

Saving Souls, Enslaving Bodies:  
The Jesuits & African Slavery in Peru, 1580–1650

An honors thesis for the Department of History

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## Note on Terminology

Assigning names to people of African descent in Latin America can be difficult. In this study, instead of categorizing features to fit definitions of “blackness” or “Africanness,” I focus on how people identify with each other. I use “black” to refer to people described in the sources with epithets denoting various degrees of color, or otherwise identifiable as of sub-Saharan African descent. Because most Africans in this study had disembarked from slave ships and the remaining few were the first generation in their family born in Peru, and because we do not know what they called themselves, I do not use “Afro-Latino” or “Afro-Peruvian.” By “slave” I mean a person of servile legal or political status, while “African” serves contexts relating to culture and identity. By “Amerindian” I refer to the indigenous population, though I translate the Spanish “*indio*” as “Indian.”

## Introduction

A message, painted on a chipped concrete wall beside the main square in El Carmen, Peru, greets visitors and residents, in Spanish:

Welcome to the district of El Carmen: cradle and capital of Afro-Peruvian art..., homeland of people rooted in their faith, accustomed to life's struggle, in love with their customs, and proud of their festivals (*fiestas*) and culture. We welcome you.

Next to this wall is more painted script:

### **Hymn of the district of El Carmen**

Beautiful land of great valor,  
black race with great honor (*pundonor*),  
you accumulate pages of glory  
with the message of humanity.  
With you, we bloom every morning  
with the joys of inspiration,  
always moving forward with a firm step,  
with grace and great love.<sup>1</sup>

El Carmen, a district of the city of Chincha, is one of the few towns in Peru where almost all residents claim African heritage. They are among 1.8 million Afro-Peruvians, and they live mainly near the Pacific coast, south of Lima. The welcome messages recall African heritage as a source of inspiration.<sup>2</sup> Searching for roots of this heritage, I study the first generation of African slaves on coastal plantations of the Society of Jesus. Jesuit land holdings, or haciendas, provide a fascinating case study because of the ethnic diversity of the Africans living and working there, the Jesuits' system of forced labor, and the Catholic Church's preoccupation with evangelization.

Jesuit slavery, beginning around 1580, built on a history of black slavery in Peru, which began with the arrival of the first Europeans. Francisco Pizarro brought African slaves during his conquest of the Inca Empire in 1532, and Spanish *conquistadors* carried more as they found gold and silver veins. Slaves were status symbols for Spaniards, but by 1560, their role had evolved

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<sup>1</sup> I translated these quoted passages during my winter 2009 trip to Peru.

<sup>2</sup> For more on the impact of African cultural on Peruvian music and dance, and for a more detailed account of a visit to El Carmen, see Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru*.

from luxury to necessity as wet nurses, field hands, artisans, and dockworkers with an enduring impact on Peruvian life and culture.<sup>3</sup> In their earliest work in the Americas, Jesuits led efforts to baptize the African slaves, operating African missions in the slave ports of Callao and Cartagena de Indias, and preaching to the thousands of slaves on their own plantations. I argue that Jesuit concern for this population's spiritual health enabled blacks to practice African traditions under the auspices of the Catholic Church.

I work to fill a textual gap that Margaret Olsen has identified at the intersection of Afro-Latin history and South American colonial studies. In my secondary source research, I relied primarily on works from the 1960s and 1970s like that of Frederick Bowser, Nicholas Cushner, and Pablo Macera. These scholars provide invaluable data and analysis, but they lack the criticism of recent colonial scholarship that, among other goals, expands the category of text and privileges apertures of gender, race, and ethnicity.<sup>4</sup> By considering Jesuit slave plantations and the infrastructure that supported them, I wish to uncover imperfections of the colonial labor system that, I hope to suggest, contributed to black colonial identity formation and the evolving relationship between blackness and slavery.

By 1650, the Jesuits had established dozens of missions to Africans but also kept more black slaves than any other slave-owner in Peru. Slaves worked on over twenty Jesuit plantations that grew sugar and wine for export and other crops to support themselves and Jesuit colleges in the viceroyalty. The colleges gave members of the order time and resources to write scholarly books, some of which include observations of Africans and moral justification for their enslavement.

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<sup>3</sup> Blanchard, *Slavery and Abolition*, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Olsen, *Slavery and Salvation*, 4.

Jesuit priest Alonso de Sandoval, a focus of this study, for example, justified slavery by arguing they granted access to God that Africans would not have had otherwise.<sup>5</sup> This is unlike many other stories of conquest. The Ottoman Empire, for example, forbore to convert the Jewish, Christian, and polytheistic peoples they defeated in order to enslave and tax them. Most Dutch colonies barred missionaries from plantations. In Peru, lay slaveowners hid their slaves from missionaries, fearing that religious empowerment would turn the “naïve and docile” slave, newly arrived from Africa, into a “sly, lazy, and impudent ladino.”<sup>6</sup> Jesuits worked to “save” the souls of the enslaved.

But the Jesuits were also slave owners who exploited the bodies of the souls they were saving. I consider the order’s seemingly contradictory work on salvation and slavery to better understand the epistemologies of Jesuits working in Peru, and to suggest how missionary motivations affected the daily lives of their slaves. To what extent did concern for slaves’ spiritual wellbeing improve or degrade their physical condition? How did slaves use the Church to resist Spanish colonial authority?

In approaching these questions, I seek what James Scott calls the “hidden transcript” of historical texts, the analysis of which can help us “more successfully read, interpret, and understand the often fugitive political conduct of subordinate groups.”<sup>7</sup> This approach, Scott argues, seeks evidence of nondiscursive resistance, such as retaining cultural heritage in the face of social domination, as opposed to more common interpretations of violently dislocating resistance

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<sup>5</sup> John Thornton shows that missionaries were active in Africa, but Alonso de Sandoval doubted that their work was comprehensive. Thornton, *Africa and Africans*; Sandoval, *De instauranda*.

<sup>6</sup> See Bowser, *The African Slave*, 235. The archbishop in Lima complained to Madrid about lay slave owners’ subversion of their religious mission in 1565. A response came four years later expressing discontent with the progress of slave Christianization in Peru, and the archbishop reported back in 1572 years later that progress was being made. AGI Lima 302, “Archbishop to Crown,” 27 May 1632; AGI Lima 572.21:34, “Crown to Chinchón, 12 August 1634. See also Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la Compañía*, 3:265; Bowser, *The African Slave*, 237; Sandoval, *De instauranda*, 98.

<sup>7</sup> Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, xiii and 17.

like war or rebellion. I use resistance, therefore, to refer to all expressions of African heritage in the face of the colonial authority, particularly including musical performance, crime and sedition, and influences on Christianity. Rosalind Shaw does this work using anthropological approaches. She questions how divination and the work of diviners in Sierra Leone can be viewed as memories of the Atlantic slave trade, contributing to a literature on the “embedding of histories in meanings and practices that are not discursively ‘historical’ in the manner of oral narratives and written accounts of the past.”<sup>8</sup> Resistance, therefore, includes African efforts to engage, blunt, decode, re-code, transform, and redirect Spanish colonial authority.

While following Shaw’s model in Peru, it is important to remember that African conceptions of Christianity were not necessarily only forged in the American colonies. John Thornton argues that scholars do not appropriately credit African and European missionaries working in Africa with introducing elements of voodoo seen in the New World. It is possible that slaves had practice with the forms of resistance I use as evidence before they crossed the Atlantic.<sup>9</sup> But this does not undermine the notion that Jesuits sheltered African traditions. Whether forms of resistance have their origins in Africa or in the New World or a combination of both, the Jesuits still allowed them to peek through cracks in colonial authority. Slaves both imagined and re-imagined their culture in the Church.

I chose the period 1580 to 1650 because it was Frederick Bowser’s, and because it corresponds with the time Alonso de Sandoval worked and wrote in Cartagena. Also, on Jesuit haciendas, it includes roughly the first generation of African slaves. This enabled me to try to connect slaves’ experiences from when they are loaded on ships in Africa to when they land in Cartagena to their work on coastal haciendas.

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<sup>8</sup> Shaw, *Memories of the Slave Trade*, 4–5. See also Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil*.

<sup>9</sup> Thornton, “On the Trail of Voodoo.”

I aspire to write what Shannon Lee Dawdy and others have called a “historical ethnography,” to imagine scenes of everyday life and the personal relationships and experiences that constructed power on Jesuit haciendas.<sup>10</sup> I do this in three parts. First, I survey Jesuit intellectual history and the origins of their missions worldwide. I also reinterpret Alonso de Sandoval’s magnum opus in search of a hidden transcript of African resistance against evangelization. Second, I describe the Jesuits’ continental trade network used to support their slave plantations and to export their goods, with particular focus on the slave port and Jesuit mission at Cartagena de Indias. Third, I describe the Jesuit system of control over diverse plantations and their role in municipal Spanish authority in Lima, with particular eye to the cracks in that control that allowed for black cultural expression. I also show that the Jesuits’ economic motivations helped drive the system of slavery they criticized. I explore this and other paradoxes to question what happened to Christianity when colonists and evangelizers co-opted it in early Spanish America.

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<sup>10</sup> Dawdy, “Building the Devil’s Empire,” 23.



# I.

## **Pragmatic Humanism: Jesuits' Intellectual Foundations & Missionary Work in Peru**

The Jesuits were children of the Renaissance, heirs to traditions of scholastic humanism and committed to learning intricacies of non-European cultures. They wrote early ethnographies of indigenous and enslaved language groups that included grammar texts, critiques of conquered religions, and approaches to missionary work. These were cultural techniques of rule, as opposed to military and economic, that the Jesuits used to evangelize in Peru.<sup>1</sup> Jesuits were often employed to hear confessions of the upper classes at home and on remote frontiers where, to quote Francis Xavier, they served the poorest and “most barbarous” of the world’s people; the order’s wealth linked their worlds. In their missions, Jesuits are deeply involved on the ground but also form something of a transnational habitus of priests, missionaries, and entrepreneurs.<sup>2</sup>

In Peru, Jesuit missions followed the growth of the Spanish colonies, leading to an often-tense relationship between the order and the Crown. Peruvian officials and Dominican priests told José de Acosta in 1572 that they were concerned about the Jesuits’ ultramontanistic privileges, which seemed to place them above the government and other orders.<sup>3</sup> Lay slaveowners also disliked the evangelizing Jesuits, since slaves who were not baptized were seen as more

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<sup>1</sup> Cushner, *Soldiers of God*, 22–23; Cohn, *Colonialism and its Form of Knowledge*, 39. Gauvin Alexander Bailey argues that the lack of consistent architecture on Jesuit churches and missions from Baja to Patagonia is partly due to each mission’s incorporation of indigenous styles, which indicates the same commitment. Bailey, “Jesuit Architecture,” 218.

<sup>2</sup> Alden, *Making of an Enterprise*, 43; Abu-Lughod, *Dramas of Nationhood*, 45. On the foundation of the Jesuit order, see O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*. On the Jesuit expansion into the Americas, see Olsen, *Slavery and Salvation*, 35–43, and Alden, *Making of an Enterprise*, 41–206. On scholastic humanism, see Southern, *Medieval Humanism*, vol. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Acosta often clashed with Peruvian viceroy Francisco de Toledo, who was constant frustrated that the Jesuits used their privileges to run their missions against his will. Burgaleta, *José de Acosta*, 33–34.

obedient and fetched higher prices To avoid the priests, slaveowners would hide their slaves and would convince them that the priests were agents of the devil.<sup>4</sup>

The Jesuits arrived in the Americas well after other major Roman Catholic orders of the time; when the Jesuits were founded in 1540, Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Mercedarians had all been working in the Americas for nearly fifty years.<sup>5</sup> The first Jesuit parties arrived in Cartagena in 1567 and 1569 on their way to Lima. Little appears in the archives about the work of these first two missions, but when José de Acosta requested permission in 1565 to lead the first major Jesuit mission to Peru from Francisco de Borja, Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Acosta said that he wanted “to go to the Indies, but also to work among the Africans.”<sup>6</sup> This shows that the Jesuits were doing some missionary work with Africans as early as 1565. Acosta arrived in Peru in 1572 and stayed for fourteen years.

Acosta was named rector of Lima’s Jesuit college in 1575, and in 1576, he organized the First Provincial Congregation of Peru, a conference on missionary work. Experienced missionaries shared best practices in their work with the Amerindian populations, and Acosta published *De procuranda Indorum salute* (“On restoring salvation to the Indians”) in 1588 to report the conference’s findings, which had a tremendous influence on future methods of collecting ethnographic data on Africans and Amerindians.<sup>7</sup> Acosta writes the following in the prologue:

It is a very difficult thing to treat with accuracy the manner by which to procure the salvation of the Indians because, in the first place, the nations in which they are divided are very different from each other, as much in climate, dwelling, and dress as in intelligence and customs.... Furthermore, the things of the Indies do not remain the same for long, and each day they change state.... The preachers of the gospel should apply very diverse methods and procedures of instruction and conversion.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Bowser, *The African Slave*, 237.

<sup>5</sup> Santos Hernández, *Los jesuitas en América*, 17.

<sup>6</sup> Olsen, *Slavery and Salvation*, 45–46.

<sup>7</sup> Acosta, *De procuranda*, 28.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

The main theme of this analysis is change in Amerindian populations, and the remaining chapters of *De procuranda* list the missionaries' efforts to describe and adapt to that change. Alonso de Sandoval, the Jesuit priest who led the African mission in Cartagena de Indias (see Figure 1), studied the work of Acosta, whose methods proved invaluable to Sandoval's magnum opus, *De instauranda Aethiopiae salute*, or "On restoring salvation to the Ethiopians."

Sandoval wrote during the height of the Cartagena slave trade. He was born in Seville in 1576, the first year of Acosta's leadership in Lima. Sandoval's father, a royal bureaucrat (*contador*) named Tristán Sánchez, moved the family to Lima when Sandoval was around seven years old. Sandoval joined the Society of Jesus in 1593, and he studied philosophy and theology at the San Pablo Jesuit College in Lima. He was sent to his first practice in Cartagena in 1605 at age 29 in the same year the Jesuit college founded its first black congregation there. This coincidence, and his background studying Acosta, directed the rest of his life's work. Sandoval's ministry was responsible for caring for the physical and spiritual wellbeing of the African slaves as they disembarked the ships, and of the 135,000 Africans who passed through the port during his ministry, Sandoval baptized an estimated 35,000. The mission brought slaves clothing, food, and water, and they sought to provide medical attention. The Jesuits also baptized as many slaves as they could, in some cases rushing them to perform the catechism minutes before a slave's death. Sandoval lived in Cartagena until he died in an epidemic in 1652.<sup>9</sup>

#### *Alonso de Sandoval & the African Mission in Cartagena*

Sandoval's *De instauranda* provides an appropriate entry into the realm of critical history and analysis. The treatise — originally published in Seville in 1627 as *Naturaleza, policia sagrada*

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<sup>9</sup> Sandoval, *De instauranda*, 55 and 73.

*i profana, costumbres i ritos, disciplina i catechismo evangelico de todos etiopes* — is the first primary text that provides a historical, epistemological, and cultural sense of the Spanish encounter with African slaves in the New World. *De instauranda* includes four books. The first is a kind of ethnography of the African population in Cartagena, including detailed information on language, culture, and place of origin. The second uses Catholic doctrine and testimonials about the treatment of slaves to conclude they are in desperate need of care and salvation. Book three is a manual for operating other missions to Africans, and book four includes religious justifications for claims he makes earlier in the work.

Sandoval wrote *De instauranda* to humanize the slaves by describing what he had learned from years of missionary work in Cartagena, and to share his ethnography of them and provide a handbook to guide other Jesuits through effective Christianization. *De instauranda* reflects the Jesuit attitude toward slaves and slavery: he simultaneously humanizes Africans while justifying their enslavement. Similarly, the majority of the Jesuits' work was to unite slaves with Christ and alleviate their suffering, not to abandon the practice of slavery. There was, however, an international debate among Jesuits about how to justify slavery that came decades before Sandoval's work. Jesuits in Portugal, Japan, and other missions around the world had struggled with their acceptance of slavery and, understanding the economic advantages of the practice, had already established the moral, philosophical, doctrinal, and legal frameworks to support it.

Sandoval participates in this debate when he discusses the “nature of Ethiopians,” referring to all dark-skinned people, and the several names used to describe them throughout history. He writes that the oldest name is Chus, the Hebrew name for the son of Ham (Cam) in the Old Testament. Later, they were called *étiopes* after the son of Vulcan, as the Romans believed that dark skin came from “burnt faces.” Sandoval then relies on “scientific” evidence, primarily from

Aristotle and Jesuit missionaries, to draw his own conclusions.<sup>10</sup> He analyzes reports of great variations between the appearance of men and their children, concluding they come from the intermingling of species cursed by God:

The black complexion of the Ethiopians did not simply come as a curse that Noah threw on his son Cam. It also comes of an innate and intrinsic quality that God made with intense heat so that his children were left with that tint, the mark of a descendent of a man who had made fun of his father, the pain of his audacity.<sup>11</sup>

Here, Sandoval recognizes ontological differences between races. Furthermore, he argues that “Ethiopians” — the descendents of Ham, “the first servant and slave in the world” — carry the mark of Ham’s punishment in the color of their skin and will forever be slaves.

In making this argument, Sandoval contributed to the natural association between Africa and slavery: by investigating the natural servitude of blacks, Sandoval made the notion of black slaves more familiar to his readers. There is a paradox here, in which Sandoval writes to illuminate the plight of Africans in the New World but instead contributes to stereotypes of their natural slavery. Indeed, most secular and religious leaders in the seventeenth and eighteenth century only appreciated African culture to the extent that it helped them justify the slave trade and reinforce their control over slave populations. Sandoval’s contemporaries, therefore, only used *De instauranda* to learn the Africans languages or to cite his ethnography to argue against the equality of African slaves. For example, Luis de Santillán, a Jesuit leader in Rome, nominated Sandoval for the *cuatro votos*, the order’s highest honor, citing his commitment to serving African slaves, who “suffer more misery than any other men in cruel but necessary ways.”<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Acosta, *De procuranda*, 10.

**Figure 1. San Pedro Claver Church, Cartagena. This church, since renamed, was where Alonso de Sandoval lived and worked. Left: exterior. Right: entrance to the slave infirmary.**



Sandoval subscribes to Aristotle’s view that freedom and slavery are natural states of men, and he accepts enslavement as economically critical to the colony. He knows that the Africans will be treated righteously in the afterlife if they obey their masters and find their way to heaven.<sup>13</sup> By the time the Jesuits had acquired their first hacienda in coastal Peru in 1641, they had no qualms about accepting the estate’s collection of eighty-seven and later employed traders in the slave port of Cartagena de Indias to ship Africans to their haciendas in Peru.<sup>14</sup>

In this light, it is easy to conclude, as D. A. Brading does, that *De instauranda* exists in the lineage of Jesuit apology that works to respond to the order’s critics by proving that “in the New World its apostolic mission encompassed the most miserable and barbarous subjects of the Spanish Crown.”<sup>15</sup> Eduardo Restrepo, however, challenges this reading when he argues that

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<sup>13</sup> Aristotle argued that slaves taken during just war were also justified. Sandoval, however, argued against the *buena guerra* justification because he did not see the conquest of Africa to be just. Brazilian Jesuit António Vieira makes a similar point in *Sermões*, citing Paul on Onesimus. Formal justification came from Rome in two papal bulls by Nicholas V (1454) and Calixtus III (1456) that legitimized enslaving pagans because they could then be Christianized. See Rout, *The African Experience*, 11.

<sup>14</sup> Cushner, *Lords of the Land*, 28.

<sup>15</sup> Brading, *The First America*, 167.

Brading removes Sandoval from historical and intellectual context. In his view, scholars have tended to impose “categories that constitute today’s common judgment” on Sandoval’s text without taking into account the “multiple mediations” through which it must be interpreted, including the time in which Sandoval wrote and how the text was used in its original context.<sup>16</sup> Ronald Morgan’s reading of *De instauranda* locates Sandoval within a tradition of Jesuit writers who developed what Joseph de Guibert called “the missionary aspect in the spirituality of the Society.”<sup>17</sup> Morgan concludes that Sandoval criticized as well as praised his order’s record of pastoral care among black slaves.<sup>18</sup>

I agree with Restrepo in that it is important to see Sandoval within the greater intellectual tradition of Renaissance humanism and slavery that influenced Jesuit thought on the treatment of slaves. Sandoval himself appreciated this tradition when he wrote, “Our founders provided pastoral care for black slaves and so should we.”<sup>19</sup> By beginning with the intellectual underpinnings of the order, he urges Jesuits to find their identity in the teachings of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier, and reminds them that, just as the sun’s rays warm the Earth, so should Jesuit missionaries reflect St. Ignatius.

Other priests found Sandoval’s “scientific” and religious perspectives on slavery helpful in understanding and proselytizing the slaves, and, between 1628 and 1631, copies of Sandoval’s work were distributed throughout Peru.<sup>20</sup> Jesuits in South America read *De instauranda* widely by the second year of its publication, especially on missions working with black slaves. Several Jesuit scholars cited *De instauranda* and emulated Sandoval, seen especially in the proceedings of the

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<sup>16</sup> Restrepo, “*De instauranda*,” 25–26.

<sup>17</sup> De Guibert, *The Jesuits*, 209.

<sup>18</sup> Morgan, “Postscript to his brothers.”

<sup>19</sup> Sandoval in Morgan, “Postscript to his brothers,” 5.

<sup>20</sup> Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la Compañía*, 3:258.

provincial congregations between 1627 and 1642.<sup>21</sup> In the *Cartas Annuas* of the Province of New Granada in 1638, Sebastian Hazareno wrote that not only were the priests in the region doing a wonderful job of baptizing and instructing the slaves, but that they also “composed a very useful book in the style of [*De instauranda*] for the teacher of prelates and apostolic workers...and the author of the work has spent a number of years revising the work making it better, thereby providing an added service to our loved Africans for the glory of Our Lord.”<sup>22</sup> Others from colleges in Peru and Brazil changed their approaches to evangelization by preaching in African languages and conducting baptisms according to Sandoval’s methods.<sup>23</sup>

But Sandoval’s work gradually fell into oblivion, and it was practically ignored between 1650 and 1956 when it was rediscovered as an invaluable African ethnography and reprinted in Bogotá. *De instauranda* did challenge the Jesuit economic order and the massive trafficking of enslaved Africans, two of the biggest profit-making institutions of the time. No doubt, colonial greed — perhaps even among the Jesuits themselves — certainly was at least one reason why the text was first read and then ignored for three hundred years.<sup>24</sup>

### *Searching for African Voices in De instauranda*

In addition to providing a window into the Jesuit mindset, *De instauranda* reveals African voices important to this study. No primary texts exist that are written by slaves in Peru during the period of study, since slave communication was primarily oral, but reexamining colonial texts like *De instauranda* reveals evidence of African resistance against cultural and physical domination in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To attempt this, we have to reconsider

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<sup>21</sup> Franklin, “Biographical Essay,” 352.

<sup>22</sup> Cassani, *Historia de la Provincia*, 468.

<sup>23</sup> Marzal, “La evangelización,” 33 and 36.

<sup>24</sup> Olsen, *Slavery and Salvation*, 58.

what we mean by “text” in search of counternarratives and muted voices. In this category, we can include, for example, modifications of cultural and religious symbols and other forms of resistance that appear in ethnographies, court records, and elsewhere in the archives. Slave insurgency is translated into “discursive counterpositioning” in colonial texts, examples of which I consider here.<sup>25</sup>

A main theme of Sandoval’s work was the potential for slaves to overcome their “barbarity” and accept Christianity. His mission, after all, was established to baptize the slaves, and if they were not capable of receiving Christ, then the mission’s purpose would evaporate. He even anticipated criticism of his work that would question the likelihood of his success. He concludes with praise for Jesuit Francis Xavier as the first Christian who was able to “tame” the Muslim Bedouin, whom Sandoval also called Ethiopian to emphasize their similarity with Africans: “By speaking, [Francis Xavier] subdued and subjected these people to evangelical law, despite how uncultured, how barbarous and indomitable they appeared to him.”<sup>26</sup> Sandoval’s effort to convince readers that he could achieve similar results in the New World required him to introduce subaltern voices so he could dismiss their authority. In this example, he misrepresents the words of an Amerindian — another of Sandoval’s Ethiopians — to emphasize the importance of evangelization<sup>27</sup>:

In an annual history of the New Kingdom of Granada, I read about a Xequé<sup>28</sup> (which is how they call the priest of their idols), who was guiding Spaniards to some caves, where they took 200 idols of fine gold. When the Xequé saw the idols removed, he fainted with such a mortal that they thought he had died. They tried with all diligence to bring him back to his senses, and when he came to, he said: I would have been better off dead than to see myself deprived of my gods. Oh Spaniards, why did you not let me die? ... If this barbarian felt so much upon seeing that some false gods from whom he could receive no benefit at all were being taken away from him, how might Christians feel upon seeing

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 4; Mignolo, “Afterword.”

<sup>26</sup> Olsen, *Slavery and Salvation*, 134.

<sup>27</sup> Non-Jesuit slaveowners feared that baptism would empower slaves to question their authority and generally opposed missionary work.

<sup>28</sup> *Xequé* is a corruption of the Taíno word *cacique*, a religious leader in Amerindian communities.

themselves separated so unjustly and helplessly from their Lord? ...for the greatest loss one can suffer is to be left without his God.<sup>29</sup>

Here, Sandoval manipulates the *cacique's* critique of colonial control to justify the Christian presence in Cartagena. He includes this quotation to demonstrate the free will and creativity Amerindians used to conceive gods, dismisses these religious practices as useless, and argues that Amerindians and Africans will choose Christianity with the same free will. He needs the subaltern to justify his own work, but he dismisses it to avoid betraying colonialism.<sup>30</sup> In a similar way, he describes cultural traditions that Africans retain in the New World. For example he identifies caste identification among the Zape people:

These castes, and all those we have referred to, generally file their teeth, more for adornment and show than for cleanliness, for it does not bother them at all if food gets stuck between their molars when they eat because it cannot be seen. But they feel bad if it gets stuck between their front teeth. Among them it is considered less worthy to not have filed teeth. They neither go out in public nor interact with people until they are filed. Many [slaveowners] do not want to buy these blacks with markings because of the fear it causes to see them, and so they are sold at a lower price.<sup>31</sup>

Here, Africans express their culture in a way that in some small way disrupts the slave economy. Slave bodies act as a text that reflects this disruption, and Sandoval represents this, though distorted, in *De instauranda*.

Interpretations of water during baptism are other key examples that reveal epistemological and ontological differences between Africans and Jesuits, and which we can reread as texts. Many slaves believed that the water would brand them like an iron brands a horse, marking them as a commodity equivalent to farm animals. Some thought the water would turn them to dust. Sandoval found one slave sobbing before his baptism because he thought the water prepared Africans to be eaten by Spaniards:

I found a black boy in the street walking behind a man crying bitterly. I asked the boy why the man was crying with such sadness and with such pained sobs. He responded to me that it was because he

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<sup>29</sup> Sandoval, *De instauranda*, 73.

<sup>30</sup> Olsen, *Slavery and Salvation*, 136.

<sup>31</sup> Sandoval, *De instauranda*, 43.

believed that they were taking him so that the whites could eat him. I showed much surprise upon hearing that, since it was not so, and I assured him that they would not eat him. He calmed down, looked at me with great attention, and once back to his senses, he took my hand, laughing, and squeezed it in a sign of appreciation.<sup>32</sup>

Several historians and anthropologists find similar rumors of European cannibalism in West and Central Africa, where slaves embarking on ships feared being eaten on board.<sup>33</sup> Meanings are embedded in these logics of fear, where cannibalism is a metaphor for the extractive power of capitalism. Slaves on both sides of the Atlantic were justified in their fears that they were about to be eaten: water did mark Africans as commodities, preparing their bodies to be consumed as forced laborers in the New World. European interpretations of water were in fact less logical than Africans ones that predicted life after baptism as a life in chains.

One slave, baptized in Africa, thought the water served as a kind of spell that prevented rebellions during the transatlantic voyage. This interpretation fixes the slave in a population of potential rebels that the Spanish tempered preemptively. Some thought the Spanish were healing them, that the water was a form of cleansing to wash away illness and build strength for years of service. In this interpretation, the Spanish have the power to heal that the Africans are indebted to. Other Africans saw baptism as a rite of passage into whiteness. Rosalind Shaw and Michael Jackson identify a similar interpretation in Sierra Leone where baptism symbolized crossing a river to the underworld. Many baptized Sierra Leoneans thought that baptism killed their soul, and they committed suicide to try and move it back to the realm of the living. But in the Jesuit understanding, baptismal water sent slaves on the path to eternal life in Heaven. Just as the Jesuits were the key to the slaves' salvation, the slaves were key to the Jesuits' salvation, enabling them to fulfill their missionary work. Jesuits, therefore, could not separate Africans and slavery,

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 118.

<sup>33</sup> See Shaw, *Memories of the Slave Trade*, 230–233.

since enslaving bodies coerced souls and therefore was holy work. Jesuits accessed slaves' souls through the body, using baptism as their sacramental vehicle.

These interpretations and re-interpretations of baptism reveal differences between African and Jesuit cosmologies. But both Jesuits and Africans saw baptism as a rite of passage. For the Jesuits, the Eucharist symbolized death and rebirth, and even transubstantiation carried themes of cannibalism. Africans, on the other hand, identified baptism as movement into whiteness and bondage. However baptism was interpreted, the Spanish held the power to change and make meaning for Africans. It is appropriate then, too, that slaves received their Christian name during baptism, which was written down on a piece of paper so that, writes Sandoval, "they do not forget."<sup>34</sup> Baptism represented a European mark on the African slave that changed slaves' physical, spiritual, and nominal identity. It was part of the Jesuits' effort to subsume the physical world around them, including the bodies and cultures of their slaves, to claim the conversion of Africans as Jesuit enterprise.<sup>35</sup>

Jesuits also used baptism to force African slaves to embody the power of the Catholic Church, both to save souls and to force labor. Michel Foucault argues that colonial states coerced discipline by conquering the body through public torture, inflicting the power of the state on deviant bodies as much to break the will of the criminal as to demonstrate the power the state has over its people.<sup>36</sup> Africans were not criminals, but the Spanish did coerce their bodies in similar ways. The Jesuits acted like a state in the way they marked bodies, but they also were a religious order that tried, in a way, to mark souls.

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<sup>34</sup> Sandoval, *De instauranda*, 119.

<sup>35</sup> Olsen, *Slavery and Salvation*, 3.

<sup>36</sup> Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 17.

Other missionary work provided Africans opportunities to subvert Catholic culture.

Sandoval was concerned with twice-baptizing slaves, so priests tied strings around fingers of Africans who were baptized *sub conditione*, that is, those who might have received the sacrament in Africa.<sup>37</sup> To ensure that slaves were not baptized again in Peru, they received a tin medallion that hung around their neck. Sandoval writes proudly about the care with which the slaves take the medals:

[A priest] should tell [the Africans] that they not lose the medals that been placed around their necks, explaining to them the value they should have for them as signs of being Christians and sons of God, so that all may recognize them as such and not scorn them. It is a wonder to see the great value that such simple people put on them, as one can see in the story of the time when the Father who cares for them found a black man without the image around his neck. It seemed to him that he knew him and that he had given him one, so he asked about it. The black man smiled as if here were saying: The father must think that he has caught me in some careless act. He took out a small taffeta purse, and opening it, he showed him ten beads in the style of a rosary with which he entrusted himself to the Lord in the best way he could.

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Another black woman, having lost the image from her neck that had been placed upon her at baptism..., went through the town for many days in search of the Father who had baptized her so that he could give her another.... And [she is] not the only one.... [When their medals have fallen off,] upon seeing the Father, he gather in the middle of the street and follow the priest until he considers it best to go into the first house. He gives them the medals because he always carries them with him in a little brown box for these and other occasions, already prepared with their strings.... And the Father gives them out to all, with the condition that each one first say his name, so that they have it at hand. Knowing this, the first thing they do is say their names out loud with the medal in their hands when they want to be given another. And with it, they are left so happy it is as if they had been given a treasure, and no doubt they must recognize it as such, as it truly is, given how much they value it.<sup>38</sup>

The value the slaves gave the medallions suggests that they had imbued it with their own cultural meanings beyond the exclusive Christian symbolism identifies. They are, of course, among the only gifts that slaves receive, or they could have taken the Jesuits literally and considered the medallions a required marker. The medals could also have taken on their own syncretic cultural meaning; for example, the man's beads might represent a rosary as Sandoval suggests, or they

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<sup>37</sup> Olsen, *Slavery and Salvation*, 142.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 141–142.

could be a makeshift string of Muslim prayer beads.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, they still fit within the Spanish method of cultural domination: they must state their Christian name before receiving a new medallion, recalling the European mark placed at baptism.<sup>40</sup> While Sandoval understands the perceived acceptance of the beads as an example of African incorporation into the Christian faith, it is possible the reality was quite different. Uncovering these misrepresentations reveals another example of an alternative text to colonial history.

No matter how it is reinterpreted, the very act of baptism can be understood as a kind of “writing”: writing a new identity on the bodies of the natives. The graphical, lexical and symbolic practices — both in terms of writing on paper, but also writing on bodies through baptism — that Jesuits brought to Peru were marks of “civilization” that they would bestow onto the native population. In this context, it was important for Sandoval to write in Latin America, as colonists often do: British administrators in East India Company, for example, were known as “writers.” Walter Mignolo argues that European writing became a strategy for rule, as well as a way for Europeans to construct themselves as citizens.<sup>41</sup> Many historians have argued that European colonization served as a method for Europeans to understand their own identity by opposing themselves against transnational others. In Peru, the Jesuit mission did not only give occasion to writing, but its writing also produced the Jesuit mission in the New World.

Sandoval ultimately seeks to write slaves into the Church. Olsen argues that he accomplishes this by “exploding the seventeenth century understanding of Ethiopia to include vast regions of the globe” to “increase the frequency of contact between the two groups.”<sup>42</sup> I

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<sup>39</sup> Olsen, *Slavery and Salvation*, 144. Spanish concerns of Muslim influence on colonial society were strong enough to warrant a 1585 edict separating Amerindian villages from African settlements, citing fear of the spread of Islam. See Bowser, *The African Slave*, 283.

<sup>40</sup> Sandoval, *De instauranda*, 144.

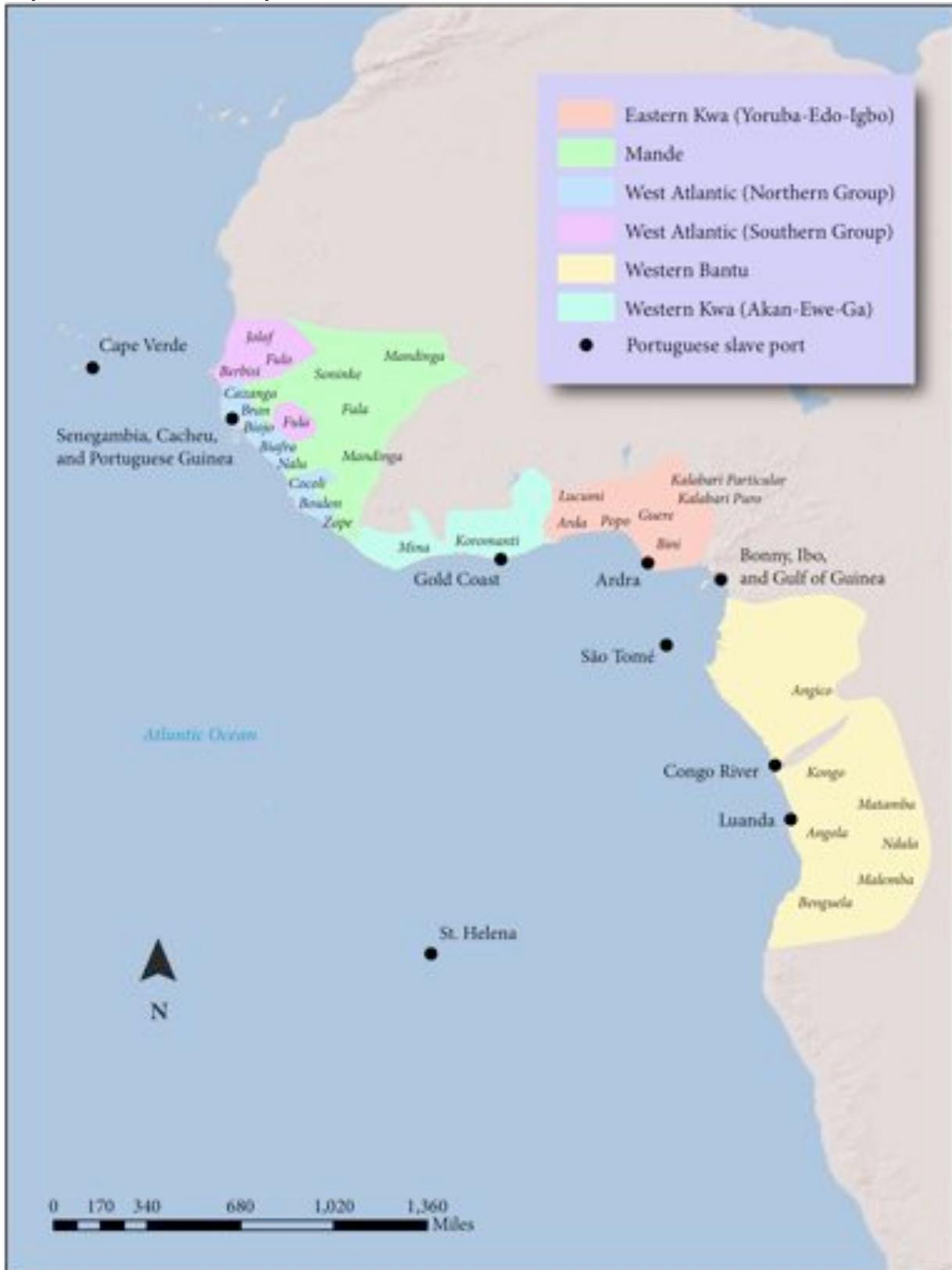
<sup>41</sup> Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, 3.

<sup>42</sup> Olsen, *Slavery and Salvation*, 28.

disagree with this assessment. Sandoval does extend Ethiopia beyond modern reason to establish the global inferiority of dark-skinned people, not to emphasize similarities across Jesuit missionary work around the world. Sandoval sought to justify his society's abuse of slavery, and precisely to distinguish between historical destinies of white and black.

*De instauranda* is a metaphor for the Jesuit experience in Colombia and Peru, where African voices reinforce positions of power for the powerful's perceived greater good. While writing in its broadest sense, Sandoval questions Jesuit methods and values of missionary work and disrespect for African voices. He incorporates languages, cultures, and stories from real Africans to propose a pragmatic approach to Christian colonization, bred during a clash of cultures that rattled orders of American power. In any case, Sandoval's representation of slave sources, however distorted, provides an opportunity to recover African voices from colonial Peru.

Map 1. African Cultural Groups in *De instauranda*



## II. Jesuit Trade Networks in Peru

While Sandoval and other Jesuits in Cartagena were working in an African mission, their counterparts in Peru were looking for a new labor force to satisfy the increasing demand for labor on their wine and sugar haciendas (detailed in the next chapter). By the end of the seventeenth century, the Jesuits owned more slaves than anyone else in Peru, drawing most from Africa through Cartagena de Indias (see Chart A). The Peruvian colleges hired agents in Cartagena who would inspect, purchase, and transport the slaves to their haciendas. The Jesuits helped drive the colonial slave trade: the number of slaves ships arriving in Cartagena declined as the Jesuits lost economic and political prominence through the eighteenth century until their expulsion in 1767.<sup>1</sup> The Jesuits' lust for slave labor fueled the slave market in Cartagena that many of them had reservations about.

The Jesuits' agents brought slaves to Peru in four main ways (see maps 2 and 3), each representing a distinct process that drew slaves from different areas in Africa that in turn diversified slave populations on the haciendas. First was the Cartagena market, flooded with slaves brought to serve the gold and silver mines before the Jesuits arrived. Second, beginning around 1640, Jesuit missions in Buenos Aires would send slaves along the roads through Córdoba, the silver mines in Potosí, and Cuzco. Third, Jesuits would purchase slaves in the market at Callao from the slave traders serving all plantations in coastal Peru. Fourth, Jesuits purchased slaves from neighboring plantations or inherit them when land was donated. Cushner might overstate the

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<sup>1</sup> Vargas Ugarte, *Historia de la Compañía*, 4:10–76.

importance of the Buenos Aires route, which accounted for less than ten percent of slaves in a sample of one hundred twelve on eight Peruvian haciendas (see Table 1).<sup>2</sup>

**Chart A. Total Slave Ships Arriving in Cartagena, 1588–1640<sup>3</sup>**



### *The African Slave Trade in Cartagena*

Cartagena de Indias was the most important slave port serving the viceroyalty of Peru before 1700. The city was founded in 1533 on the Caribbean coast of Colombia and became a center of Spanish economic and military control. Spaniards first asked the king for permission to import African slaves in 1560 to dig up treasure in indigenous tombs. They imported more slaves upon discovery of gold and silver veins in Colombia, building an extensive, if poorly maintained, network of roads that were later used to carry caravans of slaves across the viceroyalty, especially to Lima.

<sup>2</sup> Cushner, *Lords of the Land*, 89.

<sup>3</sup> Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, Emory University.

**Table 1. Source of Purchased Slaves on Eight Major Haciendas, 1600–1645<sup>4</sup>**

Years	Cartagena	Lay haciendas <sup>5</sup>	Callao	Buenos Aires	Total Slaves	Slaves per Hacienda
1600 to 1615	114	401	262	13	790	98.8
1615 to 1630	596	132	294	95	1117	139.6
1630 to 1645	821	212	178	181	1392	174.0
	1531	745	734	289		

To bring slaves to the port, the Spanish crown sold exclusive slave trade contracts, or *asientos*, to Portuguese sailors in 1593 and 1595, granting them a near-monopoly over shipments between Africa and Spanish South America.<sup>6</sup> This agreement between continental rivals was at times tenuous, and, to prevent contraband, the Spanish crown required in 1611 that all slave vessels bound for its colonies assemble in annual convoys and first pass through Seville for inspection. The arrangement was untenable: no Portuguese traders bought *asientos* between 1611 and 1614, and illegal shipments were the only available source of slaves at the time, eliminating a lucrative source of Spanish income. In 1615, the Crown abandoned the annual convoy requirement, but it still mandated a stop in Seville and opened only the ports of Veracruz and Cartagena in the New World.<sup>7</sup> Because Spanish and Portuguese slave traders worked from different ports in Africa (see Map 1), changes in *asiento* politics contributed to an ethnic diversity of slaves in Cartagena and eventually in Lima; Sandoval mentions at least a dozen ethnic or linguistic groups, and bills of sale in the archives reveal at least a dozen more.<sup>8</sup>

By 1650, Cartagena had a population of about ten thousand: three thousand Europeans and seven thousand Africans or people of African descent, enslaved or free, some of whom

<sup>4</sup> Haciendas included in this survey: Ocucaje, San Xavier, Bocanegra, Villa, Vilcahuaura, Belem, Huaura, and Santa Cruz. See bibliography for references of bills of trade.

<sup>5</sup> There is no way to know how these slaves arrived on the lay haciendas, but they must have come from either Callao or Cartagena since the Buenos Aires route was only open to Jesuits.

<sup>6</sup> Bowser notes that no *asiento* held a complete monopoly over the slave trade since several licenses were reserved annually for the Crown. Bowser, *The African Slave*, 31.

<sup>7</sup> The Crown in 1623 allowed ships to pass through Lisbon as well as Seville. Bowser, *The African Slave*, 36.

<sup>8</sup> Marzal, “La evangelización de los negros,” 25; see the bibliography for information on bills of sale.

owned property. This does not include *palenques* (rebel towns of runaway slaves) outside the city walls since the total population of these is difficult to estimate, although they did grow large enough in the 1600s to warrant several Spanish military expeditions to weaken their independence. About 135,000 slaves passed through Cartagena between 1595 and 1640 on Spanish and Portuguese ships, including about seventy thousand who made their final disembarkation in the New World. Many slaves stayed in Cartagena to work as domestic servants in the city or support mining and agriculture in the area, and some worked the plantation that supported Sandoval's Cartagena mission for African slaves. Still others worked on docks that served slave ships.<sup>9</sup>

The ship inspection process in Cartagena was extensive. The ship would anchor and the Spanish health inspector (*protomédico*) would board to look for evidence of infectious diseases including typhus, measles, malaria, yellow fever, smallpox, and elephantiasis (*mal de San Lázaro*).<sup>10</sup> Infected ships would be quarantined and slaves would be prevented from disembarking. Many diseases, however, escaped detection by rudimentary medical practices, especially when the demand for slaves outweighed many medical concerns.<sup>11</sup> Slaves suspected to be disease carriers, therefore, were quarantined outside the city walls; royal customs officials would check the rest of the cargo against the ship's log, search for contraband, and question the captain about his itinerary.

Once the cargo achieved the official's approval, it would be unloaded to the authority of the *asentista's* representative or, if no *asientos* had been sold that year, the ship's captain. Slaves then would be transported to one of twenty-four barracks (*casas de negrería*) inside the city walls.

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<sup>9</sup> Slave records compiled from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database at Emory University. Results of my searches appear in charts A and B. See also Von Germeten, "Introduction," x-xi; Olsen, *Slavery and Salvation*, 17.

<sup>10</sup> Rout, *The African Experience*, 69; Hoeppli, *Parasitic Diseases*, 15-16.

<sup>11</sup> Chandler, *Health and Slavery*, 70.

Spanish and Portuguese slave traders unloaded their cargo in several large lots for market, which would then be fragmented into groups of as few as two or three Africans. Sandoval observed: “It is doubtful which will be those who remain here...because many times after having been purchased for service here, they are resold for shipment out of town.”<sup>12</sup>

The bustle of port deteriorated the quality of life for many slaves beyond their treatment on the ships. Slaves usually were kept in a corral or in the patio of the purchaser’s home. At night, they were kept naked and offered little water; many died of thirst in Cartagena’s tropical heat. They stayed in “damp, thick-walled structures, undoubtedly constructed of adobe, in which crude tiers of sleeping platforms had been erected of rough planks. The only entrance, a small door, was bolted. A small, high window provided the only ventilation, and sanitary facilities, if any, consisted simply of tubs. Hopelessly incurable slaves spent their remaining hours in these fetid cabins.”<sup>13</sup> During the day, they were shuffled between slave sales (*feria de los negros*) and inspected by countless numbers of people, some, Sandoval wrote, “carried there by their greed, others by curiosity, and [the Jesuits] by compassion.” These poor conditions bred more contagious diseases and many slaves who survived the transatlantic voyage died in their Cartagena lodging before they could be sold.<sup>14</sup>

While not much can be said for the lodging, merchants did try to feed their slaves well since an emaciated slave would bring a poor price. But Sandoval writes that the sudden increase in diet from the slave ship sickened the slaves. Relatively poor men tended to treat their slaves better than the rich because they had more to lose: they provided better food and more personal treatment, while rich men, preoccupied with other business, would hire a caretaker whose

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<sup>12</sup> Valtierra, *Peter Claver*, 123; Sandoval, *De instauranda*, 101.

<sup>13</sup> Chandler, *Health and Slavery*, 82.

<sup>14</sup> Rout, *The African Experience*, 70.

carelessness turned more than one cargo “into a hospital of sick men.”<sup>15</sup> Sandoval writes that he entered one patio to find two dead slaves “stark naked, lying on the bare ground as if they were beasts, face up, their mouths open and full of flies.”<sup>16</sup> The naked bodies of some dead slaves lay in the streets of Cartagena awaiting someone to carry them away for burial, while traders stepped around them like dogs.

The Jesuits operated a mission in Cartagena to serve the recently arrived slaves and provide for their physical and spiritual needs. The mission that Alonso de Sandoval would lead was founded in 1604 after several requests to the viceroy. The founding priest at the mission, Martín de Funes, immediately recognized the need for Africans’ spiritual and physical care, proposing:

the foundation of catechism for blacks, similar to those that the Amerindians had... For this reason, the Jesuits should take charge of the instruction of these slaves, which very properly could be called the Mission of Guinea.<sup>17</sup>

The next year, Jesuit Diego de Torres wrote that they had established a congregation of “negros ladinos,” or black slaves born in the Americas.<sup>18</sup> Jesuits continued to administer care to slaves in Cartagena through the eighteenth century.

While some Jesuits were working to save the Africans, their colleagues had hired agents to purchase them and move them thousands of miles to work on plantations. Jesuit agents arrived at the slave market in Cartagena at dawn. The market was held beside the city wall where a number of makeshift slave cabins (*barracónes*) were built; cauldrons of boiling water were kept on fires at

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<sup>15</sup> Bowser, *The African Slave*, 53.

<sup>16</sup> Sandoval, *De instauranda*, 69.

<sup>17</sup> Funes, quoted in Pacheco, *Los Jesuitas en Colombia*, 245.

<sup>18</sup> Olsen, *Slavery and Salvation*, 55.

all times to pour over the mass of bodies in case of an uprising.<sup>19</sup> The *barracónes* were divided into pens in which slaves were bought and sold:

Upon the arrival of buyers, the overseers cracked their whips — at those who were called *fouet* or *musinga* [interpreter?] in slave trade jargon — and they made the shaven, naked blacks, anointed with oil, trot, dance, sing, speak, and laugh. From a platform of planks, the overseer of the factories sounded a trumpet and cried the excellence of each slave that came near the prospective buyer. Among the buyers were monks, priests, and officials in uniform. Sometimes there were ladies of rank and quality who had no scruples about scrutinizing the most private parts of those unhappy slaves as if they were examining cattle or horses. Without pride, they began to examine the blacks minutely, feeling their muscles, touching to their tongue a finger moistened with sweat (for in the flavor of the sweat is known the health of the black)...<sup>20</sup>

Upon their purchase, buyers would return home, sometimes waiting days to retrieve their slaves.

Buyers would then store the slaves on house patios or in special barracks near the outskirts of the city until they were transported to their final destination, almost always inland to plantations and haciendas.

#### *African Resistance to Christianity in Cartagena*

That the Jesuits baptized Africans does not imply that all Africans totally absorbed Christianity. Indeed, writes María Cristina Navarrete, the diffusion of Catholic traditions created a “new faith” in Cartagena defined by “customs and religious beliefs that form part of the cultural heritage of the past. These collective and individual behaviors tended to survive despite political or ecclesiastical dispositions.”<sup>21</sup> She argues that Jesuit teachings about faith encouraged Africans to remember religious traditions that they forgot during the brutal transatlantic voyage. John Thornton adds that part of the slaves’ memory might be of Christianity taught to them by African Christians, after their capture but before embarkation. The teachers, employed by Portuguese slave traders, were familiar with indigenous languages religious beliefs and could

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<sup>19</sup> Miramón, “Los negreros del Caribe,” 180–82.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Navarrete, *Prácticas religiosas*, 124.

convert one system to another. The practice was common enough that Sandoval tested slaves he was about to baptize on their knowledge of Christianity before performing the ceremony. Most knew very little, but Thornton uses this and other evidence to suggest that the syncretic Christianity found in Cartagena might have begun in Central Africa.<sup>22</sup>

The Spanish established an inquisition tribunal in Cartagena in 1610, the records from which provide some insight into the nature of African resistance. The inquisition was founded to prevent non-Catholic influences in the city, and specifically to root out Portuguese merchants suspected of secretly practicing Judaism and Africans thought to be Muslims or sorcerers. The inquisition reports that some slave women had incorporated African traditions into their religious practices: for example, records show that some considered the male goat a sacred symbol; danced to drums during “sacred ceremonies of Ethiopia” in Jesuit churches; and held meetings of “witches” to offer animals to their ancestors during the feast of the Virgin of Candelaria, the patron saint of Cartagena. The tribunal found these women guilty of witchcraft and sentenced them to death or long prison sentences.<sup>23</sup>

It is unclear why these “witches” were treated so harshly, since the Jesuits often welcomed Africans in their churches who were seeking both physical and spiritual refuge. The Jesuits were accustomed to African traditions mixed in with Catholicism. (There is more evidence of this in Lima, discussed in the next chapter.) Perhaps the colonial authority had less tolerance for religious syncretism since their system of control demanded obedience while the Jesuits valued salvation. After all, Sandoval believed that Africans who inserted their traditions into Catholic teaching could more easily accept Christianity.

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<sup>22</sup> Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, 270.

<sup>23</sup> Von Germeten, “Introduction,” xi; Navarrete, *Practicas religiosas*, 125.

## *The Voyage to Peru*

Slaves were exported to Lima over one of two routes. One included a weeklong sail to Portobelo and fifty miles overland to Panamá, half on foot and half by boat on the Chagres River. In Panamá, they were loaded on ships and sent on the three-week journey to Callao. Alternatively, several overland routes through present-day Colombia on the Magdalena River, treacherous mountain passes, and the Camino Real brought slave caravans to Bogotá, Quito, and Lima.

The journey was treacherous over either route. The trip to Portobelo would last about a week, and the Pacific leg from Panamá to Lima added another two or three. These slaves encountered the horrors of another sea voyage, the conditions of which were not better than those across the Atlantic: disease was rampant, and few slaves arrived in Lima without an infectious disease.<sup>24</sup> The diary of one of the Jesuits' agents, Sebastián Duarte, shows that African died on the Cartagena–Lima journey despite precautions taken for their health. On one trip in 1626, shipping 258 slaves, Duarte purchased corn, plantains, barley, bread, salt fish, eggs, beef, and pork to feed them. He took special care of the sick, giving them an extra ration of special foods including chicken, squash, molasses, sugar, red wine, and cassava bread. He hired a surgeon and bought mustard and honey to make anti-tetanus compresses. Despite this, twenty-six slaves (ten percent) died before reaching Panama.<sup>25</sup>

But the overland route was likely worse, as it was riddled with “danger, trouble, and delays,” according to one agent. On the Magdalena, the “abominable” conduct of the boat captains and their “fatal navigation.”<sup>26</sup> Off the river, rough terrain and poor roads presented new

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<sup>24</sup> Bowser, *The African Slave*, 93.

<sup>25</sup> Chandler, *Health and Slavery*, 115.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

dangers; one traveler remarked that there were no worse roads “in the world” than those around Popayán.<sup>27</sup> Another wrote to the viceroy that the heavily trafficked road between Honda and Santa Fe was so poorly maintained that the “very sight of [it] would horrify your Excellency, especially in the wet season.”<sup>28</sup>

Caravan drivers’ security precautions kept rebellious blacks in “chains and handcuffs,” while the other men were chained together by neck or hand in single file. Women were cuffed together in a separate line when overseers had to watch their own step. The rough terrain, often covered in brush, led some slaves to slip off the trail where most met their death, either upon impact or because overseers left them there to die.<sup>29</sup> The trail followed rivers and mountain passes, subjecting slaves in transit to malaria in the valleys and altitude sickness at elevation. The overseers took slaves through different routes at different times of the year, considering climate and mudslides. Slaves ate hardtack, corn, meat, and salt, but food was scarce in some areas, and starvation was common. When mules were not available, slaves carried all the group’s provisions, exhausting many to death.<sup>30</sup> Fatal diseases were not consistently recorded for the inland trek, but David Chandler suggests that dysentery and smallpox top the list, as well as infections made by the chains. Merchants generally did not send children on the trek given the conditions, and many families were separated in Cartagena.<sup>31</sup>

The Jesuits structured their transcontinental trade network to supply an increasing demand for slaves on their haciendas, which they justified to themselves and others by operating missions to ensure Africans’ physical and spiritual welfare. Jesuits from Sandoval to Claver provided this care among the devastating conditions of the port at Cartagena, defining Africans’

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<sup>27</sup> West, *Colonial Placer Mining*, 126.

<sup>28</sup> Quoted in Chandler, *Health and Slavery*, 118.

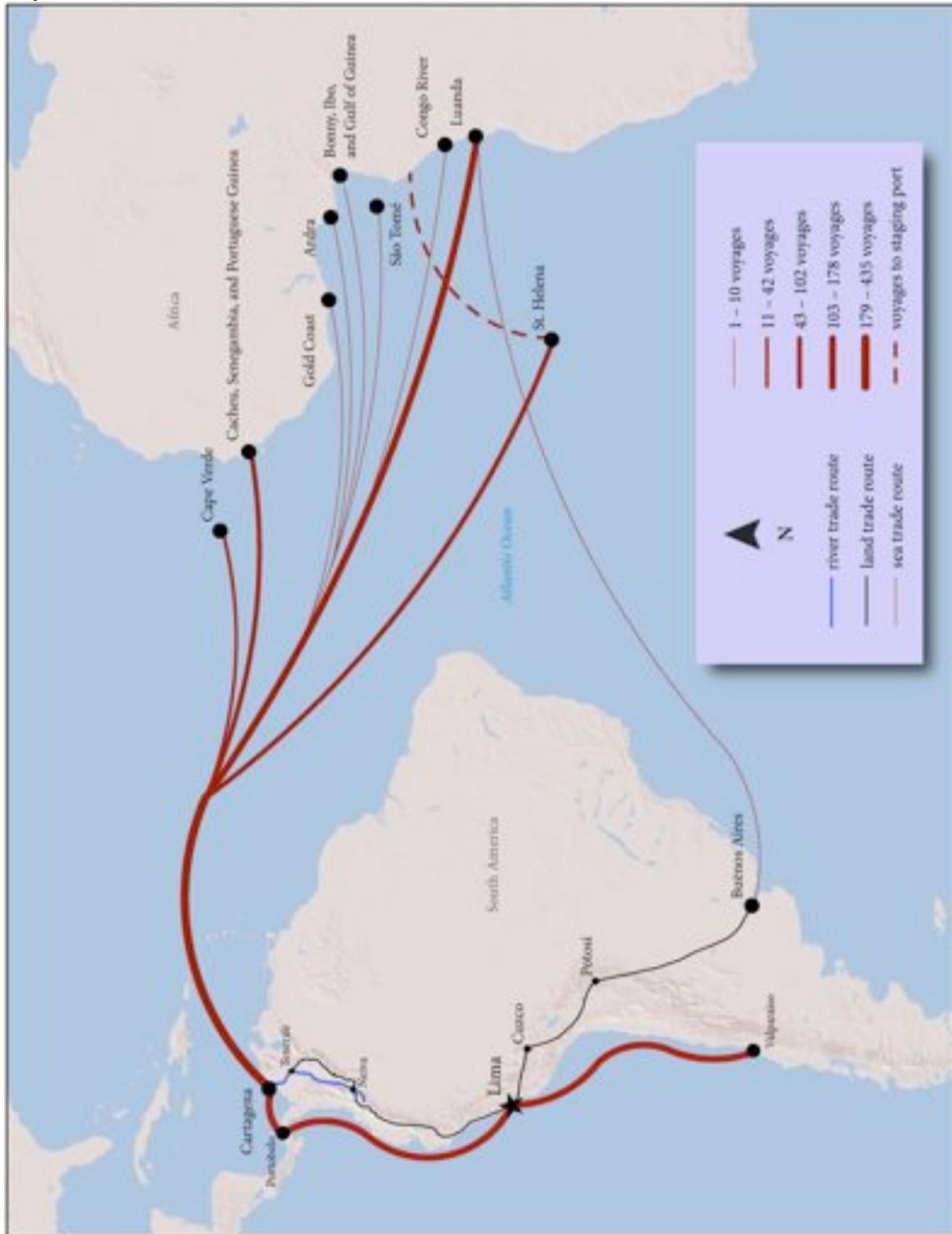
<sup>29</sup> Chandler, *The African Slave*, 113.

<sup>30</sup> Chandler, *Health and Slavery*, 113–114.

<sup>31</sup> Chandler, *Health and Slavery*, 119–120; Sandoval, *De instauranda*, 178.

first impressions of Christianity as a benevolent and accepting religion where they could find some relief. This encouraged some to incorporate their own traditions into this new religion, a sign of their acceptance and understanding of Christ. But Christianity reacted negatively, branding many of them as witches. At the end of their journey to Peru, many separated from their families in Cartagena, Africans met the chains of forced labor, justified by the same Jesuits who had cared for them in Cartagena in the name of Christ. Slaves were forced to embody the paradox of the Jesuit approach to slavery, which begins with a sacred respect for men's souls and ends with the enslavement of their bodies.

Map 2. The Transatlantic Slave Trade to Peru, 1580–1650<sup>32</sup>



<sup>32</sup> Map constructed from data in West, *Colonial Placer Mining*; and Sandoval, *De instauranda*.

Map 3. Trade Routes in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1580–1650<sup>33</sup>



<sup>33</sup> Map constructed from data in West, *Colonial Placer Mining*; and Tandeter, *Coercion and Market*.



### III. Systems of Control on Colleges & Haciendas

The Jesuit slave's long journey from Africa, spanning as many as 9,000 miles over a year, ended in Lima or one of the twenty-three Jesuit sugar and wine haciendas on the Peruvian coast (see maps 2 and 4). In Lima, those slaves disembarking the ship who had not yet been purchased were sold in a market similar to the one in Cartagena, and those that had been purchased awaited transportation to their haciendas.

Spanish colonists sought a population to enslave as soon as Francisco Pizarro conquered the Incas. The Incan *mita* system — a complex network of draft labor among the various indigenous tribes working for the Inca Empire — was an appropriate model, and it is likely that the Spanish simply replaced the Inca at the top of the tribute pyramid as opposed to instituting a new system of control. But Spanish abuse of the *mita* system sent the indigenous population into decline, and the Crown wrote to the viceroyalty expressing its distaste for the system in the late sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

In search of a population to enslave, Spanish colonists throughout the New World preferred Africans for several reasons. First, there was a general sentiment that Africans had the right combination of mild temperament and strength to work hard without putting up much fight. Second, the Amerindian population had been so devastated in Hispaniola that their ability to survive the work was in question and, to at least some extent, new concerns arose about their harsh treatment, leading Bartolomé de las Casas to argue that Africans should be brought in to diffuse expectations on Taínos. The abuse of the *mita* system also led to a decline in the Amerindian population in Peru, raising similar fears. Third, Africans were less capable of running

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<sup>1</sup> Bowser, *The African Slave*, 90; Tandeter, *Coercion and Market*, 17.

away than Amerindians, who had local knowledge of the area. But black slavery proved untenable in the Peruvian highlands, since Africans were unable to acclimate to the Andean elevations around Cuzco. Colonists employed Amerindians through the *mita* system and salaried labor in the Andes, and African slaves were used only in the coastal lowlands, which included Lima and the surrounding haciendas.<sup>2</sup>

Urban slavery was more common than rural slavery in this time period. Slaves were both a symbol of wealth and status as well as laborers in Lima, which at the time had the highest concentration of black slaves of any city in the hemisphere, with the possible exception of Mexico City.<sup>3</sup> Slaves' most important contribution to the urban economy was in vegetable gardens around the city, called *chácaras*. Slaves also worked as dockworkers, house servants, blacksmiths, and artisans, leaving their own impression on colonial art and architecture. There was also a population of freed slaves even in this time period, although most tried to hide their racial identity, making data on them scant without painstaking research yet to be undertaken.<sup>4</sup>

### *Jesuits & Africans in Lima*

The Church was a location of African cultural memory in the mid-1600s. While there was not an African mission in Lima comparable to that in Cartagena, several Jesuit institutions found places for them among their ranks. For example, the Iglesia y Colegio Máximo de San Pablo, the seat of Jesuit authority in the viceroyalty (see Figure 2), enrolled African students and published a dictionary of several African languages.<sup>5</sup> Also, Jesuit churches sponsored African *cofradías*, or religious brotherhoods, that provided an opportunity for Africans to practice African traditions in

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<sup>2</sup> The Jesuits also tried to hire Amerindians on the coasts, but they were reluctant to leave their traditional village economy and work for wages. Bowser, *The African Slave*, 90.

<sup>3</sup> Bowser, *The African Slave*, 358.

<sup>4</sup> Bowser, *The African Slave*, 88, 125, and 272.

<sup>5</sup> Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 39.

Catholic contexts. One in particular, the *Cofradía de los Congos Mondongos*, fostered strong African ties, especially through the performance of Christian hymns and other music on wooden drums called *cajóns*, a cultural relic that survives today.<sup>6</sup> *Cofradías* were organized around a Catholic saint, and members pledged to uphold each other's spiritual and physical welfare. The *cofradías* mirrored Africans' traditional leadership hierarchy: if a slave had African royal lineage, he or she presided as *caporal*, or leader, of the group. Beginning in 1602, a Church representative would supervise each *cofradía*.<sup>7</sup>

*Cofradías* sheltered elements of African ritual in Catholic ceremony, which the Church encouraged. The *cabildo* (city council) and Church leaders asked the *cofradías* to participate in religious and municipal festivals, such as Corpus Christi. Here, Africans practiced their rites and traditions in the guise of Catholic ceremony. On May 5, 1568, the Lima *cabildo* ordered the *cofradías* to participate in ceremonies, as was their custom: "The leaders of the *cofradías* of mulattoes and blacks of this city are hereby advised that they bring out their dances, as is their obligation and as they are accustomed to do other years."<sup>8</sup> These Corpus Christi processions included floats that carried images of *diablos* (devils) and other characters such as Papahuevos, Gigantes, and El Cabezudo, which William David Tompkins suggests are reminiscent of totemic figures in Africa.<sup>9</sup>

These performances, however, soon upset the *cabildo* and Lima's residents, and new laws were drafted to ban them. On August 16, 1563, the *cabildo* outlawed drumming in the streets,

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<sup>6</sup> Villena, *El arte dramático en Lima*, 67. Robert Stevenson argues that African slaves must have been surprised to see Peruvian Amerindians using large drums like they used in Africa, although "their own drums were not as large as those of the Indian." The wood-frame drums spanned nine to eleven with leather heads, and drummers beat the drums by hand, carrying the sound as far as fifteen miles. Stevenson, *Music in Aztec & Inca Territory*, 269.

<sup>7</sup> Tompkins, *The Musical Traditions*, 20–21.

<sup>8</sup> Lee, *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, 10:343.

<sup>9</sup> Romero, "Ritmo Negro," 570.

citing complaints that horses were startled and could not pass.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, the *cabildo* issued this decree in 1564:

This *cabildo* discussed that by experience it has been noted that when the blacks gather for dances or other reasons, the city and its natives are greatly harmed. They organize robberies against their masters and others and get drunk, especially now under the *cofradías* they have created. For this reason it is ordered that, from now on, for no reason will four blacks or more be allowed to group or go out together in dances, neither inside or outside the city limits, nor in the mentioned *cofradía*, unless it should be having a meeting. Permission for [meetings] will [be granted] only for Holy Church on Sundays and holidays for communion and High Mass, and at no time later in the day or night, upon pain of one hundred lashes to each black man or woman.<sup>11</sup>

This decree outlawed blacks to gather in groups of more than four except in churches at specified times. The Church again appears as a kind of sanctuary from the government's authority over blacks.<sup>12</sup>

While these restrictions outlawed African musical expression in public spaces, the Jesuits continued to exploit blacks' talent. The Jesuits relied on Catholic "pomp and ceremony" — including colorful standards, garlands, incense, and music — to attract blacks. The Jesuits set biblical passages to music and sang them to the slaves. In the seventeenth century, the Jesuits at San Pablo hired a band of black musicians who played clarinets, trumpets, drums, flutes, guitars, lutes, and *cirimías*, or Spanish bagpipes. The musicians played at ceremonies at the college and were even in high demand at other events in the city.<sup>13</sup> Tompkins, a historical ethnomusicologist, identifies syncretic music in Peru — a "distinct national, or criollo, music style" — as early as the seventeenth century. The Jesuits, through the *cofradías* and the colleges, fostered black traditions and encouraged them to introduce their heritage into Spanish culture. Slaves shipped from Cartagena to Lima had several opportunities to situate their African heritages in Jesuit churches.

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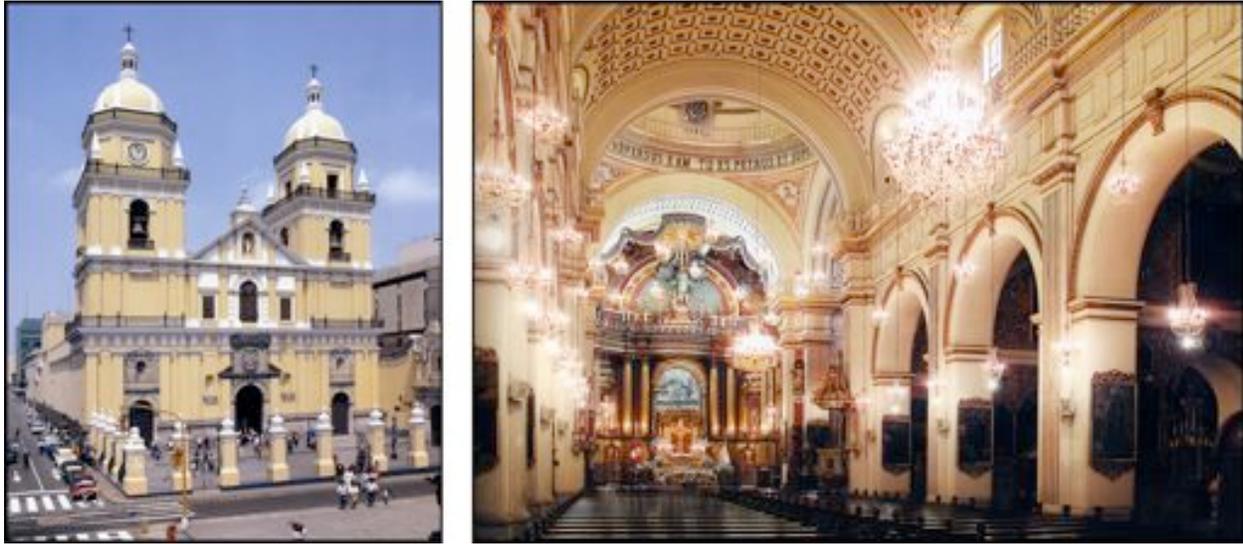
<sup>10</sup> Lee, *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, 6:144.

<sup>11</sup> Borja, "Coreografía Colonial," 41.

<sup>12</sup> The *cabildo* continued to order the *cofradías* to participate in public ceremonies even after their restrictions on assembly and group size. Lee, *Libros de Cabildos de Lima*, 7:274. See also Stevenson, *Music in Aztec & Inca Territory*, 291.

<sup>13</sup> Bowser, *The African Slave*, 246; and Martín, *The Intellectual Conquest*, 272.

**Figure 2. Church and College of San Pablo in Lima. Profits from Jesuit haciendas funded the extravagant architecture and decorations.**



### *Jesuit Sugar in Peru*

The Jesuit colleges like San Pablo required money to operate, but their Renaissance tradition, which included a hierarchy of priorities, privileged study over physical work, and the elite origins of most Jesuits certainly preceded the religious justifications for work-shyness. Jesuits found others to cook and clean at the colleges, and to tend the fields at the haciendas.<sup>14</sup> These included lay brothers, hired servants, and African and indigenous slaves.

Since their arrival in Peru, Jesuits had been tantalized by the profit-making power of sugarcane. Sugar was well established as a cash crop on the Peruvian coast when José de Acosta arrived in 1588. He wrote almost enviously of the vast sugar haciendas the Spanish colonists had built in Nazca:

The sugar is a great revenue, for they not only spend it in the Indies, but also carry it to Spain, for the canes grow exceedingly well in many parts of the Indies. They have built their engines (*ingenios*) in the islands, in Mexico and in Peru and other parts, which yield them a great revenue. I was told that the engine for sugar at Nazca was worth above 30,000 pieces of revenue. That at Chicama belonging to Trujillo was likewise of great revenue, and those of New Spain are no less.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Cushner, *Soldiers of God*, 23.

<sup>15</sup> Acosta, *De procuranda*, 8. For more on sugar in coastal Peru through the twentieth century, see Deerr, *The History of Sugar*, 139.

Working from Acosta's early writing on the profitability of sugar, the Jesuits sought to grow staple crops to support the labor on their haciendas and their colleges around Lima, but also produce sugar and wine for export to Europe and the surrounding areas for profit.

New economic opportunities presented themselves when the colonial government systematically took over indigenous landholdings. Spanish *encomenderos*, landowners who replaced the Incan *encomienda* system land grants to subservient tribes, controlled economic production in the 1530s. A decade later, the *encomenderos* began to decline in power, and the Cabildo of Lima, the Audiencia of Lima, and the Viceroyalty of Peru sold land grants to replace them. Amerindian and Spanish buyers founded enterprises like raising livestock and agriculture that depended on the land. From around 1550 to the end of the century, *chácaras* (small gardens) growing wheat, vegetables, or grapes dominated the coastal valleys around Lima. Around 1600, the *chácaras* had consolidated into larger haciendas. The Jesuits arrived in Peru during this consolidation and acquired the haciendas that would support their continental enterprise to make profit and support their worldwide missionary activity.<sup>16</sup> They could not, however, expand these efforts deliberately as, until about 1620, they relied on donations from colonists to expand their landholdings.

The Jesuits did not choose farming as a way of life, but rather as a profit-making business. Indeed, they could have chosen any number of uses for their lands that would have made handsome profits, including fruit orchards, wine vineyards, alfalfa fields, or grazing lands, all of which they did to some degree. But the majority of their lands were used as sugar haciendas, the crop that turned the most profit but also demanded the most from laborers.

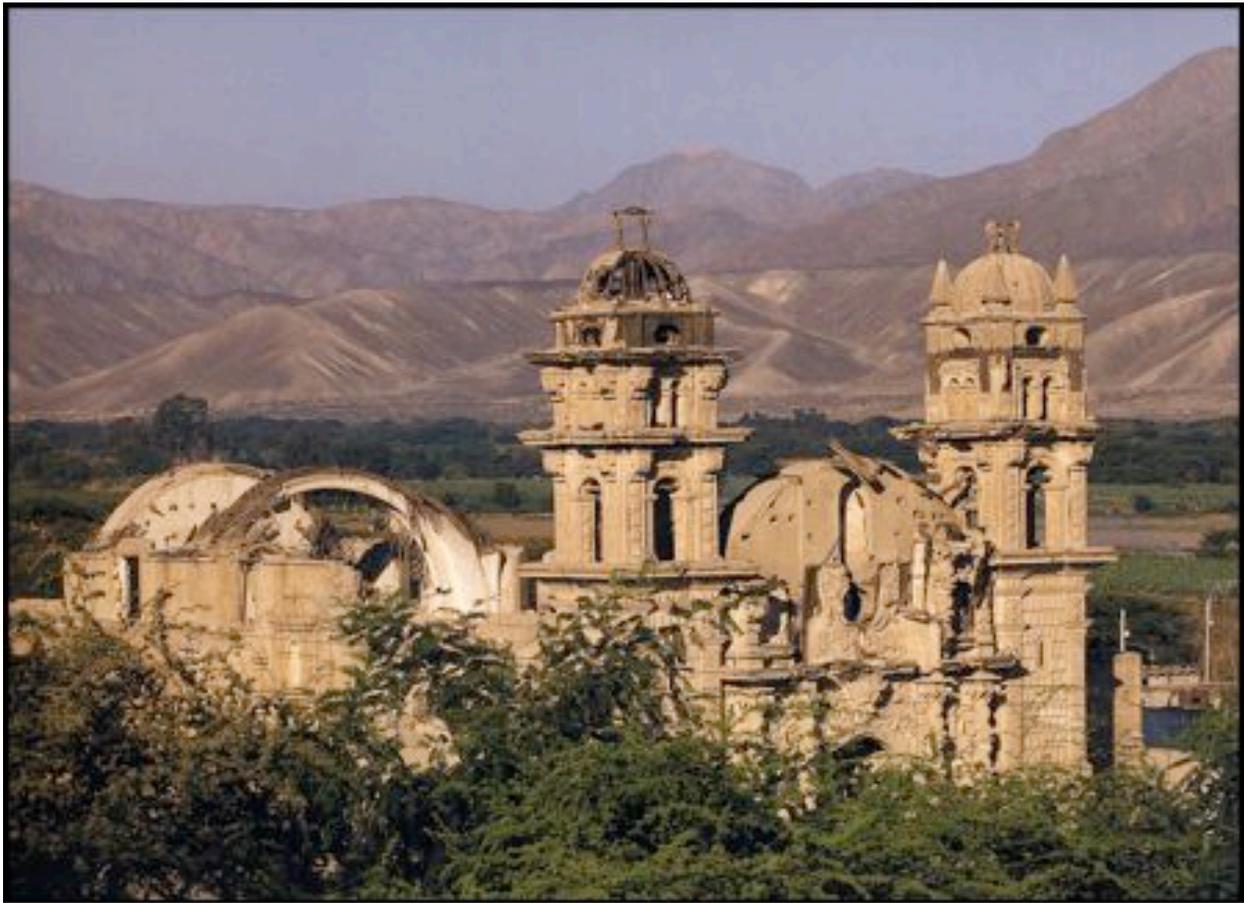
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<sup>16</sup> Cushner, *Soldiers of God*, 27–28.

Sugar is a brutal, relentless crop. It is necessarily grown in tropical climates, and temperatures in Peru — even on the coast — can easily reach 100 degrees Fahrenheit in summer. Sugarcane can grow up to nineteen feet high and about two inches thick. Harvesters used machetes to chop the cane down about a foot high so it can re-grow, leaving ragged edges of sugarcane sticking up from the ground like pikes. These edges would cut harvester's legs as they hacked at thick swaths of cane. Also, the crop grows year-round, leaving no time for rest.

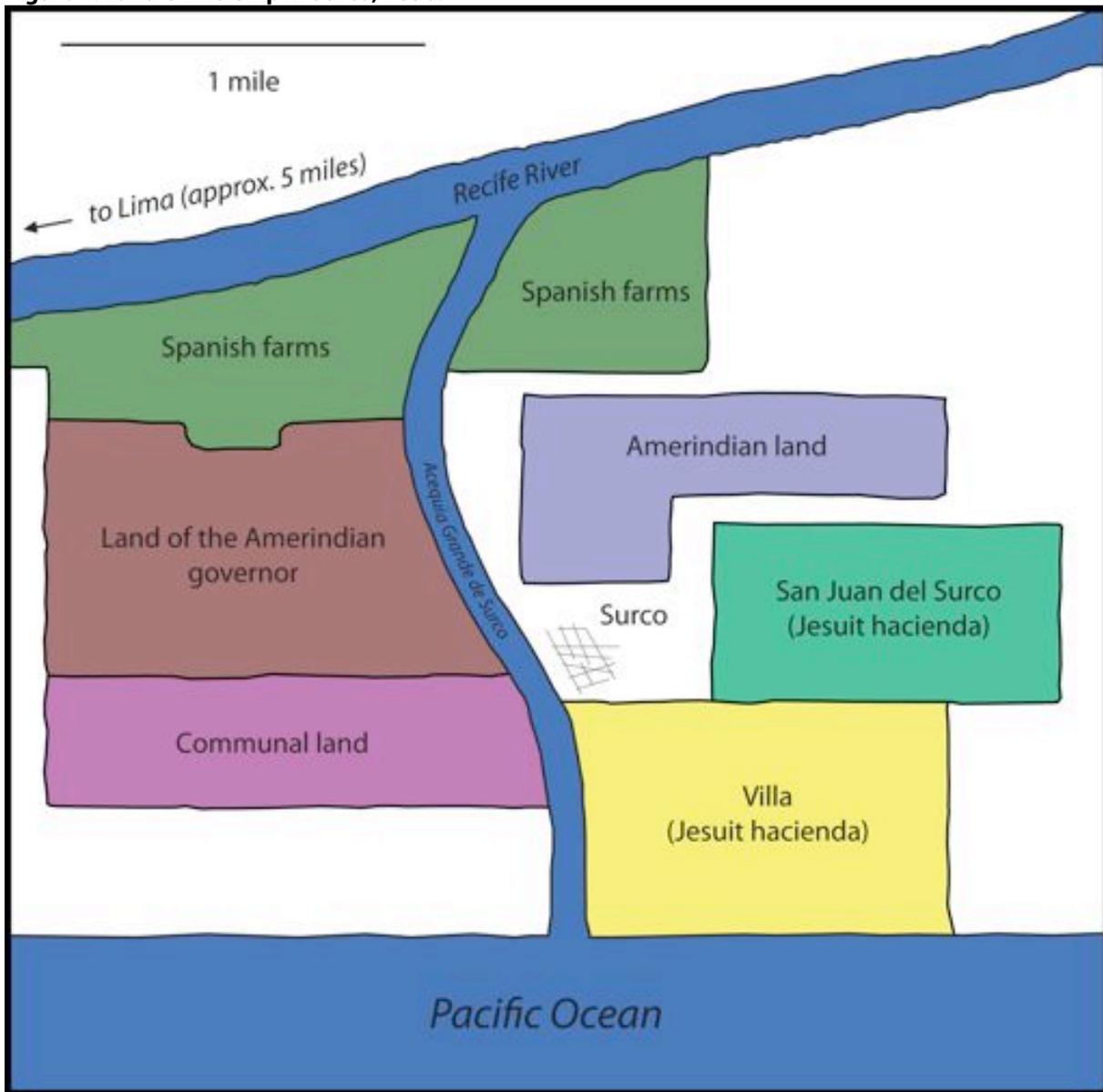
Slave labor established the Jesuits as an economic powerhouse in early Peru. Pablo Macera, in his introduction to *Instrucciones*, describes sugar production, commercial enterprise, and slave labor on Jesuit haciendas. It is clear from his description that the Jesuits are not Catholic parasites on the economic order of Peru, but rather, that they were an efficient group with an important role in the economy. Jesuits were seduced by power and money that sugar represented, and they did not respond to the inhumanity of the sugar crop. This is more than just a matter of not doing manual labor. The Jesuits chose the crop that would earn the most money, not one like wine or grain that could sustain them with less impact on their slaves. In the Jesuits' view, if the soul was saved, the body was fair game.

**Figure 3. Jesuit Hacienda San José, near Nazca, Peru. Top: panorama. Bottom left: front of the church. Bottom right: 1945 aerial photograph.<sup>17</sup>**



<sup>17</sup> First two photos taken by the author; last photo from the Servicio Aerofotografico Nacional in Lima, Peru.

Figure 4. Land Ownership in Surco, 1636.<sup>18</sup>



### *Jesuit Land Acquisitions*

San Juan del Surco, near Nazca, was one of the first haciendas donated to the Jesuits, and one of the first to turn a profit (see Figure 4). Donated in 1581 to San Pablo, the hacienda grew in subsequent years as the Jesuits leased contiguous land owned by Amerindians. For the first forty years, 800 head of cattle and 250 goats grazed the land, but in the 1620s, the Jesuits built an

<sup>18</sup> From data in Cushner, "Lords of the Land," 33–38.

aqueduct and reservoir that enabled them to grow sugar. They also built a *trapiche*, or sugar mill, and imported more slaves.<sup>19</sup>

The acquisition of Vilcahuara was typical of haciendas bought with cash donations (see Figure 4). In 1532, an *encomendero* named Juan Bayón de Campomanes purchased the land from two Amerindian *caciques*. The hacienda stayed in the family until Sebastián García de Ortega bought it in 1606; he fell into debt and sold it to the Jesuits of Cercado College forty years later. The Jesuits, seeking a sustainable income source, paid a hefty 76,000 pesos for Vilcahuara, but it generously came with eighty-seven African slaves and quickly turned a profit. The Jesuits bought more land in subsequent years by 1650 operated three haciendas over 3,500 hectares in the Huaura Valley.<sup>20</sup>

In the 1640s, Jesuits capitalized on the increasing European demand for wine, acquiring vineyards in southern Peru especially around Nazca. Having acquired a number of other haciendas already, they were able to entice more donations and, in some cases, purchase their own from cash reserves. Some of Peru's wealthiest colonists held deep devotions to the Church that enabled land acquisition; one benefactor in Nazca, Francisco Cabelas, agreed to sell his lands to San Pablo for only 5,500 pesos as long as the Jesuits offered masses and prayers to him after his death.<sup>21</sup>

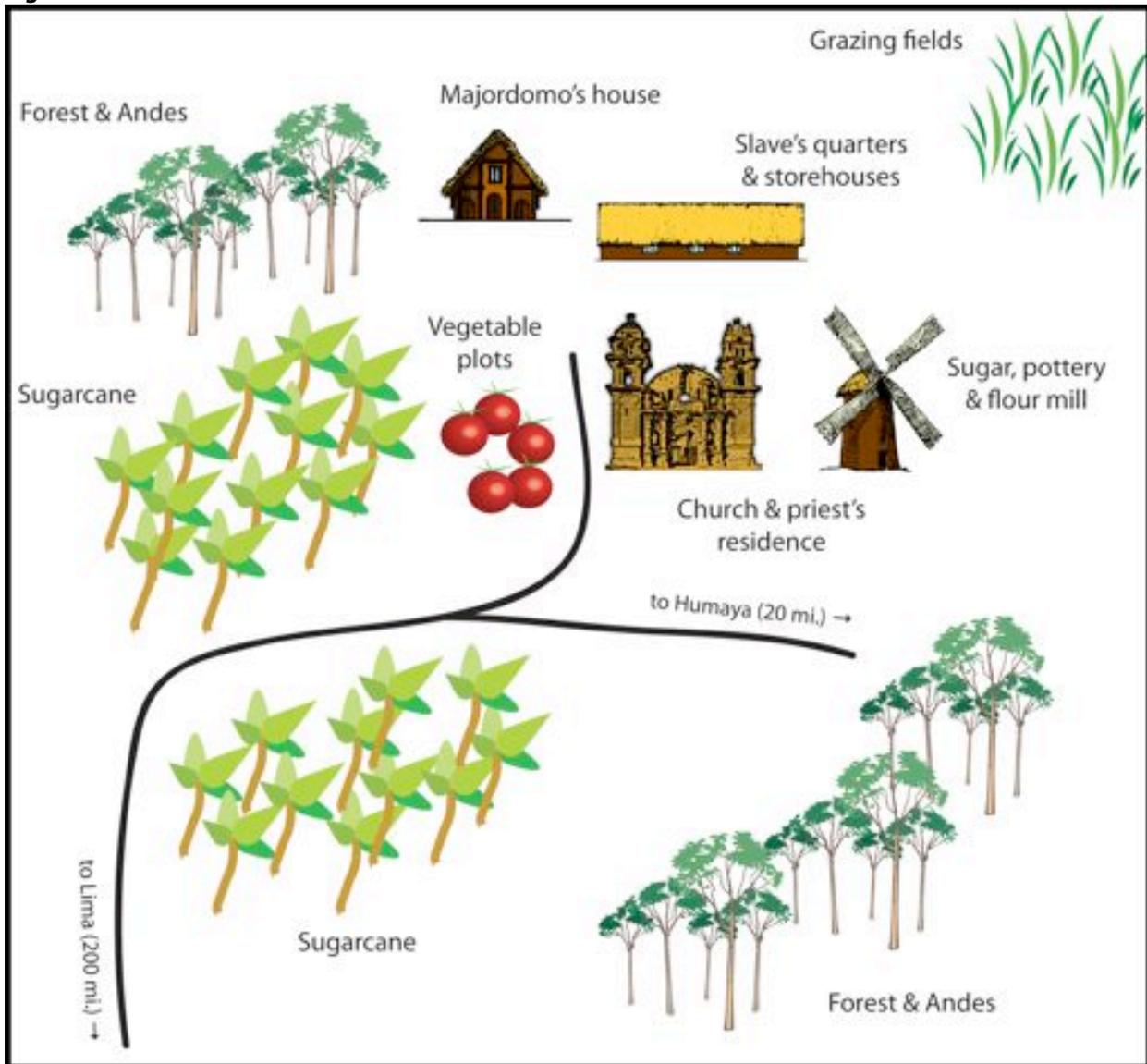
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<sup>19</sup> Martín, *The Intellectual Conquest*, 173.

<sup>20</sup> Cushner, *Lords of the Land*, 30–31; AGNL, Compañía 16. For a similar history of plantations at Cajamarca and Ica, see Olivari, “Acciones para el cambio,” and Soldi, “Obrajes de vidrio en Ica.”

<sup>21</sup> Cushner, *Lords of the Land*, 43.

Figure 5. Land Use at the Hacienda of Vilcahuaura.<sup>22</sup>



The Jesuits were able to buy more land largely by exploiting local Amerindian communities. In addition to the *mita* and *encomienda* systems, the Jesuits built haciendas near established Amerindian trade networks to take advantage of established infrastructures, such as roads and canals. Francisco de Saz Carrasco, the Crown-appointed *protector de los indios*, wrote in 1637:

<sup>22</sup> From personal inspection of the site and Cushner, "Lords of the Land," 38–40.

The Spaniards [use] the water belonging to the Indians, from the rivers and aqueducts.... The law forbidding Spaniards to live among Indians should be more closely observed, because they suck their life's blood, they work them without pay, and they even take their wives away as children.<sup>23</sup>

Given the fact that Carrasco's warning does not appear in any instructions to haciendas, nor were haciendas built or moved away from Amerindian lands, it is likely that he was simply ignored.

The Jesuits bought the uncultivated land at Villa in 1632, a controversial purchase both because the high cost of the land and the energy spent to build the working hacienda. The lay brother in charge of the project, Joseph de Lara, spent the enormous sum of 200,000 pesos before the first cane was cut. Lara wrote a report to the Jesuit business manager Mastrilli Durán defending each purchase, a list of which describes the functioning and priorities of the Jesuit haciendas. Of note is that nearly half the budget is to purchase and provide for slaves' physical and spiritual wellbeing, including food, clothes, and "pictures for sacristy." See a full inventory of Villa's initial expenses in the appendix (Table 2), along with a table of other early Jesuit acquisitions (Table 3).<sup>24</sup>

Products from haciendas were exported along a network of roads that connected the haciendas to Lima, the port at Callao, Quito, and Cartagena. Other roads brought goods south through Potosí and Cordoba to Buenos Aires. By the end of the eighteenth century, the total sugar production had reached 7,500 tons. Of this, 880–1,100 tons were exported to Chile, Guayaquil, Bolivia, and Argentina, which at this time had not begun to produce sugar. Approximately 6,000 tons were exported through Cartagena, while the rest was consumed locally.<sup>25</sup> The Jesuits enslaved so many Africans by the end of the seventeenth century — well

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<sup>23</sup> Cushner, *Lords of the Land*, 36.

<sup>24</sup> The sacristy is the room that held religious vestments, sacred vessels, and church records. Cushner, *Lords of the Land*, 36.

<sup>25</sup> Deerr, *The History of Sugar*, 140.

over 10,000 — that the Humaya hacienda after 1650 only produced clothes for the slaves on that and other haciendas.<sup>26</sup>

### *Organization of the Haciendas*

Although San Pablo in Lima was the Jesuit seat in Peru, the colleges were decentralized with much autonomy over their own haciendas and landholdings. Most haciendas supported one college, but some large colleges like San Pablo drew from several haciendas in the Lima area. A member of the order — the *administrador de hacienda, hermano y coadjutor* — was in charge of each, running the day-to-day operations of the hacienda and enforcing rules from Lima. Each hacienda also employed a *majordomo*, or lay Spanish overseer. A Jesuit *visitador*, an inspector from San Pablo, would audit each hacienda in periodic *libros de la hacienda* and ultimately in the Jesuits' annals of haciendas, the *libro de órdenes, memoriales e instrucciones*. This book, in addition to chronicling the production and inventory of each hacienda, shared best practices with other haciendas and communicated instructions.<sup>27</sup>

The instructions show that religion and agriculture were equal priorities. For example, the *visitadores* wrote in 1684 to the hacienda of Ingenio:

The brothers who live in this hacienda should understand that they are obliged not only to oversee the work of the slaves, but also to preach to them what they need to know in order to live a good Christian life according to the examples and teachings of the Lord.<sup>28</sup>

They wrote again in 1707:

The care in teaching African slaves their catechism and Christian doctrine is most properly our duty; and so our brothers in charge of them should make sure they conscientiously fulfill this obligation by teaching them their lessons on a daily basis.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Cushner, *Lords of the Land*, 92.

<sup>27</sup> Rodríguez-Camilloni, "The Rural Churches," 241. See Macera, *Instrucciones*, 31 for an account of the daily life of a Jesuit brother on the hacienda.

<sup>28</sup> Macera, *Instrucciones*, 30.40.

Other instructions required daily schedules of Catholic teaching and observance including “catechetical instruction for Africans who had recently arrived in the colony; weekly classes for children and adults; community prayer; ten memorial masses upon the death of a slave; Easter Sunday services; confession and communion at least twice a year; Lenten services; and other celebrations...in which the entire population of the hacienda learned the contents of the New Testament through direct participation in its festivals.” Still others forbade work on Sundays and religious holidays.<sup>30</sup> Festivals and time off provided opportunity for slaves to incorporate their African traditions in Catholic services and time to practice their traditions outside Catholic auspices, as I show next.<sup>31</sup> Haciendas were the economic backbone of the powerful Jesuit order, but their productivity depended on more than just efficiency of labor: also important were the religious, demographic, and fiscal functions that made the haciendas complex institutions.<sup>32</sup>

### *Interstices of Resistance*

Claude Meillassoux, writing on Côte d’Ivoire, distinguishes among three components of power over labor. First is reconstitution, the physical support of workers through their employment, such as clothing and food. Second is maintenance of the worker during idle periods, such as sickness or vacations. Third is reproduction of labor, which maintains workers’ offspring. In a free labor economy, wages must cover all three components. But in a forced labor system, maintenance and reproduction are the responsibility of the workers, while the

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<sup>29</sup> Macera, *Instrucciones*, 73. These repeated reminders could be due to haciendas’ laxness in pursuing evangelical goals. But the twenty-seven years between the instructions and the consistency of Jesuit doctrine on slavery and baptism suggest otherwise.

<sup>30</sup> Rodríguez-Camilloni, “The Rural Churches,” 242. These and other prohibitions are in “Preceptos de santa obediencia... Villa, 1621,” BNL, Ms. C-1520.

<sup>31</sup> In *Caribbean Contours*, Sidney Mintz provides direct evidence of slaves practicing their traditions on days off in Hispaniola.

<sup>32</sup> Macera, *Mapas coloniales*, xi.

entrepreneur covers only reconstitution, the immediate labor costs. Therefore, in this system, workers spend resources on their bodies, the mechanisms of production.<sup>33</sup> In other words, in Peru, slaveowners only take responsibility for the immediate cost of forced labor and not the health and spiritual concerns of their slaves.

This was the case in the *mita* system, as Enrique Tandeter argues, and a similar process took place among lay slaveowners. But David Chandler notes that the Jesuits took better care of the health and spiritual concerns of their slaves, regularly stocking infirmaries on haciendas and holding regular religious instruction. It is difficult the measure to which spiritual concerns led to better physical treatment on plantations, but it does point to a more holistic approach of reconstitution, maintenance, and reproduction of labor on Jesuit plantations. The goodwill of the Jesuits should not be overstated. But I do seek to understand how the Jesuit model created interstitial cracks in colonial control that allowed for African voices to surface through cultural resistance.

The Jesuits' emphasis on economic, religious, and cultural control distinguished them among many other slave masters throughout history. Walter Johnson argues that slave masters in the American South, for example, reproduce themselves biologically through the bodies of female slaves. Johnson makes this argument to describe how slave bodies were used in order to reproduce the capital of the slave masters. Johnson's argument assumes new meaning when applied to the Society of Jesus, a celibate order. In Peru, enslaving and evangelizing Africans was a means for celibate men to reproduce or propagate themselves, both in terms of European capital, but also in terms of their culture and their desire to become fathers to their slaves.<sup>34</sup> Jesuits used the Church in this way to patronize and coerce their slaves, not only to save them. They taught that God

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<sup>33</sup> Meillassoux, *Femmes, gréniers et capitaux*, 152; Tandeter, *Coercion and Market*, 15.

<sup>34</sup> Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, 117.

ordained the state and their system of control, and that slaves' reward for submitting to this authority would be found in heaven. Conversely, revolts were offenses against God, who would scold them with famines, plagues, and earthquakes. Cowed and subservient, in a world of strange social and economic values, slaves were unable to stage a revolt or even consider doing so.<sup>35</sup>

Cushner proposes future study of the extent to which personal ties within the family and hacienda affected slaves' acceptance of their position. Though there is a need for much more research on this issue, I submit some evidence that suggests family ties were cut, leaving room for ethnic bonds to become more important. As records from Sandoval and purchasing agents suggest, families were often separated in Cartagena before departing for Peru.<sup>36</sup> This, plus the high mortality rates on the journey, likely meant that most slaves landed in Callao with few if any family members, and those that did might have again been separated when sold in Lima. As for slaves who married and bore children in Peru, families were again often kept separated. Peruvian chronicler Guaman Poma argues for black family unity, suggesting its absence:

In many cases, [African slaves] are actually prevented from marrying. In others, married blacks are sold and separated from their wives. The blacks, man and wife, ought preferably to live together in one house. If this cannot be arranged, they should at least be brought together at night.... Also the sons and daughters of black homes ought not to be sold or separated from their mothers, with the result that there is nobody to look after them in life or grieve for them in death. The children should be treated fairly. If they are needed for work on the farms, they are entitled in return to be taught to read and write and become good Christians.<sup>37</sup>

Guaman Poma shows that slave families often did not live together, hinting that these ties were not strong enough to build solidarity among a group of displaced African slaves.

I looked for evidence of social bonds among the slave population in records of crime on the hacienda. A crime can be an expression of frustration against authority that could require

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<sup>35</sup> Cushner, "Slave Mortality and Reproduction," 189. During the period of study, there were no significant *palenques* that appear in the archival record.

<sup>36</sup> Chandler, "Health and Slavery," 119–120; Sandoval, *De instauranda*, 178.

<sup>37</sup> Poma, *Letter to a King*, 162.

moral support, accomplices, and other expressions of solidarity. There are also many accounts of crimes committed against Jesuit authority in the archives. For example, in 1648, one group of slaves at Ica organized a band of local Indians to sell the wine and aguardiente (a liquor made from fermented sugar) they stole from the hacienda bodegas. Slaves would enter the bodega through a system of pulleys that would lower them through a hole in the roof. The group was apprehended and some of the alcohol was recovered in the slaves' quarters, the houses of the local Amerindians, and in the forest. The slaves were given 100 lashes. The Amerindians received the same punishment and were made to recompense the missing wine and aguardiente.<sup>38</sup>

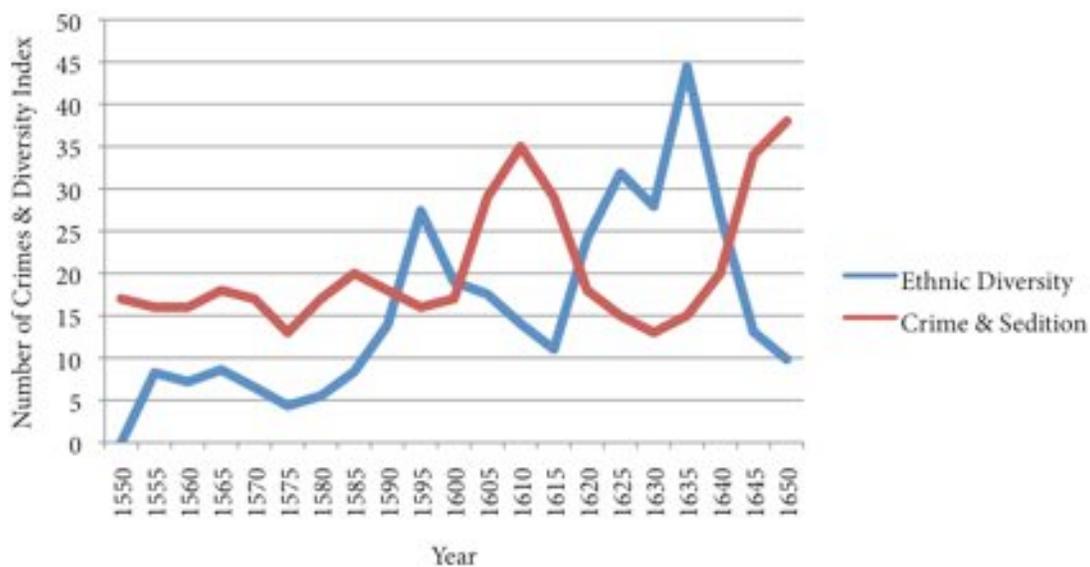
Bowser has collected stories like these into a table on black crimes reported before 1650, and I compared these data with ethnic diversity, another of Bowser's data sets (see Chart B). This comparison shows that small-scale crimes against whites decreases when there is more ethnic diversity on the haciendas, while criminality increases when there is less ethnic diversity. In other words, blacks were more likely to resist when there were more people like them working on the hacienda.

Bowser identifies over thirty ethnic groups of slaves in Peru during the period of study. While his is a survey of all black slaves in Peru and not just those on Jesuit haciendas, the source of the slaves was the same, so I am comfortable assuming a similar ethnic diversity on Jesuit haciendas. Furthermore, it is unlikely that Jesuit agents had preference for one slave trader or ethnic group over another.

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<sup>38</sup> Corporal punishment defined the master-slave relationship between Jesuits and slaves. Superiors from San Pablo ordered that slaves would be punished with twenty-five lashes for minor infractions, and theft or flight would bring fifty lashes. Account books list expenditures of thirty-five to one hundred twenty pesos to recover runaway slaves. Solitary confinement was not to exceed eight days, and it was forbidden to burn parts of slaves' bodies with a candle. The priests themselves were not to administer or witness punishment. These and other restrictions are in "Preceptos de santa obediencia . . . , Villa, 1721," BNL, Ms. C 1520. See Bowser, *The African Slave*, 230–231; Cushner, "Slave Mortality," 188.

**Chart B. African Ethnic Diversity and Crime in Coastal Peru, 1550–1650**



I used standard deviation as a measure of ethnic diversity on the haciendas, based on Bowser’s chronological table of slave ethnicities in Peru.<sup>39</sup> I then compared these data with records of crimes perpetrated against whites, based on another table from Bowser on crime. This second table, however, had no time scale, so I returned to the archives to attach dates to the crimes that Bowser reports. I include only crimes perpetrated against whites like vandalism, running away, and theft, and not crimes like murder or assault that were generally committed against blacks. By their nature, these crimes represent resistance against Jesuits’ economic and political authority; they are also crimes of self-preservation.

Crime can be empowering, allowing slaves to reformulate conceptions of their own agency while resisting authority. There were other opportunities for slaves in the Church to relocate themselves in the rigid Spanish hierarchy. Guaman Poma, writing about the condition of blacks in Peru, suggests several ways in which African slaves could locate themselves in the hacienda’s social order. He writes: “A little religion and education makes a Guinean worth two

<sup>39</sup> Bowser, *The African Slave*, 40–43.

Creole half-castes and in an extreme case he is capable of sainthood.... Blacks should be able to appoint a mayor, a magistrate, and a clerk.”<sup>40</sup> Blacks could hold leadership positions in the *cofradías* that Poma suggests they lacked in municipal authority.

Francisco de Saz Carrasco provides further evidence of blacks asserting themselves in social hierarchies by tormenting Amerindians: “The Spaniards not only use the water belonging to the Indians, but their slaves rob their chickens and mistreat them as if the Indians were slaves and not they.”<sup>41</sup> By modeling the mistreatment of Amerindians and purchasing land next to them, Jesuits inadvertently created a social hierarchy that Africans could ascend, however maliciously. Carrasco provides a perspective into how blacks could locate themselves in the Spanish social hierarchy. Blacks on Jesuit haciendas could lift themselves up by stepping on the shoulders of local Amerindians.

While the Jesuits were primarily concerned with profit, they also advocated the spiritual wellbeing of their slaves. The body is the vehicle to the soul; it follows that there would be some physical benefits to concern for the metaphysical, such as days off on Sunday and opportunities for social hierarchies within church groups. But these relaxations also allowed for some examples of resistance, including solidarity among ethnic groups and insertions of African culture into Catholic traditions. Spiritual concerns led the Jesuits to script opportunities for time off, creating interstices in Spanish colonial control that allowed for evidence of African cultural resistance.

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<sup>40</sup> Poma, *Letter to a King*, 163.

<sup>41</sup> Cushner, *Lords of the Land*, 36.



## Conclusion: Spheres of Transnational Power

Postcolonial theory is rooted in the idea that scholars and formerly colonized and enslaved peoples can interrogate the ways in which their cultural identity has been co-opted by authority that alienated categories of voice, history, and race. Scholars have used words like *creole*, *diasporic*, and *mestizo* to nuance these categories and more appropriately address postcolonial realities. This, Margaret Olsen argues, is a return to “authentic identity formation” to reconstitute the “subjectivity subverted by colonialism.”<sup>1</sup>

But what is the authenticity to which we should return? How can there be an authentic past when the ethnic makeup of the first African slaves in Peru was so diverse? Where does authenticity start: in Africa, in Cartagena, in Lima, on the plantations, or in some other place or time? I have taken a holistic approach to the African slave trade in Peru, linking the continents to show how slaves’ journeys informed their lived experiences. This is not an attempt to re-make contemporary Afro-Peruvian identity by proposing a more “authentic” version of the past. Rather, I investigate the holes Africans exploited in the patchwork of colonial control, some of which contributed to contemporary realities of race, identity, gender, and culture in Afro-Peru. I have tried to show that the Jesuits’ moral struggle with the slavery and the power to coerce in each step in a slaves’ journey to the hacienda. Jesuits exploited themes from the Eucharist to drive a system of slavery. Approaching Christianity is not just about culture. It is also about forced labor and resistance to it.

But resistance to what authority: political, religious, or economic? The nature of Jesuit power in colonial Peru is somewhat clouded. Some scholars of the Society of Jesus, including C. R. Boxer, have argued that the Jesuits were the world’s first multinational firm, operating an

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<sup>1</sup> Olsen, *Slavery and Salvation*, 5–6.

international network of import and export of both human and material capital.<sup>2</sup> Dauril Alden refutes this categorization, but he only does so by contrasting the business models of the Jesuits and the British and Dutch East India Companies. Essentially, he argues, Jesuit missions had far more autonomy than these companies, which were run by a central European office.<sup>3</sup>

Alden's observations are helpful in explaining the Jesuits' contributions to the Peruvian colonial economy. But I would add that the biggest difference between the Society of Jesus and any transnational firm is that more than just economics motivated the Jesuits. In fact, Boxer and Alden's debate does not account for the totality of the Jesuit enterprise in Peru. The Jesuit system of control did not value only efficient import and export, but also a continuity of control from Africa to Cartagena to Lima that enabled the Jesuits to direct the evangelization and production of their slaves.

Throughout this continuity, the Jesuits act not only as a transnational financial institution but also as a Catholic order. Recent critics including Mayra Beers and Mario Cesareo have placed the Jesuits' missionary work in the context of seventeenth century Spanish mercantilist discourse.<sup>4</sup> All three identify the rise in Jesuit missionary work with Spain's coincidental economic decline and argue missions sought to generate a different kind of profit: one measured in the "wealth of souls" won for God.<sup>5</sup> Beers writes, "Like a true merchant, [Sandoval's] concern was with the immediate and the practical: that is, catechizing labors and the improvement of conditions for the slave to prosper and continue."<sup>6</sup>

There were also times that the Jesuits acted like a state. They operated by bureaucratic practices especially in the operation their haciendas, using rules to evaluate how important land

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<sup>2</sup> Boxer, *Portuguese India*, 50.

<sup>3</sup> Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 668–669.

<sup>4</sup> Beers, "Alonso de Sandoval"; Cesareo, *Cruzados, mártires, y beatos*.

<sup>5</sup> Olsen, *Slavery and Salvation*, 20. See also Marzal, "La evangelización de los negros," 72–73.

<sup>6</sup> Olsen, *Slavery and Salvation*, 20.

acquisitions would be to economic production and distributing reports from San Pablo. They also held some power over the lay authorities, answering to the pope and not the Spanish Crown. Moreover, they forced subjects to embody their power through religious practice in Cartagena and in the more visceral sense of forced labor on slave caravans to Lima, and in forced labor when they got there.<sup>7</sup> Some scholars have even identified their efforts to create a “Jesuit state,” a society governed by their own authority, subject only to their interests and religious philosophies. Jesuits in Peru simultaneously showed characteristics of a multinational firm, a Catholic order, and a state.

Jesuits functioned across temporal space as a state, a multinational firm, and a Catholic order. Jesuits’ political multifunctionality attracted competition with corresponding political actors, including the colonial government, lay landowners, indigenous leaders, and other Catholic orders. These battles often took place over the treatment of African slaves: how to work them, how to baptize them, and what laws to make to control them. The Jesuits are fascinating in part because they collapsed economic, political, and religious spheres of control, each of which presented new opportunities for African resistance. These spheres did not act independently of each other, though some were stronger in different settings. Indeed, the overriding mission of evangelization affected both economic and political power. Religious concerns opened interstices in the Jesuits economic political control that allowed for African identity formation and, consequently, a historical record of African voices to come through.

Through reinterpreting Jesuit colonial documents on African slavery, I hope to challenge the knowability of the past and reveal the uncanny presence of histories of violence and repression in the present. As Sidney Mintz argues, continuities between the Old World and the

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<sup>7</sup> Weber, “Bureaucracy,” 50; Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 135–168.

New World rest on the understanding of the African slave trade and, in Peru, slaves' introduction to Spanish colonial authority; African American social and cultural forms were galvanized "in the fires of enslavement."<sup>8</sup> To paraphrase Melville Herskovits, whether blacks borrowed from the Spanish or vice-versa, this process always changed whatever was borrowed and incorporated elements that give new cultural forms their "distinctive quality." Mintz suggests that "creating" or "remodeling" might better fit this process than "borrowing."<sup>9</sup> I hope this paper contributes to this work by suggesting how future encounters between dominated and dominating people can better respect human dignity.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Mintz, *The Birth of African-American Culture*, 82.

<sup>9</sup> Herskovits, *Life in a Haitian Valley*, 260.

<sup>10</sup> See Na'im, "Toward a Cross-Cultural Approach," 19-43.

## Appendix A: Tables

**Table 2. Initial Expenses for the Hacienda of Villa, 1632–1634 (in pesos)<sup>1</sup>**

<i>Administrador de hacienda</i>		<i>Construction</i>	
kitchen equipment	615	adobe bricks	6,685
ovens	247	lumber	11,397
bakery apparatus	184	nails and carpenters' tools	4,616
blankets, dining room equipment	518	flour mill	957
pictures for sacristy	1,388	rented mules	8,198
		widening canal to hacienda	1,935
		cleaning canals	7,669
<i>Slaves</i>		cleaning water tanks	2,426
97 slaves	49,381	master bricklayer	31,503
clothes and mattresses for slaves	8,265	various	11,566
food for slaves and 150 paid workers	27,512		
<i>Animals</i>		<i>Salaries</i>	
60 pair of oxen	4,726	majordomos	777
55 mares, 12 donkeys	894	wages of hired workers	11,261
36 mules with saddles	3,179		
		<i>Miscellany</i>	
<i>Harvesting</i>		infirmary	223
tools	4,252	censos paid	18,800
cane for planting	1,770	various (books, chairs, soap, etc.)	6,378
6 large grinding stones	2,238		
7 large cauldrons, kettles, pumps	3,799		
sugarcane from Guayaquil	2,081		
		Total	235,440

<sup>1</sup> "Resumen de las cuentas..." AGNL 1488.2.

**Table 3. Early Jesuit Hacienda Acquisitions<sup>2</sup>**

Name	Original purchases	Jesuit acquisition	Size	Product	Slaves included	Items included
San Juan de Surco	Diego Porras Sagrado	Sagrado donation to San Pablo (1581)	650 hectares	800 cattle and 250 goats (1581); sugar (1620)	None	None
Vilcahuara	Amerindian <i>caciques</i> Payko and Atumpas to <i>encomendero</i> Compomanes (1594); Compomanes to Ortega for 60,000 pesos (1606)	Purchase from Ortega for 76,000 pesos (1641)	492 hectares, expanded by purchase of Amerindian lands	Sugar, alfalfa, fruit, vegetables	87	Mill, sugar cauldrons, kettles, jars, shovels, machetes, axes, hoes, mules, cows, oxen
Huaura	<i>Encomendero</i> Heredia from <i>caciques</i> (1596); Heredia to Trujillo for 67,200 pesos (1623)	Donation valued at 100,000 (1644)	700 hectares	Sugar, staples	None; 97 purchased for 49,381 pesos (1632–1634)	None
Villa	<i>Encomendero</i> Trujillo to Sanchez (1616)	Purchase from Sanchez for 70,000 pesos (1632)	814 hectares	Sugar	None	None; previously uncultivated
San Xavier	<i>Encomendero</i> Jirón to Cabrasas for 2,000 pesos (1630)	Donation from Cabrasas (1647)	315 hectares	Wine	30	?

<sup>2</sup> Cushner, *Lords of the Land*, 24–56.

## Appendix B: Archival Sources

I have relied on data from the following archives: Archivo General de Indias, Seville (online); Archivo General de la Nación, Lima (AGNL); Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Lima (BNL); Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, Emory University (online). Account books, real estate records, and inventories of Jesuit haciendas are in AGNL, especially the Compañía de Jesus section. These records were confiscated from the Jesuits when they were expelled in 1767, which enables a centrally located source of the Jesuits' impeccable records. BNL has some other sources. Other archival data is in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, which I borrow from Cushner.

Data on crime and sedition from Chart B comes first from Bowser, but I returned to the archives to add dates to Bowser's data. These data come primarily from bills of sale and bail bonds in AGNL. Two other sources are a document in AGNL 1633, which lists suits pending in the Audiencia of Lima in 1570, and Suardo, who mentions several crimes in Lima between 1629 and 1639. I found additional records on runaways in AGNL, Temporalidades 109, and in trial records dated November 18, 1698, in AGNL, Compañía de Jesus, 19.

Some data presented in Table 1 on the source of slave populations is in BNL, Memorial del estado de Vilcahuaura, 1679–1699 (Ms. B 332). The rest is in AGNL in the Compañía de Jesus section, including (folio in parentheses):

- Libro de recibo, 1673–1685 (96)
- Libro de cuentas de esta hacienda de San Pablo y San Xavier, 1661–1718 (42a)
- Libro de cuenta de las cosechas de viña de la hacienda de San Javier, 1670–1766 (42)
- Libro de cuentas, Colegio de San Pablo, 1671–1683 (42a)
- Colegio de Callao y Hacienda Bocanegra, 1735–1762 (27)
- Razón de los ingresos y egresos de la hacienda de Vilcahuaura, 1762–1776 (95)
- Libro de gasto de la hacienda de Bethlén, 1726–1767 (82)
- Recibo de los frutos de la hacienda de San Juan de Pampa [Huaura], 1687–1713 (91)
- Libro de gasto de la hacienda del Ingenio de Guaura, 1747–1767 (86)
- Libro de gasto del colegio de Pisco, 1713–1745 (39)
- Libro de gasto de este colegio de Pisco, 1745–1750 (39)
- Libro del recibo general, 1761–1767 (40)



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