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## “The language is race and patriotism”: New schools and new Sino-Peruvian press in Peru —The debate on education of Chinese and Mixed-blood 1931–2015

### “語言是民族和愛國”——秘魯的新學校和新秘魯華文出版物：華裔和混血兒童教育之爭 1931–2015

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**Abstract:** Attempts to establish a college allowing the children of the Chinese community in Peru to learn and speak Chinese and be raised according to the Chinese cultural traditions began in 1886 (Lausent-Herrera 2015). These attempts coming from Chinese institutions as Beneficencia China (Chinese Benevolent Association) as well as the Catholic Church had relatively little success. Travelling to China and private tuition were for a long time the only ways to preserve the Chinese identity and the use of the language. In the 1920s the community became wealthier and politicized, the education issue was at the center of social life and became the subject of a political debate. It felt urgent to take control of the Chinese and mixed-blood youth by creating colleges that would be devoted to them.

At the same time, awakened by the seriousness of the political situation in China and by the increase of anti-Asiatic sentiment in Peru, the Sino-Peruvian community realized that its future was at stake. The schools were founded while the most politicized of the Chinese and Tusan (Tusheng)<sup>1</sup> intellectuals tried to impose their ideas on education and on the future of the society in general. Two new magazines<sup>2</sup> animated the debate: *Oriental* and *New Chung Wa*, and three

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1 Tusan or Tusheng are children born in Peru from Chinese parents and soon/daughter of a Chinese father and a Peruvian mother (see Lausent-Herrera 2009).

2 A third magazine was created during this period, *La Voz del Oriente*, founded in 1933 by Jaime Pun and Guillermo de Brito (MRE, 1/1/1933, arch. 91, 3ra gaveta). The first issues of this magazine, focused mainly on the commercial activities of the Chinese community, cannot be found. We do not know, therefore if they took part in the debates at that time.

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schools, El Centro de Cultura, the Chung Wha, called the Colegio Chino of the Beneficencia and the San Min, known as the Progreso, an emanation of the Guomindang, were at the centre of the controversy which would affect the future of the Chinese community in Peru.

**Keywords:** Chinese education, Chinese community of Peru, Guomindang, Chinese nationalism, Chinese schools, Chinese –Peruvian magazines, Chung Wha school, San Min School, Diez de Octubre high school, Juan XXIII high school

**摘要:** 自 1886 年開始，秘魯華人社群致力於設立一個教育機構，以便華人孩子學習漢語並在華人文化傳統中成長。華人慈善機構（華人慈善聯合會）和天主教堂等機構的努力並不成功。回中國或跟私人家教學習在很長時間內是維持華人認同和使用華語的唯一途徑。20 世紀 20 年代，華人社群開始逐漸富裕起來，同時政治意識也有所加強。教育成為社會生活的核心問題並引起極大爭議。為華人和混血青年創辦學院成為當務之急。與此同時，中國嚴峻的政治環境和秘魯人反亞裔的心態讓秘魯的華人社團意識到自己的前途吉凶未蔔。學校成立後，最政治化的華人和土生文人都試圖以他們的理念影響教育和社會的未來走向。兩個新的雜誌（《東方月報》和《新中華》）和三所學校（中華學校，三民學校，雙十學校）就處於矛盾的中心，也影響了之後的秘魯華人社群。

**關鍵字:** 華文教育，秘魯華人社群，國民黨，華文學校，秘魯華文雜誌，中華學校，三民學校，雙十學校

In Lausent-Herrera (2015), I outlined the efforts made by the early Chinese immigrants to Peru from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the 1930s in consolidating their Community and preserving their identity through educational institutions. In the present article, I will discuss the political and identity issues as presented by the community's print media and education institutions since the 1930s till present day.

## 1 The first Sino-Peruvian magazine: *Oriental* (Tongfu Yipo/Dongfang Yuebao/東方月報)

The creation in April 1931 of the magazine *Oriental* was linked to a conjuncture of events all concerning the defence of Chinese territory, threatened by the Japanese aggression of Manchuria, and the defence of the integrity of a Chinese identity inside as well as outside China. This could also be tied to the reinforcement of the Guomindang (often known as Kuomintang, or KMT, 國民黨) party in July of the same year by the Lima meeting of the regional Latin

American delegations and their annual assembly. A feverish atmosphere took over the magazine, which participated in the creation of the “patriotic committees”, and the committee of the women’s Red Cross. The magazine, and the committees, raised questions of the serious problems of the Chinese community, such as giving the young Chinese and educated Tusans (Tusheng, 土生) a chance to express themselves at times violently. They advocated a view that overseas Chinese education must be supported and imposed on the community so as to consolidate patriotism to help China battle on all fronts. The children of the Chinese immigrants as well the Tusans united for the first time, forgetting the conflicts between the “true” Chinese and the long-despised mixed bloods, coming together to defend the mother-country, China.

In the meantime, there was a realization that some Chinese descendants of mixed heritage continued to be regarded by the Peruvians as well as for the Chinese immigrants the “*injertos*”, that is the “grafts”, those “without race”, despite total economic and cultural integration into the Peruvian society, a society that was becoming ever more racist towards Asians. The magazine urged those who had been sent to study in China to join the Oriental and the follow the most engaged of the three founders,<sup>3</sup> Alfredo Chang Ruiz (Zhang Hongrong 障洪榮). Then the paper’s aims were as much the valorisation of Chinese culture to “sinicize” the new generation of Chinese and mixed bloods who were born and remained in Peru, as the conflicts against Japanese imperialism in China continued. The magazine also sought to show the older generations that despite their local birth and/or mixed heritage, the Tusans too were Chinese and could, just as much as their elders, integrate and defend Chinese culture.<sup>4</sup>

From its first issues<sup>5</sup> Oriental addressed itself: “to intellectuals, sons of the Chinese colony, so that they will collaborate with the magazine at their disposal” (Oriental, n°2, p12). The young magazine also wanted its readers who owned or received reviews and works by Chinese authors in Chinese, English or French, to communicate them so as to have them translated to make better known Chinese ideas and to reinforce Chinese nationalism amongst its readers.<sup>6</sup>

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3 The magazine’s founders were the journalist Alfredo Chang Ruiz, the lawyer Gabriel Acat and his sister, Leonor Acat.

4 Concerning this theme, see Lausent-Herrera, 2009. They wanted to show the Peruvians that the rich Chinese inheritance of the Tusans was also a gift for the Peruvian nation.

5 Number 1 of the magazine for the month of April 1931 has disappeared from the archive. The collection begins with number 2 of May 1931. The publication was in Spanish and Chinese, and the oldest continuously published magazine in Peru. It has not always been regular, but never interrupted. Certain issues have no page numbers.

6 Oriental n°4, July 1931. Lau Pak Fang, a Chinese library existed at that time.

In addition to publishing articles concerning Chinese philosophy, Confucianism, traditions and customs of the Chinese culture, Oriental defended the teaching of the Chinese language and valorised the activities of those who represented and spread Chinese culture. A particular appeal of Oriental was the expression of a certain sentiment on the part of the Chinese community of abandonment by the formal Chinese diplomatic mission which was not felt to represent their interests.<sup>7</sup>

In 1932 when the *Beneficencia China* (The Chinese Benevolent Association Tonghuy Chongkoc), was in the midst of reorganization, Gabriel Acat, co-founder of Oriental urged in his editorial a modernisation of the institutions and above all the creation of new schools so that the children of the poorest Chinese could go to them. He also asked that the two cultures, Chinese and Peruvian, not be opposed to each other.<sup>8</sup> Javier Loo Kung<sup>9</sup>, who collaborated with Acat on the Oriental, noted the following year an improvement in the teaching and an increase in the number of students, although he also denounced the parents of students in his article “The Ignorance”.<sup>10</sup> According to Kung, parents were neglecting a Chinese education for their children, no doubt preferring to send them to free Peruvian schools. This shocked him because the parents, who were not poor, did not understand that, according to Confucius’ teachings, uneducated children would later become bad children who would not respect their parents. Two months later, under the title “The Chinese College: Tell the Truth” the same author directly attacked the head of the ‘guilty’ college, because of its incapacity to transmit Confucius teachings and the Chinese language to the children, and accused it for the fall in the number of pupils admitted to the school even though it was subsidized by the Beneficencia. Even more inadmissible to Kung was the fact that the other establishment, the *Centro de Cultura*, close to the Catholic Church, offered better teaching<sup>11</sup> and the number of its students was increasing. Kung’s attack, followed by others directed towards those responsible for the system of education, was a reflection of the opinions of a part of the Oriental magazine’s readers. It was also a consequence of the

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7 In an unsigned text the magazine complained of the indifference and the disinterest of the Chinese diplomatic legation members vis-à-vis the community and their passivity in the face of the Japanese aggression in China, while the community was redoubling its efforts to bring aid to the mother country.

8 Oriental 1932, n°10.

9 Javier Loo Kung, collaborator of Oriental and then New Chung Wa, and his brother Carlos Loo Kung, President of the Zhigongdang Republican Party, and Jaime Loo Kung were intellectuals and important political activists.

10 Oriental, 1933, n°18, “*La Ignorancia*”.

11 Oriental, 1933, n°20.

pressures which various political factions, the Guomindang, the Zhigongdang (致公黨), then the New Life Movement (新生活運動), but also institutions such as the Chinese Legation, the Beneficencia China Tonghuy Chungkock, and the Church, tried to exert on the Chinese Community. The incompetence of the college director was seen to be prejudicial to the community and endangered the progress to which it aspired. Javier Loo Kung demanded his departure. Indeed, the college director was replaced in 1934 by the co-founder of Oriental, Gabriel Acat, thus confirming the interweaving relationship of the press, education and politics.

Oriental, which also saw itself as the defender of the Tusans was very sensitive to the theme of the teaching of the “father” tongue, as it called it, and the need for the Tusans to learn Chinese. Oscar León opened the debate in 1935 in a small article “Spread the learning of Chinese”.<sup>12</sup> According to him, “it is necessary in these times of conflict between father and son of our Asiatic race to draw together in a long neglected union, because the process will end in the marginalization of the Tusans. Only the learning of Chinese will allow the filial links to strengthen between those who share the same customs and the same psychology.” Alberto Phum Piu in his article “Yesterday, today and tomorrow” was very preoccupied by the future of the colony. On one hand, there was no longer the arrival of new immigrants and on the other, there was no communication between the Chinese and the “*injertos*” or mixed blood Chinese who did not speak Chinese, nor respect the customs, and had no patriotic feelings. To save the future, they must be taught everything Chinese: language, customs, and moral values. “The language is race and patriotism”, according to Piu.<sup>13</sup>

## 2 The New Chung Wa (新中華 月報) magazine

The creation in October 1934 by Luis Joo Koo and Humberto Escudero Whu of a new magazine, the New Chung Wa (NCW), enriched but also inflamed the debate on education in the Chinese community in Peru. NCW defended the past values of the monarchist reformer Yuan Shikai (1859–1916, 袁世凱) but followed Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925 孫逸仙, Sūn Zhōngshān, 孫中山), the founder of the Republic of China, for his vision and patriotism. References to Tong Shao-yiu (1861–1938 唐紹儀, 唐紹儀) or Li Yuanhong (1864–1928 黎元洪) in the magazine confirm its proximity to the “progressives” in the past and its close

<sup>12</sup> Oriental, 1935, n°31.

<sup>13</sup> Oriental, 1935, n°32.

relations with the Zhigongtang (致公黨). Reminding readers of the humiliations China suffered from foreign invaders, NCW nevertheless affirmed that Chinese youth were not prejudiced against western customs and that their only desire was to study. The magazine's ambition to engage Chinese youth in Peru in nationalism, the only perceived force which could help the coming of a new China, explains its name, New Chung Wa, literally New China. It presents itself therefore as the "spokesman of the Chinese students living in Latin America" and from its first issue, it pleaded for "education for all" amongst the Chinese<sup>14</sup>. It emphasized the importance of primary education, and argued that only education could provide the method and the knowledge that would allow the young Chinese to raise and empower themselves. Education, it argued should not become a privilege of the rich but the responsibility of society as a whole. That responsibility included promoting the education of the poor. The staff members of the magazine shared this point of view and would apply the same standards to the education of young Chinese and mixed blood children from the Sino-Peruvian community. The Chinese primary schools would thus be the subject of the magazine's particular attention. In the first issue of the magazine, there was an article on "Moral aspects of Chinese citizens"<sup>15</sup> which praises Confucianism and the Chinese cultural heritage, showing the dilemma posed by the conservation of this heritage for Chinese living abroad: "*it is evident that almost every Chinese man marries a woman from the country where he lives. Thus he will do all he can so that his descendants be useful to the nation in which he lives, educating his children in the national schools and teaching them patriotism*". But this loyalty to the country of residence created a problem because the Chinese must absolutely conserve their Chinese culture for if they did not, they would despise their ancestors and betray their people. In fact, from the first issue the magazine exposed more problems than it offered solutions.

One area in which the two magazines, *Oriental* and the *New Chung Wa*, rivalled: the pages each dedicated to schools, to school events, to competitions between students and the healthy rivalry existing between the schools. At the end of the year *Oriental* presented prizes at the *Colegio Chino*, as well as the fête of the *Centro de Cultura*. The two magazines agreed during these occasions to praise not only the students' successes but also to encourage the practice of sports. The creation of sports clubs and teams of handball or basketball was seen as evidence of a healthy competition between the schools. Sporting competition was also seen as an occasion to "improve the strength of our race through exercises and

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<sup>14</sup> *New Chung Wa* (NCW from now on) 1934, n°1. This theme had been brought up in the n°5 of 1931 and in 1933 by *Oriental* but for the Chinese immigrants and Tusans in Peru.

<sup>15</sup> NCW, 1934, n°1: 49.

gymnastics!”<sup>16</sup> The two magazines were on the same line of thought as the New Life Movement (*la Nueva Vida*) Oriental wrote. In 1935, in its school pages in the same spirit New Chung Wha installed the monthly Honour Roll and prizes for camaraderie, exposing those who did not succeed, children and therefore parents, to the disapproval of their compatriots. These distinctions took on great importance: the two first of the Chinese language class received a medal offered by the Chinese Consulate; the two winners of a competition on Chinese and Peruvian culture received from New Chung Wha a savings book with 10 soles; and the best pupils received gold and silver medals.<sup>17</sup>

NCW urged the Chinese parents to bring their children to the Chinese schools to be sheltered from the prevailing Peruvian racism.<sup>18</sup> The magazine stressed that “only the Chinese schools can teach pupils from childhood the Chinese language, this indispensable element for the necessary cohesion of the Chinese community, affirming that this teaching is compatible with Peruvian law and scientific progress and pedagogy”.<sup>19</sup> Like the Oriental, NCW vehemently wanted to transpose the Chinese cultural experience to Peru,<sup>20</sup> refusing the idea that this was a reactionary movement. The propaganda committees and physical education hadn’t they successfully strengthened patriotism? They also wanted to raise the Chinese immigrant and the mixed blood children to the same standard and probably to the same state of mind.

### 3 The schools

The *Centro de Cultura* was created by an initiative of a Chinese priest in 1926 for a primary school for girls.<sup>21</sup> It was apparently closed that same year<sup>22</sup>. The mention in Oriental of the *Centro de Cultura* in 1931 as a scholarly establishment destined for girls and sponsored by the Catholic Dames of the Chinese Colony suggests the continuity of this school in the San Cristóbal street under the same

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16 Oriental n°34, 1934: 47 “*mejorar por medio de los ejercicios y la gimnasia la pujanza de nuestra raza!*”.

17 NCW n°15, 1936: 59–60.

18 Oriental, n°3, 1934: 17–19 “*La Educación del Niño*”.

19 NCW, n°7, 1935: 5.

20 NCW, n°10: 6–7. “*Progresión de la instrucción Pública en China*” Anonymous, and pp. 23–24 “*La Política China*”.

21 The elderly persons interrogated do not remember this school.

22 Lausent-Herrera 2015.

name of Centro de Cultura,<sup>23</sup> thanks to the help of Beneficencia China.<sup>24</sup> Its director, Aurora Mas, married to an important Chinese businessman, successfully led the school, and the number of students increased. In 1933, a difficult year for the Chung Wha School, the Minister of Education evaluated very favourably this school for girls which had become mixed. Several students, after an oral examination, were rewarded, seven in the final-year group of the primary section and one in business studies section where the young girls were taught multicopying and English commercial correspondence.<sup>25</sup> In publicizing the results from the school, Oriental made clear the magazine's state of mind: it wanted to valorise and modernize women of Chinese descent while respecting Chinese traditions.<sup>26</sup> Let us not forget that at this time in the Peruvian middle classes, the model of the American woman was popular. In 1935<sup>27</sup> the Centro taught Chinese and English and as in all the other institutions, physical education was imposed.

In comparison, the *Colegio Chino Chung Wha*, created in 1925, did not benefit from such stability. After eight years, its director, Guillermo Morón Ayllón, was virulently opposed. Gabriel Acat, co-founder and director of Oriental, replaced him in 1933. The school was then caught between two opposing ideas: it should follow the official Peruvian programme because it depended on the Ministry of Education for support, but also should apply the directives of the Guomindang by introducing the history and geography of China. It also had to ensure the correct teaching of Chinese, particularly by the qualified professor Wong Tec Wuan. The students who passed the national examinations could enter either directly the good secondary school in Lima, or a school in China. But the Instruction and Inspection Commission of the Beneficencia, made up of Eugenio Lung, Alfonso León, José Chiof Away and Guillermo Morón Ayllón was at the heart of all the political and social conflicts which animated a part of the Chinese community. From 1933 to 1936, the school would be totally reorganized. Discipline was reinforced, the tutors of pupils whose families lived in the province were reminded of their duties, boarding school fees were decreased, the number of scholarships increased, and the price of books was also lowered.

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**23** This is for the moment the only possible hypothesis. This sponsorship is confirmed in the n° 34:55 of Oriental, in September 1934 when the school received the visit of the Chinese Ambassador.

**24** The students of the *Centro de Cultura* participated in the Eucharistic Congress in Lima in 1935;

**25** Oriental, 1933, n°26.

**26** See the article « Work and the Women of our Race » (anonymous), Oriental, 1933, n°26.

**27** Oriental, 1935, n°36; New Chung Wa, 1935, n°7, n°8 and 11.



The Chinese and Tusan professors, Spanish speaking with diplomas from the Teachers Training Colleges were well regarded by the education authorities. The other teachers of the Chinese programme were, however, often criticised by the community and in the print media and the members of the Chinese diplomatic legation and the Guomindang often filled the positions of Chinese language teachers. Criticisms of the teachers appeared in *Oriental* and *New Chung Wa*. They, together with the pressure of the Guomindang, provoked changes to the recruiting of the professors. Experienced new teachers were recruited such as María Leo de Choy. Her engagement illustrated the desire of the Beneficencia China to help the Chung Wha School in its difficulty.<sup>28</sup> This young woman, whose flattering portrait appeared in the magazine *Oriental* (1933, n°20), was at first hired by the Beneficencia China on the basis of her Chinese diplomas to teach in the *Centro de Cultura*. Maria Choy, who held a diploma from the Pedagogic Institute of Guangzhou, taught in the Catholic Secondary School for Girls at Fuc Seng in the provincial capital. She had been director of the provincial school of Kong Leng, editor of the newspaper *Jen Siong*, of Kong Leng, and was also Inspector of Education. Destined at first to teach at the *Centro de Cultura*, a girls school, she was finally sent to the Chung Wha school, to raise the level.<sup>29</sup> The creation of a special section for the courses of history, literature and arts, all taught in Chinese, led to satisfactory results<sup>30</sup> and the number of pupils increased again, up to 200.<sup>31</sup>

The San Min School (三民學校) or the School of the Three Principles, San Min Zhuyi (三民主義) of Sun Yat-sen (Nationalism, Democracy, People's Livelihood) was inaugurated on October 10, 1935, and was collocated with the Association of Nam Hoi, in Penitencia street, then in the facilities of the Beneficencia and the Guomindang). It was also known by the name of *Progreso* (Progress). The various articles which hailed its opening praised an education adapted to the teaching of Chinese.<sup>32</sup> The opening of the school took place at the same time as the reorganization of Chung Wha. It seems that Chung Wha was under the responsibility of the Beneficencia China, while the San Min was in the hands of the Guomindang. It is also interesting to note that a year later in Havana a new high school was created by the Presbyterians Wong Jon Chou

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<sup>28</sup> *Oriental*, 1933, n°20.

<sup>29</sup> Other professors accompanied María Choy included Luy Quin Jan, Francisco Wong, Feliciano Tang, Zoila Choy and, in 1936, Jorge Chow, Chinese educationalist present in 1925 during the creation of the school.

<sup>30</sup> *New Chung Wha*, 1936, n°18: 65–66. Guillermo Morón Ayllon who took up again his post as director, said he was very satisfied with the Chinese courses.

<sup>31</sup> *New Chung Wha*, 1935, n°7.

<sup>32</sup> *New Chung Wha*, 1935, n°10, n°11, n°17.

and Jeraro Mack (Mack Sin san)<sup>33</sup>. In Lima the presence of Chinese who returned from China after attending the Protestant high schools in Hong Kong, Macau or Toishan (臺山), was more and more visible.

## 4 Guomintang, religion and education

In the 1930s, the propaganda of the Guomintang, the dominant political party of the Republic of China, intensified in the schools as much as in the press. *Oriental* which called itself independent when it started became in 1933 the organ of the *Sociedad de la Propaganda de la República China*. Alfredo Chang went to all the provinces of Peru as well as Ecuador and Chile to gather funds and to mobilize the patriotic associations. He was supported by the review *Man Shing Po* (民醒報) of the Guomintang. The president of the Republican Party *Zhigongdang*, Carlos Loo Kung, collaborator of the two above-mentioned magazines, also engaged himself during the anti-Japanese resistance and in the defence of the values of Chinese education.

1934 also mark the intensified involvement of the Guomintang in the actual conduct of the schools. The anniversary of Confucius' birth was celebrated in the schools and community institutions; the programmes were changed, history of China was rewritten, sporting activities were extended and the traditional virtues were reinforced. In July 1935 the campaign to convince parents to send their children to a Chinese school grew greater. The press repeated propaganda and Ambassador Li Tchuin, who had just arrived, declared in *Oriental* (1934, n°33) that Chinese identity should be reinforced by education. The ambassador travelled to the provinces to convince the citizens to re-establish the Confucian values (*Oriental*, 1934, n°40 22-23, 1935, n°41: 84–108). Under his authority the association of the New Life Movement (*La Nueva Vida*) was created, and a number of students' parents adhered to his call to send their children to the schools.

Throughout Peru, the influence of the Guomintang on the development of the education of Chinese children was very strong. Its capacity to mobilize the Chinese immigrants and their descendants allowed several small schools to open in the provinces, as in Nazca, Trujillo, Chepen, etc. Often collocated with the local *Beneficencias Chinas* they took up the relay of the private tutors whom some rich families were able to employ and facilitated some young Chinese children to leave for Lima to join the Chinese schools there and later on to be undertake the voyage

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<sup>33</sup> Anonymous, 2007a.

to China to further their education. This influence, at times indirectly criticized, was also called for by certain community seniors such as Oscar León (Oriental, 1935, n°41:108) who, faced with the divisions amongst the Chinese and amongst the Chinese and Chinese parents and their mixed-blood (“injetos”) children, argued that education was the only way to reunite the community. The schools also actively sought help from the Guomindang and the Ambassador representing the Guomindang government in China. Oriental reproduced a letter sent by three Chinese descendants living in the province, in Trujillo, to the Ambassador, profoundly regretting that they had not been taught Chinese, which caused them to be scorned although they wanted to serve their “true country”, China. They asked that the legation to open in Trujillo an official high school whose teaching would be recognized by both Peru and China (Oriental, 1936, n°52).

In the meantime, the church and particularly the Jesuits played their role in education. Their involvement was appreciated and it allowed the Jesuits to remain close to the Tusan youth in particular and to show that the teachings of Catholicism were the same as the values of Confucius. They also reminded the Chinese community of their responsibility towards the elderly Chinese, some of whom were abandoned in the asylum by their families. The church thus had a great deal of influence on the young Tusans whose families they knew and whose schooling they followed. Although religious instruction was optional, the church’s principles were always present and influential in the education of the Tusans, to encourage conversion and communion. In this undertaking the church, especially the Jesuits, was supported by a good number of Chinese parents and by the magazine *Oriental* which gave them the saying: “Religion is the guarantee of morality and morality is the basis of social life”.<sup>34</sup>

But under the influence of the Guomindang propaganda, the teachings of Confucianism began to impact on the social life and undermine the Catholic teachings. The Tusans, very Catholic in majority and in conflict with the earlier generations of Chinese immigrants,<sup>35</sup> were however very open to Chinese culture and were not shocked to read in *Oriental* the article “Life and origin of the Chinese People” in which the author, anonymous, stated that Confucius, before Jesus Christ, preached equality and justice as well as the fundamental ethical premises such as mutual aid and obedience to the father of the family which were the principles that organized the Chinese society.<sup>36</sup> However, New Chung Wha reported that Confucianism and the teaching of San Min Chuyi in the religious schools were criticized at first even though they are not prejudicial

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<sup>34</sup> *Oriental*, 1934, n°32: 65.

<sup>35</sup> See Lausent-Herrera, (2009).

<sup>36</sup> *Oriental*, 1933, n°21: 49–52.

to Christian doctrine. NCW advocated the views by the sinologists P. Pelliot (1878–1945) and J.E. Lemièrre, Dr. Wai who stated that it was necessary that the “Chinese Catholics be instructed in the nationalistic principles on which the National Constitution is based and that in the religious schools the San Min Chuyi be taught to future citizens of Democratic China”.<sup>37</sup> Interestingly, in an editorial, the magazine reminded readers that Confucianism could not be considered a state religion but rather a system of philosophy.<sup>38</sup> It seemed that some readers did not see the compatibility of Catholicism and Confucianism. The Catholic Peruvian Fathers also tried to redouble their presence in the Chinese community and their vigilance as to the influence of the Guomintang doctrines. In 1936 for example, the Reverend Jesuit Father Jacinto García, chaplain of the Chinese Community, organized a grand ceremony for the first communion of more than 50 pupils.<sup>39</sup> The Reverend Fathers Pineda and García continued to believe that their place was to educate the members of the Chinese Community, a role which had escaped them in 1888. They thus proposed to the Beneficencia to open a night school, in Gato Street, this time to teach the alphabet to the Chinese who arrived in Peru without speaking or writing Spanish as well as those who had lived there for a long time but who could not express themselves in that language. At the beginning the Beneficencia collaborated with the church in the project but the experiment did not last long. The church’s merit was to have never ceased to accompany the Chinese community and to have adapted itself. This presence allowed it after the war to found its own Sino-Peruvian high school, the Jean XXIII, relying on the Tusans whose education the church had followed during the children’s entire schooling in the various Chinese schools.

## 5 Between calm and disillusion: the post war years

The defeat of the Guomintang in 1949 in mainland China and its relocation of power to Taiwan did not disturb its strong bond with the Chinese institutions overseas, latter were being led mainly by Guomintang party members in Peru.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> NCW, 1936, n°22: 42–43.

<sup>38</sup> NCW, 1936, n°26, Editorial.

<sup>39</sup> NCW, 1936, n°23.

<sup>40</sup> The institutions authorized by the Peruvian Ministry of Education had a double leadership: the Peruvian nominated by the Ministry with the Peruvian teachers and the “Chinese” controlled by the members of the Guomintang.

In this context, education remained at the center of relations between the party and the immigrants and their children, but no longer directly with the mother country. The continued, regular supply of books, teachers and education counsellors cemented this bond and in the provinces small informal schools continued to be created for the children to learn Chinese. This was important for it was no longer possible to send the children to China. In any case, the Peruvian Consular Authorities had a very bad opinion of the choice of the type of education the Chinese and Tusans received in China and what this choice represented. The Chargé d’Affaires, Juan José Salas, wrote in 1948: “This absurd education which consists only in a study of the Chinese language and writing, which may require a number of years at the end of which the young, having learnt nothing else, with no profession nor habit of working, incapable of anything but manual labor which demands neither effort nor intelligence, these young people try to return to Peru because it’s only there they can be admitted to establish themselves and continue to practice the customs of their fathers, to form new Chinese families either by trying to bring with them their Chinese wife, or bringing her over from China.” Salas, who had a partial understanding of Chinese education, concluded by denouncing the fact that those who studied in such an archaic fashion in China would never be Peruvians when they returned.<sup>41</sup>

Similar views have been expressed repeatedly since the beginning of the 1930s. In addition, there existed on the Peruvian side the fear of letting in immigrants who might be Communists. This fear led the military government of General Odría (1948–1956) to abuse its prerogatives when it deprived Chinese descendants of the use of their passports, decreeing that the children of Chinese born in Peru were not Peruvians and that the frontiers would be closed to all those who would want to return to Peru. The Minister of Foreign Affairs thus refused twelve students who wanted to return to Peru under the pretext that there could be communists among them. The Government of Taiwan, far from protesting, wanted to help the Peruvians detect communists and asked that no visa be granted without first obtaining a Taiwanese document allowing circulation.<sup>42</sup> From then on, the returns and entries of the Chinese fleeing the continent were for a long time clandestine.

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<sup>41</sup> MRE, (5–11), 1948 *Embajada en la China 1948. Informe correspondiente al primer semestre, 30/08/1948.*

<sup>42</sup> MRE, (6–11), 1952 and MRE (6–11), 1954. Among the names of the unauthorized students who were finally able to return to Peru, it is interesting to note that a number of them supported communist China when it took control of the community in 1971.

The directors of the associations such as the Beneficencia China of Lima who had proved their fidelity to the Guomintang would monopolize the control of all the institutions such as the schools. The Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission used pressure so that the Chinese and their descendants would take part. In the context of the Cold War, Taiwan never ceased to send officers in charge of testing the loyalty of the huiguans (associations, 會館) as Taipei expressed its fear of being attacked by Communist China.<sup>43</sup> Unable to identify with mainland China, which had become communist, a majority of the Chinese in Peru consolidated their identity around the Guomintang while the Tusans lost the hope of going to China and also that of one day replacing the older members within the associations, despite their contributions during the war and their sincere engagement particularly with Oriental. Little by little a conflict of generations set in. The students whose parents were still very attached to the Guomintang went to the Chinese high schools while the Tusans, who rejected communism<sup>44</sup> but were not integrated into the Guomintang, went after the war to the Catholic or public high schools. They would group together<sup>45</sup> in the 1960s around a new Catholic mission sent to Peru to take charge of the education of Chinese descendants. Gradually a split began to appear within the community.

## 6 *Diez de Octubre* (Double Ten, 雙十) and Juan XXIII high schools, or the split of 1962.

Although according to witnesses the Chung Wha high school had more communist sympathizers than San Min which was entirely favorable towards Guomintang, a merger between the two high schools had been envisaged by the Chinese Embassy since 1960. Several factors speeded up the merger. They were: the reform of the Peruvian school system; the difficulty of managing the two schools which shared the same professors; and the modernization and

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43 MRE, (6–11), 1955 and MRE (6–5), 1955. *Embajada de China*. A member of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, Fung Ping Fui, was expelled from Peru for his activism within the community (MRE, 23/2/1955).

44 In 1938 Francisco C.K. León founded the « Journal of the Chinese Merchants in Peru » or *Diario Comercial Chino*. This progressive newspaper was very anti-communist and would go so far as to praise General Odría – who had rejected the Chinese after the war – for his combat against the communists in Peru. In its pages an elegy of Master Jesus can also be found (see issues 1960, n°524, 1526 and 1528).

45 The Eng Wah high school in Callao, the capital's port, was not included in the reorganization.

updating of the school programs. Following the directives imposed by Peruvian laws, the merged high school, *Diez de Octubre*, was to be run by a double management. Besides a Tusan (Federico Geng Delgado), the *Beneficencia China* named Professor Ella Greeve<sup>46</sup>, an American Methodist living and teaching in Peru for a number of years, to be a co-director of the school. Greeve's experience and her reputation were, for the Chinese community, the guarantee of the successful merger of the two schools. But her presence and the initiative of *Beneficencia China* displeased the Catholic Tusan community. The Franciscans who had replaced the Jesuits in the Chinese community had wanted to control both high schools; they could not tolerate the merged high school becoming a place of political and religious proselytism.

During its formation, the high school was situated on the grounds acquired by the members of the Chinese Aviation Club for training purposes during the War. But as the war ended, the land was not used and the club donated a part of it to the *Beneficencia* who in turn ceded it, ten years later, to the high school so that the first premises of the *Diez de Octubre* School could be built there. Carlos Pun, then President, launched the project and constructed the first building which carried his name. The Aviation Club gave the other part of the land to the high school for a second construction, thanks to a collection of donations from the entire Chinese community. An auditorium, the Sun Yat Sen, was also built, thanks to donations. Wealthy donators, such as the Choys and the Wus, were not lacking, and a kindergarten and a cafeteria were thus built. In 1960 there were 280 students enrolled in the new high school. But the first years were difficult. In 1967–1968 Peru swung to the left and Agrarian Reform was set in motion. The directors of the high school resigned. But the parents of the students reacted and formed a vigilance committee; demanding structural reforms. The School management decided to formalize the school's position and made it into a legal entity: the Association of the Peruvian-Chinese Private Educative Center *Diez de Octubre*.

Although they had not succeeded in creating their own schools to educate the Peruvian Chinese, the Jesuit Fathers were always at the community's side and continued to evangelize them in the different schools opened by the Chinese community itself. The creation of a Chinese-Peruvian Catholic High School in the the same year as the *Diez de Octubre* was the outcome of combined efforts and desires. It was the desire of His Eminence Horazzio Ferruccio (1911–1990), former Bishop of Kichow, Franciscan, sent to Peru in 1955 and missioned by Pope Jean

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46 Ella Greeve or Grieve, was American and was Professor and Director of the famous protestant college, Callao High School. Many young Chinese and Tusans living in the district of Callao attended this college since 1925 after completing the course of the Eng Wha High School in Callao.

XXIII to follow the steps of the Jesuits and to take over evangelization and education of the members of the Chinese community of Peru. It was also the desire of a group of young Tusans, former pupils of Father J. García, who were undergoing a severe identity crisis and wanted to collaborate in this work.

In the first issue of the *Boletín de la Asociación Tu San*, founded in December 1961, the founders<sup>47</sup> had answered a request for help by His Eminence Horazio Ferruccio guaranteeing him that they would take charge of the rent of the first premises of the kindergarten. Bishop Ferruccio also received the help of the Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati, Ohio, who during 25 years had had the vocation of teaching in China. From the first months 62 children were registered and received educational material imported from the United States. The following year the *Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú* gave a large piece of land to Bishop Ferruccio so that the school could be built and destined for the Chinese children and the new Chinese immigrants. In 1965 the new premises situated outside the Chinese quarters welcomed 470 pupils.<sup>48</sup> The support of the Tusans was unailing and can be explained by the reasons given in the Boletín n°4: “We cannot continue to be humiliated or let our children grow up in this atmosphere of complexes and racial differences, we must give them the means to work in a good atmosphere and inculcate in them the pride of our race, and forge their personality.” The theme of racism, very prevalent at all levels of Peruvian society, was not evoked to justify the creation of the *Diez de Octubre* high school. However, it seems to have been one of the reasons at the origin of the mobilization of the Tusans, and also for Bishop Ferruccio who deplored the refusal of the Peruvian schools to receive the young Chinese children or those with one Chinese parent. The young Tusans who at the same time opposed their elders<sup>49</sup> who denied them the positions and responsibilities they sought within the Chinese community turned to those who had always supported them in their educational progress and their integration into Peruvian society.

The Tusans remained much attached to their own Chinese culture. No doubt they felt that, despite their passage in the San Min and Chung Wha high schools, they were not particularly well educated in Chinese. In their Bulletin n°3 (1962:4) the Tusans reproached the Chinese community to have neglected its youth and placed all their hopes in the Juan XXIII high school. They themselves sought to compensate for their shortcomings by organizing collective courses in Cantonese

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47 The Association was led by Juan A. Wu, Carlos Choy, Antonio Wong and Julio Choy. The Association deposed its statutes in 1962, after the creation of the bulletin.

48 *Boletín de la Asociación Tu San* (B.A.T.S), 1965, n°9.

49 See Lausent-Herrera, 2009. Concerning the religion see Lausent-Herrera 2014.



using texts from the Yale University Institute of Languages.<sup>50</sup> They were attacked for their positions in a newspaper article by a high-level functionary of the Guomindang.<sup>51</sup>

Therefore 1962 saw a split in the Chinese community with the creation of two high schools - *Diez de Octubre* (Double Ten) and Juan XXIII. Both had the ambition to raise the level of their young Chinese students. In the Guomindang-led *Diez de Octubre* high school Confucian morals and political engagement were omnipresent although efforts were made to modernize the teaching. The pupils were of modest origins but above all children of parents who were very attached to traditional values. The creation of the Catholic high school Juan XXIII with the cooperation of young, community-minded Tusans, who most often already belonged to the middle class and seemed to be integrated into Peruvian society, responded to the demands of a generation of Peruvian Chinese torn between rebellion and tradition.

The celebrated author Siu Kam Wen (Xiao Jin-Rong) (1950-), who arrived in Peru from China in 1959 to join his father, a small merchant in Lima, was educated at the *Diez de Octubre* School between 1962 and 1964. In his short story, "*Deterioro*"<sup>52</sup> he is little Hector, avid to read English authors, misunderstood by his father who does not want him to educate himself because his destiny is already fixed: he will continue his father's small business. In another short story "*El discurso*" Chiang Kei-Man, 13 years old and a brilliant student at San Min, is chosen for his excellent Chinese diction to read during the fete of October 10<sup>th</sup> a very biased patriotic speech, praising the Guomindang and above all, anti-communist. Chiang Kei-Man who secretly admires Mao Zedong, falls ill on the day of the speech so as not to betray his ideals. These short stories are the reflection of the dilemmas faced in the 1960s by the young Chinese brought over from China, the Chinese born in Peru of Chinese parents and even those of mixed blood. At school and at home they felt the weight of the barriers between the generations due to the social demands to transmit the traditions and to the idea of the purity of the Chinese race to whose continuation they should contribute – a wide-spread view amongst the Chinese community in Peru in the 1930s but continued to the 1960s.

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50 "Speak Cantonese", Praker P.F. Huang and G.P. Kok in *Boletín de la Asociación Tu San*, 1962, n°4, p7.

51 B.A.T.S, 1965, n°11, p.1. This fact is commented on in the editorial without mentioning neither the name of the author nor that of the newspaper.

52 The two short stories, « *El Deterioro* » and « *El Discurso* » belong to the collection of short stories entitled : *El Tramo Final*, 1985, Lluvia ed. Lima. In the "Paper Memories" ("Memorias de papel") Facebook pages of college Diez de Octubre, Siu Kam Wen recounts his two years at the college and provides information on its former professors from Taiwan and Hong Kong.

## 7 The last bastion of the Guomindang coveted by Popular China

The new Embassy of the People's Republic of China opened in Lima in February 1972, helped by a certain number of Chinese living in Peru, supporters of the communist Regime, decided to subjugate the Chinese community of Lima by "encircling" it. The authorities of the provincial institutions were replaced by Chinese who supported the communists. When in 1973 the Embassy organized a vote within the *Beneficencia* in order to take over the control of the association, it got the support from all the regional associations already. It was able to impose new representatives in the schools and associations. In Lima certain institutions were under pressure to give way to supporters of the People's Republic. Only three associations refused, those of Nam Hoi, of Miraflores in Lima and in Callao, who remained faithful to the Guomindang. The last step of this takeover by the new political master was at the *Diez de Octubre*. Anticipating what was going to happen, the directors of the *Beneficencia* and their lawyer, a Chinese born in Peru who had studied in China, met on December 29, 1972, to register before a notary the modification of its statutes.<sup>53</sup> Two important modifications were made: to demand five years of residence in Peru for Chinese who wanted to be members of the *Beneficencia* which excluded the newly entered communists, and to let the Tusans, Chinese born in Peru, into the *Beneficencia* and into its management. These two measures were contrary to the politics of the Embassy. Another modification was requested by the Peruvian authorities: the high school would from now on be designated as Peruvian-Chinese and no longer Chinese-Peruvian, the argument being that a number of Peruvians had been admitted to it. These measures although registered before a notary would be swept away by the Chinese Embassy which was nevertheless prevented from taking over the high school. The Embassy reacted by demanding again on November 1, 1973, that the high school, in its totality, be given over the Embassy. The directors tried to save a space of liberty and finally on November. Finally on November 13, 1973, the Embassy had to admit that its demands were not legal but nevertheless imposed on the high school administration a monthly rent for the land it occupied. This land, however, had been acquired and donated by the members of the Guomindang. The directors of the school did accept the demand because they knew that the school's long-term survival was at the Embassy's mercy.<sup>54</sup>

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53 Notaria E. Velarde Arenas, *Modificación de Estatutos, Sociedad Central de Beneficencia China Tonghuy Chongkoc*. 29/12/1972. F 40–301. Tomo 247.

54 The high school had been accepted as a Center of Special Education (CEE) by the Ministry of Education and its program was therefore protected. The threat was both material and symbolic:

While this was happening, and after its post-war silence, the magazine *Oriental* sought once again to participate in the debate over education, and tried to smooth out the tensions<sup>55</sup> because the *Diez de Octubre* high school which the new Chinese Embassy wanted to change and also Juan XXIII, which denounced the fact that the school would be run by Protestants. While the Chinese Embassy continued to try and imposed its authority,<sup>56</sup> *Oriental* tried a balancing act by publishing in May 1973 a first article “Juan XXIII high school, cement of the New Society”,<sup>57</sup> and then a second article which appeared in July 1973 dedicated to *Diez de Octubre* and entitled « *Diez de Octubre: Education for the New World* ».<sup>58</sup>

In the second report concerning the *Diez de Octubre* high school, the journalist Raul Tello noted that the high school enrolled, according to the Ministry of Education, 800 pupils and possessed 22 classrooms. A number of constructions and equipments were gifts from Chinese patrons, and students’ parents. The high school offered 56 scholarships for the sons of Chinese fathers in financial difficulty and for scholarly merit. Raul Tello spoke with 9 students of Chinese origin of various ages. Maria E. Lau Chang was 12 years old, good in mathematics, had four brothers and wanted to be a chemical engineer. Rosa Cheng, in her fourth year of secondary school wanted to be a diplomat, and Juan Felipe Yep, in the same year, wanted to study natural science. Elisa Cuan Tse, 16, in her last year of secondary school, wanted to be an engineer. She loved her school, and played ping pong and the guitar. Shi Sen Lam, also in the last year, was 18; he believed that youth should not copy foreign models concerning education, although he did not specifically mention his school in this regard Victor Seng Chiang was studying while working for his father; he hoped to be a doctor. For Raul Tello, these young students from the *Diez de Octubre* high school had positive, hopeful visions of the future. These young people were determined, healthy, and formed a solidary generation well engaged with the

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the loss of the right to use the land would cause the abandonment of the premises and a definite break with the Tusans would mean the symbolic end of a part of the history of the Community.

55 In January 1972, *Oriental* became “*Revista Mensual de Circulación en el Perú y en toda América*”, sweeping aside in this way its proximity with the Guomindang but remaining resolutely but diplomatically anti-communist.

56 In an interview done in the *Diez de Octubre* high school, I was told that until the end of the Cultural Revolution, the restaurant owners and wealthy merchants, members of the Guomindang were threatened if they continued to send their children to the *Diez de Octubre*, stronghold of the Guomindang and Confucian teaching, they would be considered reactionaries. The Embassy still preferred that the pupils attend the Peruvian-Chinese Catholic high school, Juan XXIII.

57 *Oriental*, 1973, n°491, pp. 4–13

58 *Oriental*, 1973, n°492, pp. 10–15.

future. It appears that the political quarrels which agitated the Chinese community at the time had no specific, negative impact on this young generation which had other ideals – like Marlene Siu who wanted to have a career in tourism, travel and see the world, all the while recognizing that “our country is not yet a developed country.” We do not know if ‘our country’ was meant for China or Peru, the latter was indeed undergoing a difficult time under the leftist military regime of General Velasco.

Some months later, after describing these adolescents in the two Chinese-Peruvian schools, Raul Tello, in his article “*the Tusans call for Unity and Fraternity*”,<sup>59</sup> became spokesman for the generation which preceded them, that of the adult Tusans. It seems from this later article that the former pupils of San Min, of *Diez de Octubre* and of Juan XXIII had not succeeded despite the creation of the Tu San Association in overcoming the misunderstandings, the political quarrels and the economic rivalries amongst the parent generation. The majority recognized the failure of the Tu San Association for reproducing the same errors as the older generations. But in the meantime, according to Marina Tong, employed in Juan XXIII high school, and Jaime Lam, architect, priorities changed because “people don’t have the same life any more, they have other worries. The descendants of Chinese parents have no problem integrating into the collectivity in which they live.”

## 8 Conclusion

The issue of identity of the mixed-blood children has never ceased to be debated. The question of language and education was at the heart of the conflicts between the “true Chinese” and the Tusans and mixed bloods who wanted recognition to be Chinese. The increase in Peru of anti-Asian racism on one hand and the Chinese nationalism based on race, Confucian values and allegiance to the Guomindang on the other increasingly troubled the children and the mixed-bloods born in Peru of Chinese parents.

At the family level, the possibility of employing private tutors capable of teaching the basics of Chinese education existed but the number of these tutors was low, and a great number of young Chinese Peruvians turned to the local Peruvian schools which were most often free. It was only in 1925 that a real will to educate the youth of Chinese origin took form with the creation of the first

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<sup>59</sup> *Oriental*, 1973, n°498.

official high school, the Chung Wha (see Lausent-Herrera, 2015). It would be followed in 1935 by the San Min. The creation of this second high school, in response to parental demand, was done in a context of political conflict. The high schools became the centre of struggles for propaganda and influence between political factions. Tensions focused on the schools which provided the future for the Chinese children. Two magazines, *Oriental* and *New Chung Wa*, took over the debate. The Guomintang took charge of schooling, applying its agenda to the education programs while the Church, always present in the religious education obligatory in Peruvian high schools, tried to keep control of the Tusans. This situation lasted until the merger in 1961 of the Chinese high schools into one sole establishment, a private education centre authorized by the Peruvian authorities but in reality always controlled by the Guomintang. Having finally received the support of Rome, and the Peruvian and American churches and above all that of a large part of the mixed-bloods, the Italian prelate, Bishop Ferruccio, founded the great high school, Juan XXIII. The school was obliged to receive equally pupils of non-Asiatic and non-Peruvian origins. The 1970s saw the arrival of a leftist military government and of the People's Republic of China. Even though a large number of Chinese-Peruvian and Chinese families left for the United States and Canada, the educational institutions and the community associations remained. The education of the young was also at the heart of the worries of the new representatives of communist China who sought, with partial success, to take control of the *Diez de Octubre* high school.

The years which followed were those of a terrible economic and political crisis with the imposition of military control all over the country. The departure of some Chinese families was compensated in number by the arrival of new immigrants from Guangdong and then Fujian, who, when the economic situation improved, would call over their family members and gave birth in Peru to a second or third child. This new generation of immigrants was more pragmatic. The previous generations had in majority made the choice for their children's education based on race and patriotism, linked to their attachment to political and Confucian values. The generation who arrived after 1980 were also extremely nationalistic but they were guided by their impatience for economic success. Thus they developed strategies which seemed new but which greatly resembled what the previous generations had done, with an important difference: they rarely married with Peruvians. The arrival of men and women<sup>60</sup> in almost equal numbers allowed the Chinese families to rebuild themselves. and

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60 See Lausent-Herrera (2012).

the Chinese mothers enabled transmission of the languages, generally Cantonese and Hokkien, the dialects of Guangdong and Fujian.

In the families who had succeeded economically in small businesses such as restaurants, casinos, and import-export companies, the children were sent to reputable and expensive Peruvian high schools (\$500 an average monthly pension) and prioritized the teaching and learning of English. High quality national schools were also chosen. Certain parents, encouraged by the Chinese embassy's cultural service, also sent their children to a Chinese high school. But this tended to be short-lived because many children wanted to leave; they did not get used to the Chinese way of teaching. More and more, the young Peruvian Chinese completed their studies in the best Peruvian universities (La Universidad Pacífico and Escuela Superior de Administración de Negocios (ESAN) for economics and business administration, and Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería for engineering) and gained internships in the United States, in China especially Shanghai and Hong Kong. The universities in Beijing were chosen by those who planned long-term studies in China. The more modest families sent their children to good quality Peruvian high schools or less expensive private schools. They were often the ones who would apply for the scholarships offered regularly by the Chinese universities and high schools through the Chinese embassy.

The embassy of the People's Republic of China's continued the tradition of supporting the education of Peruvian Chinese children. Re-sinization (celebrating the traditional festivals and learning about their significance), valorization of the traditional arts (painting, calligraphy, regional dances) which had started in 1980, was accompanied by the introduction of Mandarin, which has perturbed the aging Cantonese-speaking community. China's cultural soft power has been felt more intensely since the beginning of the 2000s with the implementation in Peru of four Confucian institutes and the signing of inter-university agreements allowing professors from Chinese universities to give conferences on sensitive themes or, in the case of the Ricardo Palma University, to create a centre for interpreters and translators of Chinese and Spanish. Similar cultural activities have multiplied with different exhibitions and Chinese film festivals. These are targeted as much to the Peruvians as to the Chinese in Peru and their descendants. They have nourished Chinese nationalism but are not without ulterior motives.<sup>61</sup>

The conflicts of the 1970s between the Chinese embassy and the *Diez de Octubre* high school resurfaced recently. The Chinese ambassador, through Beneficencia China, has asked for the devolution of the land on which the

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61 The analysis of China's "soft-power" in Peru will be developed further in a forthcoming article.

school was built. Legal proceedings are taking place and pressures are very strong. It is not entirely nonsensical to suggest that, with the arrival of a great many new Chinese business executives attached to a number of mining, oil and import-export companies and their families, the embassy is concerned about the future of a generation of youth so malleable, so inclined to adopt foreign habits. To take control again of the high school, erase all traces of the Guomindang, and consecrate it to the preservation of Chinese education, Chinese values and Chinese language, would be only the continuation of a long history.

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## Chinese Synopsis (中文簡介)

### “語言是民族和愛國”——秘魯的新學校和新秘魯華文出版物： 華裔和混血兒童教育之爭 1931–2015

在《全球華語》雜誌第一期的文章《說漢語：構建身份認同的重要挑戰和秘魯華人社群的維持 (1870–1930)》中，我們概述了早期秘魯華人移民社群在 19 世紀後期到 20 世紀 30 年代為構建秘魯華人身份認同所做的努力。本文討論華人社群自 1930 年至今在創辦紙質媒體、學校和出版社方面的貢獻。

#### 1 兩份雜誌

《東方月報》是秘魯第一份華文雜誌，創辦於 1931 年。雜誌的創辦與保衛受日本侵佔威脅中國的國土、及在海內外統一的華人民族意識等密切相關。雜誌提出了與華人族群有關的一些嚴肅的問題，如給年輕的華人和受過教育的土生華人 (Tusans) 一些表達自己的機會。同時提倡社會全力支援海外華人教育，並將其強壓於華人社群上，使之凝聚愛國主義精神，以幫助中國前線的戰鬥等。華人孩子和土生華人要團結一致，放下“真正”中國人和長期被鄙視的混血華裔之間的矛盾，一起保衛祖國。雜誌力圖表明土生華人可以和老一代華人一樣保衛中國文化。除發表中國哲學、孔子思想、中國文化的傳統和習俗類文章之外，《東方月報》也重視教授中國語言的話題。1932 年，《東方月報》發表了一系列有關辦學和教育方面的討論。《東方月報》也是土生華人學習“父親的語言——漢語的支持者。

1934 年創辦的《新中華》雜誌也涉及很多有關教育的討論，雜誌提醒讀者感受中國遭受侵略的恥辱，希望在秘魯的年輕華人成為愛國主義者。在第一期中，還提出在華人中“有教無類”的觀點，指出教育不應該是富人的特權，而是整個社會的責任，主張在中秘社群中華人孩子和混血孩子有同等的受教育的權利。

《東方月報》和《新中華》競爭的內容是與學校、學校中的事件、校際的學生間的競賽等，宣導學生德智全面發展。《新中華》要求家長把孩子送到中文學校以免他們受秘魯種族主義的影響。

#### 2 三所學校

1926 年創辦的 Centro de Cultura 文化中心，是一所為華人女童設立的小學，同年關閉。1931 年的《東方月報》提到 Centro de Cultura 以新的名稱，中華學校，重新辦學。其宗旨是讓華人後代的女子在尊重中華傳統文化的同時走向現代化。1935 年，這所學校既教漢語也教英語，體育也是必修課。



另一所也叫中華學校的 *Colegio Chino Chung Wha* 於 1925 年創辦，歷經較多爭議和變動。學校一方面為能得到秘魯教育部的支持，要遵循秘魯官方的教育規劃。另一方面，也要遵從國民黨的要求教中國歷史和地理。同時還要求正確地教漢語。

三民學校在 1935 年 10 月 10 日創辦，由國民黨代表主辦，也稱三民主義或孫逸仙學校。

### 3 國民黨、宗教和教育

二十世紀三十年代，國民黨在出版物和學校的宣傳進一步增加。1930 年，國民黨在秘魯的代表加強對華文學校事務的參與，同時也加大了對家長的宣傳力度，他們宣稱必須通過教育鞏固華人身份認同。在整個秘魯，國民黨對華人孩子教育發展的影響很大。

於此同時，天主教堂和耶穌會在教育中也起重要作用。他們試圖表明教天主教精神和教孔子的價值觀是一致的。教會對年輕的土生華人影響很大。儘管宗教內容不是必須的，但教會也經常影響土生華人的教育，鼓勵他們入教。

但在國民黨的影響下，孔子的思想也開始影響秘魯華人社會生活，削弱了天主教教育的影響。土生華人，儘管多數是天主教徒，早期與華人移民存在衝突，仍然對中國文化持開放心態。

### 4 在平靜和幻想之間：戰後時代

1949 年國民黨在中國大陸戰敗之後，仍和海外中文學校保持密切的聯繫。教育仍然聯繫著國民黨和秘魯華人移民以及他們的孩子，但已經不是和祖國之間的聯繫了。

### 5 *Diez de Octubre* (雙十學校)和 *Juan XXII* (約翰 22 世高級學校) – 1962 年的分裂

儘管有人認為中華學校有較多的共產主義同情者，而三民學校則完全傾向於國民黨。但在 1960 年，兩者出現合流。秘魯學校系統的改革不允許兩所學校共用教師，學校課程的現代化和更新都加速了兩校的合併。1960 年，新學校招收了 280 年學生。

儘管一直沒能成功創辦自己的學校教育秘魯中國人，耶穌會的教父一直在華人社群開辦的不同的學校中宣講福音。他們終於在 1935 年開辦了中秘天主教高級學校。1965 年，這所學校招收了 470 名學生。在秘魯社會，種族主義傾向十分明顯。年輕的土生華人，在反對否定了他們在華人社群中尋找地位和責任

的老一代華人的同時，轉向那些經常在教育和融入秘魯社會等問題上支援他們的人。

1962年，華人社群出現分裂，標誌是建立了兩所高等學校——Diez de Octubre（雙十學校）和Juan XXII（約翰 22 世高級學校）。他們都想招收年輕的華人學生。Diez de Octubre 學生的家長與中華傳統價值觀聯繫密切，Juan XXII 高等學校則和年輕的、具有社群觀的土生華人合作，他們一般是中產階級，較能融入秘魯社會。

## 6 國民黨最後的堡壘

1972年，在一定數量的秘魯的華人的幫助下，在利馬設立了新的中華人民共和國使館。此後，很多學校開始轉向中華人民共和國。

## 7 結論

混血兒童的認同問題從來都是有爭議的。在從中國移民過來的華人、土生華人以及混血華裔之間，語言和教育問題是其衝突的核心。一方面是秘魯反亞裔的種族主義，另一方面是對中國的愛國主義、孔子價值觀和國民黨的忠誠，這一直困擾著秘魯出生的華人兒童和有華裔父母的混血子女。

在家庭層面，越來越多的年輕華人秘魯人進入當地免費的秘魯人學校，較少人自己支付私人教師的學費。學校成為政治宣傳和派系鬥爭的中心，兩份華文雜誌都登載了有關爭議。

年老一代在為他們的孩子選擇學校時，往往基於種族和愛國主義，把這與政治及孔子價值觀聯繫起來。年輕一代移民則更實際。1980年後的移民更關注經濟上的成功，他們幾乎不和秘魯人結婚。這些移民男女數量均衡，他們組成家庭後，華裔媽媽可以傳承中國的語言，主要是廣東話、福建話以及其他廣東和福建的方言。

富裕的華人家庭將孩子送到學費昂貴的秘魯高等學校，他們優先學習英語。越來越多的秘魯華人在秘魯最好的大學學習，同時到美國或中國的上海和香港交流。

中華人民共和國的大使館繼續支持秘魯華人教育的傳統，他們同時也教授華語。2000年後，秘魯成立了四個孔子學院，中國的文化軟實力也日益顯現。

## Bionote (作者介紹)

### 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

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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.

樂山博士是法國國家研究中心的學者，同時也在巴黎第三大學美國亞洲移民和拉丁裔美國人研究院任教。她獲得巴黎第四大學地理學博士學位，也同時從人類學和漢語專業畢業。過去 20 年裡，她主要研究自共和時代開始至今的秘魯中國移民。她從 1975 年開始在秘魯工作。最初的研究關注土生土長的社群在市場化過程中的轉變。她首個有關秘魯中國移民的研究探討被釋放的合同制中國勞工迅速建立起安第斯山農民社群的問題。她也關注在秘魯亞馬遜區域起先鋒作用的其他中國移民問題。她的文章涉及移民社會的不同角度問題，包括通過混血通化問題、宗教混合主義、秘魯華人社群的福音運動、中國寺廟和社會，秘魯的中國墳墓，中國和秘魯的經濟聯繫，秘魯和古巴的唐人街，中國移民的配偶和小妾，土生華人的身份，中文學校等。未來的研究關注新中國移民潮和中國文化外交。