

# Familiar: Thinking beyond Lineage and across Race in Spanish Atlantic Family History

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*Familia*: . . . Children, and parents and grandparents as well, and the rest of the descendants of the lineage . . . that by another name we call parentage. And it is understood that this word, family, comprises the lord and his wife, and the rest that he has under his command, such as children, servants, slaves.

*Familiaridad*: The highly domestic communication and friendship that one customarily has with another, and although one of these might be a lord, he usually treats the inferior familiarly, sharing with him the business of his house, possessions, and person.

—Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, 1611<sup>1</sup>

**R**ESTRICTED definitions of the family served as midwife to the twin hierarchies of social class and color born in Iberia and nurtured in the Americas. Hegemonic Spanish concepts of family—the “parentage” in Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco’s definition—were predicated on “genealogical fictions” that tied *limpieza de sangre* (cleanliness of blood) to

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<sup>1</sup> “*Familia*. . . . Los hijos, pero también los padres y abuelos y los demás ascendientes del linaje . . . que por otro nombre decimos parentela. Y debajo desta palabra familia se entiende el señor y su mujer, y los demás que tiene de su mando, como hijos, criados, esclavos”; “*Familiaridad*. La comunicación y amistad muy casera, que uno suele tener con otro, y aunque sea uno dellos señor, suele tratar al inferior familiarmente, comunicándole los negocios de su casa, hacienda y persona,” in Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, 2d ed., ed. Felipe C. R. Maldonado, rev. by Manuel Camarero (1611; repr., Madrid, 1995), 536. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

the legitimacy of sexual unions and their progeny.<sup>2</sup> During Spain's colonial rule of the Americas, such notions of family legitimacy linked elite status, economic fortune, and political power primarily to European ancestry, Catholic heritage, and sacramental practice. And these definitions were not confined to colonialism but continued to function as mechanisms for legal, political, and economic exclusion well into Latin America's republican and modern periods.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, family, insofar as it ideologically set up boundaries to demarcate status, was intimately related to broader categories of difference in the Spanish Atlantic. Historians of the Latin American family have long been acutely aware of the generational durability of elite family networks and the regulatory violence of the ideal of Catholic marriage—consider, for instance, scholarship on the Inquisition's role in sexual surveillance or works on women's enclosure in the Hispanic world.<sup>4</sup> But, of course, ideology and practice were not the same. Elite family formations might have been normative, but they were not the norm. For more than forty years, scholarship on the family and gender during the colonial period has emphasized the region's marked "illegitimacy."<sup>5</sup> Extramarital sexual rela-

<sup>2</sup> I borrow the term *genealogical fictions* from María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, Calif., 2008).

<sup>3</sup> On the endurance of elite definitions of family, see Nara B. Milanich, *Children of Fate: Childhood, Class, and the State in Chile, 1850–1930* (Durham, N.C., 2009). Milanich points out that in republican Chile "family" . . . marked a distinct, and distinctly privileged, set of gendered and generational dependencies to which not all progenitors, nor all offspring, belonged." *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>4</sup> Note that more than twenty years ago, Asunción Lavrin remarked that studies of marriage had been dominated by scholars who viewed the institution as a "social and economic mechanism binding the interests of families and expressing class or group objectives rather than personal emotions." See Lavrin, "Introduction: The Scenario, the Actors, and the Issues," in *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Lavrin (Lincoln, Neb., 1989), 1–43 (quotation, 2).

<sup>5</sup> On Spain, see Allyson Poska, "Elusive Virtue: Rethinking the Role of Chastity in Early Modern Spain," *Journal of Early Modern History* 8, nos. 1–2 (2004): 135–46. On Spanish America, see Pablo Rodríguez, *Seducción, amancebamiento y abandono en la colonia* (Bogotá, 1991); Pilar Gonzablo Aizpuru and Cecilia Rabell, comps., *La familia en el mundo iberoamericano* (Mexico City, 1994); María Emma Mannarelli, *Pecados públicos: La ilegitimidad en Lima, siglo XVII* (Lima, 1994); Rodríguez, *Sentimientos y vida familiar en el Nuevo Reino de Grenada, siglo XVIII* (Bogotá, 1997); Guiomar Dueñas Vargas, *Los hijos del pecado: Ilegitimidad y vida familiar en la Santafé de Bogotá colonial* (Bogotá, 1997); Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America* (Stanford, Calif., 1999), esp. 126–83. Pioneering work on illegitimacy also includes Muriel Nazzari, "An Urgent Need to Conceal: The System of Honor and Shame in Colonial Brazil," in *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame, and Violence in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Lyman L. Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1998), 103–26; Nara Milanich, "Historical Perspectives on Illegitimacy and Illegitimates in Latin America," in *Minor Omissions: Children in Latin American History and Society*, ed. Tobias Hecht (Madison, Wis., 2002), 72–101; Linda

tions, natal illegitimacy, and child circulation were so prevalent throughout Iberia and its American colonies that the days are long gone when scholars regarded these practices as “pathologies.”<sup>6</sup>

But historians might consider doing even more than acknowledging that Iberian and Latin American families were nonnormative in the face of strict norms. We might approach Spanish Atlantic history sensitive to how our own inherited concepts of family—based on genealogy and, ultimately, constructed notions of racial and ethnic bloodlines—subtly pervade our work. They can lead us to seek out diasporas and kinships among those whom we view, *a priori*, as part of the same racial or ethnic group. They can lead us to trace genealogical networks of so-called Spaniards, who generally had the means to follow sacramental norms, or to look for evidence of (authentic) African and Indian kinship concepts among slaves and natives, who either did not follow sacramental norms or insinuated their own cultural notions of family into dominant practices. Or they can inspire us to pick through marriage records for signs of exogamy, surmising that the presence of mestizos or mixed-race *castas* in Spanish colonial society signals the failure of caste-obsessed family proscriptions.<sup>7</sup>

To approach Spanish Atlantic family history aware of the essentially constructed (some might say fictive) nature of all families, including those based on blood relations, leads to different questions. More specifically, assigning historical value to cross-caste or cross-class affinities, just as we do to those relations understood to be biologically endogamous, forces a serious consideration of the nonbiological affective ties that drew together peoples from all shores of the Atlantic, often placing them under the same roof.<sup>8</sup> In

Lewin, *Surprise Heirs*, vol. 1, *Illegitimacy, Patrimonial Rights, and Legal Nationalism in Luso-Brazilian Inheritance, 1750–1821* (Stanford, Calif., 2003); Lewin, *Surprise Heirs*, vol. 2, *Illegitimacy, Inheritance Rights, and Public Power in the Formation of Imperial Brazil, 1822–1889* (Stanford, Calif., 2003).

<sup>6</sup> On the shift away from viewing diverse family forms as inherently dysfunctional, see Robert E. McCaa, “Introduction,” in special issue, ed. McCaa, *Journal of Family History: Studies in Family, Kinship, and Demography* 16, no. 3 (1991): 211–14 (quotation, 211). On child circulation, see Ondina E. González and Bianca Premo, eds., *Raising an Empire: Children in Early Modern Iberia and Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 2007); Jessaca B. Leinaweaver, *The Circulation of Children: Kinship, Adoption, and Morality in Andean Peru* (Durham, N.C., 2008); Milanich, *Children of Fate*.

<sup>7</sup> On the tautology inherent in viewing the existence of *castas*—hybrid race categories—as a failure of a (presumably already fixed) caste system, see Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 4. Also see Kathryn Burns’s comments on academics’ contemporary construction of race categories and the complex histories of colonial caste: Burns, “Unfixing Race,” in *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, ed. Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan (Chicago, 2007), 188–202.

<sup>8</sup> Here I am indebted to Ann Laura Stoler’s description of the “tense and tender ties” of colonialism and of the centrality of “sentimental education” to the colonial project. She argues that “identifying the production and harnessing of sentiment as a

particular, what Nara B. Milanich has termed “vernacular kinships” come into better view.<sup>9</sup> For Milanich the term refers to the family practices and relationships of nonelite actors that the modern Chilean state excluded from recognition, often rendering them illegible in the historical record. In the Spanish colonial period, family-like relations as they were formed outside of legitimate lineages had a name, *familiaridad*, which, as Covarrubias states, carried a more precise connotation as well. It specifically referenced nonbiological relations across class and caste divisions and down through generations within shared households.<sup>10</sup> It was not so much that these relationships were excluded from definitions of family as that family was extended to encompass them, making the relationships integral, indeed *familiar*, to the reproduction of the social order in the Spanish Atlantic.

In this respect, Spanish Atlantic *familiaridad* should be distinguished from the concept of “familiarity” in the British Atlantic world. As Sarah M. S. Pearsall shows, British Atlantic familiarity frequently formed between social equals in order to patrol the borders of the elite class and their households.<sup>11</sup> It is true that Spanish Atlantic *familiaridad* looked something like the “household-family” ideal type that Naomi Tadmor discusses in her study of families and friends in England.<sup>12</sup> As an ideal type in Britain, the household-family was to be distinguished from family as lineage, kinship, and friendship. But when these family types are viewed on the ground and up close in the Iberian world, the distinctions can blur and turn back on themselves. For example, the language of lineage expressed itself within the household as well as in the family, such as when slaves assumed their masters’ last names.<sup>13</sup> Or bodies could be linked through more than repro-

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technology of the colonial state . . . sets a research agenda [that allows us to] appreciate] how much politics of compassion was not an oppositional assault on empire but a fundamental element of it.” Stoler, “Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies,” *Journal of American History* 88, no. 3 (December 2001): 829–65; Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002), 19 (“sentimental”). However, her focus is on state-led programs of fostering proper sentiment between servants and the children of colonizers. I propose here that colonialism, at least in the context of the Spanish colonies, also relied on the creation of multiple cross-caste, circum-Atlantic, intergenerational alliances that predated a strict divide between the public and the private and operated *sui generis*, outside the coordinated state programs that intensified in the late eighteenth century.

<sup>9</sup> Milanich, *Children of Fate*, 23, 27, 74, chap. 5.

<sup>10</sup> *Familiar* had an additional, perhaps tangentially related, meaning in the Spanish Atlantic, referring to informants of the Inquisition who were required to prove purity of blood. See Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 64.

<sup>11</sup> Sarah M. S. Pearsall, *Atlantic Families: Lives and Letters in the Later Eighteenth Century* (New York, 2008).

<sup>12</sup> Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge, 2001), 21–24.

<sup>13</sup> As an example of the overlap between concepts of family and household, Sandra Lauderdale Graham has observed the interchangeability of the terms *family*, *dwelling*,

duction and the labor of childbirth, such as when a wet nurse who tended the healing umbilical cord of a newborn later recalled the act as a uniquely intimate progenitor of affection between adult and child. These circuits of experiential lineage, based on both labor and affect, did not, it must be emphasized, ameliorate the inequalities of social class, caste, and colonialism in the Spanish Atlantic. In a sense, they fostered them.

When encountering references to relationships between patrons and clients or masters and slaves in historical documents, it is tempting to focus on their exploitative aspect and to dismiss their accompanying language of affection or affinity as bureaucratically ritualized formulas. Yet to separate proclamations of emotion from their material reality is a problematic exercise. Here, it might be profitable to consider what William M. Reddy has called “emotives,” or the statements or cultural practices concerned with emotion.<sup>14</sup> He argues that emotives possess a reciprocal relationship with the actual experience of feelings.<sup>15</sup> In other words, in a given historical setting, the experience of emotion is related to (if not reducible to) the language one employs about it. Though it might be difficult to believe a master loved a slave simply because he used such a phrase in his will, the fact that the emotive formula existed in the first place is nonetheless meaningful.<sup>16</sup>

Analyzing the language and practices of *familiaridad* cannot tell the whole story of how families, castes, and communities were made in the Spanish Atlantic, but it does permit us to connect relationships among diverse sectors of society in a more dynamic way. It captures something of the horizontal cultural ties forged among nonelite actors who were not

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and *hearth* in nineteenth-century Brazil. See Graham, *House and Street: The Domestic World of Servants and Masters in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro* (1988; repr., Austin, Tex., 2002), 11. Adopting a last name was not a requirement for slaves and servants in the Spanish Atlantic since there were other means of identification, such as regional origin, ethnicity, color, or occupation. Research on Lima suggests that when slaves did adopt, or were prescribed, a last name in ecclesiastical and legal documents, that last name was most frequently their owner's. See María del Carmen Cuba Manrique, “Antroponimia e identidad de los negros esclavos en el Perú,” *Escritura y Pensamiento* 5, no. 10 (2002): 123–34, esp. 134. R. Douglas Cope finds that around 6 percent of all slaves in seventeenth-century Mexico City used a master's last name. See Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660–1720* (Madison, Wis., 1994), 61. On Indians and Spanish patrons' last names, see Karen B. Graubart, *With Our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Colonial Society in Peru, 1550–1700* (Stanford, Calif., 2007), 108.

<sup>14</sup> William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (New York, 2001), 104–7.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

<sup>16</sup> Many scholars have begun to profitably work around the formulaic language of wills. See Kris Lane, “Captivity and Redemption: Aspects of Slave Life in Early Colonial Quito and Popayán,” *Americas* 57, no. 2 (October 2000): 225–46; Michelle A. McKinley, “Till Death Do Us Part: Testamentary Manumission in Seventeenth-Century Lima, Peru,” *Slavery and Abolition* 33, no. 3 (September 2012): 381–401.

related by blood. In the New World, these lateral relationships played a part in the formation of ethnicity and *casta*, a term that, as Ruth Hill reminds us, was “not biology” but rather “a cluster of somatic, economic, linguistic, geographical and other circumstances that varied” by region and person.<sup>17</sup> Even more, *familiaridad* forces us to contend with the fact that lateral caste relationships among nonelites, such as indigenous servants and African slaves, were often generated through or reinforced by the establishment of vertical ties of emotion, dependency, and labor that linked them to Spanish elites.

Perhaps nowhere in the Spanish Atlantic did social hierarchies so dynamically cross as in the rearing of children and the training of youths. Interactions involving children in the city of Lima, Peru, provide a focal point for observing how diverse city inhabitants became *familiares* and formed complex, diagonal relations. Counterintuitively, organizing a discussion of *familiaridad* around the three principal “races” of the Spanish Atlantic who gathered in that urban milieu—Indian, black, and white (or *español*)—undoes the easy logic that says families primarily make bloodlines and that bloodlines (eventually) make races. In Lima becoming castes, diasporas, and ethnicities—including those viewed today as integral races or pure categories, such as “Spanish” or “Indian”—could involve literal familiarity and dependencies between people of contrasting groups.

Of course, these dependencies varied by time as well as space, but examples from different periods as well as distinct caste groups reveal the diverse forms that *familiaridad* took in Lima. First, analyzing patterns among early colonial indigenous migrants to the city reveals the complexities of ethnic community creation and the important role that Spanish households could have in the process of making “Indians.” Second, a compelling story about the construction of Atlantic slave kinship at the turn of the eighteenth century anchors a discussion of the multiple, and sometimes competing, loyalties bred by *familiaridad* in bondage. Finally, a brief consideration of the sentimental ties between hired wet nurses and girls from the city’s foundling home who were considered to be of pure Spanish descent raises both methodological and historical points about affective ties in the Spanish Atlantic. Deciphering the language of love in the girls’ eighteenth-century admission records demonstrates that their affective experiences with their caretakers were not uniform. What did bind the girls’ experiences was the ultimate fate of leaving the sides of their often-humble wet nurses to capitalize on their complexions.

Each of these instances makes it clear that even as *familiaridad* traversed ethnic categories and cut through lines of ancestral descent, it also fostered the creation of colonial categories of difference, particularly in

<sup>17</sup> Ruth Hill, *Hierarchy, Commerce and Fraud in Bourbon Spanish America: A Postal Inspector’s Exposé* (Nashville, Tenn., 2005), 200.

Spanish American cities such as Lima, where diverse inhabitants easily mingled. Although it tilted from the Andean foothills into the Pacific Ocean, Lima, the so-called City of Kings, could be described as an Atlantic hub. In 1700 the city was populated by more than thirty-five thousand inhabitants, drawing together Europeans, native Americans, and Africans in a rich tapestry of groups. A census from that year shows that one-third of Lima's population was counted as having some degree of African descent; just over half were considered Spanish. It might be a surprise for those who know Peru to be an Indian country that only 11 percent of the denizens inside the fortress walls of the capital city were registered as "indios."<sup>18</sup> To be sure, this number undercounts native peoples in and around the city, but it nonetheless reflects an important aspect of the city's profile: indigenous peoples were a minority.

What is more, Lima's indigenous peoples actually were not, strictly speaking, "natives." This is in part because, shortly after the city was founded in 1535, the relatively small local population that lived in the area battled disease and relocation and diminished in number. Thus, the capital was a destination for Atlantic migrants of all types, even for so-called Indians. By the early seventeenth century, approximately 95 percent of its native population was comprised of immigrants.<sup>19</sup> To speak of the native population of early colonial Lima obscures the highly diverse—and the highly Atlantic, not just Andean—origins of the indigenous peoples that made up its first colonial generations.

<sup>18</sup> On the failure to segregate city inhabitants by class and a general questioning of race-based hierarchies as the most pervasive parts of colonial subjects' lives, see Karen Vieira Powers, "Conquering Discourses of 'Sexual Conquest': Of Women, Language, and *Mestizaje*," *Colonial Latin American Review* 11, no. 1 (2002): 7–32, esp. 25. On the desegregated living arrangements of the lower classes and prevalence of patron-client relations in the colonial city, see Cope, *Limits of Racial Domination*. This, of course, begs the question of whether *familiaridad* was an exclusively or especially urban phenomenon. Work on rural areas of Latin America, such as Alida C. Metcalf's now-classic study of family in Santana de Parnaíba, Brazil, convincingly show that different groups—in this case, class groups of slaves, peasants, and planters—had "fundamentally different family lives." Metcalf, *Family and Frontier in Colonial Brazil: Santana de Parnaíba, 1580–1822* (1992; repr., Austin, Tex., 2005), 6–7 (quotation, 7). Yet certain kinship ties between rural groups, for example in the form of "vertical" godparentage, did exist. *Ibid.*, 188–90 (quotation, 189), 138. On Lima as a South Seas hub and Baroque border city between the Andes and the East, see Alejandra B. Osorio, *Inventing Lima: Baroque Modernity in Peru's South Sea Metropolis* (New York, 2008). Population numbers derive from my sample of 16.7 percent of the households from a 1700 census, reproduced as Noble David Cook, comp., *Numeración general de todas las personas de ambos sexos, edades, y calidades q[ue] se hà hecho en esta Ciudad de Lima, año de 1700* (Lima, 1985). For sampling methods, see Bianca Premo, *Children of the Father King: Youth, Authority, and Legal Minority in Colonial Lima* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2005), 257.

<sup>19</sup> Paul J. Charney, "El indio urbano: Un análisis económico y social de la población india de Lima en 1613," *Histórica* 12, no. 1 (July 1988): 5–33, esp. 7.

In the early days of the city, in the mid-sixteenth century, the first waves of indigenous migration to Lima were peopled by hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Indian slaves brought in chains to the city from other parts of Spanish America. Writing of the female portion of this population, Nancy E. van Deusen describes how the migration of enslaved natives to Lima spawned a kind of affective creativity: “the urban diasporic site of Lima was a space where abducted, exchanged, and raped women from Nicaragua, the island of Cubagua, and a broad swath of the Andes formed consanguineal and fictive family ties, and intimate sexual and cultural relations; some with their male perpetrators *cum* consorts, and others with indigenous, European, and African peoples whom they encountered in the unfamiliar locale.”<sup>20</sup>

Therefore, the Indian population of this capital city was not simply “there” when the Spanish arrived: it arose through a distinctly (gendered) colonial process of ethnogenesis in which a seeming contradiction—an indigenous diaspora—was created by means of simultaneous deracination and laying down of roots. This was no abstract process of becoming Indian. It was the culmination of a thousand everyday acts that shaped identity, family, and community, ranging from human servitude and forced migration to colonial subjugation. Some of the connections were the predictable ones in a colonial setting where sexual coercion and social advantage came hand in hand, as, for example, when masters freed Central American female servants because of the “good service” of having borne them mestizo children. But some of the connections were also more horizontal or diagonal. Crowded together into the urban “ant hill[s]” of cramped residences or mingling at the market known as the *gato* (cat), Nicaraguan men married coastal Peruvian mestiza women in the Catholic Church, Central Americans served as extra-ecclesiastical godparents to children born of parents from the Andean sierra, and African slaves integrated into Indian pueblos or even patterned their own diasporic communities on Andean concepts of belonging.<sup>21</sup>

More to the point, in the seventeenth century, after Indian slavery had been abolished in all but cases of captives of war, the creation of an ethnically Indian Lima relied to a degree on natives’ ability to forge *familiaridad* with Spaniards by sharing households through service, apprenticeship, and

<sup>20</sup> Nancy E. van Deusen, “Diasporas, Bondage, and Intimacy in Lima, 1535 to 1555,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 19, no. 2 (August 2010): 247–77 (quotation, 249).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 255 (“good service”), 258 (“ant hill[s]”). The adoption of the Spanish-Andean concept of *originario*, a local native as opposed to an indigenous migrant, by peoples of African descent in the seventeenth-century coastal city of Trujillo is described in Rachel Sarah O’Toole, *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians, and the Making of Race in Colonial Peru* (Pittsburgh, 2012), and the Indian adoption of the concept of American-born slaves encapsulated in the term *creole* is discussed in Karen B. Graubart, “The Creolization of the New World: Local Forms of Identification in Urban Colonial Peru, 1560–1640,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 89, no. 3 (August 2009): 471–99.

educational tutelage during youth. Much of the early literature on the massive waves of Andean migration that took place in the wake of contact and conquest has emphasized the dislocation and deculturation among Indians who moved to the city during the Spanish colonial period. In this formulation, hispanicization entailed the loss of native identity. But more recent research has demonstrated that the processes of indigenous migration were far more complex than can be conveyed in such cultural victimologies.<sup>22</sup>

It is certainly true that, as some indigenous immigrants to Lima were exposed to colonial norms and developed familiaridad with the Spanish inhabitants of the city, their memories of native communities faded and their bonds with families of origin strained or snapped. Using a 1613 census of the city's indigenous population, Lyn Brandon Lowry shows that the vast majority of Indian migrants who arrived in the city in the early 1600s were teenagers or younger—in fact, around 30 percent arrived before their fifteenth birthday. The experiences of two youths—Tomás Aquino from Cajamarca, who contracted himself as a buttoner's apprentice for two years in 1699, and Juan Bautista from the highland town of Huamanga, who arranged a three-year apprenticeship to a haberdasher in 1722—may be considered emblematic of the family situation of many of the young newcomers to the city.<sup>23</sup> These adolescents from the Andean interior seem to have had no relatives in Lima and did not recount details about their parents or communities when they entered the workshops of Spanish patrons to learn their trades.

Yet, unlike Tomás and Juan, about a quarter of the apprentices who signed contracts in Lima from 1640 to 1800 did so under the watchful eye of parents or other guardians. Even when Indian youths such as Tomás and Juan migrated to the city alone, the move did not necessarily signal the death of community relations. Some Indian youths, such as those counted in the 1613 census and others captured in a sample of the city's apprenticeship contracts, remembered vivid details about parents and native leaders; some were signed into apprenticeships by members of their community;

<sup>22</sup> See Paul Charney, "Negotiating Roots: Indian Migrants in the Lima Valley during the Colonial Period," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 5, no. 1 (Winter 1996): 1–20. For this view in the case of Indian women who migrated to cities, see Elinor C. Burkett, "Indian Women and White Society: The Case of Sixteenth-Century Peru," in *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives*, ed. Asunción Lavrin (Westport, Conn., 1978), 101–28.

<sup>23</sup> Lyn Brandon Lowry, "Forging an Indian Nation: Urban Indians under Spanish Colonial Control (Lima, Peru, 1535–1765)" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1991), 207. The census, a 1613 count undertaken by Miguel Contreras, has been published as Contreras, *Padrón de los Indios que se hallaron en la ciuda[d] de los Reyes [del] Pirú hecho e virtud de Comisió del Ex.mo s.RMR Qs de Montes claros Virei DL Piru*, transcr. Mauro Escobar Gamboa (Lima, 1968). These *asientos de aprendiz* (apprentice contracts) are found in Protocolos Notariales, Notary Juan de Beltrán, 1699, Protocolos 215, fol. 93, Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Lima, Peru; Protocolos Notariales, Notary F. C. Arrendando, 1722, Protocolos 59, fols. 789–90, *ibid.*

and a few indigenous male youths sent tribute payments back to their pueblos after migrating to the city. Many went on to marry native women from their communities of origin, who had likewise migrated to Lima.<sup>24</sup>

Thus, the experience of migrating to the city and forming ties with colonial patrons could just as easily entail multiplying familial connections as losing them. Establishing ties with Spaniards or other patrons in the households of the city often involved a layering of families as multiple generations entered into the service of Lima's elite. Just less than half of the indigenous children counted in the 1613 census lived in the city with their parents (235 of 520), frequently in a Spanish home. When natives performed work or service for elite patrons as part of family units, this was no less a process of cultural transformation than was the integration of a single apprentice or servant into a Spanish household. However, rather than producing a deracinated, hispanicized individual, family servitude produced a colonial "Indian" family. Even when familiarization in an elite colonial household exposed Indians to the language, dress, and practices of Spanish society, it could simultaneously preserve an Indian biological family unit or cement an ethnic identity. In fact, family servitude could intensify ties of obligation on the part of Spanish masters to provide for their indigenous servants in ways that facilitated the very creation of caste-based communities.<sup>25</sup>

Noble Indian boys entered the homes, the offices, and sometimes the institutions of elite Spaniards—such as the Jesuit-run Colegio del Príncipe, which had been established to educate the native elite—precisely so they would return to their pueblos of origin as leaders who could serve as interlocutors and advocates for their communities. Telling in this regard is the story historian Teresa C. Vergara recounts of don Martín Talpachin, cacique (lord) of the Andean town of Huamantanga, who brought two of his

<sup>24</sup> For an analysis of adult representation at apprenticeship signing, see Premo, *Children of the Father King*, 57. Also see Teresa C. Vergara, "Growing Up Indian: Migration, Labor, and Life in Lima (1570–1640)," in González and Premo, *Raising an Empire*, 75–106, esp. 80–81; Charney, *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 5: 11–12. Some Andeans moved into urban areas only temporarily, later resettling and creating new rural communities of *forastero* (foreign) Indians in the countryside or integrating through marriage into *originario* (native, original) communities depopulated by migration, death, and coerced labor. See Ann M. Wightman, *Indigenous Migration and Social Change: The Forasteros of Cuzco, 1570–1720* (Durham, N.C., 1990), esp. 85. On indigenous marriage patterns, see Jesús A. Cosamalón Aguilar, *Indios detrás de la muralla: Matrimonios indígenas y convivencia inter-racial en Santa Ana (Lima, 1795–1820)* (Lima, 1999), 138–49.

<sup>25</sup> Traditional visions of apprenticeships as workshops of hispanicization cannot account for the fact that at least 10 percent of the young native boys who arrived in Lima worked for non-Spanish masters according to Teresa C. Vergara's analysis of the 1610 census: Vergara, "Growing Up Indian," 103 n. 45. Vergara's figure seems consonant with my review of the apprenticeship contracts themselves, though those I examined, which were recorded by dozens of artisans during a 160-year period, do not consistently record the caste of the master artisan.

sons to the city to learn Spanish legislation from a local notary.<sup>26</sup> In this way Spanish education reproduced a colonial indigenous nobility prepared to defend their communities from encroachment by other communities or abuses by Spaniards and to serve in spiritual and political occupations that regulated the functioning of pueblo life.

Outside the circle of noble males, the overwhelming number of Indian youths worked instead of being educated. Native girls and commoner boys became servants, known as *criados*, in Spanish homes. Yet the ties of obligation between at least a few Indian girl servants and Spanish overseers transcended the service that the girls provided their masters. Spanish adults occasionally left legacies to them in wills or even provided them dowries to marry Indian men deemed appropriate matches for them.<sup>27</sup>

Thus family, kinship, and community among Lima's indigenous inhabitants were nurtured not only by sharing an ascribed identity or presumed interest based on biological affinity or ethnic kinship with others but also by living, day in and day out, in the same household or same neighborhood as those who were different from them. The social reproductive processes of *familiaridad* were not exclusive to Lima's indigenous population. They were well recognized in the everyday practice and parlance of African slavery in Lima. Indeed, it was among slaves of African descent and their masters that the term *familiar* gained the most emotional, economic, and legal currency.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>27</sup> In the first generation after conquest, noble indigenous girls were enrolled in convents, where their families, like those of Spanish nuns, could enjoy a financial relationship with the institution that Kathryn Burns has dubbed a "spiritual economy." Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, N.C., 1999), 3–6. For the complexity of family metaphors inside Lima's convents, see Luis Martín, *Daughters of the Conquistadors: Women of the Viceroyalty of Peru* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1983), 192–200; Premo, *Children of the Father King*, 83. On commoner indigenous girls, see Vergara, "Growing Up Indian," 95. For similar ties of reciprocity in late colonial northern Mexico, see Laura Shelton, "Like a Servant or Like a Son? Circulating Children in Northwestern Mexico (1790–1850)," in González and Premo, *Raising an Empire*, 219–37, esp. 230–32. Patronage extended well into adulthood. Domestic service could also be a stopover for single adult Indian women on a larger trajectory of entrepreneurship. See Graubart, *With Our Labor*, 65–67. In addition, a significant number of elites carrying the honorific title "don," a large percentage of whom can be presumed to have been Spanish patrons, served as witnesses for indigenous marriages in Lima. See Cosamalón, *Indios detrás*, 139.

<sup>28</sup> The prevalence of the term *familiar* among servants and slaves might be due to the etymological relationship between the words *family* and *slave*. Note David Herlihy's observation that the Latin root of *familia* derived from *famulus*, or "slave." Herlihy, "Family," *American Historical Review* 96, no. 1 (February 1991): 1–16, esp. 2. For a legal delineation of what it meant for a slave minor to be a *familiar*, defined in terms of the limits on the state's power to punish a slave, see "Autos criminales que se sigue por don Antonio Lopes," 1789, Cabildo, Criminal, *legajo* (leg.) 9, *causa* (c.) 2, fol. 106, AGN.

Familiaridad and *crianza* (rearing) had a particularly close relationship to the condition of slavery. Better said, they were directly related to manumission. Long ago, scholars noted that the majority of slave manumissions in Latin America occurred before slaves reached the age of fifteen. That a child was born and reared in a master's house was of special significance to both parties, as was the work that female domestic slaves did in rearing a master's children. Frequently, Lima's slaveholders granted freedom based on such familiaridad.<sup>29</sup> For example, doña Magdalena de Llanos left a will stating that an eighteen-year-old slave named Matías should be freed at the age of thirty "because he was born in my power and I raised him."<sup>30</sup> It was not unusual in testaments and court cases for owners to speak formulaically of their "love" and "favor" (*amor* and *voluntad*) for their slaves, sometimes even stating they loved them like their own children.<sup>31</sup>

Of course, promises of freedom based on rearing, or *crianza*—especially contractual conditional liberty achieved on arrival at a certain age, the death of an owner, or the completion of service—worked to the master's advantage. It bound slaves to faithful service until the promise was fulfilled. And *crianza* could have another economic benefit. Owners could raise the price of slaves by claiming they had invested in their rearing, making it impossible for slaves or their relatives to save enough to purchase freedom.

Slaves, however, also used those promises to their advantage. In the hundreds of slave lawsuits against masters for freedom aired in colonial

<sup>29</sup> *Criado*, an alternate term for *servant* or *slave*, derived from the Spanish verb *criar* (to raise). See Milanich, *Children of Fate*, 190. On gendered and generational patterns of slave manumission, see Stuart B. Schwartz, "The Manumission of Slaves in Colonial Brazil: Bahia, 1684–1745," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 54, no. 4 (November 1974): 603–35; Frederick P. Bowser, "The Free Person of Color in Mexico City and Lima: Manumission and Opportunity, 1580–1650," in *Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies*, ed. Stanley L. Engerman and Eugene D. Genovese (Princeton, N.J., 1975), 331–63. Historians logically have wondered whether the freed slave children were male masters' illegitimate offspring, and in Lima slave mothers certainly regarded bearing their masters' children to be grounds for the manumission of either themselves or their children. See for example the case a slave woman named Rosa leveled against her priest-master in 1791: "Autos seguidos por Rosa Montenegro contra Manuel Baeza, presbítero, sobre que quell e otrorgue escritura de venta," 1791, Causas de Negros, leg. 32, no. 29, Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, Peru. But Frank "Trey" Proctor III challenges the assumption that most manumitted children were the offspring of male masters, finding instead that in colonial Mexico, female owners frequently manumitted children who had been born into their households. See Proctor, "Gender and the Manumission of Slaves in New Spain," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 86, no. 2 (May 2006): 309–36.

<sup>30</sup> "Por haver nasido en mi Poder, y haverle criado," from "Autos seguidos por Francisco Pimentel, padre de Matías Pimentel, contra Juana Zagal, sobre la libertad de su hijo," 1786, Cabillo, Civiles, leg. 57, c. 1127, fol. 1, AGN.

<sup>31</sup> Note the master who says she favored a slave "more than if she were my daughter" (más que si fuera mi hija). "Autos seguidos por Juan Manuel Belsunce contra doña Petrnilla Vásquez, sobre que venda su sobrina," 1794, Real Audiencia, Causas Civiles, leg. 323, c. 2938, fol. 24r–v, AGN.

Lima, testamentary liberty and the promise of future freedom, especially based on having been raised in an owner's house, figure centrally as legal arguments. Slaves also invoked familiaridad in cases over a fair price when attempting to force an owner to permit self-purchase. By the end of the eighteenth century, slaves in Lima successfully challenged many masters who elevated their price based on having reared them in their home. The market, not the master, these slaves argued, should determine their worth.<sup>32</sup>

For slave women, familiaridad with male masters could carry connotations of sexual impropriety. Some indicated that owners had seduced them with "familiar" treatment and promises of freedom. In 1797 Antonina Guillén accused her master of precisely this behavior and testified to the "treatment and familiaridad that follows from having seduced her."<sup>33</sup> But familiaridad was not always sexualized in slavery.

For slaves such as Lorenzo de Aguilar, the familiaridad derived from chaste intimacy with owners of both sexes could be interpreted as an implicit promise of liberty. In 1755 he brought a suit for his freedom, claiming that he had been lovingly reared "from his earliest years" by his master. "Such was the love and the relaxed atmosphere (*distensión*) that I earned from him (although I am of this sphere)," Lorenzo explained, that it was clear his owner intended to free him. The familiaridad that Lorenzo believed he had earned implied a promise of freedom, and it was something, he said, that was well known among their shared network of familiars, which extended to his master's "sisters, relatives, the other domestics and Friends." Lorenzo's master, for his part, admitted a deep "love" for the slave and having reared him with special care. But he denied ever signing papers to free Lorenzo and repeatedly expressed his disappointment at his slave's "ingratitude" in suing for freedom.<sup>34</sup>

Even if slave familiaridad and crianza were especially charged because of their tense relationship to freedom, and even if slaves believed the "love" their masters felt for them was "earned," this did not mean that slaves regarded as fiction the significance of being born and raised among their masters and their families or living in their masters' households. We still

<sup>32</sup> On conflicts surrounding *crianza* and price, see Premo, *Children of the Father King*, 238. Also see Christine Hünefeldt, *Paying the Price of Freedom: Family and Labor among Lima's Slaves, 1800–1854* (Los Angeles, 1994).

<sup>33</sup> "El trato y familiaridad que esta siguiente de haverla seducido," from "Autos seguidos por Antonia [*sic*] Guillén contra D. Joaquín Barandiarán, su amo, sobre su libertad," 1797, Cabildo, Causas Civiles, leg. 83, c. 1566, fol. 12, AGN. For more on these kinds of cases, and how they created tensions with owners' wives, see Hünefeldt, *Paying the Price of Freedom*.

<sup>34</sup> "De mis primeros años," "siendo tal el Amor y distensión (que aun siendo desta esfera) que le merecí," "sus hermanas, parientes, demas domésticos y Amigos," from "Autos seguidos por Lorenzo de Aguilar contra Don Manuel de Orejuela sobre su libertad," 1755, Cabildo, Causas Civiles, leg. 37, c. 663, fol. 1, AGN.

need more research on what influenced slave decisions to continue working and living among masters after they had been manumitted, but in 1738 slave María Josefa Balcazar's boyfriend provided a reason he believed would be plausible in court. He indicated that María Josefa stayed on with her mistress, doña Juana Balcazar, for years after she achieved freedom because of "much love and favor [presumably that the owner held for the slave] and for having raised her."<sup>35</sup> Slaves referred to *familiaridad* not only with masters but also with other slaves when testifying in court cases of all types, which they were frequently called to do as purveyors of especially intimate household knowledge. What is more, as Herman L. Bennett has found for colonial Mexico, when slaves decided who would serve as *compadres*, or witnesses, in their marriages, they factored into their choice African ethnicity and color. But they also selected based on *familiaridad*, choosing other slaves or servants who were their neighbors or who served in the same house.<sup>36</sup>

That household origin mattered both among Lima's slaves and between slaves and masters perhaps made clashes of loyalties unavoidable. A story about the surreptitious circulation of the baby of a slave named Juana Teresa demonstrates the powerful, and at times countervailing, pull of African origins, Atlantic experience, and the condition of slavery within the practices of *familiaridad*.

Juana Teresa and her sister, María Josefa, women in their late twenties, had been in the capital city for fewer than three years. María Josefa, to be sure, was not technically Juana Teresa's sister. But they were both from the region of Africa called Guinea, and, more specifically, they were both of the Chala ethnic group (located in today's Nigeria). Their sisterhood was engendered on the sea, during their Atlantic beginnings as slaves. Juana Teresa recounted that they "had come from Guinea on the same vessel," and María Josefa concurred that they "contracted their friendship on the ship" (*trataron su Amistad en el barco*). From that point on, Juana Teresa reported, they "treated each other as siblings although they were not daughters of one mother, and since arriving two years and eight months ago, [she] has not had a friendship with any other black woman from her same caste." Although Juana Teresa reported that they had "been raised together"

<sup>35</sup> "Por el mucho amor y voluntad, y por haverla criado," from "Autos seguidos por doña [*sic*] María Josefa Balcazar contra doña Juana de Balcazar sobre su libertad," 1738, Real Audiencia, Causas Civiles, leg. 70, c. 549, fol. 1, AGN.

<sup>36</sup> Slaves also privileged information gleaned from nonslave individuals whom they deemed to be *familiares* in master households. See the dubbing of a mestizo *tundidor* (fabric cutter) as a "familiar" and confidante of slave residents in the household of the Provisor General of Ica in "Autos seguidos por Antonio Ansieta," 1785, Real Audiencia, Causas Civiles, leg. 256, c. 2252, n.p., AGN. On marriage, godparentage, and *familiaridad* among slaves and free blacks in Mexico, see Herman L. Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570–1640* (Bloomington, Ind., 2003), 88–91.

(*se [h]an criados juntas*), this was a reference to their shared time on the Middle Passage and possibly their adjustment in Lima; they did not, María Josefa later stated, know one another in Guinea, and in fact only reunited after having been in Lima for some time.<sup>37</sup>

The two women's remarkable sisterhood was preserved in the historical record because in 1713 they ended up before the criminal judge of first instance in Lima. At some point, they had plotted to hide Juana Teresa's newborn from her mistress—a plot that went terribly awry for the baby's mother. María Josefa had boasted of her own birthing experience in Africa and of having served as a midwife in Lima, so Juana Teresa decided that when the time came she would give birth in María Josefa's home. It is unclear whether the plan had always been to hide the birth. Both women connected the pregnant slave's reluctance to tell her owner that she had given birth with the newborn's mixed race—the little girl was described as a “mulatilla” (little mulatta)—and reported that the slave was “ashamed” to return to her mistress. (Perhaps the baby's appearance would have given away the father's identity.) They agreed that María Josefa would quietly raise the baby in her home, and Juana Teresa reported that, after she gave birth, María Josefa tucked rags under her dress, telling the new mother to feign illness so she could later report that she had miscarried. And so Juana Teresa returned to her mistress's house, as she said, “without a belly and without a baby” (*sin barriga ni hija*).<sup>38</sup>

After two or three months (“*dos o tres lunas*”) had passed, Juana Teresa's mistress finally became suspicious.<sup>39</sup> Questioning her slave and peeking under her dress to find her belly flat, doña Lorenza promised not to punish her, saying she only wanted to know where the baby had gone. And so Juana Teresa easily confessed.<sup>40</sup> But when the midwife, María Josefa,

<sup>37</sup> “Doña Lorenza de Salazar y Rojas contra Maria Josefa de casta Carabalí, esclava, por ocultarle a una esclavita suya recién nacida de su hermana Juana Teresa, negra de casta chala,” 1714, *Causas de Negros*, leg. 26, no. 68, fols. 1–7 (fol. 2r, “had come,” “treated each other,” fol. 4v, “contracted”), Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, Peru. “María Josefa así mismo de casta chala . . . con la qual se [h]an criados juntas y benido de Guinea en una embarcación y se trataron siempre de hermanos [*sic*] aunque no son hijas de una madre en más de dos años y ocho meses que a que llegó a esa ciudad no a tenido amistad con otra negra de su casta,” *ibid.*, fol. 2r; “trataron su Amistad en el barco,” *ibid.*, fol. 4v; “Theresa y esta confesante heran de un pueblo pero no se comunicaron allá,” *ibid.*, fol. 3r.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 4v (“mulatilla”), 2v (“ashamed”), 1r (“without a belly”). It is unclear how this case ended up in the ecclesiastical archive; perhaps the first petition in the case, from Juana Teresa's owner, doña Lorenza, was to a church official who remitted it to secular authority, or perhaps during a later development the parties took the *autos* (case record) from the criminal case to church officials. It appears that María Josefa induced labor at the pregnant Juana Teresa's request: “dijo que quería parir y que ella le enseñaría la que en guinea la abia parido un a bes y aquí en esta ciudad tenido otro parto.” *Ibid.*, fol. 2r.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 1r.

<sup>40</sup> “Le confessó s[ic]n que le hubiese hecho ningun castigo.” *Ibid.*, fol. 4v.

was confronted, she protested that she had no idea of the whereabouts of her friend's child. She speculated that the baby must have died, saying that Juana Teresa had bled profusely in labor and that they should be looking for the baby's bones rather than her living body. More critically, although she admitted friendship with Juana Teresa, she denied the kind of closeness and familiarity with her African counterpart that had been the cornerstone of Juana Teresa's testimony.

Although they were from the same African ethnic group, came to America on the same ship, and arrived in the same city, the women's ideas of sisterhood were not the same. This perhaps was because their adjustments to life as slaves in Lima were not identical, notwithstanding Juana Teresa's claim that they had been raised together. Juana Teresa had been purchased for domestic service by an elite *española* and learned Spanish at least proficiently enough to give unaided testimony to officials investigating the whereabouts of her missing baby. María Josefa testified that she was a baptized Christian, but she was the slave of a man whose name was never given in the court record and who was described only vaguely as "un hombre congolillo/a"—perhaps "a man with a fancy collar" (*con golilla*) of the type worn by bureaucrats in the Spanish colonial government.<sup>41</sup> This man never showed up to bail his slave out of prison, where she was held for questioning.<sup>42</sup> It was relatively common that male owners of slaves were frequently away from the city on business, leaving slaves to their own devices during their absences. (In fact, some slave parents began to complain later in the century that it was inappropriate for men to own female slave children, since the girls would be unsupervised.)<sup>43</sup> Thus it is highly likely that María Josefa was not as well integrated into a Spanish household as Juana Teresa and for this reason did not master the Spanish language; she gave testimony in a language called "Guinea" through a Mina language interpreter. What is more, whereas Juana Teresa made a point of saying that María Josefa was the only Chala woman in the city with whom she had a friendship, her African "sister" made no such claim.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup> "Esclava de un hombre congolilla que bibe una quadra mas allá de la plasuela de Ynquisición." *Ibid.*, fol. 2r.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> See for example "Rafaela Araujo, esclava de Florentina López, contra don Juan José Castro, amo de su hija menor, sobre se le extiende boleta de venta teniendo en quanta que por la falta de atención pudiera prostituirla," 1812, Real Audiencia, Civiles, leg. 107, c. 1139, AGN.

<sup>44</sup> It is also worth noting that even Juana Teresa's narrative did not imply that her trust in her Chala sister was absolute: she was careful to state that María Josefa had convinced her that she possessed expertise in birthing in Africa (expertise garnered, it was later revealed, during times of warfare) as well as in Lima, and it was this experience—not any feature of their shared background—that she claimed led her to deliver the baby in María Josefa's home.

Clearly, although ties of *familiaridad* forged inside a Spanish master's home were, broadly speaking, coerced, those forged outside of the master's house were no less fraught with conflict and divided loyalties. The point here is not to emphasize ethnic fault lines and divisiveness over solidarities among peoples of African descent in the Spanish Atlantic. Until the final conflict, this story offers a uniquely intimate glimpse of the intersection between Atlantic discourses of African kinship and diaspora formation in the Americas.<sup>45</sup> The point is that no single familiar relationship defined any one of the historical actors. Juana Teresa had several strained familiar connections that bound as much as they cut across caste categories: she displayed some degree of adherence to imposed notions of sexual propriety (and perhaps special shame at sexual relations with a man of European ancestry), expressed in her fear of returning to her owner's household and her eventual confession to having concealed the birth; she fostered a kinship to the African woman she met on board a slave ship; and she had a tense connection to her mixed-race infant daughter, whose fate is left a mystery in the archival record.

Pondering a *familiaridad* forged through mastery and slavery might make us uncomfortable. To view affection as part and parcel with domination subverts modern notions of the disinterested nature of love or sentiment.<sup>46</sup> What is more, it raises questions about whether the feelings of loyalty and affinity spawned by hierarchical relationships are more coercive than others, especially when based on labor. But just as historians should interrogate the presumption that some families in the past were more real than others, they should be wary of labeling any emotion or statement of emotion false simply because the affiliation on which the emotion was based had a material or labor component (Figure I).

The economic functioned as the cradle for the emotional in at least one other phenomenon beyond servitude and slavery: foundlings presumed to be

<sup>45</sup> For similar processes of slave-route kin making in Brazil, see James H. Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441–1770* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003), esp. 32–33. For Mexico, see Bennett, *Africans*, 112, 117–20.

<sup>46</sup> Of course, affection itself was a changing concept during the colonial period in Spanish America. Scholars have various opinions on precisely how romantic and paternal love evolved, with some claiming that traditional early modern Spanish notions of love were subordinated in the late eighteenth century to the passion of interest and others pointing out that expressions of romantic love and paternal sentiment grew in the late colonial and republican periods. For the first view, see Patricia Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574–1821* (Stanford, Calif., 1988), 23, 48–56. On the greater expression of romantic love, see Rebecca Earle, "Letters and Love in Colonial Spanish America," *Americas* 62, no. 1 (July 2005): 17–46. On parental love, see Premo, *Children of the Father King*; Jeffrey M. Shumway, *The Case of the Ugly Suitor and Other Histories of Love, Gender, and Nation in Buenos Aires, 1776–1870* (Lincoln, Neb., 2005).



FIGURE I

Artist Pancho Fierro captured how physical intimacy and labor entwined in *familiaridad* in his early nineteenth-century watercolor titled *Servant delousing her mistress*. Francisco Fierro, *Sirvienta espulga a su ama*, from the album *Costumes de Lima*, ca. 1840. Watercolor on paper, 25.6 x 19.3 cm. Colección Museo de Arte de Lima. Grupo de donantes. A color version is available: <http://jstor.org/stable/10.5309/willmaryquar.70.2.0295/>.

of Spanish descent reared by diverse city inhabitants in Lima. In particular, the familiaridad that developed between baby girls from the city's foundling home and their caregivers, many of whom were wet nurses who breast-fed the infants for a wage, allows for the analysis of the range of statements of emotion that can be embedded even in a relatively standardized form of historical document: short biographies written as a part of applications to attend an exclusive school for female orphans called Santa Cruz de Atocha.<sup>47</sup> To enroll in Santa Cruz, the girls were required, by all appearances, to be white and to have no knowledge of living parents; these qualifications would permit them entrance not only to the school but also, eventually, into the elite of Spanish colonial society. As a result, these entrance records only reveal the relational experiences of a small subset of abandoned children in the city whose caregivers gave them back to institutional care. Many other children withdrawn from the city's foundling home, the Casa de Niños Expósitos, continued to live with wet nurses into adolescence or adulthood, presumably deepening their ties of familiaridad with the adults who raised them but to whom they had no blood relationship.

Not that caregivers always surrendered the care of the applicants to Santa Cruz cheerfully. Consider the sadness expressed by the slave María Andrea, who petitioned the school to offer early acceptance to a little girl by the name of María Pasquala, whom she had raised for three years. In a special twist that extended ties of familiaridad into institutions as well as homes, María Andrea considered herself related not only to María Pasquala but also, in a sense, to the foundling home. Her owner, she pointed out, was the brother of don Gaspar Orué, the institution's director. When she removed the girl from the Casa, she made no money since the baby had already been weaned. Like the caretakers of other applicants, most of whom kept the children years after the Casa stopped paying stipends for breast-feeding infants, María Andrea said she worked out of charity and emotion. She was heartbroken to have to return little María Pasquala to institutional care at the young age of four. But she said she was unable to stretch the daily ration (*real de pan*) that she was given by her owners far enough to "take care of her as is necessary" or "dress her or teach her to read or other civil instructions."<sup>48</sup>

Women (and occasionally men) who took in foundling girls often claimed that they saw themselves as "mothers" and "fathers" and expressed deep emotion for their charges.<sup>49</sup> It is important to note that in their petitions for the

<sup>47</sup> Santa Cruz de Atocha and its students' applications have been previously explored by Martín, *Daughters of the Conquistadores*, 99–100; Mannarelli, *Pecados públicos*, 282–305; Premo, *Children of the Father King*, 103–7.

<sup>48</sup> Inquisición, Colegios, Fundaciones, Santa Cruz de Atocha, 1758, leg. 2, entry 29, AGN.

<sup>49</sup> Examples of caretakers claiming that they acted as "mothers" and "fathers" or that they raised children as "their own" can be found in Inquisición, Colegios, Fundaciones,

girls to enter the school, these adults' narrations of their young charges' early lives rested on formulaic language to express affection: frequently they were recorded as saying that "it was not worth it" (no tuvo valor) to return the child to institutional care after they stopped receiving stipends "because of the love and tenderness that the child collected from me" (por el mucho amor y cariño que me cobró).<sup>50</sup> Significantly, both formulaic statements utilized a language of economy—*valor* means "value" and *cobrar* means "to collect," usually payment. But they did so in unexpected ways. These words referred not to the labor exchange the wet nurses had established with the Casa but to the emotional exchange they had fostered with the girls.

Even though some of the affective expressions that were recorded on the application petitions were formulaic, it should be emphasized that not every adult used the same kind of emotive language and not every adult detailed the same relationship or attachment to a child. Some were especially effusive, such as the *mulata* Casimira Cabeza, who said even though she originally wanted a boy from the foundling home, she pitied a sick five-month-old girl named Paula and took her home, where Casimira grew to love her so much that "she never wanted to return her."<sup>51</sup> Some departed from the script in other ways. Unlike many petitioners, the *parda* (mixed-race of African descent) María Navidad, who lost her own biological baby and withdrew a girl from the foundling home in 1777 in order to profit from her breast milk, did not refer to herself as "like a mother" to the child, nor did she claim that she treated her "like her own daughter." Rather, the important point for her was that she was the girl's baptismal godmother.<sup>52</sup> Some caregivers eschewed parental or affective language and spoke in symbols. They referred to having been with babies when their umbilical cords healed and fell off, something that seemed to carry special emotional weight. Others made no emotive or familiar claims at all. A girl named Manuela, who petitioned on her own to enter Santa Cruz in 1808 after having been returned to the foundling home as a toddler, not only did not know who her biological mother was but also reported having no idea who the "Mama who raised her" was.<sup>53</sup>

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Santa Cruz de Atocha, 1753, leg. 2, entry 27, *ibid.*; Inquisición, Colegios, Fundaciones, Santa Cruz de Atocha, 1769, leg. 2, entry 68, *ibid.*; Inquisición, Colegios, Fundaciones, Santa Cruz de Atocha, 1774, leg. 2, entry 52, *ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> See for example Inquisición, Colegios, Fundaciones, Santa Cruz de Atocha, 1767, leg. 2, entry 33, *ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> "Que le tomó tal amor y cariño que no quiso volva nunca," from Inquisición, Colegios, Fundaciones, Santa Cruz de Atocha, 1783, leg. 2, entry 38, *ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> Inquisición, Colegios, Fundaciones, Santa Cruz de Atocha, 1785, leg. 2, entry 37, *ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> "No la conose, ni tampoco sabe, ni conose la Mamá que la crió," from Inquisición, Colegios, Fundaciones, Santa Cruz de Atocha, 1808, leg. 1, entry 4, *ibid.*

Often the ties between adults and children pluralized as the girls got older and needed an education in reading, writing, sewing, needlepoint, and occasionally music. It could be that the caregivers of these foundling girls deemed such an education, as an adornment of elite women, necessary for the young women's future prospects, preparing them to enter into Spanish society through enrollment in the school of Santa Cruz, followed by entry into a convent or marriage. Yet the girls' nonwhite caretakers themselves provided this education, or they commissioned other women with whom they shared *familiaridad* to impart to the girls the basic tenets of literacy and Christian doctrine. The *bozal* (African-born) slave María Porras kept three children, whom she described as "sisters," for years past their weaning. She managed to provide one of the girls, María Manuela, an education in "praying, Christian doctrine, and reading and writing," and she bestowed on the girl her last name, appending it to "Atocha," the surname given all foundlings in honor of Our Lady of Atocha, the patroness of orphans.<sup>54</sup>

The story of María Porras and María Manuela Porras de Atocha serves as an apt final example of *familiaridad*. That an African-born slave taught Christian customs and Spanish literacy to a little white girl whom she endowed with her own (adopted Christian, perhaps master's) last name goes far to destabilize any easy correlation between Spanish Atlantic families and bloodlines and challenges the notion that child rearing, or social reproduction overall, was racially hermetic.

Nevertheless, in the end, the endeavor to trace cross-caste and intergenerational *familiaridad* in the Spanish Atlantic provides more than just another view on the creation of colonial intimacies. It also demonstrates that, at times, *familiaridad* could channel individuals into their "appropriate" caste, reproducing those very categories that, to present-day observers, the familiar relationship appears to have transgressed. Spanish patrons arranged the marriages of native migrants who grew up as *criadas* in their households to other indigenous migrants, producing an "Indian" Lima. Slave owners promised freedom based on their "love and favor" for the slaves born in their homes, hoping to create a stable, loyal supply of slave *familiares* who would work for them in the meantime. And wet nurses and caretakers of all castes not only fed white foundlings at their breast but also taught them to play the harp and count so that they could gain access to the special paths carved out for Spanish women—entering a convent or marrying an elite man.

Being legitimately blood related, then, was only one way of being family in the Spanish Atlantic. While historians have rightly pointed to the

<sup>54</sup> Inquisición, Colegios, Fundaciones, Santa Cruz de Atocha, 1771, leg. 2, entry 62, *ibid.*

intense ideological force of genealogy, legitimacy, and religious-racial purity in definitions of family, it is critical to keep in mind that elite inhabitants of the Spanish Atlantic world insisted on the importance of these exclusive concepts because they were continuously defied in the diverse experiences of everyday life. In their insistence, they confronted not only the renegade practices of nonelites but also the ironic fact that their own status and survival—as a social class and a caste—depended on drawing nonelites close, broadening the very definition of family through *familiaridad*. How poignant it would be if extending our own search for the meanings of family in the Atlantic world beyond lineage and across race helped rid us, finally, of the exclusive concepts of bloodlines and biology that they bequeathed us.