case, 55–60
 José Orrantía theft case, 63
 Juana Maria Lobatón case, 67–9
 motivation for stealing, 76
 sentences of exile, 33–5, 68, 134
 theft, 43, 47–9, 54
 Croix, Teodoro de, 41
 cultural bricolage, 5

 Dávila, Cayetano, cholo, 67–8
 Davis, Natalie Zemon, 8
 Daza, Francisca Xavier, quinterona de mestizo, 124–5
 Daza, Josepha, 124–5
 Deans-Smith, Susan, 101, 103
 divorce and annulment proceedings
 deception based on dress and racial identity, 78–83
 scrutiny of alleged *chino*, 94
 Dolores de Iturrigaray, María, Spaniard, 67
 Dominga de Loayza, María, 55–7, 60, 62–4

 Echave y Roxas, Pedro Antonio de, 20
 Espinosa, Narsisa de, will of, 90

- families. *See also casta* paintings, *See also*
 Romano, Joseph, *See also* Xavier
 Daza, Francisca
 annulment based on racial identity, 94
 influence of slavery on, 143
 kinship networks, 61–5, 67
 mixed racial status in, 123–5
 mixed slave and free, 121–3, 125
 Pragmatic Sanctions on Marriage law,
 126
 whitening as generational progress, 113,
 123
- Farfán, Marcela, *morena*, 124
 Farge, Arlette, 9
 Ferrer, Ada, 13
 Fierro, Francisco “Pancho”, 11, 18, 158–9,
 164
 “Convite al coliseo de gallos”, 162–3
 “En Amancaes”, 159–60
 “En día de fiesta”, 164
 “Esteban Arredondo”, 158
 elegant dresser, “lujo mulato”, 161
 fashionable dark-hued men and women,
 160
 granted freedom as a baby, 157
 self-taught, 158
- Foronda, Joséf (*mulato*)
 manumission of, 69
- Foronda, Juana, 69
 Foucault, Michel, 74
 Frézier, Amedée, 1–2, 38
- Gage, Thomas, 32
 gentleman, 49–51, 75, 134
 Gómez, María del Carmen, *negra* slave,
 150
- Graham, Sandra Lauderdale, 7, 60, 89, 91
 Granados, Santiago, 75
 Guerrero, Estefanía, *mulata*, 63
- Hall, Kim, 28
 Herboso, Natividad, 67
 Hünefeldt, Christine, 3, 66
- Ignacia de Vargas, María, 67
 independence (1821), declaration, 17, 145
 independence, war of
 Battle of Ayacucho (1824), 146
 declaration (1821), 145–6
 Islas, Andrés de, 102
- Jacobs, Harriet, 170
 Javiera Ramires, María, *quarterona*, 87
 jornaleros (hired out slaves), 3, 24, 44–5, 49,
 65
 José de Asco y Arosteguí, Martín, 68
 José de Sucre, Antonio, 146
 Juan, Jorge, 1–2, 11, 37, 114–17
- Katzew, Ilona, 101–2
 Keane, Webb, 37
 Koyo, Elizabeth Toguchi, 39
- Lacan, Jacque, 75
 Lane, Jill, 169
 lawsuits. *See* crimes, *See* court records, civil
 and criminal
- Lazaro, Petrona de, *negra*, 58
 legislation. *See also* sumptuary laws and
 regulations, *See also* Pragmatic
 Sanctions on Marriage law
 “free-womb” legislation, freeing
 newborn children of slaves, 147
 funerary practices, restrictions on, 41
 headscarf, (*tignon*) influence on
 Louisiana, 126
 restrictions on Spaniards’ dress and
 weapons, 152
- Lima. *See also* Spain and Spaniards
 mining wealth in, 22–3
 naming of (1535), 22
 population of, 3
 Real Audiencia (appellate court), 20, 47
 slaves armed with weapons, 29–32
 Viceroyalty of Peru (1542), 22, 25
- Linnaeus, Carl, 99
 literacy, 16, 149
 Lobatón, Juana María, 67–9
 Lozano, Cristobal, 16, 98
- Madrid, 26, *See also Gabinete de Historia
 Natural*
- Manrique, Clara, 49–50
 Manso de Velasco, José, 41
 Manuel, Juan (*mulato*), runaway slave, 131–2
 manumission
 definition of, 69
 Enferma, slave, 89
 Joséf Foronda, 69
 Joseph Nazaro, letter documenting
 freedom, 121

230 INDEX

- manumission (cont.)
 Maria Josefa de la Soto, 89
 records, 6, 45, 69
 to sick slaves, 89
 will of Juana de Rivas, 89
- María, Ignacia, 50
- Mariano Rodríguez del Fierro y Robina,
 Nicolás, 157
- Martínez, Feliciano, blanca, 123
- Medrano, Mercedes, 157
- Meléndez, Mariselle, 136
- Melis, Mateo, Spaniard, 62, 70
- Mena, Isabel de, 124
- Mendoza y Madero, Victoria, 124
- Mexico City. *See also casta* paintings, New Spain
 capital of New Spain, 22
 slave attire in, 4, 32
- military service
Primera Compañía de Morenos, 150
 portrayal in “En Amancaes”, 159–60
 slave to soldier and freedom, 151
- mines and mining
Cerro Rico (“Rich Hill”) of Potosí, 22–3
 gold mines of Carabaya and
 Chachapoyas, 23
 silver, 23
- Mintz, Sidney, 5
- Miró, Esteban, 126
- Mörner, Magnus, 10
- Nazaro, Joseph, *negrito*, 121–3
- New Spain. *See* Mexico City, *See casta*
 paintings, New Spain
- newspapers. *See also Diario de Lima*
 (newspaper), *See also Mercurio*
Peruano (newspaper), *See also La*
Abeja Republicana (newspaper),
See also El Negro (newspaper),
See also Gaceta de Lima (monthly
 newspaper)
 readership, 135
 slaves and Africans target of racial
 hatred, 144
- Nieto, Francisco, 124
- notaries, 8–9, 12, 69, 81
- O’Higgins, Ambrosio, 12, 41
- Orrantía, José, *negro*, 63
- Ortega, Nicolasa, *cuarterona*, 124
- O’Toole, Rachel, 3
- Oyaque, Jacoba, 67
- Panopticon, 74
- Peralta y Barnuevo, Pedro de, 2
- Peresbuelta, Isabel, 62
- Philippine-Spanish American commerce, 23
- Pino Díaz, Fermín del, 107, 113
- Pintado, Maria Josefa, *morena libre de casta*
chala, 87
- Pizarro, Francisco, 22
- Porras Barrenechea, Raul, 158
- Portugal, African slave trade in, 25
- Potosí, 3
 Cerro Rico (“Rich Hill”), 22
- Pragmatic Sanctions on Marriage law, 126
- Premo, Bianca, 136
- Price, Richard, 5
- Prince of Asturias 21, 98, 121
- Quiroz, Gabriel de, *negro libre*, 84–5, 87, 93
- racial terms, 82, *See also castas*, *See also*
casta paintings
blanco/a, 82–3, 123–4
bozales (African-born blacks), 66, 138–9
chino/a, 13, 80–2, 94
cuarterona libre, 83, 86
Español/a, 81–2
indios, 15, 20, 35, 81–3, 97–8, 104
mestizo/a, 13, 15, 20, 35, 81–3, 97, 104–5,
 124–5, 143
moreno/a, 83, 87, 104, 124–5
mulato/a, 2, 14, 35, 69, 81, 97, 101,
 104–5, 121, 123–4, 132, 139
negro/a de casta congo, 82, 121
negro/a libre, 84, 86
pardó/a, 15, 66, 82, 85–6, 104, 123
quartern/a, 13, 66, 104, 121, 123–4
requinterona de mulato, 104
sacalagua, 104
sambo/a (or *zambo/a*), 13, 55, 82, 89, 104,
 123
 Spaniards as “*casta maldita*”, 152
 subjective and shifting process, 81, 94,
 151
- Ramón Jouve Martín, José, 45
- Ramos, Juan, 43, 51–4, 72, 75
sent to panadería, 50
Camparón, “the distinguished one”, 43
 attire of a gentleman, 134
- Rappaport, Joanne, 83, 104
- Reina, Josepha de, *blanca*, 124
- Reis, João José, 8

- Rimac River, 22, 62, 140
 Risco, Ilario, 150
 Rivas, Gregoria de, 89
 Rivas, Juana de, 89
 Roberts, Helene E., 156
 Rodríguez del Fierro, Mariana, 157
 Rodríguez Juárez, Juan, *Indios Barbaros*, 102
 Romano, Joseph, *quarterón libre*, 123–4
 Rosas, María Antonia, 150
 Rosas, Pedro, negro de casta congo, 150
 royalty. *See also* Charles III (king)
 exequias (funerary rites in honor of
 deceased monarchs), 40
 ceremonies honoring, 32
 colonial officials as representatives, 29
 Pragmatic Sanctions on Marriage law,
 126
 runaway slaves
 appearance changes, 132
 Juan Manuel, 132
 newspaper description details, 130, 132
 passing as free, 93, 134
- Salaverde, Josepha de, 73
 San Martín, José de, 145–6
 Sanchez, Maria, 63–4
 shipping
 Manila Galleons, 23
 Philippine-Spanish American commerce,
 23
 trade routes, 24
 slaveholders
 jornaleros (day laborers), income from, 3,
 24
 complicated intimacies shown in wills,
 90–3
 dressed slaves identically to masters, 37–8
 ignoring sumptuary laws, 21, 30–2, 34–5
 obligations to feed and clothes slaves,
 58–60
 purchases for domestic and other uses, 24
 Sumba (South Pacific) dressed slaves for
 status, 37
 will of Francisca Casal and manumission,
 89
 will of Francisco de la Sota and
 manumission, 89
 will of Juana de Rivas and manumission,
 89–90
 slaves and slavery. *See also* mines and
 mining, *See also* military service,
 See also newspapers
 “free-womb” legislation, 147
 panadería (slave prison and bakery), 50
 abolition (1854), 3, 6, 146, 164
 African slaves, symbolic uses of, 23–5
 behavior scrutinized, 72–6, 93
 connections throughout Americas,
 169–71
 families and, 62–4
 female slaveholder and female slaves,
 27–8, 39
 gift giving and, 66–7
 literacy, forms of, 45
 marriage and, 55–6, 60–1, 67
 newspaper articles blaming slaves for
 poor behavior, 137
 presumptions about laziness, 71, 142
 role in fight for independence, 146–8
 roles in Lima, 3
 secret parties, 48
 women’s role in war for independence,
 148–50
 slaves and slavery, attire. *See also* sumptuary
 laws and regulations
 á la Turque, 27
 elegant self-presentation, 2, 5, 16, 32, 42,
 49–50, 54, 69, 75–6, 146
 identical to slaveholder, 37, 141
 passing as free, 93
 restrictions on mourning dress, 41
 secret parties, women’s efforts for, 48–9
 slaves as discerning customers, 64
 status based on attire, 59
 status symbol, finery and, 21, 25–9,
 31–2
 social criticism, “A Merry Company on the
 Banks of the Rimac River”, 142
 social hierarchy. *See also* status and attire,
 See also *calidad* (quality)
 cofradías restricted to free blacks only,
 66
 attire of gentleman and, 50
 relations between enslaved and free
 African descendants, 66
 social networks, 49
 access to litigation and, 46
 runaway slaves and, 134
 sharing resources, 69–70
 Sota, Francisco de la, and manumission of
 slave Maria Josefa, 89
 Spain and Spaniards
 peninsulares and *criollos*, 2, 15
 quinto real, paid to Spanish crown, 23

232 INDEX

- Spain and Spaniards (cont.)
 influence on New World, 25–8
 post-independence shift in to political term, 152
 slaves as symbols of masculine power, 25
 slaves used in public spectacles, 26–7
 status and attire, 37, 61
El Amor Duende as morality play, 37
 dressed slaves identically to masters in Lima, 37–9
 failure to legislate social hierarchy, 42
 slaves as symbols of masculine power, 38
 Sumba (South Pacific) dressed slaves for status, 37
 Steen, Jan, 142
 sumptuary laws and regulations, 37
 dress of African descendent women (1631), 33
 dress of mulatto or Negro women (1665), 33
 dress of mulatto or Negro women (1667), 33
 dress of negros, mulatos, indios, and mestizos (1723), 21, 35
 dress of negros, mulatos, indios, and mestizos (1725), 15, 20
 failure of, 83–4, 97
- Tadeo Acuña, José, 67
 Tagle, Brigida, 63–4
 Taller, Pedro, Spaniard, 124
 Tannenbaum, Frank, 171–2
 Tardieu, Jean-Pierre, 3
 Terralla y Landa, Esteban de, 94
 Theresa de Solís, María, 89
 Thoribio, 51
 Tristan, Flora, 165, 167
 Twinam, Ann, 104, 151
- Ugarte Elespuru, Juan Manuel, 161
 Ulloa, Antonio de, 1–2, 11, 37, 114–17
 United States
 “outlaw parties”, 5
 comparison to Lima slaves, 49
 WPA slave testimonies, 8–9
- Valencia, 25
 Van Deusen, Nancy, 89
 Vargas Machuca, Pedro de, 55–60
- Ventura Pastrana, Buena, *parta libre*, 87
 Vickery, Amanda, 89
 Vidal, E.E., *Tapada limeña*, 153–4
 Vielakamen, Esther Castañeda, 39
 Villa-Fuerte, Marques de, 139
 Villanueva, Diego de, 11, 114, 116–17
 engraving based on Juan and Ulloa’s journey, 114–16
- Waldstreicher, David, 132
 weapons
 all African descendents prohibited from carrying (1538, 1549), 30–2
 free *castas* arming themselves, 32
 military service and manumission for slaves, 148
 white marks on their temples. *See casta* paintings, Peruvian examples
 White, Graham, 5, 132
 White, Shane, 5, 132
 whitening, 113, 117, 124
 wills, 9–10
 African-descent testators, 86–7
 Catalina de Espinosa, Theresa, 87
 Cortes, Petrona, *cuarterona libre*, 83
 inventory of possessions, 84–5, 88–9
 Josefa Pintado, *morena libre de casta chala*, 87
 manumission, motives for, 90
 manumissions granted, 89–90
 Medrano, Mercedes, 157
 Narsisa de Espinosa, 90
 wardrobe and jewels, 83, 93
- women. *See also* sumptuary laws and regulations, *See also casta* paintings
 African descendents attire, 17, 33–4, 39
 African-descent wives of Spaniards, 34–5
 Africans portrayed as less attractive, 157
 appeal to “provide an example of virtue” in war of independence, 148
 census and, 125
 census data for, 125
 complex status of enslaved, 39
 secret parties, women’s efforts for, 48–9
- Ypinsa, Joseph de, 82–3, 94
- Zaya, Margarita, 43, 51–2, 54
 Zevallos Guerra, José, 20–1, 35
 Zorilla, Magdalena, *parda libre*, 56, 61