

MISSION INDIANS

Colonization took somewhat different forms outside the core areas of Mesoamerica and the Andes. The northern frontier of Mexico, southern South America, and the interior forests of Brazil attracted fewer Spanish and Portuguese settlers. People native to these regions did not escape the negative effects of conquest, however. They too fell victim to imported diseases, and many survivors were rounded up and taken away as slaves to work in distant mines and sugar plantations. Those who remained in their original homelands became the focus of an intense missionary effort. No longer free to roam as they chose, they now derived their subsistence from intensive agriculture rather than hunting and gathering.

Jesuit and Franciscan Missions

The regular clergy spearheaded missionary efforts in Mexico and Peru during the sixteenth century. The presence of orders such as the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits in Indian parishes was supposed to be temporary. Once they had completed the initial conversion of an area, royal policy dictated that secular clerics replace them and that the orders move on to new frontiers awaiting Christianization. In practice, the regular clergy remained in control of many Indian parishes in Mesoamerica and the Andes until well into the eighteenth century. Meanwhile, though, the orders maintained an ac-



Drawings published in 1614 of Tupi Indians before and after conversion at a mission in Brazil.



tive missionary program on the fringes of Spanish and Portuguese settlement. By far the most prominent among these frontier missionaries were the Jesuits and the Franciscans.

Founded in 1534 by the Spaniard Ignatius of Loyola, the Society of Jesus—the Jesuits—attracted highly educated men from throughout Europe. Ignatius and his followers embraced a militant Catholicism and stressed the need to gain new converts for the faith to compensate for souls lost to Protestantism in Europe. The new colonies of Spain and Portugal offered them an ideal field for their missionary enterprise. The first Jesuits in the Americas were the six who accompanied Governor Tomé de Sousa to Brazil in 1549. They quickly set to work gathering Tupi and other native peoples into the mission villages they called *aldeias*. The numbers of Jesuits working in Brazil grew steadily, reaching 110 by 1574 and 165 in 1610.

Although their detractors accused them of exploiting the native peoples of Brazil, Jesuits could also be found among the most outspoken defenders of the Indians. The most famous of these was Antônio Vieira, who had once served as King João IV's personal confessor and diplomatic emissary. In the mid-seventeenth century, Vieira worked deep within the Amazon territory. Echoing the words of Bartolomé de las Casas and other Spanish Dominicans of the previous century, he declared that those who captured or owned native slaves faced eternal damnation unless they mended their ways. Meanwhile he and his fellow Jesuits rounded up 200,000 natives from the Amazon basin and settled them into 54 mission *aldeias* close to the coast.

Jesuits arrived in Peru in 1568 and Mexico in 1572. They became especially active in ministering to Indians in the Andes. They also worked briefly in what is now the southeastern United States, setting up missions from Virginia to Florida, until native hostility forced them to abandon their efforts. Beginning in 1610, the Jesuits established a large mission complex among the Guaraní of Paraguay, who saw the missions as refuges from other hostile tribes and Spanish colonists, as well as a place to acquire useful European goods such as iron tools and livestock. By the early eighteenth century, more than 100,000 Guaraní lived in 30 separate mission units, called *reducciones*. These missions extended well beyond the present-day borders of Paraguay, into Brazil and Argentina.

Northwestern Mexico was another important focus of the Jesuits' program. They moved up the coasts of Sinaloa and Sonora and into Baja California in the seventeenth century. By the 1690s, Jesuits had reached the present-day Sonora-Arizona border, where the Austrian-born Eusebio Francisco Kino founded a number of missions. To the east of the Sierra Madre, Jesuit missions included such native groups as Tarahumaras, Tepehuanes, and Conchos.

Franciscan missionaries were also active in areas that would one day become part of the United States. They arrived in Florida in 1573, and by the mid-seventeenth century, their missions extended along the Atlantic coast from St. Augustine north to just below the present site of Savannah, Georgia, and westward across what is now the Florida panhandle. The growth of British colonies in South Carolina and Georgia forced them to scale back their efforts in the eighteenth century, however.

The Franciscans also began work in New Mexico at the end of the sixteenth century. There the natives already lived in sedentary villages, and Spaniards accordingly called them the Pueblo Indians—the word “pueblo” in Spanish means village or town. Therefore, the people of New Mexico continued to live in the same settlements, even the same clustered apartment-like complexes of their ancestors. Indeed, the people of Acoma, New Mexico, today proudly assert that theirs is the longest continuously occupied community in the United States. Still, the transition to Franciscan tutelage spelled enormous change for the Pueblo peoples. As the only ecclesiastical personnel in New Mexico, the friars wielded substantial power, so much so that some historians have called their regimen a virtual theocracy. The Franciscans quarreled frequently with Spanish authorities in New Mexico, even excommunicating the governor on more than one occasion. In the early eighteenth century, they extended their work to Texas, founding a cluster of missions near present-day San Antonio. After 1769, Franciscans established a chain of missions extending up the California coast from San Diego to San Francisco.

Native Peoples in the Jesuit and Franciscan Missions

Resettlement in a mission exposed native peoples to the ravages of European diseases while often requiring the survivors to make drastic changes in their lifestyles. For many Indians, mission life meant a difficult transition from hunting and gathering or semisedentary, slash-and-burn agriculture to residence in a fixed location where their livelihood came from more intensive agriculture and from craft specialties learned from the missionaries.



Ruins of a mission church established by Franciscans in 1626 at Quarai, southeast of present-day Albuquerque, New Mexico. The Quarai church and two others together comprise the Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument. The church was abandoned in the 1670s and never reoccupied.

This change might in turn alter the natives' customary divisions of labor between males and females. Among the Tarahumara in northern Mexico, men abandoned hunting and warfare and assumed a greater share of agricultural labor under Jesuit tutelage, while women spent more time tending livestock introduced by the Spanish. Resistance was common, and natives were often "reduced" to mission life by force.

Life within the missions was much more structured than what the native peoples had known, even for the Guaraní of Paraguay, who already lived in well-ordered sedentary villages before the coming of the Jesuits. Here as elsewhere, the missionaries set up native governing bodies that at least superficially resembled the *cabildos* of the *república de indios* in Mesoamerica and the Andes. Social distinctions became more marked than they had been in precolonial times, as men appointed to these positions claimed exemption from routine labor and other privileges. Denied formal roles in this new hierarchy, native women found their access to community resources reduced as well.

Mission Indians and Colonial Society

In theory, the missions were cut off from contact with the outside world, but in fact the native peoples congregated within them were hardly isolated from the larger colonial society. The Jesuit *reducciones* of Paraguay offered particularly tempting targets for Brazilian slavers, known as *bandeirantes*, who operated out of São Paulo. To defend against such attacks, the Jesuits organized mission Indians into militia units. Elsewhere,

however, missionaries tolerated or even facilitated the drafting of Indians for various labor obligations and relied on military forces to assist them in rounding up and disciplining their charges.

From Paraguay to Arizona, the missions formed one component of a complex network of Jesuit enterprises. Throughout Latin America, Jesuits accumulated substantial property in the form of haciendas, plantations, and *obrajes*, using the proceeds to support the missions and the *colegios* where young men trained for the priesthood and other professions. In Brazil and elsewhere, Jesuit estates owned numerous African slaves. As landed proprietors, the Jesuits became shrewd businessmen, and they applied their managerial acumen to their missions as well. Crops and craft items produced by mission Indians sold in regional markets from Sonora to southern South America. The Paraguayan missions became famous for the production of *yerba mate*, a native plant used to make tea. Franciscans showed a similar entrepreneurial bent, shipping mission-grown foodstuffs from Florida to Cuba, for example.

The possibility that the French and the English might somehow penetrate their northern frontier and make off with the treasure of Zacatecas was a constant preoccupation of the Spanish. To secure that frontier, the crown made repeated efforts to lure colonists from the mother country and from central Mexico. Few potential settlers responded, for the bustling cities, fertile agricultural fields, and mining centers to the south offered more attractive possibilities. Many undoubtedly agreed with the Franciscan missionary who called Texas "the land so bad that nobody would want it," and it was just as hard to lure settlers to California later on. Spanish officials therefore saw no alternative but to attempt to make loyal Christian "colonists" out of peoples already native to the northern frontier. The missionary enterprise thus served the king's political purposes, and for this reason the crown provided financial support for the Franciscans in New Mexico, Texas, and California. Local officials in these provinces enlisted pacified natives such as Pueblos and Opatas to join them in fighting Apaches and other recalcitrant tribes.

== NATIVE PEOPLES AND THE COLONIAL ORDER

The native peoples of the Americas responded to Spanish and Portuguese colonization in many different ways. Some became so fluent in Spanish that they became known as *ladinos*, a word used in medieval Spain to describe nonnative speakers of Castilian. Quite a few Indians became so thoroughly acculturated that they "passed" as mestizos and no longer functioned as members of the *república de indios*. Others, like the *caciques* and *kurakas* of Mexico and Peru, found powerful incentives to retain their "Indian" identity while collaborating with colonial authorities and wealthy Spaniards. Still others actively participated in the expansion of European hegemony. The Tlaxcalans of central Mexico allied with Cortés to defeat the Aztecs, and their descendants helped colonize the northern frontier of New Spain. At the opposite end of the spectrum were those who remained outside the effective control of the Spanish and Portuguese states.

In the sixteenth century, there were still men and women alive who could remember the days before the coming of the Europeans, and they certainly passed on these recollections to children and grandchildren too young to know anything but the new order of things. Some communities preserved these memories in oral and written traditions that have survived to the present. But in many places, the passing centuries blurred the divide between "pre-Columbian" and "post-conquest" in the historical memory of individuals and communities.

Indians in the República de Españoles

Spanish towns and cities quickly became magnets for Indians. Men wishing to abandon life in their home communities could easily find work in construction, transport, or craft specialties, while native women were in great demand as domestic servants and wet nurses. Native elites sometimes established second residences in Spanish cities and sent their sons to be educated at the Jesuit schools in Mexico City, Cuzco, and Lima.

Mexico City and Cuzco were built on the sites of important pre-Hispanic population centers, and they continued to be home to thousands of natives in the postconquest period, but newly created cities such as Lima in Peru and Puebla in Mexico also had sizable native populations. In its early years, Lima's Indian population included many natives of New Spain and Central America, especially Nicaragua, brought as slaves by the conquistadors, but soon migrants from the Peruvian highlands joined them in the City of the Kings. The population of Bogotá included 10,000 Indians and only 3000 Hispanics at the end of the seventeenth century.

Colonial authorities tried to maintain a separation between the *república de españoles* and the *república de indios* even in the cities. They officially reserved some quarters, most often at the center of town, for Spaniards, and required Indians to live in designated neighborhoods on the outskirts. Separate parish churches were set up to minister to Indians and non-Indians. In Mexico City, the *cabildo* marked off a 13-square-block area at the center of town and declared this the *traza*, the area for españoles. Four native quarters surrounded the *traza* and together comprised the community known as San Juan Tenochtitlan, and to the north lay another Indian settlement, Santiago Tlatelolco. Both of these communities had a native *gobernador* and other officers, just like villages in rural areas. Residents of these urban Indian *barrios* (neighborhoods) were subject to tribute and forced labor obligations.

In practice, segregated living patterns were impossible to enforce. As early as 1555, the Mexico City *cabildo* permitted Spaniards to acquire land within the Indian sector, and Indians had already begun residing in the *traza*. Most were employed as domestic servants and lived in the homes of their employers. By the end of the sixteenth century, Indians and non-Indians often lived side by side, both inside and outside the *traza*, and worshipped together at "Spanish" and "Indian" churches alike. In many other cities, local authorities failed to establish even the fiction of separate quarters for the two groups.

Mining towns also drew thousands of Indians, some as forced workers under the *mita* and *repartimiento* and others who became permanent wage laborers. *Mitayos* often brought their families with them when they went to work at Potosí, and many of them

stayed on after completing their obligatory service. Native settlements known as *rancherías* surrounded the town. Fourteen churches served the native *rancherías* at Potosí in the seventeenth century. Similar clusters of Indian residences could also be found on the outskirts of Zacatecas at the height of its mining boom. In the eighteenth century, residents of the northern Mexican mining town of Chihuahua used the generic term "indios mexicanos" to refer to Indians who had migrated there from central New Spain.

Urban Indians mingled not only with Spaniards but also with mestizos, mulattos, and blacks. Many learned Spanish, not only to speak with non-Indians, but also to converse with Indians who spoke different languages. In the process, ethnic distinctions among various groups dissolved. These *indios ladinos* often found work as court interpreters and town criers. City dwellers adopted many other trappings of a Europeanized lifestyle and became adept at a wide variety of crafts. As early as 1569, one observer noted that the Indians of Mexico City had mastered virtually every trade imaginable. They made swords, saddles, and European-style clothing and hats for the city's growing Spanish population. Spanish artisans came to view them as competitors and did whatever they could to exclude Indians from membership in their guilds.

Despite their considerable acculturation, most natives living in cities maintained a certain identity as Indians, especially through the *cofradías* that were as important to them as to their counterparts in rural areas. Here as in the peasant villages of the *república de indios*, native *cofradías* excluded Spaniards and other non-Indians. In 1585, Lima had seven Indian *cofradías*, along with six for Spaniards and ten for blacks and mulattos. Local custom often assigned native individuals and their *cofradías* prominent roles in the public ceremonial life of Spanish towns. Representatives of 82 Indian *cofradías* from Mexico City and nearby *pueblos* marched in a procession marking the funeral of King Philip IV in 1665. In 1723, the city of Lima staged an elaborate celebration of the marriage of a member of Spain's royal family. Twelve Indian men, most of whom could claim cacique lineage, marched in the city-wide parade dressed as Inca kings.

Authorities maintained an ambivalent attitude toward urban Indians. The presence of large numbers of native workers was essential to the quality of urban life, but Indians were seen as a threat to social stability in the cities. In 1692, Indians and other lower classes of Mexico City openly rebelled, protesting food shortages and setting fire to the viceregal palace. In the wake of the uprising, city authorities banned the sale of pulque and took other strongly repressive measures against Indian residents, whom they characterized as "lazy, vagabond, useless, insolent, and villainous people."

"Indios Bárbaros"

Despite the sustained efforts of church and crown to bring all the colonies' natives under Spanish and Portuguese tutelage, many groups remained more or less permanently outside their control, living *sin rey, sin fe, sin ley*—without king, without faith, without law. Because they rejected Christianization and subjugation to Spanish rule, Apaches, Araucanians, and others remained *indios bárbaros* (literally, barbarian Indians) in the eyes of settlers and authorities alike.

The Apaches of the northern frontier of Mexico were one group who successfully resisted Spanish encroachments. From the seventeenth century forward, they preyed upon Hispanic settlements in New Mexico and Pueblo villages, carrying off foodstuffs, horses, guns, and tools. In the eighteenth century, as British and French colonies in North America pushed other groups westward into Apache territory, raids extended farther south and west, to Chihuahua and beyond. The many *presidios* (military posts) that appeared along the frontier did little to stop Apache depredations. In southern Chile, the Araucanians posed a similar threat to European settlement throughout the colonial period. Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga, a sixteenth-century Spanish military officer who fought against the Araucanians, immortalized their bravery and tenacity in a poetic epic of more than 2000 verses, *La araucana*.

The ability of these peoples to resist was abetted by the fact that they lived in regions that were relatively marginal in the eyes of colonists, lacking precious metals and not well suited to the production of valuable export crops. At the same time, however, they also showed considerable ingenuity in using the tools of the Europeans to preserve their autonomy. Frontier groups acquired Spanish horses early on, and they soon became expert horsemen. By 1600, the Araucanians reportedly had more horses than the Spanish settlers in Chile did. The Araucanians also changed their military tactics, not only learning to fight on horseback but also attaching the tips of Spanish swords to their lances. They even made their own gunpowder to use in weapons they captured from the enemy. These so-called barbarians skillfully adapted their culture to meet the needs of their changing situation. Only with the development of new technology—barbed wire, repeating rifles, railroads, and telegraphs—in the late nineteenth century did the national governments of Chile, Argentina, Mexico, and the United States succeed in finally subduing the natives of their respective frontiers.

Their ability to fend off Spanish rule did not mean that the Apaches and Araucanians were exempted from the hardships and abuses of colonialism. Like other indigenous peoples, they fell victim to the diseases brought to the Americas by Europeans and Africans. Laws forbidding the establishment of new *encomiendas* or the outright enslavement of native peoples carried no weight on the frontier. Leading citizens of New Mexico, often including the governor himself, reaped substantial profits from the sale of captured Apaches, especially women and children. A similar trade characterized frontier life in Chile. Persistent resistance thus brought no reprieve from the devastating impact of the European invasion of America.

Regional Revolts

In addition to the challenges posed by unsubdued "barbarians," Spanish and Portuguese authorities also had to reckon with acts of open defiance by natives who had supposedly accepted colonial rule. We noted previously that Indians in Mesoamerica and the Andes sometimes employed violence to gain relief from specific taxes, land alienation, or abusive priests and government officials, but seldom did these rebellions spread to surrounding villages. From time to time, however, native revolts assumed a regional

character and questioned the fundamental basis of civil and ecclesiastical authority, and these actions provoked more drastic responses from colonial officials. Some were millenarian movements with the stated goal of overturning the existing social order, reminiscent of such early colonial revolts as Taqui Onkoy in Peru. These late colonial rebels made much more extensive use of Christian religious symbols than their sixteenth-century counterparts.

One such upheaval briefly swept Chiapas in southern Mexico in 1712. People from Mayan villages rallied around María López, a 13-year-old native girl who claimed to have seen a vision of the Virgin Mary. Her father Agustín, who served as sacristan in the local parish church in his home village of Cancuc, joined other men in building a chapel on the spot where the Virgin had reportedly appeared. There María took up residence and preached to growing numbers of Mayan pilgrims from other villages. Worsening economic conditions, recent attempts by the Spanish authorities to curb what they viewed as excessive drinking and feasting associated with *cofradía* celebrations, and the continued abuses of colonialism, many of which fell disproportionately on Mayan women, all enhanced the appeal of a cult led by natives without the intervention of Catholic priests.

Alarmed, officials of church and state pronounced the movement to be the work of the devil, jailed some of Cancuc's native officials, and mustered militia forces to put an end to this challenge to Spanish authority. Agustín López and other Mayan men vowed to defend their shrine with armed resistance of their own, while María reportedly ordered her followers to seize all silver and other ornaments from their churches and bring them to her, "because now there is neither God nor King." In the end, however, Spanish military force prevailed, crushing the rebellion some 4 months after it began.

Sometimes these regional rebellions succeeded in casting off colonial rule altogether, at least temporarily. In 1680, the Pueblo peoples set aside the language barriers and long-standing feuds that had traditionally divided them and mounted a concerted revolt against the Hispanic presence in New Mexico. A long period of drought and the colonial authorities' growing intolerance of the natives' continuing use of pre-Hispanic religious symbols were among the immediate causes. The Pueblo uprising began on August 10, 1680. The rebels burned churches, destroyed Catholic religious images, and slaughtered some 400 Hispanic residents of Santa Fe and other communities, including several Franciscan priests. Hundreds of refugees fled southward to El Paso del Norte—today's Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. The nominal leader of the rebellion, a man called Popé, called for the destruction of all things Spanish, even uprooting European fruit trees that had flourished in New Mexico. He enjoined his followers to wash off their Christian baptism, destroy their rosaries and religious images, and remarry in traditional Pueblo rites. As word of the Pueblos' rebellion spread throughout the northern frontier, other native groups followed their example.

In 1692, colonial authorities began a counteroffensive that restored their control of New Mexico. Numerous factors contributed to the rebels' defeat. Once they had driven out the Franciscans and secular Hispanic officials, the unity they had achieved in 1680

began to crumble. Not everyone was willing to give up all material objects and rituals associated with Spanish domination. Meanwhile, Apaches stepped up their attacks on the sedentary Pueblos, prompting them to renew their alliance with the Spanish for their own protection. Their rebellion won the Pueblos some important concessions, however. They secured an end to the *encomienda*, and eighteenth-century authorities often looked the other way as descendants of the 1680 rebels kept a number of indigenous religious rituals alive. Although Pueblo warriors now accompanied Hispanic soldiers in campaigns against Apaches and other hostile tribes, they wore their traditional battle gear and war paint as they went.

Native Historical Memory and the Colonial Order

The natives of Latin America have sometimes been called "people without history," in the sense that traumas of the conquest and the deliberate actions of European missionaries and political authorities destroyed indigenous manuscripts and blurred the historical memories contained in oral traditions passed from one generation to another. Although these difficulties should not be underestimated, indigenous peoples in fact preserved at least some memory of their own history.

A few Indian and mestizo intellectuals in Mesoamerica and the Andes produced lengthy treatises documenting their people's history in pre-Hispanic and colonial times. One such individual, Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin, was born in 1579 in Chalco, on the outskirts of Mexico City. Educated in the capital, in 1620, he completed a lengthy Nahuatl history of his ancestral community. The mestizo Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, a descendant of Texcoco's ruling family and its *gobernador* in the early seventeenth century, also wrote a chronicle of his hometown. In Peru, the native historian Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala composed a monumental history that chronicled the transition from Inca to Spanish rule. His mestizo contemporary Garcilaso de la Vega, son of a Spanish conquistador and an Inca noblewoman, penned another commentary on the history of Peru.

Not many native commoners read these histories, of course, and in some cases the manuscripts were deposited in libraries and archives only to be discovered centuries later by historians. But this did not mean that "ordinary" Indians possessed no notion of their own past. Although only a handful of their pre-Hispanic books survived, the Maya of colonial Yucatán recorded their history in what became known as the Books of Chilam Balam. In each community, elders familiar with ancient oral traditions recited what they could remember, and young men trained in European script wrote down what they heard. From generation to generation, village elders guarded them from Spanish authorities. When native peoples went to court to defend their land and water, they presented elaborate files documenting their historical claim to these resources. Rituals in honor of their ancestors also kept ancient memories alive, and Andean peoples reenacted vestiges of Inca hegemony on many ceremonial occasions.

The histories preserved, retold, and reenacted by native peoples did not always coincide with what we might regard as objective historical fact. The land titles they

presented in court were often blatant forgeries or fanciful parodies of Spanish legal documents. Native elites sometime recast community histories to suggest that they had always been Christians. In the seventeenth century, the Otomí caciques of Querétaro in Mexico composed an account that emphasized the contributions of their forebears in the city's founding a century before. Their account never mentioned the coming of the Spanish, and the Otomí are identified as the Catholic conquerors who wrested control of the Querétaro region from the savage, pagan Chichimecas. The caciques did what most other societies have done, blending fact and wishful thinking to create a "usable past" that enabled them to explain their world and cope with the challenges they faced.

DAVID ALBERTSON JONES

FELIPE GUAMAN POMA DE AYALA

BORN IN THE PROVINCE OF Ayacucho just a few years after Pizarro's arrival in Peru, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala often stated that his father was an Andean nobleman and his mother the daughter of the Inca emperor Tupac Yupanqui. No historical documentation supports his claims, but whatever his antecedents, Guaman Poma became a prime example of the indio ladino, or acculturated Indian. At the same time, he fashioned a worldview that accommodated both Christian and indigenous Andean teachings.

A native speaker of Quechua, Guaman Poma received a good education, probably under the tutelage of missionaries. He became reasonably fluent in Spanish, learned to write the European alphabet, and read widely in Spanish theology, history, and law. This training made him an ideal candidate to serve as an interpreter for Spanish officials. On one of his most important assignments, he accompanied the priest Cristóbal de Albornoz, commissioned to investigate idolatry in the Andes in the wake of the Taki Onkoy rebellion.

Guaman Poma was not simply a servant of the Spaniards, however. He used his language skills to present lawsuits on behalf of native peoples attempting to defend their lands. On various occasions, he presented native complaints directly to the viceroy in Lima. Some of his grievances against colonial authorities were driven by his own self-interest, however, and pitted him against other indigenous people. He waged a long and ultimately unsuccessful battle against the Chachapoyas, natives from northern Peru whom the viceroy had resettled on lands claimed by Guaman Poma's extended family. His stubborn refusal to accept the viceroy's orders not only discredited his case but earned him a penalty of a public whipping and a 2-year banishment from his home town of Huamanga.

Guaman Poma penned a lengthy history of Peru under Inca and Spanish domination entitled *Primera nueva crónica y buen gobierno*, addressed to King Philip III and completed about 1615. Here he voiced a clear nostalgia for an idealized pre-Hispanic past and denounced the many abuses of the new regime. He deplored the forced resettlements that had removed entire communities from "sites

selected by the most important native wise men, doctors, and philosophers and approved by the first Incas for their climate, lands, and water." He had little good to say about Spanish officials and their black slaves. With the coming of colonialism, he wrote, the Andean world had turned upside down. The book also reveals much about Guaman Poma's religious attitudes. Though he embraced Catholicism, he criticized the clergy for their pursuit of worldly gain and their notorious sexual misconduct, especially their forced liaisons with native women. He likewise condemned other officials of church and state who used excessive force in their efforts to extirpate idolatry.

Moreover, Guaman Poma did not reject Andean notions of spirituality. He dismissed the leaders of Taqui Onkoy as false shamans who had subverted traditional healing rituals, which he viewed as valid and beneficial. He recommended that dances customarily performed for the old gods be continued, but now in honor of "the true God and all that the holy Roman church demands." Indeed, he believed his people had been part of the Christian story of redemption all along. One of the three magi who visited the Christ child at Bethlehem, he claimed, was an Andean.

Nearly 1200 pages in length and featuring 398 pen-and-ink drawings, Guaman Poma's manuscript was lost for three centuries until scholars discovered it in the Royal Danish Library in Copenhagen. Historians and anthropologists have used his chronicle as a rich primary source about the indigenous people of sixteenth-century Peru.

Questions for Discussion

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's book, including all 398 of his illustrations, can be viewed on the Internet, with commentary in English and in Spanish, at www.kb.dk/elib/mss/poma/. What do these images tell us about the times in which he lived?

CONCLUSION

Over the course of three centuries, indigenous peoples responded to their colonization by Spain and Portugal in ways that ranged from open defiance to self-serving accommodations detrimental to their long-range personal and collective interests. Whatever tactics they chose, they succeeded at least in capturing the attention of colonial authorities. The Spanish and Portuguese governments had to spend substantial revenues on subsidies for missionaries whose job it was to teach the natives to obey proper authorities, on courts to handle native complaints, and on military forces to repress overt challenges to colonial rule. Likewise, the Church expended time and money on periodic prosecutions of natives accused of idolatry. Nor could the owners of the mines, haciendas, plantations, and obrajes ignore nearby native peoples. Heavily dependent on Indian labor, owners of these enterprises spent considerable time and effort finding the right mix of compulsion and compensation that would turn reluctant natives into dependable workers.

Without question, natives of the Americas suffered mightily under Spanish and Portuguese colonial rule, but they also played a crucial role in shaping the history of Latin

América. Meanwhile, they borrowed selectively from the cultural baggage that the Iberians brought with them. Over the course of three centuries, they formed a new cultural synthesis, one that made sense of their changing world and that enabled them to survive and to preserve their families and their communities. For most Indians, life as colonial subjects was a complex mix of accommodation and resistance to European norms and institutions.

LEARNING MORE ABOUT LATIN AMERICANS

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