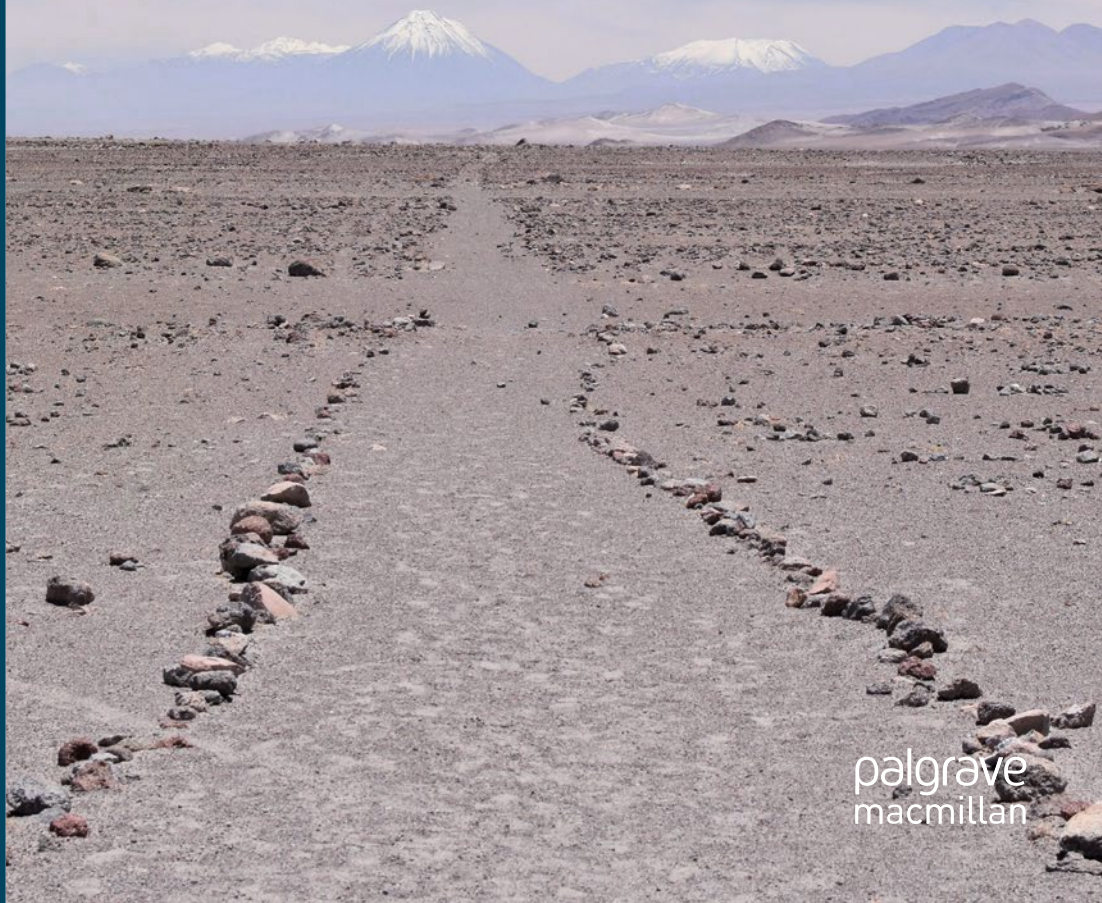
Itinerant Ideas

Race, Indigeneity and Cross-Border Intellectual Encounters in Latin America (1900–1950)

Joanna Crow



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Acknowledgments

This is a book about conversations and networks. It is also born from multiple conversations and networks, and I want to express my gratitude to the many different people who are part of those networks and who have helped to make those conversations happen. I have been researching, writing up, and presenting papers about the material for this book since 2015, when I was lucky enough to spend some time at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The trip was funded by the Worldwide Universities Network (WUN), and I was hosted by preeminent historian of Latin America, Florencia Mallon, who, together with Steve Stern, made me feel very welcome in Wisconsin, and introduced me to Peruvian scholars Víctor Vich and Virginia Zavala. As well as finding a wealth of material in the university's library, and conversing with Florencia, Steve, Víctor, and Virginia, I was invited to give a talk as part of the Lunchtime Lecture Series organised by the Latin American, Caribbean and Iberian Studies Program (LACIS). I was greatly encouraged by the enthusiastic and thought-provoking questions that LACIS colleagues put to me that afternoon.

Later in 2015 I shared my ideas for the project with staff and students at the Center for Intercultural and Indigenous Research (Pontifical Catholic University of Chile). This conversation was set up by Dr Allison Ramay, who I have worked with for several years now, developing an exciting digital public history project on Mapuche political activists' social networks, and who has read and provided feedback on several different parts of the book. I am enormously grateful to Allison for her unswerving friendship, banter, and support. Also in 2015, I organised a workshop on

"Chile and Peru" at the University of Bristol. I invited four esteemed UK-based historians of Latin America—Paulo Drinot at UCL, Patience Schell at Aberdeen, Natalia Sobrevilla at Kent, and David Wood at Sheffield—to present their own perspectives on the ongoing collaborations and hostilities between these two countries, and the ensuing discussion, which involved numerous colleagues and doctoral students at Bristol too, convinced me that there was more than enough, if not too much (!), for a new book on the subject. The conversations that began in Bristol in June 2015 have continued, and I want to thank Paulo Drinot for reviewing earlier drafts of two chapters of *Itinerant Ideas*, and Patience Schell for generously agreeing to read the full draft manuscript for me. Their incisive feedback was enormously helpful as I revised and prepared the final version of the book.

Since 2015, I have presented my findings and deliberations on indigenous rights debates in early twentieth century Chile and Peru at several international conferences in the U.K. and the U.S., not least those organised by the Association of Hispanists of Great Britain and Ireland; the Society of Latin American Studies; the American Historical Association; and the Latin American Studies Association. At these conferences, I have been fortunate enough to contemplate wide-ranging questions about race and indigeneity, and about the national and transnational contours of such questions, with so many inspirational scholars as fellow panellists or members of the audience: Hannah Alpert-Abrams, Marc Becker, Martín Bergel, Catherine Boyle, Andrea Cadelo, Michela Coletta, Catherine Davies, Geneviève Dorais, Nicola Foote, Iñigo García Bryce, Tori Holmes, Elizabeth Horan, Claire Lindsay, Nicola Miller, Erin O'Connor, and Mark Petersen. Beyond the conference sessions, Michela Coletta, Elizabeth Horan, and Nicola Miller have given up precious time to comment on different sections of this book, asking critical questions and suggesting new scholarly works for consultation, all of which has enabled me to push my arguments a little further. As well as advice, Elizabeth Horan has shared important archival sources related to Gabriela Mistral with me. Our Zoom conversations about Mistral and broader questions of circulation and travel during the first Covid-19 lockdown were one of the highlights of that challenging time. During lockdown I was also able to dialogue with experts in Chilean and Peruvian agrarian and economic history, Claudio Robles, Rory Miller, and Lewis Taylor, and they good-naturedly put me right on several issues.

Beyond major international conferences, I have been given the opportunity to discuss my research and to meet new people working in related fields of enquiry through many smaller colloquia and seminar series: the Modern Languages Research Forum at the University of Aberdeen; the Oxford Latin American History Seminar; the Jornadas Historiográficas at the School of Arts and Human Sciences, Pontifical Catholic University of Peru; a one-day conference on "Histories of Race, Popular Culture and Identity in the Andes" at the Institute of Latin American Studies, London; a workshop on "Cultures of Anti-Racism" at the University of Manchester; a colloquium on "Becoming Latin American: Children, Education and Citizenship" at the University of Reading; a two-day conference at University College London on "Periodicals on the Periphery? Magazines and Print Cultures in Latin America"; and a conference on conferences, entitled "Conferencing the International: Spaces of Modern Internationalism" at the Royal Geographic Society, London. These conversations would not have happened without the initiative and hard work of individual academics: Patience Schell, Eduardo Posada-Carbó, Miguel Costa, Jesús Cosamalón, Elena McGrath, Catriona McAllister, Peter Wade, James Scorer, María Chiara D'Argenio, Claire Lindsay, Lauren Rea, Stephen Legg, Mike Hefferman, Benjamin Thorpe, and Jake Hodder. All of these events provided a critical space for me to think through different arguments of the book in dialogue with excellent scholars working in a variety of disciplines, from History, Literary Studies, and Cultural Studies to Anthropology and Geography.

My home institution, the University of Bristol, has provided a stimulating and supportive environment for my research since I first joined in 2006. The Faculty of Arts has provided the necessary funding for numerous research trips to Latin America and for research assistance when I was not able to make the trips myself. I was also fortunate enough to get a University Research Fellowship, which was essential for writing the main part of this book. More important though than funding or research leave are the people that work at Bristol. I have benefitted enormously from being surrounded by so many warm, talented, and wise colleagues who have helped to keep me sane during insanely busy (and, more recently, Covid-impacted) semesters, and who have offered constructive and perceptive comments on different sections of the book manuscript from its embryonic days through to the last revisions: Ruth Bush, Rhiannon Daniels, Bethan Fisk, Ruth Glynn, James Hawkey, Ed King, Becky Kosick, Paul Merchant, Rachel Randall, Catherine O'Rawe and Paco Romero.

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Before starting this book, I was much more familiar with the archives and libraries of Chile than those of Peru. Staff at the main campus of the Pontifical Catholic University in Lima, the Riva-Agüero Institute, and the National Library of Peru have helped to remedy that. Giannina Miranda generously gave up her time to introduce me to the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Lima, and Milagros Chavez González did some invaluable research for me on journals and newspapers when I was unable to travel to Peru. In the U.S., staff at the Library of Congress, the Benson Latin American Collection at the University of Texas, Austin, and at Penn State University Archives helped me to locate seemingly hidden sources and advised on permissions. In Chile, Alejandra Guerra accessed and copied some very useful periodical materials in the National Library. In the UK, I have benefitted greatly from the online research assistance provided by Rebecca Wilson and Emily Walmsley, and from the lively discussions we had together about the materials they found.

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Ann and Bob Crow, who always believed in me, especially my mum who read earlier versions of the manuscript and made me believe I would finish it when I was not so certain. I am also especially grateful to my partner Alex, and our daughters Sofía and Elisa, who have made very happy memories of trips that we have gone on together to Chile and Peru, and who managed, for the most part, to refrain from asking when I would be done with the book, and from telling me off for talking about it too much. *Itinerant Ideas* is dedicated to Elisa who was not yet in the world when I wrote my first book.

Writing a book is a collective, collaborative process. I could not have done it on my own, but any mistakes and shortcomings are my own.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Transnational Race-Making in Latin America—Chilean-Peruvian Conversations

Writing in July 1938, the Chilean poet, educator, and diplomat Gabriela Mistral (1889–1957) informed her Argentine friend, the renowned publisher and literary critic Victoria Ocampo (1890–1979), that she was about to depart Chile by steamboat, traveling from Valparaíso to Lima.[1] "I feel terror at what they tell me about Peru", she said, "2000 political prisoners from the APRA party!"[2] Recalling this trip a little over three years later, Mistral told Magda Portal (1900–1989) and Manuel Seoane (1900–1963)—Peruvian Apristas living in exile in Chile—that few of the *limeño* elite had made her feel welcome.[3] Portal seemed to feel the same wariness about Chile as Mistral did about Peru. In September 1942, this poet and political activist wrote to Mistral to share the good news that her partner Serafín Delmar (1901–1980) had been released from prison and had recently joined her in Santiago with their daughter Gloria.[4] However, life in Chile could be difficult. Portal lamented how "standoffish" some

[1] In Elizabeth Horan and Doris Meyer (eds.), *This America of Ours: The Letters of Gabriela Mistral and Victoria Ocampo* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), pp. 80–81.

[2] The American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) emerged in the mid-1920s as an anti-imperialist movement promoting the political and economic unity of Latin America. It became the Peruvian Aprista Party in 1930.

[3] The letter, dated 2 December 1941, is accessible at www.bibliotecanacional.gob.cl. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are my own.

[4] Portal to Mistral, 15 September 1942. Magda Portal Papers, Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin.

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Chilean intellectuals were with them. "We [Apristas] have never distinguished between nationalities", she said, "because our political struggle strives for inter-Americanism and continental citizenship." Somewhat despairingly, Portal added "But you know the cold, distant men and women of your homeland…"

Such epistolary proclamations point to a well-known story of troubled encounters between Chileans and Peruvians that is usually traced to the military conflicts of the nineteenth century.[5] However, we can also read another, very different story in the above correspondence. That Mistral and Portal were writing to each other is significant in itself. Their correspondence shows that they interacted regularly, openly, and affectionately: as indicated in the letter of September 1942, Portal was confident Mistral would understand her criticisms of Chilean intellectuals. Other letters show that Mistral offered financial help to Portal whilst she was exiled in Chile. The soon-to-be Nobel laureate also advised Portal about publishing her writings and finding paid employment and put her in touch with major up-and-coming politicians such as Eduardo Frei Montalva (1911–1982). Mistral, moreover, was one of many Latin American intellectuals to demonstrate the "continental citizenship" of which Portal spoke in her letter: Mistral had appealed to the Peruvian authorities on Delmar's behalf whilst he was in prison. Such efforts, Portal said in her letter, helped to bring his long "martyrdom" to an end. Portal also told Mistral that her daughter Gloria had been fortunate enough to enrol in a university course for free in Santiago—Chile was "one of the few countries", she said, "where [the government] makes it easy to study." In her view, this was something to celebrate.

Mistral was only in Peru for a short time in 1938. She complained about having no time to go to the museums or visit the bookstores.[6] But her agenda was packed with cultural engagements with Peruvians. Portal too took an active role in political debates and social reform processes during her time in Chile. And, in both cases, such initiatives were warmly welcomed. On her arrival in Callao on 11 July 1938, Peru's oldest newspaper *El Comercio* applauded Mistral's "lack of affectation". It noted how impressed the Chilean *poetisa* was with the maritime works underway in Callao, and it revelled in how she offered their journalists a cigarette as she

[5] The War of the Confederation (1836–1839) and the War of the Pacific (1879–1883).

[6] Letter to Ocampo, dated July–August 1938, in Horan and Meyer (eds.), *This America of Ours*, pp. 84–85.

lit one for herself. There was no snobbery in her gesture, *El Comercio* assured its readers; quoting her directly, it said she smoked out of habit—something inherited from her mother.[7] The same newspaper reported on a public lecture that Mistral gave on 22 July: the city's Teatro Municipal was apparently filled with "ladies, diplomats, intellectuals and teachers" who greeted her "fascinating talk" with a "long, rapturous applause."[8] This testified to the "devotion and respect" the Chilean writer inspired among the educated public of Lima.[9] In Chile, the Peruvian Portal found a staunch friend in the leader of the Socialist Party, Salvador Allende (1908–1973). She helped organise the First Congress of Democratic and Popular Parties of Indo-America, held in Santiago in October 1940.[10] She also worked for the Chilean Ministry of Education, as a script writer for the newly created Radio Escuela Experimental, authoring at least twenty-five shows between 1943 and 1944.[11]

Itinerant Ideas tells many such stories of Chilean-Peruvian conversations and collaborations, developing an analysis that seeks to open up and deepen our understanding of how ideas travelled across national borders in early-twentieth-century Latin America. The focus of my study is ideas about race, specifically ideas about indigenous-ness or indigeneity. It was specifically "indigenous museums" that Mistral had wanted (and been unable) to see whilst visiting Lima, and in her letter to Portal and Seoane of December 1941, she said it was "only with the Indians" in Peru that she felt any "real affinity". Perhaps more critically, Mistral's lecture at Lima's Teatro Municipal in 1938 centred on indigenous folklore in Chile. Asserting the value of "Araucanian" contributions to Chilean culture, she urged her audiences in Peru as in Chile to recognise the indigeneity that they "carried within". The so-called "indigenous question" also permeated Portal's interventions in Chilean political developments. Via the

[7] *El Comercio*, 11 July 1938, reproduced in Héctor López Martínez (ed.), *El Siglo XX en el Perú a través de 'El Comercio'* (Lima: Edición de 'El Comercio', 1991).

[8] 'En el teatro municipal Gabriela Mistral disertó ayer sobre el folklore chileno', *El Comercio*, 23 July 1938. I am enormously grateful to Elizabeth Horan for sharing this and other relevant newspaper articles with me.

[9] 'La segunda conferencia de Gabriela Mistral estuvo muy concurrido', *La Crónica*, 23 July 1938.

[10] Letter from Portal to Haya de la Torre, 20 June 1941. Magda Portal Papers.

[11] Iñigo García-Bryce, 'Transnational Activist: Madga Portal and the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), 1926–1950', *The Americas* 70: 4 (2014), p. 698. The Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin, has transcripts of these plays.

congress of 1940 and her cultural production, Portal endeavoured to incorporate the Chilean left into the Aprista revolutionary vision that was "Indo-America"—a continent-wide economic and social renewal "based on an indigenous consciousness or subconsciousness".[12] The following pages explain why it is so important that we both recount and interrogate such cross-border conversations about indigeneity.

Race Beyond Nation

Anthropologist Francesca Merlan describes indigeneity as a "contingent, interactive, and historical product"; "there is not just one concept out there", she says, "but a range involving different histories and positions".[13] In the proclamations and activism of Mistral and Portal referenced above, we see how indigeneity was articulated both as a "criterial" identity category (linked to cultural practice and/or part of one's inner self), and a "relational" rights-based discourse (a struggle for social justice in the context on ongoing internal colonialism) in early twentieth century Latin America.[14] It was a *racial* label. It was also a racialised political project, or rather it was central to a political project that was verbalised in *racial* terms ("Indo-America").

Race is widely recognised as an idea that transcends national context, yet the framework of the nation-state dominates much of the Latin American and Latin Americanist scholarship on this social construct and its diverse meanings.[15] There are several valid reasons for this, not least the

[12] Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, 'La cuestión del nombre,' in *¿A dónde va Indoamérica?* (Santiago de Chile: Editoriales Ercilla, 1935), p. 29.

[13] Francesca Merlan, 'Indigeneity: Global and Local', *Current Anthropology* 50: 3 (2009), pp. 319–320.

[14] Merlan makes the distinction between "criterial" and "relational" definitions of indigeneity in ibid., pp. 304–305.

[15] See for example, Nancy P. Appelbaum, *Muddied Waters: Race, Region, and Local History in Colombia, 1846–1948* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003); Julio Arias Venegas, *Nación y diferencia en el siglo XIX colombiano. Orden nacional, racialismo y taxonomías poblacionales* (Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes, 2005); Marisol de la Cadena, *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919–1991* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000); Enrique Florescano *Etnia, estado y nación. Ensayo sobre las identidades colectivas en México* (México City: Aguilar, 1998); Florencia Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Peter Wade, *Music, Race and Nation: Música Tropical in Colombia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Barbara Weinstein, *The Color of Modernity: São Paulo and the Making of Race and Nation* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2015).

historical particularities of different nation-building projects across the continent, and the important implications of ideas about race (linked, for instance, to community, land ownership, heritage or literacy) for state policies. With a focus on whiteness, blackness, indigeneity or *mestizaje*, a vast array of in-depth country case studies have illustrated the highly flexible nature of race and racism in Latin America, emphasising how both "can be molded and remolded to fit changing historical circumstances".[16] In the first half of the twentieth century, for example, an emphasis on "cultural" differences along with the possibility of improvement through assimilation largely displaced the hitherto dominant scientific or biological racism of the late nineteenth century. And it is precisely this elasticity which helps to explain the staying power of race and racism. What the existing scholarship also reveals, though, is a history of anti-racism—of myriad political struggles undertaken at local and national level against the racial stereotypes justifying discrimination and exploitation.[17] Crucially, such studies have cast the people that lived (and continue to live) discrimination and exploitation as central agents in these struggles.

Itinerant Ideas builds on and expands previous scholarship on race, racism, and anti-racism in Latin America by telling a history of race-making—of the making of indigenous identities and indigenous rights discourses—that moves beyond the nation. It investigates the cross-border elaboration of the ideas that informed and fed into state policies towards indigenous peoples, and in doing so adds another layer of understanding to how these policies came about. Mapping out transnational conversations, it argues, reveals the underpinnings of what happens at a national level. In other words, *Itinerant Ideas* is not written "*without* nations" (my emphasis) "but simultaneously pays attention to what lives against, between and through them".[18]

[16] Laura Gotkowitz, Introduction to *Histories of Race and Racism: The Andes and Mesoamerica from Colonial Times to the Present* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2011), p. 8.

[17] This is true of many of the studies referenced in footnote 14. In the case of Peru, Mallon spotlights the discursive strategies evident in letters sent by indigenous leaders to government authorities in the late nineteenth century, and de la Cadena analyses the politics of contestation on display in public statements of the Comité Pro-Derecho Indígena Tawantinsuyo (1919–1926).

[18] Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History: Theory and History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 2.

In line with the broader "transnational turn" in historical scholarship,[19] an increasing number of monographs have adopted a comparative approach to the study of race in Latin America,[20] and several edited collections on Latin America are organised around different country case studies, which point to shared historical and contemporary trends across the region, as well as divergences.[21] However, the comparative approach has some limitations in that it assumes that we can qualify exactly what it is that we are comparing.[22] In the present case, how can we confidently establish what a Chilean or Peruvian discourse of race looks like, when each is multifaceted, entangled, and contested? And so, whilst *Itinerant Ideas* does draw out some parallels and differences between what was happening in the two countries over the course of the first half of the twentieth century, its main objective is to examine the routes and vehicles that brought Chilean and Peruvian activist-intellectuals together to talk about the so-called "indigenous question".

This approach is inspired by the work of political theorist Juliet Hooker and historian Karin Rosemblatt. Hooker (2017) reads the Argentine statesman Domingo Faustino Sarmiento alongside the African American abolitionist leader Frederick Douglass, and the Mexican philosopher José Vasconcelos alongside U.S. pan-Africanist writer and political activist W.E.B. Du Bois, to "reveal the intellectual connections and political genealogies of racial thought within the Americas".[23] Her "account of

[19] Transnational history gained momentum in the late 1980s and early 1990s. See Fiona Paisley and Pamela Scully, *Writing Transnational History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), p. 1.

[20] See Mara Loveman's excellent work on national censuses, *National Colors: Racial Classification and the State in Latin America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[21] For example, Nancy P. Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt (eds.), *Race & Nation in Modern Latin America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Richard Graham, *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990); Gotkowitz (ed.), *Histories of Race and Racism*; and Peter Wade, Carlos López Beltrán, Eduardo Restrepo, and Ricardo Ventura Santos (eds.), *Mestizo Genomics: Race Mixture, Nation, and Science in Latin America* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014). See also Rebecca Earle, *Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810–1930* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007), and Edward Telles, *Pigmentocracies: Ethnicity, Race and Color in Latin America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

[22] See Juliet Hooker, *Theorizing Race in the Americas: Douglass, Sarmiento, Du Bois and Vasconcelos* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 11–13; and Micol Seigel, 'Beyond Compare: Comparative Method after the Transnational Turn', *Radical History Review* 91 (Winter 2005), pp. 62–90.

[23] Hooker, *Theorizing Race*, p. 2.

dialogically formed racial discourses and political projects that intersect and bind" the two Americas helpfully counters the long scholarly tradition that positions them as opposites (i.e. the "one drop rule" of the U.S. versus the Latin American myth of "racial democracy"). A similarly intersecting and binding history is found in Karin Rosemblatt's *The Science and Politics of Race* (2018), which explains how Mexican scholars and politicians interested in "racial minorities" visited and studied the U.S. and built on what they saw there when they elaborated reforms in their own country, and vice-versa how U.S. intellectuals and policy makers "drew on the ideas of Mexicans and about Mexico to understand" what was going on at home.[24]

In line with Hooker and Rosemblatt, I show that we gain a better understanding of Chilean and Peruvian ideas about indigeneity when we put them in dialogue with one another. For example, we get a sense that the focus of each state's official national narrative on the "great civilisations" of the past, that is the Araucanians in Chile and the Inca in Peru, occurred at least partly because these civilisations were admired by the other state, and across the region. Hence, also, the importance of placing the two-way Chilean-Peruvian exchange within a broader continental frame. That broader frame exposes the hollow myths of national "exceptionalism", particularly for Chile, which has often been conceived—both by Chileans and international observers—as a country that did not have an "indigenous problem" and where class conflict rather than race conflict dominated intellectual and political debates in the early twentieth century.[25]

What differentiates this book from the lines of analysis developed by Hooker and Rosemblatt is its focus on South-South transnational exchanges, rather than how "knowledge travelled from South to North as well as from North to South".[26] The transnationality of my approach also develops from the broader insights and priorities of the "new imperial history", which emerged in the 1990s. By destabilising the colonised/coloniser and resistance/complicity binary, this body of scholarship questions what the centre or the peripheries of (the mainly British) empire might

[24] Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt, *The Science and Politics of Race in Mexico and the United States, 1910–1950* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), p. 7.

[25] Patrick Barr-Melej, *Reforming Chile: Cultural Politics, Nationalism, and the Rise of the Middle Class* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Frederick Pike, 'Aspects of Class Relations in Chile, 1850–1960', *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 43: 1 (1963), pp. 14–33.

[26] Rosemblatt, *The Science and Politics of Race*, p. 7.

mean, and for whom.[27] Catherine Hall's work, which foregrounds race as an idea mutually constituted in both the colonies and the metropole, has been especially influential in these discussions about empire.[28] The "metropole" appears as but one of many significant reference points for the networks presented in *Itinerant Ideas*. The following chapters show how Chileans and Peruvians looked to Europe and the U.S., but how they also drew inspiration from the experiences of countries across Latin America, not least each other.

As Su Lin Lewis and Stefanie Gänger have written, "much of the scholarship on early twentieth-century intellectual history in the non-Western world has been viewed through the [prism of the] metropole and colony," even if it has sought to transcend overly simplistic binary understandings of that relationship.[29] In their own work, Lewis and Gänger "widen the framework to consider the way in which intellectuals formed scholarly networks and gathered multiple influences to articulate new visions of community and society within a wider world of ideas."[30] *Itinerant Ideas* contributes to such efforts to "widen the framework" to try to gain a better understanding of the making and meaning of racial labels in Latin America. Through an *intra*-regional case study—a neglected approach particularly in the Latin American context—it provides fresh insights into the historical construction of dominant intellectual and political definitions of indigeneity: "Indians" as illiterate agriculturalists, as innately communitarian, as closely connected to nature, as irrational, as ignorant, as backward, as easily misled, as part of the past and therefore out of place in the modern world. It also expands our understanding of the multiple ways in which such racist stereotypes were challenged and subverted, not least by indigenous people themselves.

Of course, indigenous activism is not and has never been uniform. Writing on contemporary Bolivia, Andrew Canessa comments that certain indigenous groups "are perceived, whether by themselves or by others, to

[27] Kathleen Wilson (ed.), *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[28] For example, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

[29] Su Lin Lewis and Stefanie Gänger, 'A World of Ideas: New Pathways in Global Intellectual History, c. 1880–1930', *Modern Intellectual History* 10: 2 (2013), p. 347.

[30] See Lewis's special issue co-edited with Carolien Stolte, 'Other Bandungs: Afro-Asian Connections in the Early Cold War', *Journal of World History* (2019). I return to Gänger's work shortly, as it focuses precisely on Chile and Peru.

have more legitimacy and power than other groups."[31] This is the case for Bolivia's large highland populations of Quechua and Aymara speakers whose conceptual and legal status is markedly different to that of the smaller and more marginalised groups that occupy the eastern lowlands.[32] It is a similar situation in contemporary Peru, where approximately 95% of the almost 6 million people who self-identify as indigenous are Quechua and Aymara (5,176,809 and 548,292 respectively). Historically, these peoples—especially the Quechua—have had much more say or been evoked much more frequently in indigenous rights debates than Amazonian groups such as the Ashaninka, although the latter have become increasingly visible in recent years in the context of violent conflicts with illegal loggers.[33] Whilst the overall demographics are different, it is also a similar situation in Chile. In 2017, approximately 1.5 million people self-identified as indigenous—9% of the national population, compared to 26% of the total population in Peru—and 80% of these were Mapuche.[34] Chilean law recognises the existence of nine different indigenous groups in the country, including the Aymara and Quechua in the northern regions (territories annexed from Bolivia and Peru during the War of the Pacific), but the Mapuche dominate scholarly, parliamentary and media debates on indigenous-state relations.

Such dominance is mirrored in the transnational forums of the early twentieth century which I interrogate in this book. I have focused on the Mapuche in Chile (mainly of the Araucanía region and often referred to as Araucanians, a term invented by the Spanish conquistadors) and the Quechua and Aymara peoples in Peru (mainly of the Cuzco and Puno regions in the southern Andes, and descendants of the Inca or Inca-controlled peoples), because when intellectuals in these countries were talking about "*los indios*", "*los indígenas*" or "*comunidades indígenas*" this was—for the most part—who they meant. Furthermore, it was Quechua,

[31] Andrew Canessa, 'Indigenous Conflict in Bolivia Explored through an African Lens: Towards a Comparative Analysis of Indigeneity', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 60: 2 (2018), p. 320.

[32] As Canessa (2018), notes, highland and lowland indigenous peoples have rarely come together in their demands of or against the Bolivian state. The historic 800 km March for Territory and Dignity in 1990 was an important turning point in this regard, although tensions persist.

[33] For the demographics of Peru, according to the census of 2017, see www.inei.gob.pe ('Perú: Perfil Sociodemográfico, Informe Nacional') and www.iwgia.org.

[34] For the demographics of Chile, see www.ine.cl and www.iwgia.org.

Aymara and Mapuche activist-intellectuals who most effectively forced their way onto the national political stage in Peru and Chile during this period. In a sense, then, my analysis ends up replicating state narratives about which indigenous peoples *count*, especially in the case of Chile, but it deconstructs such narratives and highlights some of the key evasions and silences, as well as when and how these were contested, not least through cross-border conversations. In broader terms, my emphasis on indigeneity precludes an in-depth interrogation of debates about blackness or whiteness, or representations of Asian populations in Latin America.[35] However, I do pinpoint some moments when connections emerge between indigenous and other "races" in Chilean-Peruvian discussions, and I analyse how these help us to understand the concept of indigeneity in the early twentieth century as both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic, and as simultaneously related to cultural distinctiveness, territory, and political relations with the state.

[35] A rich, flourishing literature exists on blackness in Latin America. On Peru, see Maribel Arrelucea Barrantes, *Sobreviviendo a la esclavitud: Negociación y honor en la prácticas cotidianas de los africanos y afrodescendientes, Lima, 1750–1820* (Lima: IEP, 2018); Heidi Feldman, *Black Rhythms of Peru: Reviving African Musical Heritage in the Black Pacific* (Middletown, Conn. L Wesleyan University Press, 2006); Tanya Golash-Boza, *Yo so negro* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011); Christine Hünefeldt, *Paying the Price of Freedom: Family and Labor among Lima's slaves, 1800–1854* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); José R. Jouve Martín, *The Black Doctors of Colonial Lima: Science, Race and Writing in Colonial and Early Republican Peru* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014); Rachel Sarah O'Toole, *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians and the Making of Race in Colonial Peru* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012). There is less on Chile, but scholarly interest has grown in recent years. See, for example, Juan Eduardo Wolf, *Styling Blackness in Chile: Music and Dance in African Diaspora* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019). On Latin America more broadly see the pioneering work of George Reid Andrews, e.g. *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires 1888–1988* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 1988), *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888–1988* (Madison Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), and *Afro-Latin America: Black Lives, 1600–2000* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2016). For a fascinating discussion of whiteness in Chile, see Sarah Walsh, 'The Chilean Exception: Racial Homogeneity, Mestizaje and Eugenic Nationalism', *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 25: 1 (2019), pp. 105–125.

Chile and Peru: An Illuminating Case Study of South-South Knowledge Exchange

Most of the ample scholarship on relations between Chile and Peru springs from and draws attention to the wars fought in the nineteenth century—the War of the Confederation between 1836 and 1839, and the War of the Pacific between 1879 and 1883—and the ever-reverberating internal and external consequences of those wars.[36] Victorious in the War of the Pacific, Chile annexed the Peruvian province of Tarapacá (and the Bolivian province of Atacama) and thus secured almost complete control of the world's nitrate deposits. Disputes over these and maritime acquisitions, and the treaties that ratified them, continued throughout the twentieth century, and still claim much attention in the twenty-first century.[37] One of the legacies of this conflict is that relations between Chile and Peru have been interpreted almost exclusively as antagonistic and hostile. Indeed, the backdrop against which the Chilean-Peruvian conversations under scrutiny in this book took place is full of episodes of aggression and enmity (for more details, see the timeline in the Appendix).

Whilst acknowledging this history of conflict, several scholars have started to look beyond it. Particularly insightful are Josh Savala's article on collaborations between port workers in Mollendo and Valparaíso in the 1910s and 1920s, and Stefanie Gänger's long-durée study (1837–1911)

[36] Heraclio Bonilla, 'The War of the Pacific and the National and Colonial Problem in Peru', *Past & Present* 81: 1 (1978), pp. 92–118; Florencia Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); William Sater, *Andean Tragedy: Fighting the War of the Pacific, 1879–1884* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2007); William Skuban, *Lines in the Sand: Nationalism and Identity on the Peruvian-Chilean Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007); Sergio Villalobos, *Chile y Perú: La historia que nos una y nos separa* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 2002).

[37] See 'Peru-Chile border defined by UN court at The Hague' posted on www.bbc.co.uk, 28 January 2014. As well as territory, Chile stole books from Peru, specifically from Lima's Biblioteca Nacional. Thousands were returned in 2007. See 'Chile returns looted Peru books', posted on www.bbc.co.uk on 7 November 2007. Nicola Miller discusses the latter in *Republics of Knowledge: Nations of the Future in Latin America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020), p. 36.

of antiquity collecting and archaeology in Chile and Peru.[38] *Itinerant Ideas* extends these endeavours to critique the dominant historical (often nationalist and nationalistic) narratives, by probing connections between the experiences and representations of indigenous peoples in both countries during the first half of the twentieth century. (The image on the front cover—an Inca road through the Atacama Desert in Chile—speaks to these connections). It thereby overturns long-standing assumptions that Chile—in contrast to Peru—failed to engage in early twentieth-century discussions about the so-called "indigenous question".

Such assumptions coincide with widespread accounts of Chilean anti-indigenous (and anti-black) racist attitudes and actions towards Peruvians. We find these in historical works on the War of Pacific. As Ericka Beckman puts it, "the Chilean state waged its expansionist war within the language and politics of the European 'civilizing mission', constantly affirming the (relative) whiteness, virility, discipline and morality of Chilean soldiers in opposition to their indigenous and mixed-race counterparts on the Peruvian and Bolivian side."[39] We find them in the detail of several studies of the twentieth century, such as Raymond Craib's *Cry of the Renegade*, which calls attention to Chilean magazines' racist depictions of Peruvians as child-like black terrorists, in the context of the waves of violence sweeping the frontier region and Chilean expulsions of Peruvians from that region in the late 1910s and early 1920s.[40] We also find them in more recent press coverage and testimonies of Peruvian migrants living in Chile.[41]

Chilean racism against Peruvians is a well-known story, and it reappears directly and indirectly throughout the following chapters. However,

[38] Stefanie Gänger, *Relics of the Past: The Collecting and Study of Pre-Columbian Antiquities in Peru and Chile, 1937–1911* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Josh Savala, 'Ports of Transnational Labor Organizing: Anarchism along the Peruvian-Chilean Littoral, 1916–1928', *Hispanic American Historical Review* 99: 3 (2019), pp. 501–531. See also Daniel Parodi and Sergio González (eds.), *Historias que nos unen: 21 relatos para la integración de Perú y Chile* (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la PUCP, 2014); and Cristóbal Aljovín and Eduardo Caviares, *Chile – Perú, Perú – Chile: 1820–1920. Desarrollo Políticos, Económicos y Culturales* (Valparaíso: Universidad de Valparaíso, 2005).

[39] Ericka Beckman, 'The Creolization of Imperial Reason: Chilean State Racism in the War of the Pacific', *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 18: 1 (2009), p. 75.

[40] Raymond Craib, *The Cry of the Renegade: Poetry and Politics in Interwar Chile* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 42–43.

[41] For example: Alexander Carnwath, 'When not to paint the town red: teenagers' graffiti sparks spat between Chile and Peru', *Independent*, 19 February 2005; Silke Staab and Kristen Hill Maber, 'The Dual Discourse about Peruvian Domestic Workers in Santiago de Chile: Class, Race and a Nationalist Project', *Latin American Politics and Society* 48: 1 (2006), pp. 87–116.

Itinerant Ideas also tells another story. It does so in two different ways. First, it scrutinises the exclusion of and discrimination against indigenous peoples as a history that Chile and Peru have *in common*. It illustrates the long-standing *overlaps* between Chilean and Peruvian discussions about race, not least the notion—discussed by Paulo Drinot—that "indigeneity [is] commensurable with backwardness".[42] Like Gänger's *Relics of the Past*, my work emphasises "the interconnectedness and similarities between scholarly and political ideas in the two nation-states"; it demonstrates "shared concerns about race, nationality, and territoriality".[43] But it takes us further into the twentieth century, and is organised around three themes—labour, cultural heritage, and education—that both touch upon and transcend Gänger's focus on archaeology and antiquarianism. Second, *Itinerant Ideas* documents an ongoing struggle for racial justice in both countries. It reveals many different instances when Chilean and Peruvian intellectuals came together to discuss how to build a more inclusive community, learning from the projects taking place in the other's country. In more than a few cases, the Chileans and Peruvians engaged in such cross-border discussions and projects were indigenous. A growing body of literature explores how indigenous social movements in contemporary Latin America are linked into transnational networks.[44] My research shows that this is not a new phenomenon. It demonstrates that transnational indigenous organising was a visible and audible reality in the early twentieth century, and that it took many different forms: labour protest, conference attendance, teacher exchanges, missionary activity, art exhibitions, theatre groups, and more.

The indigenous and non-indigenous intellectuals discussed in the following chapters often interacted with, worked for, or headed-up state institutions in Chile and Peru. Existing scholarship rightly highlights the divergent pathways that modern state building took in Chile and Peru. Florencia Mallon underscores Chile's reputation as a "relatively stable and interventionist state" by the end of the 1930s—a state which led the process of "industrialisation and economic development behind tariff barriers

[42] Paulo Drinot, 'Website of Memory: The War of the Pacific (1879–1884) in the Global Age of YouTube', *Memory Studies* 4: 4 (2011), pp. 370–385.

[43] Gänger, *Relics of the Past*, p. 10.

[44] Robert Andolina, Nina Laurie, and Sarah Radcliffe, *Indigenous Development in the Andes: Culture, Power and Transnationalism* (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 2009); Alison Brysk, *From Tribal Village to Global Village: Indian Rights and International Relations in Latin America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000); Canessa, 'Indigenous Conflict in Bolivia…'; Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1998); Merlan, 'Indigeneity: Global and Local'.

and formulated social welfare policies aimed at including broader sectors of society of the population within an expanded 'national economy'". In consequence, the historiography on Chile has generally been willing, whether critical or supportive of the status-quo, to accept "the existence of a successful national project led by the state." Regarding the Peruvian state, on the other hand, scholars have emphasised the "failure of efforts at national consolidation across spatial and ethnic lines, as well as the maintenance of an 'open economy'".[45]

Importantly, Mallon's work also points to historical trends *shared* by the two countries. Both "experienced deep crises in the first three to four decades of the twentieth century." They both had in common "the fact that rurally and oligarchically based social political orders were being challenged from below by a combination of newly emerging social groups, including urban workers, peasants, urban and/ or provincial middle classes."[46] In Peru, the exclusionary "Aristocratic Republic" (1895–1919) was followed by the populist-turned-authoritarian regime of Augusto Leguía (1919–1930), which succumbed to pressure for legislative reforms but barely or only very superficially implemented them. Leguía's demise initiated "a long-term crisis of rule and direction", which was not fully confronted until the reforming military government of Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968–1975). In Chile, the "Parliamentary Republic" (1891–1925)—with its selective political inclusion and intra-elite negotiation—"reached its limits with the populism of Arturo Alessandri, precipitating a decade-long crisis that ended with the election of Pedro Aguirre Cerda and the first Popular Front coalition government in 1938."[47] Despite the differences in the details and outcomes, in both countries and throughout early twentieth century Latin America, there was a shift from an oligarchic state to a modernising state.[48] It was within this framework that the "indigenous question" and the ideology and movement known as *indigenismo* emerged.

[45] Mallon, 'Decoding the Parchments of the Latin American Nation-State; Peru, Mexico and Chile in Comparative Perspective', in James Dunkerley (ed.), *Studies of the Formation of the Nation State in Latin America* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 2002), p. 15.

[46] Ibid., p. 14.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Miller, drawing on Laurence Whitehead, in *In the Shadow of the State: Intellectuals and the Quest for National Identity in Twentieth Century Latin America* (London: Verso, 1999), p. 3.

Modernisation, *Indigenismo*, and the "Indigenous Question" in Latin America

The conversations about the "indigenous question" studied in this book arose in the context of an intense process of modernisation: export-led economic growth, the building of new roads, the coming of aviation, mass rural-urban migration, the expansion of education (in both Chile and Peru, primary schooling was made obligatory for all children in 1920), government intervention in public health, state sponsorship of archaeological excavations and cultural tourism, and, in some countries, major agrarian reform programmes. This was a markedly uneven process. Radical inequalities forced political elites in Chile, Peru, and other countries in Latin America to acknowledge and grapple with various aspects of the "social question", such as urban squalor, rural poverty, alcoholism and epidemics, as well as increased political mobilisation effected in the growth of trade unions, anarcho-syndicalism, and the creation of Socialist and Communist parties.[49] The "indigenous question" intertwined with the "social question".

Starting in 1900 and ending in 1950, *Itinerant Ideas* sketches out the emergence, radicalisation, institutionalisation and the beginnings of the decline of *indigenismo*, a discourse and (cultural, intellectual and political) movement characterised broadly, in the words of Rebecca Earle, by "a concern with the well-being of contemporary indigenous people."[50] This concern was "often expressed as a desire to elevate the Indian from their lowly position so that they might enjoy the benefits available to other citizens."[51] In speaking of "bettering" and "improving" the Indian "race", *indigenistas* presumed its inferiority even if they argued that such supposed inferiority was not biological or natural, but rather the result of centuries of abuse and exploitation. As commented by Peruvianist Jorge Coronado, proponents of *indigenismo* sought "to reshape Andean societies by the inclusion of vast swathes of the marginalised indigenous population" but refused to "relinquish [their] tutorial attitude toward those [they] sought to protect".[52]

[49] Mallon, 'Decoding the Parchments…', p. 14.

[50] Earle, *Return of the Native*, p. 185.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Jorge Coronado, *The Andes Imagined: Indigenismo, Society, and Modernity* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009), p. 135.

Most scholarly work on *indigenismo* has focused on the Andes and Mesoamerica, especially on Peru and Mexico, because it was only in those states that *indigenismo* became "the basis of a specific political movement or party," or became an official part of state policy for any sustained amount of time.[53] And yet, as Laura Gotkowitz makes clear, it "resonated powerfully" *throughout* Latin America, peaking "at different moments, in different nations" and taking "on diverse national and regional forms".[54] Chile rarely features in studies on *indigenismo*. To be sure, neither as a discourse or a movement was it as prominent in early twentieth-century Chile as it was in Peru or Mexico, but Chilean intellectuals and policy makers both in Chile and abroad were certainly talking about the "indigenous question".[55] Furthermore, as the following chapters will show, Chile played host to numerous international meetings which tackled this question. It thereby sought to frame as well as participate in the debate. By tracing connections between the debates taking place in Chile and Peru, *Itinerant Ideas* digs further into the complexity, diversity, and inconsistency of *indigenismo*. Specifically, it investigates how *indigenista* discourses connected with three different but interlinked areas of state policy in Chile and Peru: labour, cultural heritage, and education. All three were intimately bound up in the process of nation-building and nation-imagining, but the intellectual exchanges about policy were to some extent above the nation. These transnational exchanges, moreover, involved indigenous as well as *indigenista* protagonists, or rather, we see how indigenous people were involved in *indigenista* debates, and thus the distinction between the two—intimated by scholars such as Coronado and Earle—becomes blurred.

In demonstrating how multiple, oft-competing languages of indigenous rights circulated simultaneously across national borders, this book encourages us to look for ways of thinking and formulating socio-political realities which do not neatly map onto strict ideological scenarios, such as left versus right, as sometimes happens in scholarship on the (Latin American) history of ideas. It can be helpful, for example, to see Mistral's insistence (in her lecture tour of 1938) on the indigeneity "carried within"

[53] Gotkowitz, Introduction to *Histories of Race and Racism*, p. 19.

[54] Ibid., p. 20

[55] See Joanna Crow, *The Mapuche in Modern Chile: A Cultural History* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013).

through a longer tradition of spiritualism and idealism in the region.[56] *Itinerant Ideas* also makes evident that debates about indigenous rights did not always proceed in a linear fashion. In other words, the story it tells goes beyond teleological progress, and eschews the preoccupation with establishing definitive origins to the "big ideas" about indigeneity. Different chapters *do* map out certain changes or shifts in the experiences and representations of indigenous peoples over the course of the first half of the twentieth century, but these are multicausal, as well as reversible. In all, with its focus on circulation and travel, *Itinerant Ideas* calls attention to the multi-sited causes of historical change, which we see enacted and lived locally, nationally, and transnationally.

Transnational Intellectual Networks in Latin America

The cast of the book is comprised mainly of intellectuals, whom I understand, following Nicola Miller, as "*porteurs* (carriers) of ideas […], not only as translators and expositors but also as opinion makers."[57] More than 170 Chilean and Peruvian intellectuals appear in the following pages. Some make only sporadic or brief appearances. Others feature more prominently, repeatedly, and comprehensively. Some of those in the latter camp, such as Mistral and Portal, will already be familiar to people well-read in Latin American intellectual and political history. Others are less well-known. The majority, but by no means all, of the cast are men.[58] Around thirty self-identified as indigenous, and I pay particularly close attention to the way in which their knowledge and political propositions circulated. Many intellectuals used "their established […] authority to make a successful bid for national influence."[59] Others either did not bid for national influence or were unsuccessful in such bids; their impact was more localised, or more difficult to trace. All of them, though, contributed—directly or indirectly—to public debates about indigenous identity and indigenous rights in Chile and Peru. *Itinerant Ideas* is about their conversations with

[56] I am very grateful to Michela Coletta for the illuminating discussions we had about this at the Latin American Studies Association conference in New York in May 2016.

[57] Miller, *Reinventing Modernity in Latin America: Intellectuals Imagine the Future* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 7.

[58] There are just under twenty women.

[59] Miller, *In the Shadow of the State*, p. 4.