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SOURCES FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF PERUVIAN AGRARIAN HISTORY

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PART I: INTRODUCTION

Peruvian history should provide a body of data useful for testing a number of hypotheses and resolving a number of theoretical and historical controversies important to Latin Americanists and other social scientists. The mechanics of cultural disintegration and assimilation under colonization; the dynamics of rural property and labor systems; the economics of plantation, hacienda, and peasant agriculture;² and the impact of social and agrarian legislation on "traditional" and "modern" production systems are a few of the topics that come to mind. But Peruvian historiography has largely ignored agrarian history, and well-documented studies of Peru's rural life are rare even for the contemporary period.³ Thus, as Peru's agrarian reform liquidates the hacienda, and introduces new institutions to replace the existing agrarian structure, we find ourselves particularly ignorant of the pre-reform agrarian institutions and their historical development.⁴

¹The authors are graduate students at the University of Wisconsin and Cornell University respectively. Name order was determined by a coin flip.

²Including "Capitalist" "Feudal" and "Traditional" interpretations.

³Notable exceptions are a number of theses and publications by students and faculty of the Universidad Nacional Agraria (La Molina) and San Marcos, the ethnographical and sociological studies of the Instituto Indigenista Peruano, and more recently of the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

⁴Peru's agrarian reform law of 1969 makes the majority of all Peruvian latifundia, including the highly productive coastal agro-industrial complexes, subject to expropriation. The new model for rural holdings is the producers' cooperative, which is being imposed on community, as well as latifundia and minifundia holdings.

Problems of access have severely limited intellectual work in Peru. Bibliographies and bibliographers have been inaccessible, and many important documents have been hoarded in private collections, unavailable to independent researchers. Public libraries have been understaffed and their collections incomplete and poorly catalogued. More importantly, haciendas have been physically closed to outsiders, and communities have been isolated and fearful. The bulk of colonial manuscripts have been shelved in the archives of public institutions, churches, and notaries traditionally inaccessible to scholars. As a result, primary investigation on many important aspects of rural Peru has been difficult if not impossible;⁵ secondary work, in turn, has been frustrated by the absence of published works.

The Peruvian Revolution has had a major impact on the study of Peru's agrarian institutions.⁶ The Revolution has stimulated research by questioning publicly the dogma which legitimated oligarchic control in Peru. More importantly, the agrarian reform of 1969 has opened rural areas, both physically and psychologically, greatly facilitating research in the provinces. The Centro de Documentación Agraria del Perú, founded in 1971 as a repository for the archival materials of haciendas affected by agrarian reform, should play a central role in facilitating and promoting agrarian historical research. The "Documents Law" of 1972 places private archives

⁵In some places, such as the coastal plantation "Tumán" and the sierra hacienda "Udima," all types of research were impossible, because gate-keepers and internal police kept "foreigners" from entering and asking questions. In other places, such as the sierra towns of Chota and Bambamarca, research on the enganche labor contract system was difficult because local officials, fearful of "outside agitators" and obligated to local contratistas, would harass "foreigners" into leaving town.

⁶Peru's Gobierno Revolucionario Militar forced Belaunde out of office in October of 1968, and since that date has inaugurated agrarian, industrial, fishing, mining, banking, and a number of other reforms which comprise the on-going, non-violent "Peruvian Revolution."

and collections in the public domain.⁷ Finally, the nationalization of the Sociedad Nacional Agraria in 1972 should make the archives of this important organization of Peruvian hacendados accessible to social scientists.

This paper is intended as a concise guide to Peruvian sources of importance, and accessible to, agrarian historians. In Part II we treat data sources and methodology. Notarial and ecclesiastical archives, court records, property registers, hacienda papers, and interviews receive special attention. Part III outlines more comprehensively the principal sources of Peruvian documentation for agrarian history. Part IV is a selected bibliography of publications.⁸

This paper stems from our own research on hacienda agriculture in the Lambayeque valley of northern Peru. As a result, the majority of our examples come from this region. Our discussion of sources is general, however, and our methodology should be useful for agrarian historical research in other parts of Peru and other Latin American countries.

⁷These materials, however, remain in the possession of their present owners, and it is not yet clear to what extent they will become freely available for scholarly research. The documents law was published in El Peruano (Lima, 17 May 1972) under the title: "ES DE UTILIDAD PUBLICA, DEFENSA, CONSERVACION E INCREMENTO DE PATRIMONIO DOCUMENTAL."

⁸Nearly all the entries in Part IV are Peruvian. The following, recent English-language publications not listed in the bibliography, are of special importance to Peruvian agrarian historians: James Lockhart, "The Social History of Colonial Spanish America: Evolution and Potential," LARR 7 (Spring 1972); Karen Spalding, "The Colonial Indian: Past and Future Research Perspectives," *Ibid.*; John Murra, "Current Research and Prospects in Andean Ethnohistory," LARR 5 (Spring 1970); Shane Hunt, "Some Tasks in Peruvian Economic History, 1830-1930," Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, Research Program in Economic Development, Discussion Paper no. 25 (July 1972); Juan Martinez-Alier, "Relations of Production in Andean Haciendas: Peru," forthcoming paper presented at Symposium on Landlord and Peasant in Latin America and the Caribbean, Cambridge (December 1972). The bibliography on Peruvian economic history by Pablo Macera and Shane Hunt, soon to be published in Peru, should be an important research tool for social historians.

PART II: SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

A. Bibliographical Material

Of particular importance are the works of Toribio Medino, Vargas Ugarte, and Porras Barrenechea. In La Imprenta en Lima (1584-1824) (Santiago, 1904-07) José Toribio Medina cites, for all practical purposes, the entire bibliography of colonial Peru. The works of Vargas Ugarte on Peruvian history and historiography are of the utmost authority, and more useful as introductory material than, for example, Basadre's massive, but poorly indexed Historia de la República del Perú, 1822-1933 (Lima, 1968). The published course notes of Porras Barrenechea, Fuentes Históricas Peruanas (Lima, 1963), are very detailed and well organized--by subject, period and region.

In the bibliographies of R.E.G., "Bibliografía Económica Peruana," in Revista de la Facultad de Ciencia, Económicas y Comerciales, no. 44 (enero-junio, 1951), and the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Nomina de Graduados y Catalogo de Tesis de la Facultad de Derecho (Lima, 1942), important theses and dissertations are cited. Several have been published as pamphlets or distributed as mimeos, but the majority of these and the theses of the National Agrarian University must be consulted in the libraries of the corresponding Universities.⁹

B. Secondary Materials in Peru's National Library

The largest and most accessible collections of secondary materials in Peru are in the National Library. These documents are held in several Reading Rooms, each of which has a separate staff and catalogue. The Salas include Humanities, Sciences, Encyclopedias, and Childrens' Rooms, but the

⁹The majority of the published theses are in the Sala Peru of the National Library.

most important for historians are the Sala Perú, Sala de Revistas y Periódicos and Sala de Investigaciones Bibliográficas. In this latter Sala the National Union Catalogue to the U.S. Library of Congress and the British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books may be consulted. A General Catalogue to Peru's National Library is near completion. However, it is wise not to rely upon this, but to consult the catalogues of the individual Reading Rooms--and these with great care, since items are occasionally not properly cross-referenced.

Books and pamphlets in the Sala Perú are found in one or more of four separate catalogues to this collection: Author-Title, Subject, Region, and Official Publications. Again, cross-referencing is incomplete, and not all the library's Peruvian collection is available here. Many of the older and rarer books and pamphlets are located in one of the separate collections in the Sala de Investigaciones, and a number of official publications, such as Memorias de Prefectos y Subprefectos, are located in the Sala de Revistas y Periódicos, listed under the appropriate city name in the catalogue of Official Periodicals.

In the Sala de Revistas y Periódicos, in addition to the catalogues of official and non-official periodicals arranged by title and region, an important subject index lists a number of articles and miscellaneous publications. The periodical collections of this Room are not complete, but in several instances are complemented by those in the Colección Porrás Barrenechea, in the Sala de Investigaciones.¹⁰ Two other important collections of secondary documents in the Sala de Investigaciones are the Colección Zegarra and the Colección de Libros Raros y Valiosos. The

¹⁰For example, in the October 1874 editions of the official newspaper El Peruano an important monograph on Lambayeque appeared. These numbers are missing from the Sala de Revistas, but are among the old newspapers of the Colección Porrás Barrenechea.

Zegarra collection contains several hundred pamphlets from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Included are a number of valuable polemical pieces dealing with land and water disputes. For example, in Cuestión de Deslinde entre la Hacienda "Luya" y el Imaginario Fundo "San Miguel"; Contestación de la Familia Barragan al Folleto Publicado por don Alfredo Solf (Lima, 1895), the supposed owners of "San Miguel" defend their rights against the Solf family's attempt to claim their fundo as part of "Luya." Eventually the Solfs gained control of "San Miguel," which was later sold to the Pardos of "Tumán."¹¹ Other pamphlets state the views of prominent landowners and politicians in times of national crises: e.g., Antero Aspillaga, Augusto B. Leguía y Alejandro Garland, La Crisis del Azucar (Lima, 1902). Others promote local industry: García y García, El Ferrocarril de Eten (Lima, 1874). Relatively few can be considered disinterested and objective, but, recognizing the biases and polemical nature of these pamphlets, a careful reader can glean valuable historical information from them.

Within the collection of Rare and Valuable Books are several of importance to colonial and ethnohistorians. Fernando de la Carrera, Los Artes de la Lengua Yunga (1644), reprinted in La Revista Peruana (Lima, 1880), presents a valuable grammar of this now extinct coastal language. Miguel Feijoo de Sosa, Relación descriptiva de la Ciudad y Provincias de Trujillo del Peru (1763) is essential for historical research on the northern coast.

¹¹"Tumán" is one of three existing Agro-Industrial Complexes in the Lambayeque valley.

C. Theses and Other Materials Held by Universities

The thesis collection of the Agrarian University (La Molina) is of great potential importance to agrarian historians, but to date it has been largely ignored. The University was founded in 1903 as a service institution for coastal agricultural interests, primarily the sugar planters. Until the 1960s students were recruited almost exclusively from landowning families and the families of prominent agricultural technicians. Graduates were destined for work on their own estates or the estates of progressive landowners. Prior to graduation, each Ingeniero Agrónomo was required to do field work (prácticas) on an hacienda and to submit a thesis at the end of his study.¹² In the period 1905-1940 a number of detailed monographical theses were submitted. In some cases these are essentially descriptive; in others they present empirical, and often historical, data as background information for farm-management-type analyses. The bulk of these early theses deal with coastal sugar haciendas, predominantly those of the Chicama and Santa Catalina valleys, but a number of important studies of cotton, coffee, and cattle production are among the collection. Two theses: Mario G. Cabello, "Informe sobre las Actuales Condiciones de la 'Hacienda Udimá'" (Thesis, La Molina, Lima, 1927), and Nicolas Santolalla, "Monografía de la Hacienda 'San Felipe de Combayo'" (Thesis, La Molina, Lima, 1918), present incomparable data on latifundist production, labor systems, and markets in the northern sierra.

Another group of more recent theses are written not by landowners or

¹²In many cases the graduating Ingeniero was employed by the hacienda at the time he wrote his thesis. For example, Mario Cabello was full-time administrator of the hacienda "Udimá" at the time he wrote the thesis we cite above.

servants of the landowning class, but by a new generation of social critics;¹³ these deal less with production problems on specific haciendas than with structural problems of the agricultural sector (including problems of agrarian reform and rural cooperation). Luis Chavarri, "El Proyecto Reservorio de Tinajones y su Influencia en el Aspecto Agro-Económico del Valle de Chancay, Departamento de Lambayeque," (Thesis, La Molina, 1960), discusses important aspects of water-control and agricultural development in a valley dominated by three agro-industrial complexes producing sugar. Eduardo Grillo, "Contribución al Estudio de Algunos Aspectos Básicos del Agro Peruano" (Lima, 1969) is an excellent study of Peruvian agrarian structure.

In 1967 Peru's Servicio de Investigación y Promoción Agraria (SIPA) published a bibliography of books, articles, and reports in the collection of the Experimental Station Library at La Molina.¹⁴ This bibliography is quite useful, but incomplete, especially with respect to journal articles. Stack permits can be acquired for both the Experimental Station Library and the General University Library at the Molina campus, and it is convenient to review journals and official publications in these libraries.

Three departments at San Marcos have produced theses of particular interest to agrarian historians: The Facultad de Derecho, the Facultad de Antropología and the Facultad de Ciencias Económicas y Financieros. As

¹³Two La Molina professors, Herardo Cardenas and Jaime Lloso, were instrumental in redirecting the research orientation of students and have also had an important impact on the "cooperativist" ideology adopted by the Peruvian government.

¹⁴Theses are not listed in this bibliography.

mentioned earlier, a number of the better studies have been published. Cesar Ugarte, "Los Antecedentes Históricas del Régimen Agrario Peruano" (Lima, 1923) is available as a pamphlet. Alberto Ulloa Sotomayor, "La Organización Social y Legal del Trabajo en el Perú" (Lima, 1916) was published in the Revista Universitaria: Organo de la Universidad Mayor de San Marcos in 1917. Humberto Rodriguez, "Caqui: Estudio de una Hacienda Costeña" (Thesis, Univ. Mayor de San Marcos, Lima, 1969) is available from the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos as a bound volume. A number of important works are cited in bibliographies, but it is wise to check the individual thesis lists of the faculties of Law, Anthropology, Economics, and History at San Marcos.

Several other Peruvian universities have produced theses and publish or have published journals valuable to agrarian historians. Of particular importance are the Universidad Nacional del Cuzco, the Universidad de San Agustín de Arequipa, the Universidad Nacional de la Libertad (Trujillo), and the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

D. Materials Held by the Sociedad Nacional Agraria

At the beginning of the present century, sugar producers founded the Sociedad Nacional Agraria (SNA) to promote their interests and act as the official spokesman for Peruvian agriculture. Cotton planters, wine producers, and other agriculturalists have joined the SNA, but, contrary to its title, the Agrarian Society has never been "National," but "Coastal" and "Latifundist" in orientation.¹⁵ The library of the SNA contains the majority of Society-sponsored publications and documents of the various committees and organizations that form part of, or are affiliated with,

¹⁵Each member's control over the SNA administration is proportional to the value of his estate's production.

the Society. In addition, the library holds numerous Peruvian and foreign books and periodicals related to agriculture and cattle raising.

Of far greater importance than the Library of the SNA are its Archives. These have traditionally been closed to non-members, but since the nationalization of the organization in early 1972, should become more accessible. They include confidential reports of the Society and its dependencies, minutes of meetings, unpublished statistical data, newspaper clippings, and various other documents.¹⁶

E. Primary Documentation (Referring Primarily to the Colonial Period)

A number of important primary documents have been published in Peru: for example, Libro Primero de Cabildos de Lima, Cedulario del Perú, Recopilación de los Leyes de los Reynos de los Indias, Visita de la Provincia de León De Huanuco (1562), Visita Hecha a la Provincia de Chucuito por Garcí Díez de San Miguel en el Año 1567. These are the primary sources most often used by social scientists.¹⁷ In this section we deal with four sources of information which have been less accessible and in many cases untouched by historians: church archives, court records, notarial archives, and property registers.

The bulk of these documents remain in the archives of government institutions, notarial offices and churches; but large and more accessible collections have been acquired by the National Library, the National Archive, and the Archbishop's Archive of Lima.

¹⁶Persons collaborating with the Centro de Documentación Agraria have made a brief survey of this archive.

¹⁷See, for example, the works of Thomas Ford, John Murra, Emilio Romero, and Virgilio Roel.

Few of the public or private collections are completely or in any sense adequately catalogued or indexed. Descriptive cataloging of primary documents is of course a timely, costly, and imprecise matter, since these documents have no title, author, publisher, table of contents or in many cases clearly defined subject matter. For example, in one court case dealing with a boundary dispute, the names of the lands in question are not mentioned until after a hundred pages of description and argument.¹⁸ In addition, all unpublished documents are written by hand, and the earlier ones in chain-script, making cataloging an extremely slow and tedious process. Public institutions continually acquire private collections, and there is a continual backlog of work. As a result, literally tons of valuable material have lain for decades, in some cases centuries, before being grouped into legajos,¹⁹ shelved, and finally catalogued.

Some important archives, such as the Archivo Arzobispal of Lima, are completely uncatalogued; others, such as the Archivo Nacional, have been partially catalogued, but later re-organized and re-catalogued. As a result, several published catalogues are now obsolete and practically useless for archival research.²⁰

There is no generally accepted system for cataloging primary documents, and each archive has a unique organization and catalogue or index.

¹⁸ Archivo Nacional del Perú, Real Audiencia, legajo 44, 1619.

¹⁹ Legajos are bundles of individual manuscripts.

²⁰ For example, Ricardo Palma's Catalogo de los Libros Subsección que Existen en el Salon America (Lima, 1891), and the Catalogo de la Subsección de Aguas published in the Revista del Archivo Nacional del Peru, vol. 4, no. 1 (Lima, 1926), pp. 157-185 and no. 2, pp. 283-304; vol. 5, no. 1 (Lima, 1927), pp. 161-8.

Chronological indexes are the most commonly found. Among these some are "closed" in the sense that no new documents can be incorporated into the collections without re-cataloging entire sections; regional, subject, and onomastical indexes and catalogues are occasionally found. In Part III we note the types of catalogues and indexes available for each of the major documentary collections in Peru.

Whether or not they are catalogued or indexed, repositories of primary sources frequently separate documents into the categories listed below.²¹

TESTAMENTOS: Documents related to wills, often leaving property to the Church or creating capellanías or censos.

CAPELLANIAS y CENSOS: Typically created by wills, leaving a sum of money to be invested in a piece of real estate (usually an hacienda) creating a perpetual stream of interest payments to a priest or to the Church.

REGISTROS DE NACIMIENTOS, DIFUNCIONES Y MATRIMONIOS: Church registers of vital statistics.

VISITAS: Notarized eye-witness accounts, typically containing important information related to rural properties, water rights, and population.

CENSOS DE POBLACION: Population counts for specific villages or districts, often to determine tribute and labor obligations.

CONTRATOS: Labor, rental, sale, and other contracts.

TITULOS DE PROPIEDAD: Documents related to ownership of land, water rights, houses, and other real property (including mercedes and composiciones de tierras).

²¹ In some cases, documents are grouped by the "subject matter" (e.g., under capellanías may be found wills, court cases, land titles, and contracts related to personal claims to capellanías, or to the properties on which capellanías are based). In others, documents are grouped by "type" (e.g., all wills may be grouped together).

LIBROS CONTABLES, INVENTARIOS Y OTROS PAPELES DE HACIENDAS: Account books, administration, and other hacienda papers.

CAUSAS ECCLESIASTICAS: Cases presented before ecclesiastical courts dealing with testamentos, diezmos, capellanías and other church matters.

CAUSAS CIVILES Y CRIMINALES: Court records of civil and criminal cases, including supporting documents and testimony.

CORRESPONDENCIA: Administrative, official, personal, and business correspondence.

It should be emphasized that these groupings are not mutually exclusive, and that in many cases a particular document can logically be placed under more than one heading. Capellanías and censos, for example, are created by wills, and references to them are found in these documents, as well as in court cases dealing with property titles, hacienda bankruptcies, and inheritance disputes. In court cases dealing with inheritance the evidence may include contracts of various sorts, property titles, wills, account books, inventories, church baptismal records, and personal correspondence.

These papers are of highly variable content; frequently they are detailed and valuable for historical research. Hacienda inventories, for example, may describe and appraise business and personal assets such as slaves, livestock, buildings, hand tools, field machinery, household effects, fields under cultivation and crops in the field and stored. From these data one can surmise a great deal about the nature of production processes, technology, labor systems, levels of living, and prices. Account books may indicate input and produce markets, employment, investment, wages, credit sources, prices, the volume of production, profitability, and other aspects of hacienda operation. Property titles and related documents often present survey and appraisal information, trace ownership back several generations,

and discuss conflicts with other hacendados, small holders, and indigenous communities.

Wills often list both rural and urban properties and business interests of the deceased. For instance, a will left by a large landowner of Lambayeque in the mid-eighteenth century indicated that besides his sugar-producing estate in Lambayeque, he owned land in Spain, a sailing vessel worth 41,379 pesos, and a house in Lima. The will also showed that he was engaged in the importation of slaves from Panama.²²

Official Visitas are seldom found among the documents of private and public institutions. A few have been published (e.g., the Chucuito and Huanuco visitas cited above) and a few are found in the National Archive and Library (e.g., a "visita de tierras" for the valley Pativilca in the sixteenth century and a "visita de población" for the Repartimiento de Callanca y Omonsebu in the year 1606).²³ As a rule copies of entire visitas are seldom found.²⁴ Fragments of visitas de tierras however are often cited as evidence in Church, notarial, and court papers referring to land, water, labor, and tax disputes. These documents typically give detailed accounts of property rights to land and water and/or population size and composition in the region in question. Visitias eclesiasticas also exist, but since they usually deal with internal administrative

²² Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, Testamentos, 1751.

²³ The Pativilca visita was cited as evidence in a property dispute in 1584; the Monsefu y Callanca visita was requested by the Indians of this Repartimiento to determine the extent of population decrease in the community, so as to reduce tribute payments. It was determined that the number of tributarios in the repartimiento had fallen from 307 to 255 between the years 1600 and 1606. Omonsebu is now Monsefu.

²⁴ It is supposed that the majority are archived in Spain.

church affairs they are of little importance for agrarian history and will not be discussed here.

Capellanías, creating fixed, perpetual financial obligations,²⁵ are associated with the bankruptcy of many haciendas, and the papers related to these financial matters yield valuable economic data on production, profits, and the ecclesiastical credit system in the colonial period.²⁶

Church baptismal and marriage records are important not only for tracing genealogies, but for documenting ritual kinship and family alliances, since prestigious and powerful families are often linked by ties sanctioned by the Church. In addition, since the church records note the race of individuals, they are valuable for documenting the history of slavery, migration, and miscegenation.

Church papers related to the collection of diezmos, an ecclesiastical tax proportional to production, reveal a great deal about the nature and volume of agricultural production in colonial times. In an ecclesiastical case involving the collection of diezmos in Lambayeque in 1588, mention was made of the taxes that Andrés Martín Pizarro owed, the name of his estancia, the number and quality of goats and sheep he owned, the processing of tallow into soap, and the sale of hides. Special consideration was given

²⁵Typically about 5% of the principal creating the capellanía.

²⁶This system channeled funds from the estates of wealthy families through the church to owners of urban and, more typically, rural real estate. Interest was paid by these owners to priests related to the person creating the capellanía, or in their absence, it reverted to the church in general. The "principal" of the capellanía was never repaid, unless the property owner wished to relieve himself of its financial obligation. If haciendas, for instance, could not meet these fixed charges (many haciendas had several capellanías), they were sold by the church. The funds produced by the sale were used to pay back interest to the priests or church benefiting from the capellanías; the remainder, if any, went to the previous owner of the hacienda. On the ecclesiastical credit system, see W. P. Glade, The Latin American Economies (New York, 1969) p. 104-109, and references therein.

to a recent epidemic, killing large numbers of his stock.²⁷

Throughout the colonial period, the Catholic Church had legal jurisdiction over cases dealing with its interests and those of the clergy, and kept detailed records of testamentos, capellanías y censos, diezmos, censos de población, títulos de propiedad, etc. Churches have seldom been sacked or burned, and now hold some of the most extensive collections of primary documents useful for agrarian historical research. Every church has an archive of some sort, and many have documents covering nearly the entire colonial and republican periods. Old documents are, of course, of great importance to colonial and ethno-historians, but an important methodological point is that more recent documents occasionally contain information covering several decades or in some cases several centuries. In 1802 a priest from Lambayeque presented a petition before the bishop of Trujillo claiming a capellanía established by an ancestor in the early seventeenth century. Among the supporting documents is a genealogy of his family over nearly two centuries, and the bill of sale for the hacienda "Cayalti" in the year 1622.²⁸

Notaries hold large collections of these documents, and make it their business to provide copies to interested parties for a fee. They may inherit or purchase the collections of older notaries, and some notaries have papers dating from the sixteenth century.²⁹

Courts are required by law to hold their records for a number of years,

²⁷This case is among the papers of the Archivo Arzobispal de Trujillo.

²⁸The original document creating the capellanía was lost in the flood of Zaña in 1720, but the bill of sale from 1622 showed that the new owner had agreed to recognize the capellanía in question.

²⁹For example, the Trujillo notary, Garcia Flores.

but in general they have few very old papers--their old records being acquired by notaries, the National Library or Archive, or simply lost.³⁰

Notaries keep their papers arranged chronologically, and usually have an onomastical index for each year.³¹ Naturally, the most recent documents are the most valuable to notaries, and old documents go relatively untouched. Public court records and ecclesiastical archives are practically never organized or catalogued. As mentioned earlier, the court records are often acquired by notaries and public institutions, which may in turn order and catalogue them. Ecclesiastical papers invariably stay within the Church, although they may be transferred from small parishes to the Archbishops' Archives in large provincial cities or in Lima.

Some of the most valuable and readily accessible documents concerning property ownership and transfers over the last century are found in Property Registry Offices. The registry system was created in the latter part of the nineteenth century as a voluntary system for establishing and recording the ownership of rural and urban real estate.³² Presently, registry offices are located in all departmental capitals and in a few other cities. In general, all major transactions, such as sales, mortgages, wills, property divisions, and issues of bonds involving haciendas and communal lands are registered. Fewer transactions involving minifundia or small properties are recorded.

³⁰ In Lambayeque many old court records are found in the archives of the notary Carlos Rivadeneira.

³¹ In the early colonial period the arrangement is usually by first name.

³² A separate Register lists corporations (Sociedades Anonimas). For more detailed discussions of the registry system, see the following studies: Delbert A. Fitchett, "Cadastral Systems on the Northern Coast of Peru: Some Problems and Proposals," Journal of Inter-American Studies 6 (Oct. 1964): 537-47; H.S. Somerwitz, The Peruvian Land Registration System and Some Suggestions for its Improvement, Iowa-Peru Program, Special Report No. 3 (Lima, 1967).

Registry offices serve primarily lawyers and parties directly interested in property disputes, and during office hours there is a continual stream of people into and out of them. Most clients seek specific bits of information, and if they need a copy of a registry entry, or a series of entries related to a specific property or person, they contract an office employee on an informal basis to do this work. It should be understandable that an historian who needs to study the registry himself over an extended period of time, who takes his own notes, and is therefore a non-paying customer, can easily outwear his welcome.

Like public registries, churches and notaries are not accustomed to providing documents and working facilities to historians. In addition, neither church nor notarial archives are public. (We do not yet know what effect the "Documents Law" of 1972 will have on this factor.)

Notarial offices are businesses--small, crowded, and poorly illuminated. To date, very little scholarly work has been done with notarial documents in the provinces, and access to the documents of practicing notaries must be negotiated.³³ From our experience, we can state only that, as might be expected, some notaries give more freely of their time and assistance than others; the majority do more, or less, depending upon the establishment of a viable exchange relationship between the investigator and the notary. As a general rule, one may acquire access to notarial collections if he is willing to do his work at times and in ways which are not inconvenient for the notary, and if he is also willing to do work of importance to the

³³James Lockhart is one of the few historians who has used notarial documents extensively in writing social history. See, for example, his books, Spanish Peru, 1532-1560, (Madison, Wisc., 1968) and Men of Cajamarca, (Austin, Texas, 1972), and his article entitled "The Social History of Colonial Spanish America," LARR 7 (1972): 5-45.

notary: for example, organize and index the documents he uses.³⁴

This same negotiation-exchange approach is necessary for work in Church archives. These have traditionally been inaccessible to non-clerical historians, but we have found that, in general, serious students willing to work, for example, in the organization of church archives, have been able to do important work with their papers.³⁵

F. Hacienda Documents and Interviews

In the previous Section (pp. 13 and 14) we discussed the use of hacienda inventories and account books found among the papers of ecclesiastical and notarial archives.³⁶ In this Section we treat data sources available in the haciendas themselves and in the Centro de Documentacion Agraria (CDA) in Lima. These sources fall under two broad headings: Archival Materials and Verbal Accounts. Both apply largely to the twentieth century; hacienda papers, however, occasionally date from the earlier years of the Republican Period.³⁷

In Peru the term "plantation" is not commonly employed; all large rural estates--without regard to their relative capitalization, production and labor system, degree of market integration, or geographical location--are

³⁴This rule does not always hold. Some notaries will not allow anyone in their archives (in large part due to the theft and disorganization that occur), but will provide documents to investigators for consultation. In some cases notarial investigation is extremely slow but unavoidable, since these documentary collections are unique.

³⁵Again, there are important exceptions.

³⁶As pointed out, these types of documents are also found in the National Library and the National Archive.

³⁷For example, documents for the hacienda "Cayalti" (Zana valley of Lambayeque) date from the 1850s. Papers from "Pomalca" and "Collud" (Chancay valley of Lambayeque) date from the 1860s. These documents are presently archived in the Centro de Documentacion Agraria in Lima.

referred to as "haciendas."³⁸ The Peruvian Agrarian Reform Law of 1969 is attempting to transform these privately owned estates into Unidades Precooperativas, Cooperativas de Produccion Agraria, and Sociedades Agricolas de Interes Social (SAIS). In this paper we need not examine at length the internal organization and functioning of these new rural institutions. Let it suffice to note that they are "collective" in nature, with varying degrees of autonomy and labor participation in enterprise decision-making. Year-end profits (after all non-labor costs and taxes are accounted for) are distributed among the member-workers.³⁹

In Peruvian haciendas, business papers were generated and archived in response to administrative needs. Small estates, administered directly by their owner or an independent renter, and producing on a small scale for the local market, often did little paperwork and paid scant attention to the conservation of business archives. In contrast, large estates with complex systems of administration and control, producing for distant (often foreign) markets, drew up and stored large volumes of business documents. In the coastal agro-industrial sugar complexes as many as one hundred full-time employees elaborated, circulated, and filed business correspondence, legal documents, and other papers required for the administration and control of the firm.

The administration of each hacienda developed a unique system of accounting and archival; when management changed hands or introduced new

³⁸occasionally the term "fundo" is used, generally with reference to smaller estates, or annexes of larger properties.

³⁹Labor participation is minimal in the Unidades Precooperativas, intermediate in the SAIS, and most extensive in the Cooperativas. Few studies have dealt directly with these aspects of the agrarian reform, but the following studies present important information and interpretations: 1) articles by Ramon Zaldivar and Javier Gaston, in Cuadernos Agrarios 1 (1971); 2) two pamphlets by, Peru, Ministerio de Agricultura, Direccion General de Reforma Agraria, Direccion de Promocion y Difusion: SAIS, Creacion de la Revolucion Peruana (1971), Del Latifundio a la Cooperativa (1972).

administrative systems, the form and content of administrative documents often changed abruptly. Consequently, few simple rules can be stated which assist faithfully in the interpretation and use of hacienda documents for historical purposes. However, the types of documents found in hacienda archives can be logically categorized as follows, and a number of summary statements and caveats should assist future research.

Types of Hacienda Documents:

- I. DOCUMENTOS OFICIALES Y LEGALES: Contracts, social security and tax forms, papers concerning disputes over land, labor, irrigation water, etc.
- II. CORRESPONDENCIA: Legal, administrative, and personal correspondence.
- III. DOCUMENTOS DE CONTABILIDAD Y DE ESTADISTICA⁴⁰
 - A. Daily Accounts and Statistics
 1. Production and Labor Statistics
 - a. Libros de Campo: Daily records of field work.
 - b. Libros de Apuntadores: Daily work records.
 2. Business Account Books, per se
 - a. Libros de Caja: Records of daily cash flow.
 - b. Diarios or Jornales: Records of both real and fictitious transactions.

⁴⁰The distinction between "production and labor statistics" and "business accounts" is not entirely clear. The former are used primarily for control over input use and production processes; the latter serve primarily for control over financial resources and calculation of year-end profit and loss statements for legal purposes. Whereas the Diario or Jornal records all relevant accounting transactions (including, for example, the slaughter of an animal for consumption within the estate) the Libro de Caja records only transactions which involve the flow of funds to or from the firm.

B. Periodical Summaries

1. Inventarios: Inventories of hacienda assets.
2. Planillas: Weekly or bi-weekly work records and pay sheets.
3. Informes de Contabilidad: Production and cost summaries and balance sheets (profit and loss statements) occasionally containing time-series data.

C. Labor Accounts and Documents Related to "Tied Labor."

1. Documentos de Chinos: Labor account books used in the nineteenth century to record the debts and labor payments of indentured Chinese laborers.
2. Documentos de Contratos de Enganche: Refer to indigenous and Japanese labor⁴¹ employed at low wages and immobilized by debts owed the hacienda or an intermediary known as the contratista or enganchador.
3. Documentos de Colonos o Yanacunas: Papers recording the rental and labor obligations and payments of small cultivators who occupied parcels of hacienda land, paying rent in labor, cash and/or produce from their parcels.

- IV. ARCHIVOS ADMINISTRATIVOS: The archives of important documents maintained by the hacienda administrator(s). These papers may include the following:

⁴¹For a brief period around 1900 Japanese laborers were contracted. Since that time, indigenous laborers have been employed exclusively.

- A. Archivo de Campo (or de Ganaderia): Periodic Informes de Campo (or de produccion) and other summary documents related to the volume and profitability of field crop or crop production.
- B. Archivo de Fabrica: Technical Reports concerning the processing of, e.g., cheese, rice, sugar or other agricultural commodities processed on the estate.
- C. Archivo del Contador: High-level accounting documents.
- D. Archivo de Asuntos Laborales: Documents relating to employment, wages, perquisites, unionization, strikes, etc.

As noted above, each hacienda maintained a unique set of documents; as a result the above scheme should be considered a general guide, not specific to any one hacienda. Few archives contain all these species of documents, and many haciendas have no archives at all. This last fact results from the processes of estate transfer, fragmentation, and, more commonly, annexation. Throughout the Colonial and Republican periods most Peruvian estates have been operated as capitalistic enterprises. As a rule, estates have not remained in the same family for several generations; changing market conditions and technology have motivated their sale. Most importantly, the twentieth century has witnessed a high degree of property concentration via annexation. This recent tendency toward concentration has occurred throughout the Peruvian coast and also, but to a somewhat

lesser extent, in the highlands.⁴²

As landed property has concentrated, numerous haciendas have become "annexed" to fewer central estates. In this process certain of the previous owners' papers have been integrated into the archives of the new owners; others have remained with the previous owners. Many "useless" documents have been abandoned in dilapidating offices or casas hacienda; others have simply been discarded.

In the last century many Peruvian haciendas were purchased by large and diversified corporations, and their accounting systems became correspondingly complex. In the 1860s the haciendas "Pomalca" and "Collud" were owned by a family whose principal accounting office was located in Trujillo.⁴³ One set of daily accounting books was kept in the office of the hacienda Pomalca, and another in the annex Collud. Copies of both these sets of books were sent periodically to the owner's main office in Trujillo for their review and for the preparation of summary documents, such as annual balance sheets, production schedules, and investment plans. In 1869 these haciendas were purchased by the Gutierrez family (also from Trujillo)

⁴²In the Republican Period, land concentration has been associated with the expansion of large-scale capitalistic agriculture. The case of sugar expansion in the Chicama valley of La Libertad is the most pronounced and well known. See Peter Klaren, La Formacion de las Haciendas Azucareras y Los Origenes del APRA (IEP: Lima, 1970), and CIDA. PERU (Union Panamericana: Washington, D.C.; 1966). In other coastal valleys, land concentration was less violent than in Chicama. In the Peruvian highlands property concentration occurred much earlier than in these coastal valleys, and has been less marked in recent years (due in part to the threat of land reform in "semi-feudal" highland estates).

⁴³The Martinez de Pinillos family maintained their residence as well as their business office in Trujillo.

and a family-owned firm, Sociedad Agricola Pomalca Ltda. (S.A.P.), was incorporated. In 1920 S.A.P., and with it the two haciendas, was purchased by another family-owned corporation, Viuda de Piedra e Hijos S.A. (V.P.H.) with main offices in Lima.⁴⁴ From this date, the administration and accounting systems of Pomalca and its growing number of annexes has become increasingly complex. The office in Pomalca was maintained and expanded, but the office of Collud was abandoned. New offices were opened in the recently acquired annexes of "Espinal" (a rice hacienda), "Monteseco" (a coffee hacienda) and "Udima" (a cattle hacienda). Pomalca remained the property of the Sociedad Agricola Pomalca Ltda.. But Espinal, Monteseco, and Udima were owned directly by the firm Viuda de Piedra e Hijos S.A.. Consequently, the movement of cattle from Udima to Monteseco involved a transfer of assets internal to V.P.H., but the movement of cattle from Udima to Pomalca involved a transaction between the firms V.P.H. and S.A.P.. Thus, even though the haciendas in question were owned by the same people (via two family-owned corporations) complex accounting entries were used to reflect the transfer of assets and liabilities between them.⁴⁵

This example should illustrate the validity of the following two points: 1) Scholars planning to use hacienda accounting materials for

⁴⁴V.P.H. was incorporated in 1904 by the de la Piedra family in Lambayeque. Early ventures included rice milling, fabrication of chocolate, importation of farm tools, and coastwise trade. In 1915 V.P.H. established an office in Lima to facilitate the exportation of sugar to the United States. This later became the principal office of the firm.

⁴⁵It would seem that hacienda accounts served two quite distinct functions: control and confusion. The proliferation of accounting papers was intended to provide checks on the use of funds and resources in the various sections of the hacienda. At the same time, it prevented even the accounting personnel or auditors from calculating the true profitability of the firm.

historical research need solid grounding in general accounting principles and a familiarity with administration accounting practices (including jargon) in the country and locality under study. 2) In order to minimize confusion and misinterpretation, account books should be complemented where possible with other papers and interviews.

It is mandatory that scholars wishing to use accounting materials in depth consult experienced accountants, preferably those with experience in hacienda accounts, and ideally with experience in the hacienda under study. It is also important to review the business correspondence of the hacienda in the period under investigation, in order to familiarize oneself with the firm, its major activities, and its owners, employees, suppliers, creditors, and other persons and firms whose names figure in the accounts.

Interviews and correspondence indicate what to look for in the accounts, and may suggest where to look. For example, informants reported that several persons had been killed in a strike in Pomalca in January 1961. Internal correspondence and newspaper clippings indicated the exact date, reported on social conditions of the hacienda and circumstances surrounding the strike and killings. Account books and papers indicated to what extent employment and production fell, and planillas indicated precisely who the amarillos (strike breakers) were and how much they were paid.

In another instance, workers reported that the system of "bonos" (subsidized foodstuffs) began in the 1940s. A review of Pomalca's Libro de Caja indicated that the first bonos were distributed in 1942. Correspondence between the offices in Pomalca and Lima indicated that the bono was a concession granted striking workers.⁴⁶

⁴⁶Memo dated May 14, 1942.

In general, it can be said that correspondence and interviews provide qualitative information on the operation of the hacienda system; accounting papers provide precise dates and quantitative data on employment, production, economic surplus, and the terms of exchange.

In 1971 the Centro de Documentación Agraria del Peru (CDA) was founded. This is a project supported by San Marcos University, the Catholic University, the Joint Committee on Latin American Studies of the Social Science Research Council, and the American Council of Learned Societies. The CDA works under the auspices of Peru's Tribunal Agrario.⁴⁷ The primary function of the Center is to conserve documents pertaining to haciendas affected by the agrarian reform. Over the past two years the CDA has acquired the archives of several haciendas. These have been transported to a repository in Lima where they are stored and catalogued.

As the CDA acquires hacienda documents, its staff inventories them in a rather preliminary fashion. Later, documents are catalogued in great detail--book by book and letter by letter. This is a very tedious and time-consuming process, and to date only a small portion of the papers stored at the CDA have been catalogued. Scholars who wish to use the facilities of the Center are expected to contribute roughly one-half their time to the tasks of organizing and cataloging the archive, and to provide the CDA with at least one copy (preferably in Spanish) of their research write-up and subsequent publications.

Documents from the following haciendas are held by the CDA:

⁴⁷The persons most directly responsible for the creation and operation of the CDA are Drs. Guillermo Figallo (president of the Tribunal Agrario), Pablo Macera, Heraclio Bonilla, Humberto Rodriguez, and Juan Martinez-Alier.

<u>HACIENDA</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>
Pomalca	North-Coast
Pucala-Patapo	" "
Tuman	" "
Cayalti	" "
Laredo	" "
Ganaderia del Centro	Central Highlands
Cerro de Pasco	" "
Chucarapi-Pampa Blanca	South-Coast

All of these haciendas possess annexes, many far-removed from the central estate. For example, Pomalca has an important annex, "Udima," in the northern highlands of Cajamarca. Laredo has an annex in the sierra of La Libertad.

As noted above, Peruvian haciendas have traditionally been closed to outsiders, and it has been difficult or impossible for independent scholars to observe hacienda life directly and converse with workers.⁴⁸ This situation has changed somewhat with the agrarian reform. Access to ex-haciendas is no longer restricted by landowners and their employees. Instead, the Peruvian Government and the executive bodies of Production Cooperatives and SAIS are in control. Peru's Centro Nacional de Capacitación e Investigación Para la Reforma Agraria (CENCIRA) formally coordinates and authorizes social science research in rural areas. In addition, authorization must often be obtained from the Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Movilización Social (SINAMOS). Credentials from these two

⁴⁸Notable exceptions are the following two studies: Humberto Rodriguez, Caqui: Estudio de Una Hacienda Costena (IEP: Lima, 1969), and Thomas Greaves, "The Dying Chalán: Case Studies on Four Haciendas of the Peruvian Coast" (Ph.D. Diss., Cornell University, 1968).

institutions are necessary, but not sufficient conditions for research in the ex-haciendas, since each Cooperativa or SAIS is legally autonomous, and must itself approve individual research plans. These obstacles are obviously formidable, but often surmountable, particularly when authorities are assured that: 1) the proposed research is historical in nature, and unrelated to the agrarian reform and the performance of post-reform institutions, and 2) persons to be interviewed are the elder members of the community, not those actively engaged in the current administration of the Cooperative or SAIS.

With regard to interviews, much work can be done outside the physical boundaries of the ex-haciendas themselves. Conversations in Pomalca indicated to us that a number of ex-laborers, colonos, union leaders, technicians, and relatives of the owners currently lived in the departmental capital, Chiclayo, and in Lima. We spoke with these people, and they, in turn, were able to put us in contact with others.

The best cost data we have for the hacienda Pomalca for the 1930s was provided by an ex-administrator of the estate, now living in Lima.⁴⁹ Some of the most important information on the colonato system employed on the hacienda "Sipan" until the 1940s was related by an ex-colono living in Chiclayo.⁵⁰ Ex-contratistas in Chiclayo and Chota (the center of highland labor-recruitment for the Lambayeque valley) furnished invaluable data on the enganche labor system.⁵¹ The ex-owners of Pomalca, the de la Piedra

⁴⁹Interview: Franko Klinge, Miraflores (May 17, 1972).

⁵⁰Interview: Manuel Incio, Chiclayo (March 18, 1971).

⁵¹Interviews: America Vda. de Arrascue, Chota (September, 1971), Benjamín Delgado and Quiterio Nuñez, Chiclayo (March, 1971).

family, were kind enough to converse at length with us in their offices in Lima.⁵²

PART III: PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF DOCUMENTATION FOR AGRARIAN HISTORY

In this section we discuss the principal institutions holding documents important for agrarian historical research, the sections into which these documents are grouped, the types of documents found in each section, catalogues available, and other information useful to historians. We do not consider institutions outside of Peru (such as the Archivo de los Indias in Sevilla); nor do we discuss every section within each institution (for example, we do not treat the Sala de Humanidades in the National Library or Superior Gobierno in the National Archive); only those of particular interest to agrarian historians are mentioned.

I. LA BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DEL PERU⁵³

A. Sala de Investigaciones Bibliograficas: This room is reserved primarily for historians using its specialized collections.

In addition to an incomplete Catálogo General de la Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, the National Union Catalogue to the U.S. Library of Congress, and the British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books may be consulted here.

1. Colección de Libros Raros y Valiosos: Primarily colonial Peruvian works; catalogued by author and title.

⁵²Several interviews: Ricardo de la Piedra K., Augusto de la Piedra C., and Julio de la Piedra C. (Jan. 1971-June 1972).

⁵³A number of published articles treat Peru's National Library. In addition, the library publishes the journal, Fenix. See, for example, Fernando Silva Santisteban, "Algunos archivos históricos y repositorios de Lima," Fenix, nos. 11-12 (1956-57).

2. Colección Zegarra: Late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century pamphlets; catalogued by author and title.
3. Colección Porras Barrenechea: Primarily nineteenth- and twentieth-century materials, but many older books, periodicals, and manuscripts are included.
 - a. Libros: Catalogued by author, title, and subject.
 - b. Revistas y Periódicos
 - 1) Colección Peruana: Catalogued by title and region.
 - 2) Colección Extranjera: Catalogued by country and chronologically.
 - c. Manuscritos: Uncatalogued documents. Authorization to review these materials may be obtained from the director of the Sala de Investigaciones, Srta. Graciela Sánchez Cerro.
4. Colección Astete Concha: Manuscripts primarily from the Humanga (Ayacucho) region dating 1526-1868 (testamentos, contratos, títulos, causas, correspondencia); catalogued by subject and chronologically.
5. Diarios Notariales: Notarial archives covering the colonial and republican periods (testamentos, capellanías y censos, visitas, contratos, títulos, causas, correspondencia administrativa y oficial). These documents are bound into volumes which are catalogued according to Notary and date. Some volumes are indexed.
6. Sección Manuscritos: Manuscripts of all types, separated into colonial and republican collections; catalogued chronologically and by subject.

7. Sección Cartas: Personal and official letters; catalogued onomastically and chronologically.

B. Sala de Revistas y Periódicos

1. Sección Oficial: Contains the bulletins, journals, reports, and newsletters of government agencies, as well as many not-so-frequently issued documents, such as Memorias de Prefectos y Subprefectos; catalogued by title, agency, and geographical location (department or city).

2. Sección Peruana: Non-official Peruvian periodicals; catalogued by title, region, and chronologically. A (very incomplete) subject index lists individual articles.

3. Sección Extranjera: Non-Peruvian periodicals; catalogued by country, title, and chronologically.

C. Sala Perú: The largest collection of Peruvian books and pamphlets in the country; catalogued by author, title, subject, and geographical location (poorly cross-referenced).⁵⁴

II. ARCHIVO NACIONAL⁵⁵

A. Sección Histórica

1. Títulos de Propiedad: All types of documents concerning rights to lands, buildings and improvements (rural and urban), including land surveys, appraisals and inventories,

⁵⁴Although the Sala Perú has the most complete collection of secondary materials, working conditions are better in many of the smaller libraries listed below, and in the bibliographies of Matos y Ravines and Herbold y Stein.

⁵⁵Like the National Library, Peru's National Archive publishes a journal, Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú, in which many important manuscripts, articles, and notes have been published.

bills of sale, rental contracts, mortgages, original land grants, composiciones, court records, and correspondence related to the above. A published catalogue lists each document separately, stating the names of persons and properties concerned and the date.⁵⁶

2. Temporalidades: Documents confiscated from Jesuit archives in 1767, and papers related to the government administration of their rural and urban properties prior to their sale to private individuals in the nineteenth century. Two of many sections are of particular importance. These documents are catalogued by legajo.⁵⁷
 - a. Títulos de Haciendas: Titles, inventories, administrative rules, and other related papers.
 - b. Libros de Cuentas: Daily cash-flow records, price lists, production data, etc.
3. Derecho Indigena: Primarily court records dealing with civil and criminal disputes between Spaniards and Indians themselves. Wills, titles, correspondence, and visitas are often presented as evidence. A published catalogue lists each document separately stating the names of persons, haciendas, and the communities concerned and the date.⁵⁸

⁵⁶Peru, Revista del Archivo Nacional del Peru, 2, no. 1 (1921), pp. 157-193; no. 2 (1921), pp. 557-613; 3, no. 1 (1925), pp. 159-204; no. 2 (1925), pp. 349-383; 4, no. 1 (1926), pp. 137-57.

⁵⁷For example, papers dealing with the confiscation of Tumán might be grouped into legajos under the heading, "Títulos de Propiedad, Tumán (fecha)."

⁵⁸Peru, Revista del Archivo Nacional del Peru, 5 no. 1 (1927), pp. 168-178; no. 2 (1927), pp. 247-263; 6, no. 1 (1928), pp. 65-93; no. 2 (1928), pp. 221-32; 7, no. 1 (1929), pp. 103-114; no. 2 (1929), pp. 209-29; 8, no. 1 (1930), pp. 107-22; no. 2 (1935), pp. 233-55; 9, no. 1 (1936), pp. 153-66; no. 2 (1936), pp. 271-83; 10, no. 1 (1937), pp. 123-33; no. 2 (1937), pp. 237-50; 11, no. 1 (1938), pp. 111-23; no. 2 (1938), pp. 237-49.

4. Aguas: Primarily documents concerned with the distribution of water rights on the coast, and particularly with the valleys near Lima. Includes decrees, grants, official correspondence, and visitas which describe land and water use in specific areas. An unpublished catalogue is arranged chronologically and states the area and persons concerned.

B. Sección Notarial y Judicial

1. Real Audiencia: Papers presented before this high court between 1544 and 1824. Included are documents concerning land titles, inheritance disputes, and debts. This collection of documents is presently being catalogued chronologically.
2. Diarios Notariales
 - a. Colección General: All types of notarial documents. A published catalogue lists volumes of documents according to notary and date.⁵⁹
 - b. Colección Terrán: The collection of an important Liman notary, containing papers dating from 1700 to 1900. One catalogue lists documents related to rural estates according to geographical location and estate name. Another catalogue lists wills by the deceased person's name and year.

- C. Archivo Histórico del Ministerio de Hacienda: All types of official documents related to public finance and administration,

⁵⁹ Ibid., 25, no. 1 (1961), pp. 201-10.

separated into Colonial and Republican Collections. These include the Archivo del Tribunal General de Minería, the Archivo General de Tributos, and documents from the Cajas Reales, the Aduanas, Tribunal Real de Cuentas, and the system of Rentas Estancadas. A partial listing of the documents in these collections was published by the Ministerio de Hacienda in the Catálogo de la Sección colonial del Archivo Histórico (1944) and the Catálogo de la sección republicana (1945-6).

- III. ARCHIVOS ARZOBISPALES: These archives, dating from the 16th century, are typically uncatalogued. The Archivo Arzobispal de Lima has a typewritten list of the different sections with the number of legajos in each and the years covered.
- A. Sección Testamentos: Documents dealing with wills and their execution, including the administration of estates. In many cases libros de cuentas, inventorios, títulos, and other important papers are presented.
- B. Sección Capellanías: Primarily a) petitions and supporting documents presented by priests before ecclesiastical courts, requesting the rights to capellanías; and b) correspondence between church officials and landowners concerning these matters. Testamentos, libros de cuentas, geneologías, and other related papers are included.
- C. Sección Diezmos: Manuscripts primarily dealing with the sale of rights of collection or with the failure to pay tithes.
- IV. OTHER CHURCH AND PARISH ARCHIVES: Primarily registers of births, deaths, and marriages which indicate names, dates, ritual kin, and race (Español, Crillo, Mestizo, Indian or Negro). Other documents

related to testamentos, capellanías and diezmos involving the local parish are also kept. These archives typically have no formal organization.

- V. NOTARIOS PUBLICOS: The documents of notarial archives are usually grouped into the following two categories.
- A. Diarios Notariales: Bound volumes of legalized documents (primarily testamentos, capellanías, contratos de compra, venta y arrendamiento, títulos de propiedad); arranged chronologically, and occasionally by name.⁶⁰
- B. Causas Criminales y Civiles: Records from local courts involving land, labor and water disputes; arranged chronologically. Evidence presented in these cases includes inventorios, títulos de propiedad y de agua, testamentos, contratos de compra, venta y arrendamiento, y correspondencia personal y administrativa.
- VI. OFICINA DE COMUNIDADES INDÍGENAS: This dependency of Peru's Ministry of Labor maintains a crowded archive; documents are arranged by name of community and date from the present century. Censos de población, títulos de propiedad, contratos de arrendamiento and planos are included.
- VII. CENTRO DE DOCUMENTACIÓN AGRARIA: Repository for hacienda documents expropriated under the agrarian reform. The CDA is in a formative stage, acquiring and processing documentation as its budget and human resources permit. Access is temporarily restricted to serious scholars who contribute to the acquisition, ordering, and cataloging

⁶⁰In the early colonial period onomastical arrangements were by first name.

of materials. A list of some of the more important types of documents follows:⁶¹

A. Accounting Books and Papers

1. Libros de Caja: Which record the daily cash flow of haciendas.
2. Jornales or Diarios: Bound volumes recording real and "fictitious" transactions on a daily basis.⁶²
3. Inventarios: Recording the quantity and value of capital resources and products on hand at particular dates.
4. Balances (mensuales, semestrales, y anuales): Recording the economic results of the firm over specified periods.
5. Planillas: Weekly and bi-weekly pay sheets. These are extremely voluminous, and only a few representative sheets have been brought to the CDA.
6. Informes de Contabilidad: Reporting economic and financial results over specified periods of time, and analyzing or interpreting these results.

B. Correspondencia: Copies of letters, bound into volumes (copiadores de cartas) or clipped into folders.

1. Cartas Internas: Correspondence between the main office

⁶¹This list is by no means complete, but indicative of the various types of documents found in hacienda archives.

⁶²Whereas the caja reports only transactions involving cash payments, the jornal records also the transfer of assets and liabilities between accounts which do not involve money (e.g., the spreading of fertilizer previously purchased, or the death of a draft animal).

(la principal) and other hacienda offices.⁶³

2. Cartas Externas: Letters to and from foreign and Peruvian firms, landowners, labor contractors, public institutions, officials, and others.
 3. Cartas Oficiales: Letters to and from governmental offices, typically related to water rights, land disputes, taxes, and proposed or recently effected legislation.
 4. Cartas Judiciales: Correspondence between the hacienda and its attorneys, concerning land, water, labor, taxation, agrarian reform and other legal issues.
 5. Cables: Copies of telegrams and cables.⁶⁴
- C. Archivos Administrativos: During the process of expropriation, hacienda owners and administrators were able to remove their most confidential papers, but large quantities of important documents, including production reports, investment plans, and some correspondence have been acquired by the CDA.

⁶³Several of the haciendas had their main offices in Lima or other towns. For example, the firm Viuda de Piedra e Hijos S.A., owner of the hacienda Pomalca, had its principal in Lima, and other offices in the haciendas, Pomalca, Saltur, Pampa Grande, Espinal, Montesecco and Udima. In addition, V.P.H. maintained offices at its rice mill in Chiclayo and its port facilities in Pimentel.

⁶⁴These are often of great importance. On October 4, 1928, a cable from Pomalca to Lima relayed the following message:

PIEDRA LIMA

JUEVES PRODUJOSE HOI HUELGA CARREROS CORTADORES EXIGIENDO SEPARACION INMEDIATA JEFE CORTE. GENTE EN ACTITUD AIRADA REGRESO DEL CAMPO Y ASALTO CASA ESTO EMPLEADO DESTRUYENDO MUEBLES ENSERES LLEGADA OPORTUNA TROPA CHICLAYO IMPIDIO MAYORES EXCESOS PREFECTO SUBPREFECTO APERSONARSE RESTABLECIENDO ORDEN. ACTUALMENTE TODO EN CALMA. CABECILLAS APRESADOS ESPERAMOS PODER REANUDAR MAÑANA TRABAJO CORTE TELEGRAFICAREMOS CUALQUIER NOVEDAD.

POMALCA

- D. Archivos de Asuntos Laborales: Documents related to wages and salaries, perquisites, social security, labor disputes, and unionization, and other social and demographic material.⁶⁵
- E. Libros de Contratos: Primarily copies of contracts with (1) suppliers of labor,⁶⁶ draft animals, foodstuffs, and feeds, (2) renters of fundos or chacras, and (3) technicians and other employees.
- F. Informes y Memorandum: Some volumes contain semestral and annual reports with statistical tables indicating production, yields, and employment, as well as summaries of investment and appraisals of the general economic situation and the state of the firm.
- G. Libros de Campos: Contain detailed accounts of inputs and yields, by field.
- H. Miscellaneous documents: Newspaper clippings, maps, Libros de Chinos,⁶⁷ lists of "undesirable" workers (indeseables),⁶⁸ etc.
- VIII. UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL AGRARIA (LA MOLINA):
- A. Biblioteca de la Universidad: The most important collection is of theses, catalogued by author, title, and subject. Periodicals, statistical materials, and official reports dealing with agriculture are also found here, in addition to a relatively small collection of school texts and other books.

⁶⁵In some cases detailed censuses of population.

⁶⁶Usually termed contratistas or enganchadores.

⁶⁷In the archive of Pomalca a book dating from the 1890s contained the debt and labor records of Chinese laborers.

⁶⁸These lists were made in times of labor rebellion and/or union organization.

- B. Biblioteca de la Estación Experimental: This is the larger of the two libraries at La Molina, containing more journals, statistical materials, governmental and experimental reports, and books than the University Library, but no theses. A useful, but incomplete, bibliography of materials available in this library has been published.⁶⁹
- IX. UNIVERSIDAD MAYOR DE SAN MARCOS: The old library of San Marcos (la Biblioteca Central) is now closed to the public; materials may be requested from the new library and are brought over a day or so later. The most important materials are theses in economics, law, history, and anthropology. The libraries of each facultad should be consulted. Many of the better works have been published.
- X. PONTIFICIA UNIVERSIDAD CATÓLICA DEL PERÚ:
- A. Colección Riva-Aguero: Important published works and manuscripts are found in this collection. The published materials are available for historical study, but the personal papers and manuscripts in this collection were not touched for 25 years after the death of Riva-Aguero, on his instruction. The time limit has recently passed, but the documentation has yet to be systematically surveyed or catalogued.
- B. "Fundo Pando": The Social Science faculty of La Católica is located at "Fundo Pando." An interdisciplinary study group, "El Taller de Estudios Rurales," has its office here; investigations on contemporary and historical aspects of rural development are ongoing, and research papers can be consulted

⁶⁹Peru: Ministerio de Agricultura, SIPA (1967) in Part IV, infra.

in the Taller, the "Centro de Documentación" of the Social Science faculty, or in the main library on campus.

XI. SOCIEDAD NACIONAL AGRARIA (SNA):

- A. Biblioteca: Published books, pamphlets, and journals dealing with Peruvian agriculture, including the annual Memorias de la SNA and a number of studies contracted by the SNA or written by its members.
- B. Archivo: Contains the minutes of SNA meetings, and the meetings of its various comités (e.g., de productores de azúcar, algodón, arroz, etc.), as well as correspondence and confidential reports.

XII. BANCO CENTRAL DE RESERVA DEL PERÚ: The library of the Central Bank has the most extensive and accessible collection of official Peruvian economic and social statistics in the country. In addition, numerous publications related to the Peruvian economy are held.

XIII. ESCUELA SUPERIOR DE ADMINISTRACIÓN DE NEGOCIOS: ESAN has the best collection of foreign economics and business administration books and journals in Peru, as well as several non-business social science publications.

XIV. OFICINA NACIONAL DE ESTADÍSTICA Y CENSOS: ONEC (formerly DNEC) has a small but useful library which specializes in demographic statistics. All published results of the national censuses of 1876, 1940, 1961, and 1972 (forthcoming) are available here. Dr. Arancibia ably provides bibliographical orientation, especially on topics related to "indigenismo."

XV. INSTITUTO INDIGENISTA PERUANO: In recent years this dependency of the Ministry of Labor and Indigenous Affairs has elaborated a number of anthropological reports on haciendas, communities,

migrants, and general rural social conditions in seven regions of the southern and central Peruvian sierra: Apurimac, Ancash, Vicos, Ayacucho, Cuzco, Junín, and Puno-Tambopata.⁷⁰ In 1970 the Institute was reorganized and became more pragmatically concerned with implementing Ministry policies in rural areas. The first publication of the New Series, entitled "The Occupational Problem in Cajamarca," is a baseline report for the installation of a Center for Professional Training in that Department.

- XVI. INSTITUTO DE ESTUDIOS PERUANOS: Since 1967, the IEP has published a large number of studies on contemporary and historical aspects of Peruvian society. The majority of these deal with rural institutions. Several are based on field work in the provinces.
- XVII. SOCIEDAD GEOGRÁFICA DE LIMA: Lima's Geographic Society has a complete collection of its official Boletín, several other journals related to geography, ecology, and resource use, valuable books, pamphlets, and a large map collection.
- XVIII. MINISTERIO DE AGRICULTURA:
- A. Libraries and Other Sources of Statistical Material: The Ministry has several libraries, in which published materials may be consulted; these are typically incomplete, disorganized, and poorly catalogued. Many dependencies of the Ministry compile statistics on, e.g., production, areas under cultivation, and water use. There is no central office where these data may be consulted; many of the older papers have been lost, but some are stored. In Lambayeque, for example,

⁷⁰The IIP studies and many others on the problema indígena are listed in Perú: Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Indígenas (1965).

official data on water use by hacienda and community are available for the period 1933 to the present. Production data and estimated production costs are available for more recent periods.

B. Direcciones de Reforma Agraria y Comunidades Campesinas:⁷¹

Within the Ministry of Agriculture the Dirección General de Reforma Agraria⁷² is of special importance, since it compiles a large mass of documentation on estates subject to agrarian reform (including maps, inventories, socio-economic studies, land registry, and title information). The Dirección de Comunidades Campesinas⁷³ is a source of comparable, but far less extensive material on communities.

XIX. INSTITUTO GEOGRÁFICO MILITAR: This is the best source of Peruvian maps and aerial photos. New maps and photos may be purchased;⁷⁴

both new and old maps and photos may be consulted in a library.

XX. OFICINA NACIONAL DE EVALUACIÓN DE RECURSOS NATURALES: ONERN has published a number of exhaustive resource studies for several regions of Peru. They are now completing a series of studies on coastal valleys.

XXI. REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT OFFICES:⁷⁵ Over the past decade a number of

⁷¹Formerly Comunidades Indígenas.

⁷²Subdirección de Reforma Agraria outside of Lima.

⁷³Subdirección de Comunidades Campesinos outside of Lima.

⁷⁴Many are now quite dated.

⁷⁵For example CORPUNO (Corporación para el Desarrollo de Puno); ORDEN (Oficina Regional para el Desarrollo del Norte).

regional offices and institutes have been created which study specific regions and plan for their development. Being new institutions, they have few papers of historical value, but the introductory and descriptive sections of their reports and publications often contain valuable contemporary data and bibliography.

- XXII. LA PRENSA: This newspaper maintains a very useful periodicals archive open to scholars. The staff has indexed articles in La Prensa and other major Lima periodicals for the last two decades, and many of the articles have been clipped and filed. Onomastical and subject indexes are used.
- XXIII. MISIÓN IOWA: The Iowa Mission has collaborated for several years with Peru's Ministry of Agriculture, primarily with the Oficina Sectorial de Planificación Agrícola. Studies on productivity, employment, pricing, agrarian reform, and other topics have been done. A library oriented toward planning and agricultural development is open to the public.
- XXIV. PERUVIAN TIMES:⁷⁶ At the office of the Peruvian Times a complete collection of this weekly paper is accessible.⁷⁷ Back issues may be purchased, and several English language books and translations of recent Peruvian laws are sold.
- XXV. OTHER PUBLIC LIBRARIES: See those listed in the bibliographies of Matos y Ravines, and Herbold y Stein.

⁷⁶The full title is Andean Airmail News and Peruvian Times, previously the West Coast Leader.

⁷⁷The collection of the National Library (Sala de Revistas y Periódicos) is incomplete.

PART IV: BIBLIOGRAPHY

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