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Speaking Chinese: A major Challenge in the Construction of Identity and the Preservation of the Peruvian Chinese Community (1870–1930)

说汉语：构建身份认同的重要挑战和秘鲁华人社群的维持 (1870–1930)

Abstract: The arrival of around 100,000 Chinese male workers, in Peru between 1849 and 1874 as indentured labor created particularly difficult conditions for the emergence and development of a Chinese community. Arriving without women, the majority of the Chinese founded families in Peru. To conserve a blood link with their Chinese identity, many sought to marry young mixed blood Chinese-Peruvian girls. However, to make up a Chinese community, a Chinese education was considered essential for the transmission and preservation of cultural values and language. There were several attempts to create a Chinese school for the children of the Emperor's subjects, first by the church in 1882 and later by Chinese officials as early as 1885, following the model of San Francisco and Havana. This article examines the historical development between 1870 and 1930 of the efforts the Chinese community in Peru made in setting up Chinese language education and community associations and the institutions that supported the development.

Keywords: Chinese Educational Mission, Chinese community of Peru, Chinese school, Chung Wha School

摘要: 1849 年到 1874 年间，十万华人男性工人以契约劳工的身份到达秘鲁，华人社群在当地极其艰难的条件出现并发展起来。没有女性伴随，大部分的华人在秘鲁成家。为维持与中国身份的血缘联系，很多人与年轻的华人-秘鲁人混血女子结婚。然而，为了建构华人社群，华语教育被视为是传承和保持文化价值和语言的必要条件。依循旧金山和哈瓦那的模式，华人数次试图为儿童开办中文学校，1882 年首次由教堂开办，之后 1885 年由中国官官员开办。文章考

察了 1870 年到 1930 年秘鲁华人社群为建立中文语言教育和社团组织的努力，以及对其发展作出支持的各种机构。

关键词: 汉语教育任务、, 秘鲁华语社群、, 中文学校、, 中华学校

DOI 10.1515/glochi-2015-1008

Introduction

Unlike San Francisco where 1847 saw the arrival of free Chinese on the lookout for work or businesses, the arrival in Cuba in 1848 and in 1849 in Peru of the Chinese ‘coolies’ or ‘colonos’ was marked by a new form of enslavement under contract. Between 1849 and 1874 nearly 100,000 Chinese from Fujian and then essentially from Guangdong were brought into Peru in this way. The first mutual aid associations for the Chinese in Peru were created to help them to face up the ill treatment they were receiving together and were encouraged by the contact with the Chinese associations in San Francisco. The Chinese Catholics, desiring to help in the organization and regrouping of their compatriots, formed in 1882 the first Chinese Benevolent Association. Among its aims were the opening of a hospice and the creation of a school to teach the Chinese and mixed-blood children. The hospice would be inaugurated the same year, while the school had to wait for the visit of the first Ambassador to Peru, Zheng Zaoru (鄭藻如 August 1884–February 1885). Onto the Legation installed by Zheng Zaoru fell the responsibility of carrying out the project of the Chinese Educational Mission - completely different from what the Chinese Catholics would have wanted. The first school functioned for only three years. Because of this, the non-Chinese education of the children of the immigrants and merchants fell again into the hands of the Chinese-Peruvian Catholic priests and nuns. The return to China would often be the preferred choice.

In this article I examine the difficulties encountered by the Chinese community from its founding at the beginning of the 1880s until the creation of its own school in 1924. This community, relatively well integrated into Peruvian society had waited a long time to obtain from its diplomatic representation the necessary support for the conservation of Chinese culture. Only the efforts made by the Chinese merchants linked to the *huiguans* (会馆 native place associations) succeeded in bringing about the Chung Wha (中华) School. The article is based essentially on documents from the Peruvian archives. The most interesting documents come from the National Library of Peru, from the Archbishopric of

Lima, from the Lima Municipality and the archives of the Ministry of Peruvian Foreign Affairs, in particular the consular exchanges, and the mail from the Legation to the Ministry.

On July 16, 1873, the Peruvian newspaper *El Comercio* published one of its numerous articles entitled “Coolie Traffic”, intended to convince its readers that the Chinese coolies brought to Peru in 1849 to raise the Peruvian economy¹ had never been mistreated and once their contract over, had even made their fortunes. The proof: an article which appeared in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of April 1872 about the arrival in San Francisco, in transit before their return to China, of twenty-eight very wealthy former coolies who had arrived in Peru between 1852 and 1863, from Fujian, Xinning, Hoksan and Hoiping. Except for a few controversial points noted by the reporter,² one fact was important: the return to China of Luk Apio who had arrived in 1854, accompanied by two children whose mother was Peruvian. This father, like a large number of Chinese immigrants after him, returned to China so as to give his children the Chinese culture which their mother could not transmit.

It must be noted that this article was written after two petitions were sent, in December 1868 and in January 1871, by the *agencias chinas*³ to denounce the ill treatment of Chinese under contract working in the *haciendas*. These two letters transmitted to the Chinese Government by the American Ambassadors were at the origin in 1874 of a non-official visit to Peru of Yung Wing (容闳 Ron Hong, 1828-1912), with a mission to report to the Viceroy the conditions of work and the

1 The introduction of the coolies began in 1849 and finished in 1874. It is estimated that more than 100,000 workers were brought in during this period. However the 1876 census showed that only 49,656 Chinese remained in Peru out of a total of 2.6 million inhabitants. The number of Chinese women counted in 1876 was 1% (Lausent-Herrera, 2012).

2 *El Comercio*, July 16, 1873, in: *inserciones: « El Tráfico de Coolies »*. This text, reproduced in part, was taken up by the *Boston Daily Advertiser* and translated into Spanish. *El Comercio* did not give the author's name or the date of publication – a frequent omission at this time. It was directed against the British Anti-Slavery Society of Exeter Hall, London. In the same newspaper on August 18, 1869, a Peruvian resident of Boston attacked the « Canton Company », declaring that in Peru the Chinese were rich, they had work and they received help from Peru.

3 In 1868 a document from the Historical Archives of the Municipality of Lima (AHML: cajón Alcaldía, Prefectura 13/3/1861) attests to the activities of these first *agencias* or guilds. It was they who signed the two missives to Prince Kung. They were the Ku Y Kang (now Guganzhou representing the immigrants from the five districts, Xin Hui, Kaiping, Enping, Taishan, Heshan, the Tung Sing, grouping the Hakkas and the *gremio* of Canton. (*El Comercio*, 10/9/1869). According to Meagher (2008:237) the second memorial of 1871 was also signed by « the Fukien and Swatow guild ». Interesting to note that this same year, 1868, the Chinese of San Francisco in the United States also demanded diplomatic representation to defend them. (Chen 2000:110).

life of the Chinese in the *haciendas*. At the time he was ordered to Peru, Yung Wing was commissioner with Chin Lan-Pin (陳蘭彬 Chen Lanbin, 1816-1895) on the Chinese Educational Commission in the United States. Chin Lan-Pin's report of the Inspection Commission in Cuba is well known⁴; that of Yung Wing however was not published. The few paragraphs he gives to this mission in his book, *My Life in China and America*⁵, say nothing about his vision of the Chinese community – already organized around the *huiguans* – at that time. Even less do they give his opinion on the relations of the overseas Chinese to the education of their children.

The information we have for this period deals little with the community and associative life of the Chinese or the progress of their integration into Peruvian society. Travel notes are the most descriptive⁶ without, however, touching on the theme of identity of the children of mixed couples. Arriving without women, the majority of the Chinese founded families in Peru. To conserve a blood link with their Chinese identity, many sought to marry young mixed blood Chinese-Peruvian girls, hoping that in turn their daughters would marry recently arrived Chinese men. These unions, most often arranged, were a response to the need of a great number of immigrants to create new relatives, most often fictive, but necessary to make up a Chinese family and consequently, a community. In the groups thus formed, either in the provincial towns linked to the *haciendas* such as Ica, Trujillo and Lambayeque, or in the capital, the first associations were places of exchange which allowed them to keep cultural and political contacts with the mother country.⁷ But they remained the domain for only the “true” Chinese. If the fate of the mixed blood children and then, after the 1870s, that of children of Chinese parents born in Peru, did not pose major problems at that time, this was because Peruvian society, willy-nilly, integrated them. It was not yet a question of sending them back to China, as in the exceptionally precocious case in Peru of Luk Apio. Only the wealthy Chinese, the merchants, could think of returning to China as well as sending their children there to get a Chinese education.

⁴ See Helly (1979) and Yun (2008).

⁵ Yung (1909).

⁶ See the most interesting, Middendorf (1973), Monnier (1890), Wiener (1880) D'Ursel (1889).

⁷ The first mention of Chinese associations was in 1861 (Historical Archives of the Lima Municipality, AHML, Cajón Alcaldía, Prefectura 13/3/1861). At that time they were called “*gremio de agentes asiáticos agencias chinas*” then clubs. At first they were kinds of guilds, reuniting Chinese labor brokers, translators, free coolies, small artisans and merchants. It was the guilds who in 1869 protested against the ill treatment of the indentured Chinese workers in the haciendas. After 1871 these guilds bought their own premises and enlarged their recruitment of members, becoming the *huiguan*.

The year after the return to China of Luk Apio and his two sons, Peru put an end to the coolie trade. Paradoxically, with the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation, signed between China and Peru in 1874, one can observe both a kind of opening and at the same time a withdrawal of the community. The end of the Treaty and the free circulation authorized between the two countries allowed the arrival of new immigrants who did not identify themselves with the first arrivals. Thanks to them, a number of theatre companies came. The associations brought over rich decorations for their temples, and journals and books were circulated because the new immigrants were better educated. The entry of a few women allowed the wealthiest to affirm their difference from less favored members of the Chinese settlement. These factors reinforced the community aspect of the associations who now served not only to protect the first mistreated immigrants, to find them work and help the sick, but from then on, to welcome the families and assure that Confucian codes of conduct, respect of traditions and filial piety, would be the values respected within the community.

The Temptations of the Church

The *agencies*, the first associative forms which became in the 1870s the *huiguans* (native place associations) were formed around strong, useful personalities, translators⁸ and merchants. They had often worked in China as recruiters and had learned on the spot the languages needed in their work: Spanish, Portuguese, and English. Among them were several former Taiping boxers and above all the Chinese who had already converted to Catholicism in China. Documents from the archives make them appear as ambiguous figures, capable of raising rebellions, serving as translators during the trials, and the link between the most vulnerable and the Church, to the point of demanding the protection of the Emperor of China and wanting to create, under His auspices, a great charitable community which would assemble all the Chinese in Peru.

The need of the men and women of Church to communicate with the Chinese became evident only in the 1860s, at the same time as the desire to evangelize them and the first catechizations. At the San Andres hospital the Sisters of Charity wanted to instruct them on Catholicism by a Chinese catechist.

⁸ The *hacendados* continually denounced the role of these people who prevented them from totally controlling the market of Chinese workers, stirring up rebellion, bringing them to justice.

The Blessed Dominga Gazcón (1809-1879)⁹ who did not speak Chinese but who made herself understood in the Jesuit church San Pedro also catechized a multitude of Chinese children and adults living in the nearby Chinese quarter. Three young men who were converted on their arrival in Peru would actually consecrate themselves to the evangelization of their countrymen. They were: the Reverend Fathers José Larriva (La Riva), Juan Manuel Chávez, and José C. Véliz. In Lima, in the Barrios Altos, the Chinese population from the Central Market quarter increased more and more to the point that people now spoke of a Chinese quarter. Commerce developed there; the associations rented and bought their premises and opium dens multiplied. But above all, Chinese women were now more numerous so that one could find mixed blood and Chinese families with numerous children.

The Jesuits opened schools which attracted, along with the children of the quarter, the mixed blood Chinese youth whose parents were in favour of learning Spanish. This was the case between 1878 and 1886 of *La Inmaculada* school on Cascarrilla Street of the San Pedro parish, three blocks from the Chinese quarter. So it was naturally towards the Church, which many no doubt considered as an ally, that certain Chinese turned when the situation became critical.

The Bishop, the Ambassador and the education of the Chinese

In February 1879 war broke out between Chile and Peru, concerning the annexation of the southern provinces, rich in nitrates. The conflict became a war of invasion and after assuring naval superiority over the Peruvians, the Chilean troops mounted towards the capital, destroying on their way the great sugar and cotton plantations. At Cañete and Ica, the Chileans freed the Chinese forcibly held in the *haciendas*; the latter were recruited and offered their services to the Supply Corps accompanying the Chilean troops led by General Lynch to the gates of Lima. In the rear of the army, they participated in the battles of Miraflores and Chorrillos. In January 1881, when the Chilean troops entered and occupied the capital, the inhabitants of Lima took revenge on the Chinese shopkeepers. Outside the capital other Chinese were killed and at Cañete almost one thousand of them were assassinated. In Lima, the Chinese were more organized; they still had no diplomatic representation and Ambassador Chin

⁹ This holy woman was venerated for a long time in the Chinese Catholic community (Lausent Herrera: 2014: 191-193).

Lan Pin (Chen Lanbin, 1816-1895), representative of the Imperial Government for Peru, Spain and the United States, who should have come to Peru, could not do so because of the War. Realizing that the associations they formed could be heard and obtain reparations only if a higher authority spoke in their name, a group of Chinese, among them a great number of Catholic Hakkas, decided on October 16, 1881, to form a mutual aid society, capable of playing this role.

On October 20, 1883, the Ancón Treaty signed between Peru and Chile put an end to the Pacific War. Three weeks later, on November 7, the President of the young *Beneficencia China*, Kuh Tac Qui, alias Mr. Benavides, announced officially in a note to the Minister of the Interior,¹⁰ the clandestine creation during the occupation in 1881, of the Peruvian Colonial Chinese Benevolent Society¹¹ (*Sociedad Colonial de Beneficencia China*). The Minister was also notified of the opening in February 1882 of an asylum in the Bellevista district, for the elderly, the ill and poverty stricken Chinese, who, as the note declared, had been baptized and confirmed during the inauguration by the Bishop of Hong Kong,¹² Monsignor Raimondi. Present among the Chinese Catholic community and also participating in the ceremony, were the Chinese Reverend Fathers La Riva and Chávez. From this note one learns that the Chinese Ambassador in Washington had been directly informed of this undertaking. Among the projects presented in this document, only the asylum had already been carried out in 1882; the next objectives included the opening of a school¹³ for the members of the Chinese community¹⁴. Certainly, there already existed in the Barrios Altos

10 BNL (Lima National Library) D. 3830, 7/1/1883, « *Nota dirigida por el presidente de la beneficencia china del Perú al Ministro de Gobierno y Policía dándole cuenta de los fines de la institución recién organizada* ».

11 A month previously another Chinese association linked to the Free Masons, the *Sociedad Asiática de Beneficencia de Lima*, was also created with the aim of reorganizing, reassembling the Chinese. This association, with no relation to the government, the Church or the Chinese Minister, disappeared after about ten years.

12 *Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, Comunicaciones. Carta de noviembre 7 de 1883 de Kuh Tacqui. M. Benavides, Presidente de la Beneficencia China al Iltrmo y Reverendisimo Señor Arzobispo del Perú.*

13 BNL, Zegarra XZ.V.49 « *Estatuto de la Sociedad Colonial de Beneficencia China, 16 de Octubre de 1882*, 8f. Among other objectives, the leaders wanted to build a hospital and have their own Mont-de-Piété (government pawn shop). In San Francisco, before obtaining diplomatic representation and gathering together in the zhonghua Huiguan, in 1870 the wealthy merchants had already built their Chinese Asylum (Chen, 2000:113).

14 For a better understanding of the role played by the Catholic Church, the Jesuit and Franciscan orders in forming the Chinese community and fashioning the Tusan community see Lausent-Herrera (2014).

quarter religious schools where the mixed bloods and young Chinese were catechized in Spanish and received a rudimentary education.

In January 1884 the Peruvian Colonial Chinese Benevolent Society which “worked for the grouping of the Chinese colony into this new institution”¹⁵ also had to fight to oblige the Government to modify the Decree of December 1883, which imposed obligatory registration of the Chinese to force them to work under contract without giving them the liberty of imposing their working conditions. In the courier addressed to J.M. Pacheco, President Kuh Tac Qui reminded him that the Chinese Benevolent Society which was organizing itself with the support of the Church members, was the only possible negotiator and the only one who could control its members and collaborate with the authorities. He was ready, in this case, to accept a temporary supervision of the association by the government while waiting for the definitive forming of the Chinese Board of Directors. No doubt Kuh Tac Qui was already informed of the next visit of the Chinese Ambassador Zheng Zaoru (1824-1894) who also directed from Washington dealings with Spain for Cuba and Peru and who, upon his arrival in Peru, would have his say. A last note¹⁶ was sent a year and a half later while the ambassador – who arrived on August 9, 1884, to present his credentials – had left on February 1885 after having almost entirely fulfilled his mission. The new president of the Peruvian Colonial Chinese Benevolent Society, Wan Fon Fi, alias Manuel María De la Cruz, stated the conditions which had pushed the “heads” of the different Chinese tribes (twelve of them) to gather together. He recalled the aid received by the Chinese priests and the Bishop of Hong Kong and their support to go to the provincial dioceses to gather from the Chinese Catholics the funds necessary to defend the Chinese in the *haciendas*.¹⁷ He also stated his own participation in the inspection commissions concerning living conditions in the haciendas, which were so deplorable that they made impossible any project to continue to bring over Chinese workers freely. He finished by announcing that from the month of August 1885 the Chinese colony was now under the protection of the Chinese Legation which had just been put in place. The Bellavista asylum also was under this protection. The Peruvian Colonial Chinese Benevolent Society should make place for the Tonghuy Chongkoc or Beneficencia China following the model of the Chinese Benevolent Association (CBA).

¹⁵ BNL, D6870, 33, January 1884.

¹⁶ BNL, *sin ref.* agosto 1885, *Beneficencia China. Memoria des Presidente de la Sociedad, Don Manuel María Won Fon Fi de la Cruz, Lima imprenta de San Francisco Solis, 8f.*

¹⁷ *Archivo Arzobispal de Lima (AAL)*. Letter dated 11/22/1883 from Kuh Tac Qui to Sr Provisor y Gobernador Eclesiástico.

When the plenipotentiary Zheng Zaoru left, having installed a legation with a consul, Lin Foo Chen (Liu Fu Qian), for Lima-Callao,¹⁸ a Chancellor, Ling Yi Yong, named Chargé d'Affaires and a secretary, he had succeeded in raising a subscription from all the Chinese¹⁹ to buy the premises of the new Beneficencia, to designate the houses of commerce on which the projects depended as well as the new President. Above all, he had obtained and put in place the mixed inspection commissions, composed of Peruvian and Chinese authorities, responsible for visiting twice a year the *haciendas* which still employed Chinese²⁰ and for controlling their conditions of work and health. At his departure, February 26, 1885, he left a Legation, led by Shui Cheon Pon, his First Secretary who became Chargé d'Affaires until his departure in June 1886. He was replaced in June 1886 by Liu Liang Yuan, former consul at Havana (1878-1885), an aristocrat, very cultivated and appreciated. He had the burden of continuing to request from the Peruvian Government reparation for the pillage and assassinations of the Chinese during the anti-Chinese riots during the War of the Pacific, and to finally accomplish the task always put off by Zheng Zaoru: opening a school.

Actually Zheng Zaoru was only following the program for the creation of an academy destined for the children of the merchants established in San Francisco, Havana and Lima. The creation of the academy in Havana on December 1886 preceded that of Lima by two years. Both were to be subsidized in part by the important local merchants. But difficulties in financing added to a certain discouragement of the diplomats who in turn did not allow the realization of this grand project.²¹

The first Sino-Peruvian School

In Peru, independence would totally change the situation of education. In the past, it was left to the tutors and religious schools. Now education became free

18 According to the Bilu Zhonghua (1990:55) he presided over the purchase in 1886 of the first premises of the Beneficencia, calle Hoyos in the heart of the Barrio Chino.

19 *La Opinión Nacional*, September 15, 1884.

20 The first visit took place in the haciendas on the northern coast of the country; it began under the direction of Chui Chi Yung (Chiu Chi Yeung) November 15, 1884, accompanied by Pon Yuen Kai. In May 1886 the Commission of the north followed, then in April 1887 that of the south and in May a new commission of the north. These commissions continued despite violent attacks by the haciendas until 1893, the year when workers were still chained and whipped.

21 Zhang Yinhan (張蔭桓 1837-1900) in the service of Zeng Guofan (1811-1872) should have been in charge of carrying out this project. See: Sonoda (2003).

and obligatory thanks to the Constitution of 1828 (art. 171). The troubles which followed the establishment of the Republic caused this advance to take a great deal of time before being demanded by the ordinary members of the society. It was only after 1870 that free primary schools appeared in Lima, a responsibility of the municipalities, while the high schools and secondary schools were the responsibilities of the Ministry of Education. The Chargé d’Affaires Liu Liang Yuan who had lived in Havana²² and then in New York did not know the new Peruvian system very well.

On May 3, 1888, the Chargé d’Affaires wrote to Dr. Izaac Alzamora, Minister of Foreign Relations (MRE) to inform him that his Government had ordered him to found “*a school for the children of the Empire’s subjects, born in Peru, so that they might study the Chinese and Spanish languages. I have chosen for this school the house located at n° 120 Pileta of Santa Rosa Street and its inauguration will take place on the 14th of this month at two o’clock in the afternoon*”²³ in this same place, in the Chinese quarter. Five days later, May 8, the Minister received the invitation to the inauguration.²⁴ However, the day before the opening the Chargé d’Affaires received a letter telling him that it was the Municipality of Lima and not the Ministry who authorized the opening of schools.²⁵ The dossier requesting the authorization sent by the President of the Tonghuy Chongkoc, L. Lay Gil to the Mayor of Lima on May 22, was more demanding than the legation had foreseen. The secondary school, as presented by L. Lay Gil had a double administration. On the Chinese side, this was Professor Liu Lay Sang,²⁶ on the Peruvian side, José Rafael Lepiani. It appeared that the administration would not investigate the capacities of the Chinese professor; however they demanded a complete dossier from Lepiani. This would again delay the approval of the opening of the school. Professor Lepiani, a former pupil of the Jesuits and a former director of a municipal primary school at Huacho (150 kilometers north of Lima) had a surprising declaration in his dossier. He affirmed that he had accepted the post “*under the express and determining condition that the pupils, children of Asians, would be treated as Peruvians, that they should have the democratic principles of the Republic, that they profess the State religion and*

²² For a portrait of Liu Liang Yuan, see Chuffat Latour (1927:82).

²³ MRE, (6-11, 1888, Caja 329, carpeta 6, f19, Lima 3/5/1888).

²⁴ MRE, (6-11, 1888, Caja 329, carpeta 6, f21, Lima 8/5/1888).

²⁵ MRE (Educación, 2-4 Ministerio de Justicia (mayo-agosto), 1888, Caja 326, file 9), Lima 22/5/1888.

²⁶ From the documents found, Liu Lay Sang was not a member of the Legation. According to Sonada (2003: 6) the Lima Academy was closed on March 15, 1891, because of the lack of economic support by the merchants, which is extremely surprising. Sonoda treats San Francisco and Havana from sources in The Institute of Modern History of the Academia Sinica in Taipei.

that the school and the teaching should be subject to the laws of the country and the rules of Public instruction". He added that *"his presence would be the guarantee of the application of these demands and that his vigilance would extend to the course in the Chinese language."*²⁷

Professor Lepiani's demands were surprising and his tone almost provocative. However, they reflect the spirit of the times when the old racist anti-Chinese demons of the Peruvian oligarchy began to penetrate the popular classes and when the laicity and republican liberalism, still Catholic but progressive, had more and more weight in the government of the country. J.R. Lepiani accepted the responsibility of this Chinese-Peruvian school, but wanted to keep total control for himself, even in the teaching of Chinese. No doubt he was thinking at that moment of the conditions and methods of this teaching rather than of the language and culture, which he did not know. The worry underlying his demands is also explained by the fact of the changes that year in the Peruvian system of education: once again rules were changed, new abilities and competitive examinations were required, and the school masters were asked to teach natural science while at the same time giving courses in moral and religious education, reaffirming that *"Life is the proof of the existence of God"*.²⁸ By his profession of faith, Lepiani represented this new school but he was also its demonstration. Diplomatic pressure, however, had another objective; the Peruvian school should integrate young mixed-blood and Chinese children, forming them in Republican law and making good Catholics of them.

In this context, Liu Liang Yuan's activities were not isolated in Peru. However, the desire to open a primary school for foreign children, with the purpose of preserving the maternal tongue and cultural transmission, was not found in the speeches or demands of Lepiani. In April 1888, for example, Mercedes Johnson requested the creation of *"El Instituto Inglés"* for the education of Anglo-Peruvian girls and Enriqueta Kirk Patrick, from the United Kingdom, former governess of English families, and later qualified professor of public education, also wanted to open a secondary school.²⁹ Although the Peruvian Government was very hostile to the presence of Protestants on its soil, it demanded from them neither a double administration (for this is finally what Lepiani insisted on, faced with the director, Liu Laysang), nor integration of courses on the Catholic religion into their classes.

In Peru's case, the order given to Ambassador Liu Yang Yuan indicated a preoccupation coming as much from the Imperial Government as from the

27 AHML: sección instrucción, Lima 5/22/1888.

28 AHML: instrucción, 1888-1889. On this theme, see Armas Asin (1998).

29 AHML: instrucción, 1888-1889, 4/10/1888.

overseas Chinese; this is the case in Lima from 1882 but also in the United States and particularly in California. W. Rouse Jorae shows clearly the importance given to accessing the American education system through Sunday schools (Chinese Baptist Church) or attendance, most often refused, at public schools to confirm their integration, and at the same time, their desire to preserve their culture in the Chinese schools (Jorae, 2009: 110-130). According to the author, a typical Chinese education would be a “combination of private and public school”, Chinese and American, religious and ethnic (Jorae, 2009: 123). In this spirit, in 1888, the Gold Mountain School was created: it offered, after the morning in an American school, a classical Chinese education in the afternoon. This same year in Peru, Liu Yang Yuan and the recently created Beneficencia China wanted to impose the same experience, but doubt remained concerning its success, for up till now we have not found any documents showing that the school was successful and endured.

The failure of the Chinese school after three years, leaving to the religious and public schools the mission of educating the mixed-blood children and the children of Chinese parents, was the cause of numerous departures of children but also of Peruvian brides to China, as well as all the questions which would be posed in the 1920s on the place of the mixed blood “*injertos*”, of the *Tusans* (local-born) and of the “Chinese race and culture” in general. At the same time these questions in China became a crucial political theme, a way of politically recreating the overseas Chinese communities. Until this period, once the traditions were instilled, the basics of reading and writing Chinese acquired, the children who returned should normally complete or finish in Peru an occidental education to make their bilingualism an asset for their commercial activities; the less wealthy would go to work in their fathers’ business or in the great Chinese houses of commerce which needed employees.

The Awakening: Education, Language, Identity and Nationalism

The activities of the Chinese Legation after the departure of *Chargé d’Affaires*, Liu Liang Yuan, founder of the first school in 1888, remained the same with no innovations. The diplomatic agents, reduced in number, had to face several concrete problems: obtain the reparations promised after the War of the Pacific, continue to defend the Chinese workers in the haciendas, denounce the more and more frequent violent acts everywhere in the province and in Lima against small Chinese merchants and, from 1909 on, affront a new problem

caused by the hostility of the Peruvian Government: denunciation of the 1874 Treaty of Tien-Tsin. The arrival in July 1909 of the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and the former Chinese Minister in Washington, Wu Tingfang (伍廷芳 1842-1922) to negotiate a new treaty resulted in the signature of the Porras-Wu Tingfang Protocole, which – with the agreement of the Chinese envoy – would annul the right of free entry for the Chinese immigrants, submitting them to the imposition of quotas and ever more restrictive admission criteria. The Chinese promise of auto-regulation of the migratory flow did not appease the repeated violent demonstrations against the Chinese merchants. Anti-Chinese racism developed, encouraged by the eugenic theories adopted at all levels of the Peruvian administration, making life impossible for many modest immigrants living in unhealthy places, accused of spreading plague and other evils from which Peruvian society also suffered by their fault: addiction to gambling and opium.

Despite these tensions and because the main Chinese commercial activity was spared from these attacks, the Chinese community organized and politicized itself thanks to the protection accorded by President A. Leguía during his second mandate (1919-1930). Diplomatic archives show that there was little contact between the diplomats and Beneficencia China – but new sources not yet studied may bring another interpretation. For example, in terms of education, it is known that the minister of education, Ling Quingui paid a visit in 1908 to the United States (Chen, 2000: 167) to support the creation of Chinese secondary schools, thus expressing the sentiment which existed when the school was created in 1888: fear of the Acculturation Reformists as well as the will to reinforce the attachment of the immigrants to their Emperor and to China. This message had not yet reached Lima, although under the diplomatic authority of Washington. Chinese education at this time belonged, as we have seen, to some private tutors, to the sending to China of numerous children, boys and girls, and to the attention of the parents in purely Chinese households. In 1917 the Chinese Reverend Father La Riva tried to open the Chinese section of the secondary school *Nuestra Señora de la Mercedes* in the Barrios Altos quarter. The documents which would tell us of the type of teaching there are lacking. It is most probable that this was only a regrouping of Chinese children in a special class with no courses in Chinese language and culture. In fact for about thirty years the catechists, whether Chinese or of mixed blood, who tried to catechize and bring to the school the children of the Chinese community, had a double function: evangelize but above all work towards the integration of the youth and the new generations arriving.

In 1918 there was a strong mobilization in favour of the Zhonghua School, in San Francisco where the Zhongguo huiguan was in charge of bringing in a

principal and two professors (Chen, 2000: 228). There was a wide sense that the survival of the community – which found it difficult to renew itself because of the exclusions – could only be done through perpetuation of the language, which joined together the generations and the Confucian culture which protected family and tradition. The campaign was successful because the number of pupils and schools was increasing. In Peru it is difficult to judge the impact of the laws concerning the education of immigrants in force from 1913-1914. The Legation appeared to be rather inactive and the political situation in the Chinese community seemed tense. In these troubled times, Chinese immigrants were more preoccupied by creating their own newspapers and began to position themselves politically in the community. The first newspaper was *Xinghua bao* (兴华报 *Develop China*) founded on March 7, 1910, by He Haishan, which, after some difficulties, was taken over in 1915 by the *Cao Kuoc Po* (救国报 *Jiuguo Bao*) (*Save the Country*) during the Imperial Restoration. The few consultable examples express the discontent of the immigrants against Yuan Shikai (袁世凯) and particularly mention the attacks on the Chinese who displayed the five-colored flag³⁰ for the national holiday. The Jesuit Jesús Pineda, ‘pastor of the Chinese Catholics’, intervened in the *Cao Kuoc Po* to remind the Chinese of their first duty to take care of all the unfortunate elderly Chinese, for whom an asylum should be built. This intervention did not coincide with the idea advanced by Sonada (2003:5) that the merchants would have preferred to give to “the elderly and sick Chinese in their community” rather than subsidize their school.

The problem of the school was not discussed.³¹ The *Cao Kuoc Po*, edited by He Liru, had a short life and was taken up in 1917 by *La Voz de la Colonia* or *Qiaosheng bao* (侨声报)³² thanks to a Hakka businessman Aurelio Pow Sanchia (謝寶山 Xie Baoshang, 1869-1939). Close to Zhigongdang and a director of the Beneficencia China, he would be the first to encourage the founding of the Chung Wha School. A second newspaper was created on March 10, 1911, the *Man Shingpo* (*Min Xing Ribao*);³³ it became the official organ of the

30 *Cao Kuoc Po*, October 14, 1915. The same event took place on December 1912 in the amazonian city of Iquitos.

31 *Cao Kuoc Po*, October 7, 1915. There are only 13 issues of *Cao Kuoc Po* at the Lima National Library. They are in very bad condition and it’s difficult to be certain that the necessity to create schools was never brought up. What is certain is that the Chinese Legation was inactive.

32 The new editor was Zhou Jianchao. In 1928 the newspaper took the definitive Chinese name of *Gongyan bao* but kept its Spanish title and represented the Zhigongdang.

33 According to Bilu zhonghua (1990: 272) a revolutionary, Mon Chong Hop, from Namhoi, close to Sun Yat-sen, apparently arrived in Peru in 1906 and then left again for China.

Kuomintang, the party which took tardily but energetically in hand the educational future of the Chinese and mixed-blood children.

Therefore until 1924 the Chinese Community was divided politically as well as economically. The Chinese Legation tried continually to find a solution, faced with the Peruvian threats to denounce the Porrás-Wu Tingfang Protocol of 1909 regulating immigration,³⁴ although this continued to increase illegally; the Legation also protested against the attacks on the Chinese. During all this period the Legation seemed to have little influence on Beneficencia China, in reality directed by the owners and representatives of the great Chinese commercial houses of import/export. If there was political dissension in the community, itself divided between the branches of the Hongmen and the nationalists of the Kuomintang and the Chinese diplomatic representatives of the multiple unstable governments of Peking – they were not very visible³⁵ – the result was a kind of inertia. On the economic level, distance was increasing between mainstream Chinese commerce which had invested in agriculture and taken control of a number of *haciendas*, and the more modest Chinese and their descendants doomed to small business and victims of public harassment. The Chinese Community, led by a new elite recently implanted, left a free hand to the Church for education as well as for the care of the elderly who were now in the charge of the Little Sisters of the Poor.

The first changes and creation of the Chung Wha School in 1924

As we have seen, the beginning of the 1920s marked a definite desire on the part of the Peruvian authorities to put an end, despite the agreements of the Porrás-Wu Ting-fang Protocol, to a Chinese immigration which had never ceased to increase with no respect for quotas and above all based on the corruption spreading in China as in Peru. The first affected by the immigration barriers were the merchants, those who had left for China and who wanted to return to Peru, those who had been made to come from Panama or from Cuba³⁶ and those

³⁴ MRE, 6-11, 1914.

³⁵ The archives of Beneficencia China and the associations have ‘disappeared’ ever since 1971 when the Ambassador from People’s Republic of China took control. Furthermore, internal sources such as the Chinese newspapers covering this period are not found at the Peruvian National Library.

³⁶ MRE, 6-11 A, caja 898, file 4, 1925, folio 59 and MRE, 6-11 A, caja 983, file 4, 1927, folio 1.

who were called over – and renewed every three years – as employees by the great businesses.³⁷ In answer to the 1923 deposit by the deputies of a project for a law to put a definitive end to Chinese immigration, which would finally be rejected by the Senate, the Chinese elite had an album published to show the Peruvian authorities the economic importance of the Chinese community³⁸ and its interest in education. The person responsible for this initiative³⁹ was Aurelio Pow Sanchia (Xie Baoshang), President of Beneficencia China, fervent Catholic, owner of the Pow Lung (宝隆) Company, of *haciendas*, shareholder in an insurance company, a navigation company and, as mentioned, the main shareholder of the newspaper *La Voz de La Colonia*.

Besides presenting its economic success as for the benefit of Peru, the Chinese community reminded readers of the album of its interest in and contributions to education, that it had built a school in the village of Huacho, donated to sports institutions and initiated prizes for the students in the engineering school (*Escuela de Ingenieria*), the teacher training college (*Escuela Normal de Mujeres*), the medical school (*Escuela de Medicina*) and the law school (*Escuela de Abogados*)⁴⁰. Additionally, it is known that this same year, Pow Sanchia made a large donation to the university library at San Marcos (Lausent-Herrera, 2009: 124). Equally interesting to note in this album is that the Chinese commercial elite, led by Pow Sanchia, was also proud to show its interest in the education of its children born in Peru: among the merchants, Francisco Mass sent his son to study in Europe and his daughters studied law at the university in Peru; the son of Francisco Choy (Kon On Long Company) attended the Christian College of Guangzhou; the sons of Santiago Escudero Whu (Pow Lung Company) studied electrical engineering in Belgium, and Moises, son of Tomas Yui Swayne (Wing Tyui Chong Company) did a part of his studies abroad and finished them in the Technical School of Commerce in Lima. Finally, B. Lama (Ram Hing Company) who arrived in Peru as a youth, studied in different Lima colleges, among them Guadalupe College, before starting his business. Although there are numerous testimonies that a great number of Tusan children and those born of Chinese parents were sent to China, one can see by these examples that a large number studied in the private

³⁷ MRE, 6-11 A, caja 866, file 6, 1924, folios 11, 18.

³⁸ *La Colonia China en el Peru* (1924: 7, 21). This publication also announced the 1923 change in the statutes of the Beneficencia. It took the name of Sociedad Central China (in reality it would always be called Beneficencia China) and converted itself into a social group within which various activities would be carried out by volunteers.

³⁹ Actually, it was the Chargé d'Affaires, Tsung Kee Loo, who solicited Pow Sanchia, who carried out the publication of the album, *La Colonia China en el Peru* (1924: 19).

⁴⁰ *La Colonia China en el Peru* (1924: 22).

and public high schools in Peru such as the Lima High School or the Anglo-American school. And for the merchants who had just arrived and who were not yet integrated, Mr. Yip Mantin, a certified accountant from the United States established in Lima, drew up and published a Chinese/Spanish Manual of Commercial Conversation and daily-used expressions.⁴¹

Actually, since the aborted attempt of 1888, initiated by Ambassador Zheng Zaoru, education had been regarded and organized essentially for the purpose of integration and learning the Spanish language, including those children who already had a base of primary studies in Spanish. The aim was not only that they learn Chinese and be imbued with Confucian traditions, but that they become bilingual. Bilingualism dictated a great part of the conduct of numerous informed parents who, like the grand bourgeoisie of Lima, chose to send their children to English-speaking high schools. This choice which enabled the setting up of personal strategies linked to commerce with Hong Kong and the United States, illustrates a certain modernity on the part of the Chinese elite of this period.⁴²

On September 1, 1924, the Legation⁴³ announced the arrival in Lima of Dr. W.K. Chung, “a distinguished citizen and associate president of Canton Christian College,” touring all of North and South America. Chung Wing Kwong, according to Dong Wang (2007:97), also went to Cuba and Mexico searching for funds for Lingnan University. It can be easily imagined that in exchange for the gifts from the wealthiest members of the community and by Beneficencia China itself, there was an agreement between the high school and the community that it would provide the long-awaited Chinese professors for the new school. This time the Legation announced to the Peruvian authorities the arrival of two professors.

Some months previously, no doubt at the same time as the publication of the album, the Chung Wha Primary School⁴⁴ had been registered by the Ministry of Education.⁴⁵ According to this document, the initiative of its creation came principally and officially from the association of the Catholic Ladies of the Chinese Colony, led at that time by its president, Elvira Carvallo-Lastre (+1936)

41 It is interesting to note that in Cuba at the end of the 19th century, Tam Poy Sim, nephew of the Consul General Tam Kin Cho, was the author of the Great Chinese-Spanish dictionary, with a special section for the Chinese in Spanish-speaking countries so that they could learn Spanish easily (quoted by Chuffat Latour, 1927: 82).

42 See Lausent-Herrera, 1997.

43 MRE (6-11) caja 866, folios 67-72.

44 In Peru this school was designated as *Colegio* (high school) Chung Wha, which could lead to confusion as it was actually a primary school. There was no Chinese secondary school in Peru until Chung Wha's final fusion in 1961 with the San Min School.

45 *Ministerio de Educación, Consejo of 36, 12/8/1924*, and *New Chung Wa*, n° 12, 1935, pp. 23-27.

of Chilean origin and above all, the wife of powerful Pow Sanchia. He himself, in the name of the Beneficencia, (he had just left its presidency for that of the Commission of Instruction), was the co-founder. The fact that Pow Sanchia himself belonged to the Chevaliers of the Heart of Jesus⁴⁶ and that from 1925 the Jesuit Father Jacinto García was named Chaplain of the high school, shows once more the desire on the part of Beneficencia China and the Catholic Church to finally be able to create a Chinese-Peruvian school.

Sheltered at first in the premises of the Namhoy huiguan (association of Pow Sanchia), the school moved a year later, in 1926, to the premises of Beneficencia China. A small field for sports was put at the school's disposition in another place, Pileta de San Bartolome Street. Scholarly activities were set in place slowly because of the delay in recruiting professors.⁴⁷ In June 1925 the Legation, in the name of Beneficencia China, again requested authorization of the entry of the two Chinese teachers for the Chino-Peruvian school.⁴⁸ The contract of employment was signed directly between the Beneficencia China and the Hong Kong Chamber of Trade; the two Chinese professors were Jorge Chow and a young woman, Ja Chipen (1905-1954), from Xinhui, with a diploma from the teaching school of Kongmun (Jiangmen City).⁴⁹ They were assisted in teaching Chinese by the new president of Beneficencia China, Cesar Fucsan⁵⁰ and Francisco Wong. Management of the school was given to a Tusan, the lawyer Guillermo Morón Ayllon. The school was free according to the new laws on education voted during the mandate of President A. Leguía.⁵¹

46 This brotherhood was created in 1888 by Chinese Father La Riva. He also founded in 1919, with the Jesuit Father José Pineda, who arrived in 1909, *La Sociedad de Chinos Católicos del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús*.

47 The Japanese ship Bokuyo Maru which brought to Peru 153 former Chinese merchants and the two professors had been held up in Panama for almost six months on the orders of the Peruvian Government who refused the entry of new immigrants. The Chinese ambassador Luming Suez (Shih Yuming) denounced this harassment of China. MRE (6-11) Caja 898, file 4, folios 78-85, 19/10/1925, 22/10/1925, 28/10/1925;

48 MRE (6-11) Caja 898, file 4, folio 27, 22/6/1925.

49 *Archives of the Sociedad de la Damas de la Colonia China*. This young woman who came to Peru with her merchant husband, returned to China with her two children in 1935 to give them a true Chinese education. Fleeing the Communists, she returned to Peru and taught in 1951.

50 César Fucsan was also the right-hand man of Pow Sanchia and administrator of the Pow Lung commercial house.

51 The primary and secondary cycles were five years each at that time. In 1921, the Pedagogic Mission of the United States took over the general direction of the Ministry of Education, weakening the European conception of education and which, following American criteria, emphasized the technical and economic orientations of education. Concerning the theme of Peruvian education, see Trahtemberg (1993).

A year later, the *Bilu zhonghua* (1990: 267) mentions the creation in 1926 by a Chinese priest, José Carmen Véliz, of another school which would have had 79 girl pupils, from kindergarten to the end of primary school. The death of the priest this same year led to the closing of this school, which had provided daily Chinese teaching from 2 p.m. to 3 p.m. In 1927 the arrival from Hong Kong of university professor and Cantonese journalist Chan On Yan, new director of the newspaper *Man Shingpo*,⁵² employed to counter the leftist elements of the Kuomintang and from 1928 to reinforce the position of the right wing of the party, announced the beginning of the Kuomintang's desire to control the education of the community's children. The creation of the Chee Kung Tung⁵³ (*Zhigongdang*) in 1924 which in its turn brought over two new editors⁵⁴ for his newspaper, *La Voz de la Colonia China*, a sign of dissension on the subject to come, not only through the press but also through the participation of its members in the institutions regulating the school centers.

The young Tusans who came to the Chung Wha School had, at the end of the primary school cycle, to enter new Peruvian establishments or leave for China. The generation of young adult Tusans from the elite of the Chinese community in the 1930s either had access to a good education in Peru or, and they were numerous, did their secondary studies or learned a profession in China. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs mentioned a number of Chinese children returning to Peru. Those who returned and integrated themselves were in majority on the side of the Kuomintang, or more exactly, impregnated with nationalism and a new Confucianism. This nationalism had all the more reason to express itself, for in Peru from 1931 on, one observes renewed aggressions against the Chinese living there.

Conclusion

Fifty years separate the departure for China of Luk Apio's two mixed-blood sons to give them a Chinese education from the creation of a first Chinese-Peruvian high school in 1924. However, the great project of the Chinese-Western

52 MRE (arch. 91, 3-4ta gaveta, 22/9/1927; MRE (6-11- 1928, doc. 3102, 20/3/1928; 1/4/1928. « Mr. Chan is a newspaperman of renown in China and has been professor in the University of Canton for many years ».

53 *Bilu zhonghua* (1990: 249). The Chee Kung Tung was created in 1924 from the grouping together of the secret societies: hongmen, Ying Yi, Yi Shing and Wen Shing.

54 The manager of the newspaper Tang Yong Xi had bought from Pow Sanchia his parts of the paper. The two new reporters were He Haishan and Gu Rong; they were also to raise funds.

academies put in place by the Ching authorities in San Francisco, Havana and in Lima in 1886 would have allowed the young Chinese and mixed-blood children to keep the use of the Chinese language and acquire the fundamentals of Chinese culture based on Confucian teachings. The economic or political reasons which led this experiment to fail after three years are not entirely clear. The lack of initiatives - other than the return to China - on the Consulate's part, but also from the association presidents, left the initiatives to the nuns and priests in charge of evangelizing the Chinese in the capital are amongst the possible factors. During the long years which followed, the church employed many efforts to attract the young Chinese and mixed-blood children into the religious schools of their quarter to teach Spanish to those who did not speak it and at the same time to evangelize them. From the Peruvian Republican point of view, this greatly contributed to the first steps towards integration of several generations of the children of Chinese-Peruvian or Chinese parents, by distancing them, above all if they were mixed-bloods from claims to Chinese identity. Despite its various initiatives, however, the church was not able to obtain great results. It did have a continuing presence amongst the young children of the Chinese Community until the creation, by the Chinese themselves, of real institutions dedicated to their education. Neither the passage through the religious schools nor the employment of tutors prevented the departure for China of a great number of adolescent boys, and sometimes girls, from acquiring what would make them genuine Chinese. The period we have just covered shows the difficulties encountered by the Peruvian Chinese community to organize themselves beyond the *huiguans* and the traditional associations. The community also had difficulty in finding active elite and in communicating with their diplomatic representatives.

Acknowledgements: I would like to warmly thank Raul Chang and Lucy Acat de Chang for opening to me their private archives, including the complete Oriental collection and for their precious help during my fieldwork. My gratitude also goes to all those member of the Tusan Community that shared with me their personal live and educational experiences. All errors are of the author's responsibility.

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Chinese Synopsis (中文简介)

说汉语：构建身份认同的重要挑战和秘鲁华人社群的维持 (1870–1930)

秘鲁华族社群的研究展示了异常有趣的历史。诞生在秘鲁，父母是华人或华人-秘鲁人混血的苦力，成为一种重要的势力。这项研究的有趣之处在于，165年前第一批到达秘鲁的苦力，面临无数的障碍，持续执着地坚持延续自己的语言和文化。华人劳工没有女性随行，他们主要在秘鲁建立家庭。为了保持华族的血缘联系，很多人选择和华人-秘鲁人混血的年轻女性结婚。然而，为了建构华人社

群，华语教育被视为是传承和保持汉语文化价值和语言的必要条件。在这篇研究1880-1924年间的文章中，我们看到注重华人文化价值观的传承的观念为教会和朝廷同时认同，同时也得到坚持送孩子回中国的家庭的认同。中国政局动荡、政府在一定程度上漠视使个人的主动行为显得更为频繁。

1881年，第一批华人，主要是天主教徒，在秘鲁教会成员的支持下，在创办首个慈善中国（中国慈善协会）以重组其他协会的过程中，首次代表这个小社群表达了教育华人孩子的愿望，这些孩子主要是混血的和土生的孩子。这个计划没有成功，但负责这些华人的耶稣会士和华人修女们经常出现在孩子们必定就读的各种学校中。在古巴哈瓦那1886年的首次尝试之后，秘鲁第一个中国领馆由郑藻如大使和一秘Liu Yang Yuan负责在1888年创办了第一所华人学校。这所学校并不完全独立于秘鲁的教育体系，运行三年后失败。这次实验部分是李鸿章支持下的中国教育部门的项目，它的失败意味着数十年来针对秘鲁出生的年轻华人儿童中文教育的外交干预的撤退。

最初，中文学校建立时，秘鲁当局持、教会和华人社团都持反对态度。就教会而言，学校本应当消弭年轻的混血孩子和华人孩子的隔阂，使他们融入共和国法律体系并让他们成为良好的天主教徒。就中国移民而言，为外国孩子建成一所小学和维持母语并传承文化联系在一起。华人社团里逐渐出现一批更加一体化、基督教化的经济精英，他们对同时掌握两种语言和文化的必要性更加有意识，也认识到双语是他们从事经济活动的财富。

华裔儿童的融合因此主要在宗教学校里完成，这些学校主要在利马华裔商人和工人高度聚居的Barrios Altos区。一些会馆和家庭聘任导师。一个或几个兄弟姐妹回到中国学习语言和文化的十分普遍。这种经历使年轻人更能接替父辈做生意，使女孩能嫁得更好。但这也并非都很成功，很多孩子被当作秘鲁人，由秘鲁驻香港的领事提供的秘密资助反送回秘鲁。

1909年开始，也就是Porras-伍廷芳议定书那年，标志着自由移民的结束，在20世纪20年代初期，华人社群中最穷的人，受种族主义损害，他们出入秘鲁往返中国都受到严格控制。然而，通过1924年中华学校创办，一批商人想向秘鲁当局表明，年轻的土生华人可以同时接受中华和秘鲁教育。这批富裕商人的影响和权势，在天主教徒Pow Sanchia (Xie Baoshang) 和慈善中国头领的领导下，得到香港各种机构的帮助。这个阶段反映了秘鲁华人精英对参与年轻人教育事务的愿望，同时反映了在国民党影响下中国民族主义的萌生。

1924年9月，在利马的使馆宣布钟荣光博士(Dr. W.K. Chung) 来访，称钟荣光为，“一个杰出的市民和广东基督教学院的副校长”，将访问南北美洲。据Dong Wang (2007:97)，钟荣光也去过古巴和墨西哥，为岭南大学筹款。我们不难想象，秘鲁华人经济精英和慈善中国组织希望钟荣光和使馆能为华文学校提供师资。1926年，使馆向秘鲁当局宣布为中华学校派两位教授。

这所学校只是一所小学，一些孩子升入秘鲁中学继续学习而且很快就融入了秘鲁社会。其他学生，尽管面临诸多日益增加的移民限制，仍然回中国学习。中国文化和语言的习得仍然是重要的动力，但也有部分家长开始对新的中文专业学校感兴趣。

在 1891 年第一所学校失败之后，中国公使长期远离教育问题。但渐渐地，中国慈善学会和大商人开始新的尝试。中华学校既教汉语（语言、书法、历史）又教西班牙语。尽管学校教宗教，但宗教没有介入教学法，教学重任落在了从中国来的教师和秘鲁当地教师身上。学校面临很多经济问题，无法容纳全部的孩子，回中国的潮流仍然持续，大部分混血的孩子在公立学校上学，从而融入秘鲁社会。

自 20 世纪 20 年代后期开始，国民党的重要性日渐增加，国民主义的理念影响越来越大，这也影响了秘鲁中华学校的未来。1935 年，一所适应国民党原则和要求的学校成立，同时，中华学校仍在中国慈善协会的控制下继续存在。

Bionote (作者介绍)

Isabelle Lausent-Herrera

Dr. Isabelle Lausent-Herrera is a researcher at the French National Research Center (CNRS-CREDA) and lectured on Asiatic immigration in the Americas at the Latin American Institute (IHEAL)-University of Paris III. She obtained her doctorate in geography from the University of Paris VII and graduate also in anthropology and Chinese. Her research in the past 20 years has concerned mainly Chinese immigration to Peru since the republican period up to recent immigration.

She began working in Peru in 1975. Her research initially focused on the transformations that indigenous communities underwent in their process of market integration. Her first research on Chinese immigration in Peru dealt with the freed indenture Chinese workers that rapidly established in Andean peasant communities. She became interested in other Chinese communities that played an important role as pioneers in the Peruvian Amazon region. She has widely published on different aspects of community life stressing the ambiguities of “assimilation” through “mestizaje”: religious syncretism, evangelist movements among Peruvian Chinese community, Chinese temples and societies, Chinese graves in Peru, economic ties between China and Peru, Chinatown in Peru and Cuba, concubines and spouses of Chinese immigrants, Tusan’s (Tusheng’s) identity, Chinese Schools. Ongoing research is focused on new Chinese immigration flows and Chinese cultural diplomacy.

乐山博士是法国国家研究中心的学者，同时也在巴黎第三大学美国亚洲移民和拉丁裔美国人研究院任教。她获得巴黎第四大学地理学博士学位，也同时从人类学和汉语专业毕业。过去20年里，她主要研究自共和时代开始至今的秘鲁中国移民。她从 1975年开始在秘鲁工作。最初的研究关注土生土长的社群在市场化过程中的转变。她首个有关秘鲁中国移民的研究探讨被释放的合同制中国劳工迅速建立起安第斯山农民社群的问题。她也关注在秘鲁亚马逊区域起先锋作用的其他中国移民问题。她的文章涉及移民社会的不同角度问题，包括通过混血通化问题、宗教混合主义、秘鲁华人社群的福音运动、中国寺庙和社会，秘鲁的中国坟墓，中国和秘鲁的经济联系，秘鲁和古巴的唐人街，中国移民的配偶和小妾，土生华人的身份，中文学校等。未来的研究关注新中国移民潮和中国文化外交。