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We would like to express a special thank you to Dr. Bianca Premo, Director of Graduate Studies, for her dedication to increasing the visibility of our graduate program and building contacts with aspiring scholars at other institutions. Likewise, we thank Dr. Victor Uribe, Chair of the Department of History, for his strong commitment to supporting all professional initiatives. We are grateful to FIU's Council for Student Organizations, Department of Campus Life, and Activities & Services Business Office for their funding of this publication.

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Volume 12 / 2013–2014

Articles

- Albion's Caciques: England and the Republic of Indians
Bradley Dixon1
- Indian Converts* and *La gracia triunfante*: Biographies of Christian
Indigenous Women in the Atlantic World of the 1720s
Jessica Nelson17
- Crossing Oceans, Crossing Boundaries: A Transatlantic Reading of the
Matrimonio de don Martín García de Loyola con Nuestra Señora Clara Coya
Agnieszka Anna Fieck34
- Andean Ancestors and Iroquoian Cults: Indigenous Confraternities in a
Catholic Atlantic World, 1610–1690
Jeffrey Rosamond47

Reviews

- Death in the New World: Cross-Cultural Encounters, 1492–1800* by Erik R.
Seeman
Reviewed by **Matthew R. Blaylock**71
- Foundations of the American Century: The Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller
Foundations in the Rise of American Power* by Inderjeet Parmar
Reviewed by **Jessica Allison**73
- The Atlantic in World History* by Karen Ordahl Kupperman
Reviewed by **Anthony W. Keane-Dawes**75
- Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* by José Álvarez-Junco
Reviewed by **Yasdancee Valdes**77

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Albion's Caciques: England and the Republic of Indians

I

The riches, might, and vastness of Spain's New World empire dazzled the imaginations of early modern Englishmen. From the great city of Mexico to the mines of Potosi, myriad "poor Indians" labored ceaselessly to produce the tribute of silver, gold, and grain that made Spain's king the arbiter of European politics. How did Spain keep so many millions civil and in subjection, Englishmen asked? John Smith, who had made his name in England's first permanent colony, Virginia, answered that conquest had reduced the Indians to peaceful subjection. After the Powhatan Indians forcefully resisted Virginia's expansion in 1622, Smith evoked what he took to be the Spanish method of subduing Native peoples. "The manner how to suppress them is so often related and approved, I omit it here," Smith declared, "And you have twenty examples of the Spaniards how they got the West-Indies, and forced the treacherous and rebellious Infidels to doe all manner of drudgery worke and slavery for them, themselves living like Souldiers upon the fruits of their labours."¹ The sword ruled the Indies, not the crozier, nor gentle ways. Before his career in Virginia and New England, Smith had seen much of Europe, and had been a captive of the Turks.² Other Englishmen, just as well-traveled and presumably as well-read, drew different conclusions. Henry Hawks, an English merchant with Spanish ties, traveled to New Spain in the 1560s. While there, he observed how Indians and Spaniards interacted on a daily basis. Yes, conquest had subjected the Indians to Spanish rule, he admitted, but force was not the whole explanation. The Spanish system of Indian justice, Hawks believed, was the foundation of the empire's stability. "The Indians are much favoured by the Justices of the Countrey," Hawks wrote, "and they call them their orphanes."³ New Spain was hardly a utopia but the law afforded Indians strong protection from the depredations of the Spaniards. No matter how humble the Indian wronged or great the Spanish offender, Hawks claimed that the law ruled out. "Justice"—as Hawks conceived it—was the reason "that the Indians were so tame and civill."⁴

The Spanish had built an empire of law in the New World. During the sixteenth century, Spain struggled to incorporate indigenous peoples into a

¹ John Smith, "The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles...Divided into Six Books" in James Horn (ed), *Captain John Smith: Writings and Other Narratives of Roanoke, Jamestown, and the First English Settlement of America* (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 2007), 484.

² For a basic biography of Smith, see Gwenda Morgan, "Smith, John (*hap.* 1580, *d.* 1631)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25835>, accessed February 14, 2014.

³ Henry Hawks, "A relation of the commodities of Nova Hispania, and the maners of the inhabitants, written by Henry Hawks merchant, which lived five yeeres in the sayd country, and drew the same at the request of M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire of Eiton in the county of Hereford, 1572" in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation Made by Sea or Over-land to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at any time within the compasse of these 1600 Yeeres*, vol. IX (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1903), 394.

⁴ Hawks in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, 394.

legal category known as the “republic of Indians.”⁵ To be a “legal Indian” in Spanish America and a member of the republic carried with it a host of duties, obligations, and privileges.⁶ Collectively, Indians were protected subjects of the Crown, officially living in separate spaces with their own local leaders, often called *caciques*. The tension between conquest and justice in Spanish America, which observers like Hawks saw first-hand, profoundly shaped subsequent English practice. This essay will explore how Englishmen in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries gleaned information about law and government in Spanish America. It will also attempt to trace how those ideas had a lasting impact in England’s North American colonies, focusing on Virginia from 1607-1700. Accounts of Spanish “Indian justice” found their way into the hands of the earliest English colonial planners, including key leaders of the Virginia Company. Indeed, one leading scholar has argued that “the English spent their first fifteen years in Virginia trying to turn the colony into a ‘Protestant Mexico.’”⁷ The practical model of Spanish law, I suggest, continued to shape Indian policy in Virginia for a much longer time. We will examine how Spanish-style legal forms appeared in English treaties with Indians over the course of the seventeenth century in Virginia. The connection between tribute-paying, subjecthood, and “justice”—however limited—remained an aspiration of Virginia law during the period. Did it give rise to something like an *English* version of the republic of Indians? Using the 1677 Treaty of Middle Plantation as our chief source, we will begin to discover what it meant to be a “legal Indian” in colonial Virginia.

The republic of Indians in Spanish America was a complex legal space. A rich scholarship has explained its workings in great detail. There were really two “republics,” one for Indians and the other for Spaniards. Scholars describe the republic of Indians in various ways. Alejandro Cañeque defined *república de los indios* as “the indigenous population seen as an entity separate from the rest of the population.”⁸ Spain incorporated Indians “into the polity as legitimate, but subordinate, members.”⁹ Brian Owensby has characterized the emergence of the republic of Indians as a separate corporate identity that the Spanish invented to distinguish indigenous peoples’ legal status from the status of Spaniards.¹⁰ The body of law that formed the “republic” clarified the protective relationship that Spain owed its Native American subjects. Separation between Indians and Spaniards was a core component of Spanish law. By the seventeenth century the entanglements of everyday life rendered the boundary between the two republics “infinitely porous.”¹¹ Indians lived among Spaniards, married them, worked alongside them, and attended the

⁵ See Brian P. Owensby, *Empire of Law and Indian Justice in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 24. For one classic account of the formation of Spain’s system of Indian justice see Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949).

⁶ See, for instance, “Chapter 3: Acting as a Legal Indian: Natural Vassals and Worrisome Natives” in Rachel Sarah O’Toole, *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians, and the Making of Race in Colonial Peru* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012), 64-87.

⁷ Eliga H. Gould, “Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery,” *The American Historical Review* 112.3 (2007), 769.

⁸ Alejandro Cañeque, *The King’s Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 253.

⁹ Cañeque, *The King’s Living Image*, 241.

¹⁰ Brian P. Owensby, *Empire of Law and Indian Justice in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 24.

¹¹ Owensby, *Empire of Law*, 26.

same churches. Nevertheless, Indians were still entitled to the Crown's special protection.

The republic of Indians developed through a process of contestation and cooperation between Indians, colonial elites, and the Spanish Crown in each of Spain's American possessions. Each of the laws that formed the republic of Indians was a response to specific abuses at distinct historical moments. J. H. Parry described the creation of what historians call the republic of Indians as the outcome of an ongoing internal struggle. From the Laws of Burgos (1512) to the New Laws of the Indies (1542) and the codification of practice around *repartimientos* (1609), Parry showed how the place of Indians in the Spanish empire developed incrementally in the Crown's protracted struggle with colonial leaders over the treatment of its native subjects.¹² The king's role in dispensing justice found its roots all the way back to medieval Spain.¹³ The republic of Indians, however, did not form in an entirely top-down manner. The king required officials to enforce the law and the Indians had to accept it as a means of pursuing their aims. Indians struggled to claim their rights, litigating cases and filing countless petitions for redress.

By 1600, the basic contours of the republic were well-defined, despite regional variations. All members of the republic of Indians were vassals to the King of Spain, holding a special claim on his justice. Indians deserved the king's special attention since they were officially *miserable*—poor, wretched—and in need of protection.¹⁴ The law instituted *formal* separation for the Indians' welfare. From the law's perspective, Spaniards were a corrupting influence that threatened the "poor" Indians. Within their separate, corporate communities, Indians were ideally entitled to limited self-government. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, indigenous officials held considerable sway within their jurisdictions. They collected the king's tribute and arranged the provision of Indian labor on which the Spanish colonists depended. In short, Indians formed an integral part of Spain's empire.

While Spain's efforts to incorporate Native Americans as imperial legal subjects are familiar, Britain's are not as well-known. Recent scholarship, however, has challenged the notion that the British and Spanish empires sharply diverged in either their colonial ideology or practice. The two empires existed in an "entangled" relationship and were part of a single hemispheric system.¹⁵ Spain and England shared a common cultural reservoir that was the foundation of a mutual colonizing ideology.¹⁶ The English republic of Indians was thus a hybrid creation, the product of various currents circulating in the Anglo-Iberian Atlantic World.¹⁷ Moreover, the history of Spanish America invites historians of Britain's empire to rethink its structure. I contend that the administrative regimes of the two empires possessed striking similarities. A

¹² J. H. Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), 173-191.

¹³ Owensby, *Empire of Law*, 32-37 and 54.

¹⁴ Owensby, *Empire of Law*, 55. A discourse about "poor Indians" also took root among English missionaries during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Laura M. Stevens argues that in the English case there were no legal implications. I have yet to pursue the matter further. See Laura M. Stevens, *The Poor Indians: British Missionaries, Native Americans, and Colonial Sensibility* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 19-20.

¹⁵ Gould, "Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds," *AHR*, 765 and 768.

¹⁶ Robert A. Williams, Jr., *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 149; Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).

¹⁷ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Benjamin Breen, "Hybrid Atlantics: Future Directions for the History of the Atlantic World," *History Compass* 11.8 (2013).

British colonial governor, even one appointed by colonial proprietors, was in some sense, like a Spanish viceroy, “the king’s living image,” and similarly charged with the protection of his Native subjects.¹⁸ Just as in the Spanish empire, Indians in British America were often subjects who could petition the Crown for legal redress.¹⁹ They practiced politics through law.

Scholarly consensus has commonly favored the view that the English quickly gave up serious attempts to incorporate Native Americans into their empire. Historians mostly agree that exclusion became the norm as the English honed a planter ideology that favored driving Indians off their land.²⁰ Others have argued that the circumstances of the English encounter with North American Indians were vastly different than the Spanish case and required no substantial legal machinery. The English pursued “a complete reversal of Spanish policy” and strictly excluded the Indians.²¹ This claim appeared despite the fact that official separation—whether possible in practice or not—was the cornerstone of Spanish Indian law. Scholars have also argued that the Proclamation of 1763 forbidding settlement in trans-Appalachian Indian lands was the Crown’s first recognition of Native Americans as subjects.²² Dramatic as it was, the Proclamation had precedents in the seventeenth century. Charles I, for instance, banned the sale of firearms to Indians in New England by royal edict in 1630.²³ Still others have distinguished between incorporation and what Alan Galloway termed the subjection of Native Americans.²⁴ Subjection was a far more common relationship entailing trade relations and military alliance between European empires and Native American nations.²⁵ A model of incorporation, meanwhile, remained an aspiration that the British never really achieved.

The best-known examples of English incorporation of Indians are the missionary “praying-towns” of New England. J. H. Elliott, in his monumental

¹⁸ Alejandro Cañeque, *The King’s Living Image*.

¹⁹ Craig Yirush, “Chapter 6: ‘Chief Princes and Owners of All’: Native American Appeals to the Crown in the Early-Modern British Atlantic” in Salih Belmessous (ed), *Native Claims: Indigenous Law against Empire, 1500-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 129-151. Native American polities even sent embassies to England during the early modern period. See Alden T. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500-1776* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

²⁰ For the ideological basis of exclusion, see Anthony Pagden, *Lords of all the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France, c. 1500—c. 1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). For the argument that practical failures at incorporation led to exclusion see Michael Leroy Oberg, *Dominion and Civility: English Imperialism and Native America, 1585-1685* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999) and J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

²¹ Gary B. Nash, *Red, White, and Black: the Peoples of Early America*, 2nd. ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1982), 65-66.

²² Daniel K. Richter, “Chapter 11: Native Americans, the Plan of 1764, and a British Empire that Never Was” in Robert Olwell and Alan Tully (eds), *Cultures and Identities in Colonial British America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 292; Colin G. Calloway, *The Scratch of a Pen: 1763 and the Transformation of North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

²³ Great Britain, Public Record Office, *Calendar of State Papers: Colonial Series, 1574-1660: Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty’s Public Record Office*, Vol. 5 (London: 1860), 122.

²⁴ Notably in the pathbreaking work of Alan Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002). Similarly, Barbara Arneil argued that English notions of Indian subjecthood were similar to a patron and client relationship in Barbara Arneil, *John Locke and America: The Defence of English Colonialism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 85.

²⁵ Galloway, *Indian Slave Trade*, 176.

history of the Spanish and British empires, suggested that the praying-towns were the only places that approximated the Spanish republic of Indians in the English-speaking world.²⁶ Confining the English republic of Indians to the praying-towns assumes that religious conversion was drastically more important than legal protection was. As Daniel K. Richter has shown, the praying-towns were also preoccupied with enforcing social discipline to civilize Indians on the path to converting them.²⁷ Beyond the praying-towns, Englishmen recognized law as one way to encourage civility. I argue that drawing Indians into legal arrangements represents one of the most important ways that the English sought to incorporate and “civilize” them. Elliott and Richter thus both raise a fascinating challenge for historians. What did it mean to be a “legal Indian” in British America? Can we extend the category of an *English* republic of Indians beyond New England to other colonies like Virginia?

The insights of colonial legal historians have singled out law as one of the most important interconnections between indigenous peoples and empires.²⁸ These scholars have shown that Native peoples more often spoke with Englishmen in mutually intelligible terms about sovereignty, borders, and legal obligations. This is not to say that the English republic of Indians only amounted to a “middle ground” between them.²⁹ The English republic of Indians was rather an imperial configuration with contours that Native Americans and the English shaped to suit their needs in various contexts over time. Law was central to this configuration. Native peoples often used the law to make claims against European empires. Some historians might object that the British operated legally with Native Americans through mutually negotiated treaties between independent nations, usually after wars.³⁰ This is undeniable. As Robert A. Williams, Jr. has shown, however, treaties between American Indians and imperial powers also served as a kind of constitution that defined the terms of incorporation.³¹ Treaties in Virginia operated similarly. In return for these sorts of guarantees to Indians, the English received tribute in the form of military service, trade monopolies, deerskins and wampum, and sometimes even labor. These interrelated protections, duties, privileges, and obligations were constitutive of an English republic of Indians. The resemblances are not coincidental. The principles of so-called “Indian justice” that Spain practiced helped to shape English perceptions from the very beginning.

²⁶ Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 85.

²⁷ Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 124.

²⁸ For seminal works in the legal historian’s approach see Stuart Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land: Law and Power on the Frontier* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005); Lauren Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); James Tully, “Rediscovering America: The Two Treatises and Aboriginal Rights” in *Locke’s Philosophy: Content and Context* ed. G. A. J. Rogers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

²⁹ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1812*, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

³⁰ Most recently, Colin Calloway, *Pen and Ink Witchcraft: Treaties and Treaty Making in American Indian History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 5. For treaties as instruments of dispossession, see Dorothy V. Jones, *License for Empire: Colonialism by Treaty in Early America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

³¹ For treaties as constitutions, see Robert A. Williams, Jr., *Linking Arms Together: American Indian Treaty Visions of Law and Peace, 1600-1800* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 98-123.

II

For colonial projectors in early modern England, the Spanish empire stood as the model for not only the worst but the best of imperial practice. Englishmen read Spanish texts, followed Spanish discussions, and critiqued Spanish policy toward Indians. The debate surrounding the question aroused lasting interest in English circles. English knowledge about the history of Spanish America seems to have extended beyond the tropes of cruelty toward Native peoples that characterize the Black Legend. Spain provided a model for conquest but also for governance afterwards. Englishmen knew quite well how the Spanish American legal regime worked in practice. Knowledge of the “republic of Indians” arrived in the form of English translations of Spanish texts and from intelligence that English informants gathered on voyages to the Americas. Richard Hakluyt the Younger (ca. 1553-1616) and Samuel Purchas (1577-1626), were both wide-ranging collectors of information about the New World who published a number of Spanish texts and English reports that described the machinery of Indian justice. The texts that Hakluyt and Purchas compiled circulated widely among Englishmen interested in New World colonization. Early modern Englishmen understood the republic of Indians as one of the bulwarks of Spanish power in the New World. Indians paid the tribute that provided much of the Spanish monarchy’s wealth. They also provided the labor that ran the mines in Potosi and Mexico. The tributary system intrigued English observers who wondered how Spain kept so many millions in subjection. Although some Englishmen believed that Spanish cruelty held the Indies in thrall, others credited law and justice for the stability of Spanish rule there.

The tribute that Indians paid to the King of Spain was one of the main preoccupations of sixteenth-century accounts. John Chilton, an English merchant, had spent more than seventeen years in New Spain and Peru when he wrote of his travels in 1568. Chilton estimated that the king of Spain “hath tribute into Spaine betweene nine and ten millions of gold and silver.”³² Henry Hawks lived in New Spain for five years and in 1572 wrote a detailed account of the lives of Indians there. Like Chilton, Hawks was particularly interested in how Spain extracted the wealth of the Indians through tribute. “The Indians pay tribute, being of the age of 20. Yeeres, 4. shillings of money, and an hanege of Maiz, which is worth 4. shillings more.”³³ While Indians sent a variety of goods as tribute, they also worked Spanish gold and silver mines. Master John Ellis, a ship’s captain, brought back a brief relation of Peruvian Indian miners in 1593. “In Potosi there are at worke neere an hundred thousand Indians,” Ellis reported, “which the Caciques bring in for so many dayes to worke the Mynes.”³⁴

³² John Chilton, “A Notable Discourse of M. John Chilton, touching the people, maners, mines, cities, riches, forces, and other memorable things of New Spaine, and other provinces in the West Indies, seene and noted by himselfe in the time of his travels, continued in those parts, the space of seventeen or eighteene yeeres,” in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations IX*, 375.

³³ Henry Hawks, “A relation of the commodities of Nova Hispania, and the maners of the inhabitants, written by Henry Hawks merchant, which lived five yeeres in the sayd country, and drew the same at the request of M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire of Eiton in the county of Hereford, 1572” in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations IX*, 391.

³⁴ John Ellis, “A briefe Note written by Master John Ellis... concerning the saide Strait, and certaine places on the Coast and Inland of Peru” in *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes: Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and others by Samuel Purchas, B. D.*, vol. XVII (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1906), 202.

English observers disagreed about the tributary system's economic effects on Indians. Henry Hawks noted that all the Indians in Mexico wore the same simple cotton garment on account of their poverty. "And this is all their apparel, although it be a Casique, which they use in all the Countrey."³⁵ The picture in Peru was different. John Ellis observed a drastic contrast in wealth according to rank. While the majority of the Indian population labored in the mines, the caciques lived in large houses, employed numerous servants, and served lavish dinners for their guests. "Betweene Cusco and Potosi there is continuall trade," Ellis reported, "and the Lords or Caciquoes of the Naturalls will entertaine you in the way, feed you in Silver vessell, and give you very good lodging, and if they like you, they will guide you with three or foure hundred Indians."³⁶

Cacique or miner, rich or poor, Indians were Spanish subjects under the law. Henry Hawks noted that "the people of the country... live under the Spaniards lawes."³⁷ The double system of government—one for Spaniards and one for Indians—was also familiar to English readers. Samuel Purchas included in his compilation of travels the account of the Spanish priest, Pedro Ordonnes de Cevallos, from 1583. Cevallos explained the two republics in simple terms. "There is a two-fold government in the Indies, one of Spaniardes, which is the same with that of Spaine," wrote Ordonnes, "the other of Indians."³⁸ The Spanish intended that the policy of strict separation be the cornerstone of the legal regime for the protection of Indians that took shape in the sixteenth century.

From the English perspective, the history of Spanish efforts to establish their New World legal regime mostly concerned high debates at the royal court and subsequent edicts from the King of Spain. First-hand reports by English merchants from Spanish America again brought further insight into the development of an Indian justice system. Henry Hawks wrote that the Indians "are free and out of bondage... which was so ordained by Charles the emperor."³⁹ Samuel Purchas included in his compilation the account of Charles V's royal "chronographer," Antonio de Herrera who also described the reform of justice in the Indies. Purchas found the work in the papers of the younger Richard Hakluyt and decided to publish it in full. Herrera's account contained a lengthy narration of "the Spanish Proceedings, Colonies, Townes, Officers and Government Spirituall and Temporall in the Indies."⁴⁰ Herrera's description was detailed. "And because these Catholike Kings have left nothing which most wisely they have not provided for according to their dutie," Herrera wrote, "the first thing they command the Vice-roys, and all the Ministers in general and particular is, the good usage of the Indians, and their preservation."⁴¹ The Indians were active participants as they "doe learne the Castilian policie, and can complaine." The king appointed special officials to defend Indian interests. "And for the greater good, it is provided, that the Attorney of the supreme Councell of the Indies, bee Protector of the Indians, and defend them in their suites, and aske in the Councell all the necessarie things for his instruction,

³⁵ Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations IX*, 395.

³⁶ Ellis in Purchas *His Pilgrimes XVII*, 202.

³⁷ Hawks in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations IX*, 280.

³⁸ Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 214-215.

³⁹ Hawks in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations IX*, 388.

⁴⁰ Antonio de Herrera, "A Description of the West Indies, by Antonio de Herrera, his Majesties chiefe Chronieler of the Indies, and his Chronieler of Castile" in Purchas *His Pilgrimes XIV*, 427.

⁴¹ Herrera in Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes XIV*, 582.

preservation and politike life.” The Crown also appointed protectors of the Indians in New Spain and Peru. Herrera declared that “in no place of the Indies are Indian slaves, though they be out of the bounds of Castile and Lion.”⁴²

Samuel Purchas himself acknowledged the efforts of prelates, jurists, and successive Spanish kings to correct the abuse of Indians in the empire. In an epistle “To the Reader” that prefaced his excerpts from the work of Bartolomé de las Casas, Purchas commended the Dominican friar and the kings of Spain. Purchas’ attitude suggests that English thinkers held subtle positions with respect to Spain. “For my part,” Purchas averred, “I honour virtue in a Spaniard, in a frier, in a Jesuite.”⁴³ He explained that Las Casas’ discourse was somewhat polemical because of the momentous matter at hand, whether Indians were to be slaves. “The Issue was the Alteration of government in the Indies by the gentleness of the kings of Spaine,” Purchas explained, “which freed them [the Indians] from slaverie, and took better order both for their bodily and spiritual estate as before we have read in Herera.”⁴⁴

The machinery of Indian justice Herrera had described impressed Englishmen who saw it at work. Henry Hawks gave a detailed relation of its power to punish offenses against Indians. “And if any Spaniard should happen to do any of them harme, or to wrong him in taking anything from him, as many times they do, or to strike any of them, being in any towne, whereas justice is, they are aswell punished for the same as if they had done it one Spaniard to the other.” The reach of justice was extensive, seeming to spread over the whole of New Spain in Hawks’ report. No matter the distance from the capital or the rank of the offending Spaniard, Hawks claimed that Indians received their due:

When a Spaniard is farre from Mexico, or any place of justice, thinking to doe with the poore Indian what he list, considering he is so farre from any place of remedy, he maketh the Indian doe what he commaundeth him, and if he will not doe it, hee beateth and misuseth him, according to his own appetite. The Indian holdeth his peace, until he finde an opportunity, and then taketh a neighbor with him, and goeth to Mexico, although it be 20. Leagues off, and maketh his complaint. This his complainte is immediatly heard, & although it be a knight, or a right good gentleman, he is forthwith sent for, and punished both by his goods, and also his person is imprisoned, at the pleasure of the Justice.⁴⁵

Hawks’s account of Indian justice was unusual for its vividness and for naming Indians themselves as important players in its operation. Herrera averred that the Indians “knew Castellian policie.” Hawks showed just how well. The Indians had fully accepted the law as a means of advancing their own interests. Law opened the way for Indians to pursue politics through peaceful channels. The law, Henry Hawks believed, was the very foundation of Spanish stability in the New World. The speed, scope, and severity of Indian justice upheld the peace, allowing the tribute to flow back to Spain. “This is the occasion that the Indians are so tame and civill, as they are,” Hawks wrote.⁴⁶ His thinking immediately

⁴² Herrera in Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes XIV*, 584.

⁴³ Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes XVII*, 81.

⁴⁴ Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes XVII*, 81.

⁴⁵ Hawks in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations IX*, 394.

⁴⁶ Hawks in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations IX*, 394.

turned ominous. After all, Mexico was not naturally harmonious. If the Indians “should not have this favour,” he supposed that “the Spaniards would soone dispatch all the Indians, or the Indians would kill them.”⁴⁷ The law was a necessity but it was effective. Hawks thus credited the law with reducing the Indians to civility. His conclusion was simple: “Justice [was] ye cause of Civilitie.”⁴⁸

The early promoters of the Virginia colony took the lessons of Spanish law to heart. The colony’s secretary, William Strachey, relied on John Ellis’s 1593 report to envision a republic of Indians in Virginia. Whereas Ellis focused almost entirely on the human and material resources of the caciques, Strachey made the connection between wealth, tribute, and justice. From Ellis, Strachey learned of the riches of Peru’s caciques. He imagined Virginian Native elites—the weroances subject to Powhatan—enjoying the same privileges and wealth under the protection of England. Should they become subjects to the English, “they will fynd themselves in far better estate, then now they are; for the Cassiques or Comaunders of Indian Townes in Peru, whome the Virginians call Weroances, although they paie unto the king of Spayne great Tribute, yet because they make exchange with the Spaniards for what remaynes, they doe not only keepe great Hospitality and are rich in their furniture horses and Cattell, but as Capt Ellis voves, who lived amongst them some few yeares, their diet is served to them in silver vessells and many of them have naturall Spaniardes, that attend them in their howses.”⁴⁹ Strachey’s target was Powhatan whom he claimed tyrannized the other Indian lords.⁵⁰

Justice for Indian elites formed a major component of what one might call Strachey’s vision of Virginia as the “Protestant *Peru*.” Strachey’s model required that the Indians “shall submitt themselves to the kings Majestie and consent to paie him a Trybute to be agreed upon.”⁵¹ Like the English merchants who observed society in New Spain and Peru close-up, Strachey distinguished between Native elites and the “poorest” Indians. His proposal included that “the English will take of their poorest into their famelies.” The caciques, on the other hand, “shall by pattents and Proclamations hold their landes as free burgers and Citizens with the English and Subjectes to king James, who will give them Justice and defend them against their enemies.”⁵² As subjects of the English king, the Powhatans would receive protections and privileges similar to the ones Indians in Peru and Mexico received from the King of Spain.

What became of Strachey’s “Protestant Peru?” How did Spanish ideas about rulership and justice shape Virginia’s Indian policy over the course of the seventeenth century? Can we know what it meant to be a “legal Indian” in seventeenth-century Virginia? In other words, how did English law treat Indians both individually and collectively? One way to answer those questions is to look at the treaties that Virginia’s government made with Native Americans during the period. Elements of Spanish legal thought translated into them. The connection between tribute, protection of indigenous elites, and

⁴⁷ Hawks in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations IX*, 394.

⁴⁸ Hawks in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations IX*, 394.

⁴⁹ William Strachey, “The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania” in *Captain John Smith*, 1074.

⁵⁰ Strachey’s and the Virginia Company’s objective during this time was to draw off peacefully Powhatan’s tributaries to the English. Horn does not mention Strachey’s Peruvian model. See James Horn, *A Land as God Made It: Jamestown and the Birth of America* (New York: Basic, 2005), 147-148.

⁵¹ Strachey, “Historie of Virginia Britania” in *Captain John Smith*, 1073.

⁵² Strachey, “Historie of Virginia Britania” in *Captain John Smith*, 1074.

Indian justice were the core of a hybrid, English republic of Indians taking shape in colonial Virginia.

III

There were roughly three phases of Indian treaty-making in seventeenth-century Virginia—in 1607-1622, 1646, and 1677-1680. The circumstances of each period were different. Nevertheless, what I would like to stress are the terms of the documents themselves. Treaties during all three phases clearly combined the attributes the William Strachey identified at work in colonial Spanish America. When Virginia entered into an agreement with the Chickahomines in 1614, the first article made them English subjects. They became not just any subjects but “King James’s noblemen.”⁵³ In accepting titles from the king, the Chickahomines also changed their collective name to “Tassantasses,” their word meaning “Englishmen.”⁵⁴ Setting a precedent that held for Indian relations through the century, the king was to confirm the station of the new lords by bestowing on coats and royal copper emblems. After the initial gift-giving, the Chickahomines became tributaries to the English. They would pay annually at the beginning of their harvest, two bushels of corn for every fighting man.⁵⁵ The Chickahomines, now Tassantasses, enjoyed a special, but clearly separate, legal place in the English colony’s legal framework. The treaty left the Indians’ internal affairs to their traditional, eight-member council. Virginia’s colonial governor, Sir Thomas Dale, assumed the role of the Chickahomines’ viceroy, or lord, but in fact his place was more like a Spanish viceroy’s. The Chickahomines would look to him “as King JAMES his deputie to be their supreme head, King and governor, and in all just causes and quarrels to defend them.”⁵⁶

The first phase of treaty-making ended in 1622. In that year, the Powhatans launched a corrective attack against Virginia. The Powhatan coup of 1622 disrupted relations between the colony and the Indians for a generation.⁵⁷ After 1622, “perpetual enmity” was the official policy of Virginia toward the surrounding Native peoples. Unofficially, trade continued. Some ties proved difficult for the English government to break. By the 1630s the parties achieved *détente*, although frictions persisted among them.⁵⁸ Colonial abuses of Native peoples, including encroachment on Indian lands, encouraged a second corrective response from the Powhatans in 1644. By then the great Opechancanough, architect of the 1622 coup, was nearly a century old. The

⁵³ The terms of the treaty are found in Ralph Hamor, *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia, and the successe of the affaires there till the 18 of Iune. 1614, Together with a Relation of the severall English Townes and forts, the assured hopes of that countrie and the peace concluded with the Indians. The Christening of Powhatans daughter and her marriage with an English-man* (London: John Beale, 1615), 13-14. For another interpretation see also the analysis in Frederic W. Gleach, *Powhatan’s World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 136-138.

⁵⁴ Hamor, *Present Estate of Virginia*, 13.

⁵⁵ Hamor, *Present Estate of Virginia*, 13.

⁵⁶ Hamor, *Present Estate of Virginia*, 12.

⁵⁷ Frederic W. Gleach preferred coup, meaning a swift, decisive stroke of policy. This sense of the word better conformed with his understanding of Native American conceptions of war and peace. “Uprising” implied that Native peoples understood themselves to be in revolt against an authority they once accepted. The term “war,” on the other hand, glorified conflict in Eurocentric terms. See Gleach, *Powhatan’s World*, 4.

⁵⁸ Gleach, *Powhatan’s World*, 5.

coup of 1644 ended with Indian defeat. Opechancanough died in jail after a colonist shot him in his cell.⁵⁹

The second phase of treaty-making occurred in 1646, shortly after Opechancanough's murder. The 1646 treaty marked the first time that Virginia could largely impose its terms onto Native Americans in the region.⁶⁰ A decisive shift in power relations had occurred and the consequences included a somewhat paradoxical increase in concern for the condition of Native Americans. The features of the treaty with Opechancanough's successor, Necotowance, included the same Spanish-style tributary model that the early colonists first promoted.⁶¹ The treaty not only declared that Necotowance held "his kingdom from the King's Ma'tie [Majesty] of England," it also required "that his successors be appointed or confirmed by the King's Governours from time to time."⁶² The English set Necotowance's tribute at twenty beaver skins paid "att the going away of Geese yearly."⁶³ In return, the treaty reserved the land north of the York River to the Indians. Englishmen who trespassed the boundary were subject to criminal trial. If the courts found them guilty, offending Englishmen would receive the brand of a felon.⁶⁴ The treaty enforced strict separation between Indians and Englishmen with allowances for trade and official messages back and forth between them. The colonial assembly enacted laws in the 1650s and '60s that strengthened the protections of Virginia's tributary Indians.⁶⁵ For some colonists, the measures that restricted English settlement in Indian lands were too onerous to bear. In 1676, Nathaniel Bacon led an army of colonists in rebellion against the governor of Virginia, demanding Indian land and scorning the government's tributary system.

Bacon's Rebellion prompted the third phase of Indian treaty-making in seventeenth-century Virginia.⁶⁶ The treaty that this last phase produced was the most detailed yet. Its terms have had lasting consequences down to the present day. Lands that the treaty reserved for the Pamunkey and Mattaponi Indians are still in the hands of their descendants today.⁶⁷ Some of the rebels attacked Virginia's tributary "neighbor" Indians in violation of the 1646 treaty and the numerous colonial statutes the assembly had passed afterward. In the aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion, King Charles II dispatched royal commissioners to settle matters in Virginia, particularly the state of Indian affairs. To centralize and stabilize the empire, the Crown had frequently interposed its authority between its Indian subjects and its English ones. A

⁵⁹ Gleach, *Powhatan's World*, 178.

⁶⁰ Gleach claims that the 1646 treaty set the terms "for all successive negotiations between these two peoples." The characteristics of the treaty, however, have much older precedents in Spanish and English thinking. Gleach, *Powhatan's World*, 183. For Martha W. McCartney, the 1646 treaty represented a return to the older tributary model of Powhatans. Martha W. McCartney, "Cockacoeske, Queen of Pamunkey: Diplommat and Suzerain" in Gregory Waselkov, Peter H. Wood, and Tom Hatley (eds), *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press), 244 and n. 8.

⁶¹ For the full text, see William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619*, vol. I (Richmond: 1823), 323-326.

⁶² Hening, *Statutes at Large I*, 323.

⁶³ Hening, *Statutes at Large I*, 323.

⁶⁴ Hening, *Statutes at Large I*, 324-325.

⁶⁵ See Gleach, *Powhatan's World*, 186.

⁶⁶ For more on Bacon's Rebellion see James D. Rice, *Tales from a Revolution: Bacon's Rebellion and the Transformation of Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Stephen Saunders Webb, *1676: The End of American Independence* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984).

⁶⁷ Gleach, *Powhatan's World*, 6.

similar royal commission had intervened in the dispute between the Naragansetts and English colonists in New England in 1664-1665.⁶⁸ The Virginia commissioners were military men. Among them was Francis Moryson who had supervised the 1662 assembly in its post-Restoration recapitulation of the colony's legal code that had included protections for Indians.⁶⁹ The commissioners met the leaders of the Pamunkey, Waonoke, Nansemond, and Nottoway Indians at the courthouse in Middle Plantation, the site of present-day Williamsburg. The four Indian leaders renewed their pledges of fealty to the King of Great Britain. With the royal commissioners, they clarified their legal status under the king's protection. The resulting document was the "Articles of Peace," which history knows better as the Treaty of Middle Plantation.⁷⁰ Middle Plantation was the most thorough seventeenth-century treaty between Indians and Englishmen in Virginia. A close reading of the treaty's terms reveals a detailed picture of what it meant to be a "legal Indian" in at least one corner of British America at a particular time.

IV

The Treaty of Middle Plantation was tantamount to a constitution stipulating on what terms the English would legally incorporate the Indians into the colonial polity. The treaty's twenty-one articles are a rich expression of Native American and English expectations about authority and rulership in the late seventeenth century. But the treaty also followed many of the conventions that Virginia's earliest colonists had adopted from Spanish practice. In effect, it established two republics—one of Indians and one of Englishmen in colonial Virginia, each with its own parallel routes to justice. The document confirmed the "Indian Kings and Queens" as tribute-paying subjects, clarified their title to land, laid out a system of justice and dispute resolution, provided terms for mutual defense, and guaranteed limited self-government to Indian towns. Perhaps reflecting its low priority for royal commissioners and Native leaders alike, trade was the subject of the treaty's final article. Even then, the terms subordinated trade to the interests of peace in the colony.⁷¹ With the exception of provisions for justice and dispute resolution, most of the articles treated Indians as part of corporate groups, not individuals. The agreement made firm distinctions between elite and ordinary Native subjects. Indian leaders shaped the treaty's terms. That said, we can infer from the treaty's terms what it meant to be an individual "legal Indian" in late seventeenth-century Virginia. How did the legal status of Virginia's tributary Indians measure against their contemporaries in colonial Spanish American, notably Mexico? The convergences between the two are striking.

To be a "legal Indian" in Virginia meant first to be a subject to a Native king or queen who was in turn subject to the British Crown. The four original signatories to the Treaty of Middle Plantation were effectively caciques—leaders of indigenous towns subordinate to a European monarch. The treaty's first article required that the four Indian kings and queens "do henceforth

⁶⁸ Jenny Hale Pulsipher, *Subjects unto the Same King: Indians, English, and the Contest for Authority in Colonial New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 52-63.

⁶⁹ See Stephen Saunders Webb, *The Governors-General: The English Army and the Definition of Empire, 1569-1681* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 335.

⁷⁰ King of Great Britain, *Articles of Peace Between the Most Serene and Mighty Prince Charles II... And Several Indian Kings and Queens, & c. Concluded the 29th day of May, 1677* (London: 1677).

⁷¹ King of Great Britain, *Articles of Peace*, 15-16.

acknowledge to have their immediate Dependency on, and own all Subjection to the Great King of England, our now Dread Sovereign, His Heirs and Successors, when they pay their Tribute to His Majesties Governour for the time being.”⁷² The individual Native American subject under the treaty was effectively a vassal to a vassal as far as the English were concerned. Martha McCartney has traced how English officials maneuvered to obtain special vestments and medals to signify the subject status of the Indian kings and queens.⁷³ The English allotted their tribute collectively at “Twenty Beaver Skins” per year.⁷⁴ In an age when beaver skins were increasingly rare and valuable, this was no small sum.

As a token of submission, these Virginia caciques were also to pay “in lieu of a Quit Rent” just “Three *Indian Arrows*” annually.⁷⁵ The arrows were the symbolic representation of the Indians’ obligation to defend the colony from foreign threats. Tributary Indians acted as border lookouts against “strange Indians near the English Quarters or Plantations.”⁷⁶ The treaty also required them to serve with Virginia’s militia during times of crisis. And the colony pledged to send the militia to the tributary Indians’ aid as well. For paying tribute and defending the colony, subject Indians received several other legal guarantees, rights, and privileges in return.

The most important guarantee was land. The treaty blamed “the Violent Incursions of divers English” into Indian lands as one of the principal causes of “the late unhappy Rebellion.”⁷⁷ Articles II through IV sought to clarify the Virginia land regime with respect to subject Indians. Their oaths of allegiance to the Crown guaranteed the “Indian Kings and Queens and their Subjects, shall hold their Lands, and have the same Confirmed to them and their Posterity, by Patent under the Seal of this His Majesties Colony.”⁷⁸ Moreover, Indians would hold property in land on roughly the same terms that English colonists did. Their title would be “in as free and firm manner as others His Majesties Subjects have and enjoy their Lands and Possessions.”⁷⁹ Moreover, the Indians retained their customary rights to the produce of the lands and waters surrounding them. The treaty permitted subject Indians to “have and enjoy their wonted conveniences in Oystering, Fishing, and gathering Tuchahoe, Curtenemons, Wild Oats, Rushes, Puckoone, or any thing else (for their natural support) not useful to the English, upon the English Dividends.”⁸⁰

The treaty also created a process for tributary Indians to obtain further grants of land. “That all Indians who are in Amity with Us, and have not Land sufficient to Plant upon, be (upon Information) forthwith provided for, and Land laid out and confirmed to them as aforesaid, ever to be disturbed therein, or taken from them” provided they continue in “due Obedience and Subjection” to the colony and the British Crown.⁸¹ Seventeenth-century Virginia faced similar pressures as Mexico had in the mid-1500s—particularly with respect to the scarcity of land. Land was increasingly more valuable in both places as

⁷² King of Great Britain, *Articles of Peace*, 5.

⁷³ McCartney, “Cockacoeske, Queen of Pamunkey,” in *Powhatan’s Mantle*, 252.

⁷⁴ King of Great Britain, *Articles of Peace*, 13.

⁷⁵ King of Great Britain, *Articles of Peace*, 7.

⁷⁶ King of Great Britain, *Articles of Peace*, 10.

⁷⁷ King of Great Britain, *Articles of Peace*, 6-7.

⁷⁸ King of Great Britain, *Articles of Peace*, 5.

⁷⁹ King of Great Britain, *Articles of Peace*, 5.

⁸⁰ King of Great Britain, *Articles of Peace*, 9.

⁸¹ King of Great Britain, *Articles of Peace*, 6.

colonial populations increased. The decline in Native American numbers in mid-sixteenth-century Mexico left many Indian lands vacant just as demand was rising.⁸² The Treaty of Middle Plantation restated the terms whereby Indians without clear title or even those without defined territories at all could apply for land patents. Once secure in title, Indian lands were off-limits to further English settlement. The treaty instituted a three-mile buffer zone around protected Indian towns.⁸³ Intruders into Indian lands “shall be removed from thence, and proceeded against as by the former Peace made.”⁸⁴ The treaty reaffirmed the harsh penalties for illegal colonial settlement from 1646. To enforce those penalties and keep the peace, the treaty provided for Indian justice.

The “strong Pillars of Reciprocal Justice” were the Treaty of Middle Plantation’s foundation—according to its preamble, at any rate. The royal commissioners and the Indian kings and queens hoped to establish a “Secure and Lasting” internal peace “by Confirming to them [Indians] their Just Rights, and by Redress of their Wrongs and Injuries.” The treaty spelled out the basic rights of Indians as subjects and established the system of “Reciprocal Justice” between subject Indians and the colonial government.

The Indians’ “Just Rights” included security in “their Persons, Goods and Properties against all hurts and injuries of the English.”⁸⁵ Their personal security extended specifically to how colonists could employ Indians in labor. Colonists needed the “License of the Governour” to keep an Indian as a domestic servant. The employer was also liable “for all Injuries and Damages by him or them happening to be done to any English.” The treaty also set limits on the terms of Indian servitude to prevent colonists from dragging out the length of an indenture. Article XV required that “no Indian (of those in Amity with us) shall serve for any longer time then English of the like Ages should serve by Act of Assembly.” The same article provided that subject Indians “shall not be sold as Slaves.”⁸⁶

Keeping the peace demanded a regular process for dealing with grievances between Indians and colonists. The treaty’s system had two tracks, one for Indians seeking redress and the other for English colonists. When any Indians suffered offense they were to repair to Virginia’s governor “who will inflict such Punishment on the wilful Infringers hereof, as the Laws of *England* or this Country permit.” Crimes against Indian subjects merited the same punishment “as if such hurt or injury had been done to any Englishman.”⁸⁷ For the individual “legal Indian,” justice came directly from the governor as the king’s representative, just as it had for the Chickahomines in 1614. The status of an individual Indian was separate but theoretically equivalent to that of an English subject’s—at least when a colonist committed an offense against him. What happened when a colonist accused an Indian subject? What were his rights then? The situation changed drastically. The rights of the Indian accused differed according to rank. Indian kings and queens could not “be Imprisoned without special Warrant from this Majesties Governour and Two of the

⁸² Owensby, *Empire of Law*, 93.

⁸³ King of Great Britain, *Articles of Peace*, 7.

⁸⁴ King of Great Britain, *Articles of Peace*, 7.

⁸⁵ King of Great Britain, *Articles of Peace*, 7-8.

⁸⁶ King of Great Britain, *Articles of Peace*, 13.

⁸⁷ King of Great Britain, *Articles of Peace*, 8.

Council.”⁸⁸ To arrest an ordinary Indian subject only required “a Warrant from a Justice of Peace, upon sufficient cause of Commitment.”⁸⁹

In short, the Treaty of Middle Plantation confirmed that Virginia contained a republic of Indians and a republic of Englishmen. Granted, the republic of Indians comprised only those peoples whose rulers were subjects to the treaty. After 1677, other Indian caciques petitioned to become tributaries under Middle Plantation’s terms. The treaty did not exclude Indians from the colonial community. Rather, as in many parts of Spanish America, the Treaty of Middle Plantation guaranteed Indians separate, protected spaces. Indeed, from the English perspective this separation was not entirely remarkable. Indians had title to their lands from the Crown by patent like any other subject. Truly extraordinary was the route open to Indians seeking redress. In all cases, they could appeal directly to the governor—Virginia’s viceroy—and, implicitly, all the way to the king himself by whose “Royal Grace and meer Motion” the treaty arose.⁹⁰ In seventeenth-century Virginia, Spanish thought, English perceptions, and Native American political expectations combined to create a space for legal contestation, the *English* republic of Indians.

V

The entanglement of British and Spanish America did not abate after the seventeenth century. As the eighteenth century dawned, colonial leaders in Virginia and, later, Carolina (chartered 1663), found themselves linked to Spain through trade and competition in North America’s southeastern borderlands. By the seventeenth century’s end, the central problem facing British officials was how best to accommodate the interests of territorial expansion with the protection of Native Americans. Virginia’s republic of Indians was one model for resolving the tension. There were others. British responses covered a wide range of potential Indian policies. Many turned on the crucial issue of Christian conversion in a way that Virginia’s republic of Indians had not.

Some British reformers advanced the idea of establishing Spanish-style missions in southeastern North America. For Carolina—founded “in the very chaps of the Spaniard”—the pull of Spanish influence was exceptionally strong as colonists looked southward toward Florida.⁹¹ In 1705, Thomas Nairne grudgingly commended the strength of the Spanish mission system in protecting Indians and holding their loyalty. Commenting on the Apalachee, mission Indians from northern Florida and victims of a 1703 English raid, Nairne marveled at how they “maintained their fidelity & friendship to the Spaniards to the very last.”⁹² On this basis, Nairne supported the nascent missionary efforts among Native Americans in South Carolina. Like “the Spanish Friars,” an English missionary could serve as a “Protector to represent their Grievances.”⁹³ Others, however, criticized the Spanish model for not going far enough towards fully incorporating Native Americans.

⁸⁸ Pursuant to Article VI. King of Great Britain, *Articles of Peace*, 8.

⁸⁹ King of Great Britain, *Articles of Peace*, 8.

⁹⁰ King of Great Britain, *Articles of Peace*, 3.

⁹¹ The wry observation of the colony’s situation was Joseph Dalton’s in a 1670 letter to the Carolina proprietor, Anthony Ashley Cooper. Quoted in Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1928), 3.

⁹² Nairne quoted in Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 230.

⁹³ Nairne quoted in Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 231.

One prominent critic was North Carolina's surveyor-general, John Lawson. In 1709 Lawson proposed to bring Indians under the "same Ecclesiastical and Civil Government" as the British.⁹⁴ Lawson's solution was the gradual atomization of Indians, drawing them out of their corporate bonds to one another and into deeper economic, political, and religious relationships with the English. He proposed apprenticing Indian boys to master artisans.⁹⁵ Most important, Lawson believed that Englishmen of the "meaner sort" should intermarry with Indian women.⁹⁶ He explicitly criticized the Spanish model of two republics, arguing that keeping Indians to themselves discouraged the aims of incorporation and prevented genuine religious conversion—an objective that Lawson believed the English had too hastily abandoned. "We find that the Fuentes and several other of the noted Indian Families about Mexico, and in other parts of New Spain, had given several large Gifts to the Altar, and outwardly seem'd fond of their new Religion," Lawson wrote, "yet those that were the greatest Zealots outwards, on a strict Enquiry, were found guilty of Idolatry and Witchcraft; and this seems to proceed from their Cohabiting, which, as I have noted before, gives Opportunities of Cabals to recal [sic] their ancient pristine Infidelity and Superstitions."⁹⁷ Lawson claimed—quite anachronistically as it happens—Indians were "Cohabiting" among themselves rather than dispersed as individual subjects in New Spain. Nevertheless, he understood the Spanish legal principal of separation well enough to claim that it was the cause of rebellion. Long after Jamestown, the lore of Spain—whether good or ill—still possessed a prominent place in the English imagination.

Conquest and justice—the two seem utterly incompatible. Indeed, colonial justice is a contradiction in terms. Yet, in the imaginations of some English colonizers, the example of Spain seemed to provide a way to reconcile the two. John Smith said conquest was the "easie" path to "civilizing" America. Swift as the sword's work appeared to Smith, other Englishmen believed that the administration of justice was the route to lasting peace and civility. Treaties, however fleeting, became one means for establishing a modicum of "Reciprocal Justice" between England and its Indian subjects in America. For Native Americans, especially peoples like the Pamunkey, their political choices narrowed as time passed. But in reaching terms through treaties, they did not wholly capitulate before their English adversaries. Neither did treaties of themselves guarantee respect for Indian rights. Treaties like Middle Plantation and the law generally, made room for a politics of Indian relations that Native peoples themselves could actively shape. More Indians were active participants in the politics of empire than we have previously imagined—a subject that demands further study. And in the entangled Atlantic world, Spain played an ongoing role, too, as both model and rival to the English.

⁹⁴ John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina; Containing the Exact Description and Natural History of That Country: Together with the Present State Thereof. And A Journal of a Thousand Miles, Travel'd Thro' Several Nations of Indians. Giving a Particular Account of Their Customs, Manners, & c.* (London: 1709), 237.

⁹⁵ Lawson, *New Voyage*, 237.

⁹⁶ Lawson, *New Voyage*, 238.

⁹⁷ Lawson, *New Voyage*, 238.

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Indian Converts and *La gracia triunfante*: Biographies of Christian Indigenous Women in the Atlantic World of the 1720s

Since that day she greatly strengthened and augmented her fervors...and practiced the most solid virtues in her divine observance. Her silence was great, her penances rigorous, her fast perpetual, her prayer fervent, her preference for God continuous, her independence absolute.¹

She was a Person of a very blameless Life. Neither was she the Subject of a mere negative Goodness only; for the good Works she did praised her: She was particularly a very remarkable Example of Kindness and Charity to her Neighbours, ready on all Occasions to visit and help them. ...She was much given to Hospitality. ...She was a very courteous, discreet, and diligent Woman.²

These two quotes, both written in the 1720s by male religious leaders, described devout women who lived exemplary Christian lives. Both portrayals contain an abundance of positive adjectives, compiling virtue upon virtue. Both also describe indigenous women whose devotion to Christianity demonstrated their rejection of indigenous religious practices. The similarities in these quotes, however, belie the different contexts in which they were produced. The first quote, written in 1724 by Father Juan de Urtassum, described a Catholic woman who grew up in New Spain. This biography, along with four other biographies of holy indigenous women, formed an appendix to a hagiography about Catherine Tekakwitha, which was first published in France in 1717 and then translated and re-published in New Mexico a few years later. *La gracia triunfante* coincided with the opening of a convent for indigenous women in Mexico City that same year, and was part of an effort to support the convent. The second quote is from Experience Mayhew's book *Indian Converts*, published in 1727, which sought to demonstrate the fruits of nearly a century of Protestant evangelization to the indigenous of Martha's Vineyard. The book features twenty-nine women among numerous biographies of indigenous Christian men, women, and children, spanning several generations.³ These major socio-religious and geographical differences can sometimes occlude the surprising similarities between the two texts. In this paper, I will compare the descriptions of Christian indigenous women in both New England and New

¹ Juan de Urtassum, *La gracia triunfante en la vida de Catharina Tegakovita, India Iroquesa, y en las de otras, asi de su Nacion, como de esta Nueva-España* (Mexico: Joseph Bernando de Hogal, 1724), 230. All translations from original Spanish by author. Titles in Spanish are not capitalized beyond the first word.

² Experience Mayhew, *Indian Converts* (1727), reprinted in Laura Arnold Leibman (ed), *Experience Mayhew's Indian Converts: A Cultural Edition* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), 228.

³ According to Mayhew's numbering system, there are thirty (XXX) biographies, but he seems to have erroneously skipped number twenty-nine and gone straight from XXVIII to XXX.

Spain to analyze the similarities and differences of the rhetoric used in these two contexts.⁴

This type of comparison—between northern Anglo-Protestant colonies and southern Spanish Catholic ones—has emerged as part of a growing field of Atlantic Studies. Atlantic scholars seek to escape reliance on the nation as a predetermined unit of investigation and broaden the understanding of connections between countries. As Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra points out in his book *Puritan Conquistadors*, “some justifications for colonization in Puritan colonial Massachusetts were really not that different from those espoused in, say, Catholic colonial Lima.” Specifically, Cañizares-Esguerra argues that “British Protestants and Spanish Catholics deployed similar religious discourses to explain and justify conquest and colonization.”⁵ Perhaps J. H. Elliott flattens the differences between British and Iberian empires a little too much when he writes that the main differences between the two were just “accidents both of environment and timing,” but as he suggests in his introduction: “Even imperfect comparisons can help to shake historians out of their provincialisms, by provoking new questions and offering new perspectives.”⁶ Recently, however, Sarah Rivett and Stephanie Kirk have lamented that “disciplines and fields still perpetuate a notion of the hegemonic imposition of Christianity along linguistic and national boundaries.”⁷ They suggest that by using gender as a category of analysis, scholars may find that men tried “managing tensions between spiritual equality and social hierarchy in ways that demonstrate some transhemispheric continuity while also exposing dimensions of conversion, communal structure, and religious authority as unique to the Iberian-Catholic and Anglo-Protestant experience.”⁸ A comparative Atlantic approach, especially one that focuses on the common axis of gender and female spirituality, may provide new insights into the cultural context of each geographic region.

Indeed, there are many similarities between *Indian Converts* and *La gracia triunfante*, some more surprising than others. Both rely on the testimony of others to confirm the holiness of the women profiled: neighbors and ministers in *Indian Convents*, and priestly confessors in *La gracias triunfante*. Both highlight the literacy of the women although this literacy spans a range from correctly “reading” images, to reading indigenous language texts, and finally reading and/or writing English or Spanish texts. Both authors also downplay the actual indigenous culture of the women whose lives they narrate. Other themes are treated in both books yet with different conclusions. Sickness is an important factor in many of the stories. While they generally conclude with miraculous healings as proof of sanctity in the Iberian context,

⁴ A note on vocabulary: I have chosen to use “New Spain” rather than Mexico because it is the most accurate title for the region for the time (and because “New Spain” appears in the title and text of *La gracia triunfante*). While there are many different possible terms for referring to indigenous peoples of North and South America, such as Native, Indian, First Nations, indio/a, etc., I prefer the term “indigenous.” Some of my sources made different choices, and I have not edited their choices when using direct quotes. Unless otherwise specified, the indigenous peoples described are generally Wampanoags on Martha’s Vineyard and Nahuas in New Spain.

⁵ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 9.

⁶ J. H. Elliot, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 28 and xviii.

⁷ Sarah Rivett and Stephanie Kirk, “Religious Transformations in the Early Modern Americas,” *Early American Literature* 45.1 (2010), 61.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 64.

Mayhew portrays the patient acceptance of suffering and sickness as a marker of holiness. Similarly, mystical events appear in both books. Yet while they are celebrated in *La gracia triunfante*, they are somewhat questioned in *Indian Converts*. The biggest difference between the texts is their discussion of gender roles. *La gracia triunfante* emphasizes the virtue of chastity: All the women professed preserve their virginity for Christ, even one who was married. In contrast, *Indian Converts* does not mention sexuality but focuses instead on proper relationships between men and women as well as women's success within the domestic sphere. In one sense, these differing emphases belie an underlying similarity. Both texts engage a common stereotype about indigenous women: In the Iberian colonies, the idea of the profligate, sensuous, indigenous woman predominates while in Puritan New England, the sense that indigenous women inverted Puritan gender roles for work and familial leadership prevails. Both documents also concluded that indigenous women could overcome these potential racial failings to become model Christian women.

Indian Converts describes the Christian Wampanoag experience on Martha's Vineyard, where members of Experience Mayhew's family had been missionaries since 1642. Ideologically similar to John Eliot's approach of developing "Praying Indians," Thomas Mayhew, Jr. (Experience's grandfather) encouraged the Wampanoags to convert and form a Christian church for the indigenous. Thomas' first convert, Hiacoomes, did not fall prey to the epidemic sickness sweeping through the island, which Mayhew claimed was a demonstration of the "greater healing power of the English God," an argument which encouraged many other indigenous to convert.⁹ The overall Anglo mission to convert the indigenous, however, was interrupted by the chaos of the second half of the seventeenth century that included King Phillip's War (1675-1678), the 1684 revocation of the Massachusetts Bay charter, and the outbreak of witchcraft trials in Salem in 1692. In her book *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons*, Kristina Bross notes the change of tone in John Eliot's missionary tracts in the course of King Phillip's War: "I must change my ditty now," wrote Eliot in late 1675, "I have much to write of lamentation over the work of Christ among our praying Indians...*The work (in our patent) is under great sufferings.*"¹⁰ An old man at this point, Eliot was no longer convinced that the missionary work he had dedicated his life to would be successful and doubted that the Anglo readership would continue to financially support it. Indeed, Bross argues that "The outbreak of King Philip's War in 1675 disrupted evangelistic activity and threw Puritan evangelism and the Praying Indian community into confusion. The war ultimately shifted colonial Indian policy from assimilation to extermination."¹¹ While "praying Indians" certainly did not die out at the end of the seventeenth century, the heady confidence of earlier missionaries had dissipated.

On Martha's Vineyard, however, this pessimism was tempered. The war had not affected the island as much as some communities on the mainland, and the population density of the indigenous prevented the trope of the "dying Indian" from holding sway. As James Ronda argues, "In numbers of Indians and English, and in relations between the peoples, Martha's Vineyard was

⁹ David Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries: Colonists, Christianity, and Community among the Wampanoag Indians of Martha's Vineyard, 1600-1871* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 36.

¹⁰ Kristina Bross, *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons: Praying Indians in Colonial America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 199.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 195.

substantially different from the mainland.”¹² The number of whites living on the island was low enough that the indigenous could practice and develop their own Christianity without facing much prejudice. *Indian Converts*, therefore, is a generally optimistic text. Writing shortly before the outbreak of the Great Awakening, Experience Mayhew sought to give his readers an account of “the Successes [the missionaries] meet with in the Work wherein they are engaged” and to “publish to the Glory of GOD and the Comfort of his People, the good *Effects* of their Ministry.”¹³ Ronda argues that “Mayhew intended to demonstrate the validity of Indian Christianity by showing that not all the gospel seeds sown among the natives had fallen on stony ground.”¹⁴ While there is no specific political event that prompted Mayhew to write *Indian Converts* in the years leading up to its publication, it can be seen as an effort to shore up dwindling hopes of lasting success in the Anglo missionary project.

The publication of *La gracia triunfante* was directly related to the opening of a convent for indigenous women, the Convent of Corpus Christi in Mexico City. In the first few decades after the Spanish conquest of Tenochtilan in 1521, indigenous participation in Catholic religious orders—priests, brothers, and nuns—was mostly unregulated. Both indigenous and mestiza women were known to have entered convents, although they had not done so in great numbers.¹⁵ The 1555 First Mexican Council banned the ordination of indigenous men as priests. That ban was softened but not discarded by the Third Provincial Council of 1585, which permitted indigenous ordination while urging for “great caution” in the selection of candidates.¹⁶ Although these decisions related to male ordination, they highlighted the barriers to female indigenous participation in Catholic holy orders. Throughout the seventeenth century, several orders (such as Jesuits, Dominicans, and Franciscans) focused on evangelizing the indigenous without permitting them to enter full-fledged religious life. It was, however, not entirely uncommon for indigenous women to participate in convent life as servants to full (professed) sisters. Many of them also lived as *beatas*, following the rigors of convent life without formally making vows as a nun. Asunción Lavrin argues that the growing devotion of Our Lady of Guadalupe, who first appeared to the indigenous man Juan Diego, sparked new interest in the possibilities of religious fervor among the indigenous.¹⁷

In 1719, Baltasar de Zúñiga, the viceroy of New Spain, donated money for a Franciscan convent specifically for indigenous women. In doing so, he hoped to provide another option for the daughters of indigenous elite (*caciques*), but many creoles in Mexico City opposed this plan. Juan de Urtassum, the translator and compiler of *La gracia triunfante*, was a firm supporter of the convent and saw a clear connection between the life of Catherine Tekakwitha (1656-1680) and the Corpus Christi convent. The hagiography of Tekakwitha, written in Canada by her confessor and published in France, emphasizes the

¹² James P. Ronda, “Generations of Faith: The Christian Indians of Martha’s Vineyard,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series 38.3 (1981), 370.

¹³ Mayhew, “Indian Converts,” 79-80 and 93.

¹⁴ Ronda, “Generations of Faith,” 372.

¹⁵ For more information on nuns in sixteenth-century Mexico see Ann Miriam Gallagher, R. S. M., “The Indian Nuns of Mexico City’s *Monasterio* of Corpus Christi, 1724-1821” in Asunción Lavrin (ed), *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives* (London: Greenwood, 1978).

¹⁶ Asunción Lavrin, “Indian Brides of Christ: Creating New Spaces for Indigenous Women in New Spain,” *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 15.2 (1999), 231.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 231.

purity, humility, and sanctity of an indigenous woman who devoted her life to the Catholic God at a Jesuit mission in Canada. After the lengthy biography, Urtassum attaches an appendix with stories from five indigenous women of New Spain. In his perception, “It could be material for a pious complaint, from the Native Indians of this New Spain...that having flowered here some Natives not dissimilar in virtues and especially in the virgin candor of Catherine, we contented ourselves with one example (although from the same Nation) brought from far away, having so many examples nearby.”¹⁸ With this introduction, Urtassum establishes a similarity between Tekakwitha and the indigenous of New Spain; and although they are not exactly alike, they are of the same “Nation.” Having discussed the heroic virtue of Tekakwitha, he points out that many indigenous women in New Spain have reached similar levels of piety and sanctity. Urtassum argues that the success so clearly present and accepted in Tekakwitha’s life—the “triumphant grace” that gives the book its title—can also be seen in the lives of indigenous Nahuas.

Both Mayhew and Urtassum were familiar with the genre of conversion narratives. As Laura Arnold Leibman points out, Mayhew’s biographies followed a pattern common among Puritan missionaries. “Cotton Mather’s *Magnalia Christi Americana* [1702],” she explains, “provides one of the clearest models for both the scope and structure of Mayhew’s work. The *Magnalia*, like earlier Puritan histories by William Bradford, Nathaniel Morton, and Edward Johnson, relies upon biography as the basis for history.”¹⁹ John Eliot’s *Tears of Repentance* (1653) could be added to that list.²⁰ Within each biography, Mayhew also had clear examples for conversion narratives. A conversion narrative was frequently recited in front of a Puritan congregation, usually in order to gain full membership to the church. The church members could thus confirm (or potentially reject) the authenticity of the divine signs of election shown in the person’s life.²¹ This public performance also offered examples for future conversion narratives, effectively creating a template for testimonies. The women in *Indian Converts* follow many of the typical characteristics of these conversion narratives: They sense a moment of divine election, are seen as godly women in the eyes of their neighbors and fellow church members, and yet do not dare to presume that they are definitively saved.

Urtassum worked from a slightly different set of precedents. The genre of female hagiography was very popular in the Catholic Church during the early modern period, particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In response to the Reformation, Pope Urban VIII reformed the process of canonization. The clear demarcation of “official” sanctity led to increasing homogeneity within female hagiography as well, emphasizing “doctrinal purity, heroic virtues, and miraculous intercessions.”²² The historian José Luis Sánchez Lora argues that there are several necessary components of a successful female hagiography: evidence of sanctity from a very young age (in

¹⁸ Urtassum, *La gracia triunfante*, 209-210.

¹⁹ Leibman, *Experience Mayhew’s Indian Converts*, 18.

²⁰ Kristina Bross points out an interesting similarity between the titles of John Eliot’s *Tears of Repentance* and Bartolomé de las Casas’ *Tears of the Indians* (1541), although the English version of *Tears of the Indians* was published after Eliot’s work, in 1656. At the very least, it is evidence of similar rhetoric being written around the Atlantic. See Bross, *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons*, 19.

²¹ See Leibman, *Experience Mayhew’s Indian Converts*, 23-24.

²² Fernando Iwasaki Cauti, “Vidas de Santas y santas vidas: Hagiografías reales e imaginarias en Lima colonial,” *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 41.1 (1994), 49. Translation by author.

order to demonstrate to Protestants and other naysayers that God had chosen a saint for Rome, and that Rome itself was not doing the choosing), some type of suffering, reference to other female saints as examples, and a pious death.²³ Although mystical experiences represented a feminine spirituality that trespassed the bounds of orthodoxy, they could also be used to demonstrate supernatural favor and the sanctity of the woman profiled (as in the cases of Teresa of Avila and Rose of Lima).²⁴ Of course, Urtassum's clearest inspiration comes from the text that takes up the bulk of his publication, the hagiography of Catherine Tekakwitha, but her life story also falls in line with many of the expectations discussed above.

Finally, any comparison of the two contexts of *Indian Converts* and *La gracia triunfante* would be incomplete if it failed to mention some of the very important differences between the two settings. For one, the project of evangelization in New Spain had just begun its third century while Anglo missionaries in Martha's Vineyard had only arrived on the island some eighty years earlier. Because of this difference in timespan and the different conversion requirements between Catholicism and Protestantism there were different assumptions about the religious state of the indigenous in general. In New Spain, particularly the region of Mexico City, the indigenous were generally assumed to be Catholic and had probably baptized family members for multiple generations—although the question of hidden idolatry, lasting indigenous religious traditions, or syncretism was always a concern for Catholic leaders. In greater New England, a minority of indigenous practiced Christianity, and many of Mayhew's stories (especially the first few of every chapter) are about people who had never heard of Christianity before. Geographically, Martha's Vineyard was separated from Massachusetts. Although there were similar missionary efforts on the mainland, the island probably represents one of the longest-lasting emergences of Christian indigenous communities.²⁵ Mayhew might have seen himself as following in the Puritan "city on a hill" tradition, offering a beacon of hope to those more discouraged in their evangelization efforts on the mainland. In contrast, Mexico City was the center of New Spain and not as isolated as Martha's Vineyard. Two other convents for indigenous women were founded in the eighteenth century, in 1734 in Valladolid, and in 1774 in Oaxaca.²⁶

One similarity between the two texts is that both were written by elite men about subaltern women. While neither author recognizes his own role in categorizing and explaining the women's spiritual experiences, both provide an abundance of references to other authorities who authenticate the orthodoxy of the women. Mayhew usually calls the opinions of others "testimony" and uses them to validate the good character of the women. While he prefers first-hand evidence from his own knowledge of the women, he accepts testimony from whites, indigenous, and even husbands and children. For Urtassum, priestly

²³ See José Luis Sánchez Lora, *Mujeres, conventos y formas de la religiosidad barroca* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1988), especially 375-450.

²⁴ For further analysis of the difference between orthodox mysticism and problematic "alumbradismo" in the Spanish colonies see Kathleen Myers, "'Redeemer of America': Rosa de Lima, the Dynamics of Identity, and Canonization" in Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff (eds), *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

²⁵ According to Silverman, "The Wampanoag tribe of Aquinnah [currently] maintains the oldest Protestant Indian congregation in continuous existence in North America." Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, xx.

²⁶ Lavrin, "Indian Brides of Christ," 250.

confessors generally serve as the impartial witnesses to the women's holiness. Both Juana de Geronymo and Petronila de la Concepción, for example, discuss their spiritual progress with their confessors. The approval of Petronila's confessor is explicitly mentioned in the text, while that of Juana's is implied. One female authority figure does make an appearance in *La gracia triunfante*: the abbess of the convent where Petronila lives as an unprofessed *beata*, who also confirms Petronila's sanctity. In both *Indian Converts* and *La gracia triunfante*, the women's testimony about their own spiritual life is not sufficient evidence of the veracity of those experiences, but must be confirmed by outside sources.

Secondly, although racial identity is crucial to the motives for publishing both of these texts, neither one emphasizes the indigenous background of the women. Mayhew gives indigenous names for many of the women, often in conjunction with English names, such as Hannah Ahhunnut, "commonly called by the Indians Pahkehtau," or "Assannooshque, commonly by the English call'd Old Sarah,"²⁷ yet he does not describe the meanings of these names or discuss why they might have had two names. On one occasion, he describes the typical wigwam dwelling of the Wampanoag mainly to point out how "the House thus built was kept clean and neat, all things in it being in their proper places."²⁸ He makes no mention of any non-Christian indigenous practices. Although Urtassum proclaims that the women he is describing are indigenous, he also avoids any description of indigenous cultural practices that might be distinguishable from European ones. As Asunción Lavrin says about the women, "Nothing in their behavior made them different from españolas."²⁹ In both texts, references to indigenous culture lie mainly in the realm of language. Urtassum writes that an anonymous indigenous girl who suffered from an illness was brought to the Jesuit church in town "on a type of stretcher, which the Natives call *Tlapexco*."³⁰ In another place, he refers to a bridge as "the bridge that is called *Cotzotlan*."³¹ Mayhew, who was fluent in Wôpanâak, also includes a few words of indigenous language.³² He tells the story of Abigail Kesohtaut's sister, who was grief-stricken at the prospect of her sister's impending death from illness. While asleep, she heard a voice say "Wunnantinnea Kanannut," which Mayhew says means "Indian, there is favor now extended in Canaan."³³ While Mayhew hesitates to confirm the spiritual value of the dream, he does record the words in Wôpanâak. In both texts, the women speak indigenous languages but do not demonstrate their indigenous heritage in other ways.

A somewhat surprising similarity between the two texts is that many of the women demonstrate literacy skills. Although Hepzibah Assaquanhut struggled to learn to read, she still "frequently read in such books of Piety as she was able to read in."³⁴ Rachel Wompanummoo extended her oral bilingualism to the

²⁷ Mayhew, "Indian Converts," 232- 233.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 257.

²⁹ Lavrin, "Indian Brides of Christ," 257.

³⁰ Urtassum, *La gracia triunfante*, 226. Italics in original. *Tlapexco* actually is a locative phrase meaning "on the stretcher."

³¹ *Ibid.*, 225. Italics in original. *Cotzotlan* is probably an alternate spelling of *Cuauhtzotlan*, meaning "place by the tree trunks." (Special thanks to Camilla Townsend for her assistance in decoding the Nahuatl.)

³² Wôpanâak is the dialect of Massachusetts spoken by the Wampanoags. It is an Algonquian language. See Leibman, *Experience Mayhew's Indian Converts*, 1.

³³ Mayhew, "Indian Converts," 238, 239. I have not been able to confirm the veracity of Mayhew's translation.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 290.

written word as well: She first learned to read the Bible in “Indian” (probably based on Eliot’s Algonquian translation) and later, “after she was a Woman grown, learned to read *English*, and also to write a legible hand.”³⁵ The most popular text for these women to read was the Bible, followed by *The Practice of Piety*, a Puritan spiritual guidebook first published in 1611. Several women also taught their own children to read, such as Abigail Kesoehaut, who “had some Children (not being nigh any School) she did herself teach them to read.”³⁶ While there is a lower rate of literacy among the women in *La gracia triunfante*, at least one of them, Juana de San Geronymo, was able to read and write. She signed her name “Juana the sinner” as an example of humility and wrote a letter to her patron, Don Fernando de Cordova y Bocanegra, “with her own hand” presumably in Spanish.³⁷ Although Juana is the only one who is definitively literate out of the five women profiled, the other four stories hint at a type of pictographic literacy. In Counter-Reformation Catholicism, the use of images as a teaching tool for non-literate peoples gained importance, and the examples of the women in those stories reflect that trend.³⁸ For example, Francisca de San Miguel had a special devotion to a dilapidated image of Christ Crucified but could not afford to repair it or buy a new one. One day, three indigenous men, dressed in white, appeared at the door of the convent where she was living and presented a new image of Christ Crucified, which they said was a gift for Francisca. She was overcome with delight at “seeing herself in possession of such an estimable treasure,” which “she had desired for such a long time,” and in the joyful chaos the three men disappeared.³⁹ Sebastian and Magdalena, the parents of a saintly indigenous girl, had special devotion to an image of “Maria Santissima,” purportedly a copy of the one made by St. Luke.⁴⁰ While it was hardly synonymous with alphanumeric literacy, this familiarity with specific Catholic devotional images in Nahuas underscores their ability to navigate European signs.

Two other themes are addressed in both Mayhew and Urtassum from different perspectives, sickness and mysticism. In *Indian Converts*, many of the women die from diseases. Dealing with illness in a manner befitting a Christian woman is a common theme. Mary Coshomon is a typical example of patient suffering, and Mayhew offers a direct quote of her speech: “The Pain which I must afterwards endure will be infinitely greater than that which I here undergo: I therefore intreat the Lord to help me...that I may have all my Pain and Sorrow here in this World, and be for ever happy in that which is to come.”⁴¹ The pain does not cause Mary to turn away from God. She trusts in providence and accepts her fate, using the illness to bring herself closer to God. For Sarah Peag, it was the sickness and death of others (particularly her son) that brought her to Christianity. “When God took this dear and precious Child from her,” Mayhew explains, “he by this Affliction brought her to a more full Sight and Sense of her Sin.”⁴² Although disease could affect the community by

³⁵ Ibid, 299.

³⁶ Ibid, 236.

³⁷ Urtassum, *La gracia triunfante*, 210.

³⁸ For more on the importance of images, especially in Catholic Iberia, see Javier Portús Pérez, “Rastros de la convivencia con las imágenes” in Miguel Morán Turina and Javier Portús Pérez (eds), *El arte de mirar: La pintura y su público en la España de Velázquez* (Madrid: Ediciones AKAL, 1997), 197-215.

³⁹ Urtassum, *La gracia triunfante*, 237-238.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 214.

⁴¹ Mayhew, “Indian Converts,” 271.

⁴² Ibid, 292.

the loss of its members, it also strengthened connections between women. Several of the women profiled by Mayhew are known for their tender care for ill neighbors and friends. Hannah Nohnosoo “often did good by her Medicines among her neighbors,” treating both indigenous and English, while Hannah Tiler had “nothing...of Value” to bring to invalids but nevertheless visited them and prayed with them.⁴³ Sickness itself was central to the Wampanoag experience of the seventeenth century. Like most indigenous, they faced the outbreak of “virgin soil” epidemics. Two particularly harsh waves of sickness passed through the island in the 1640s and 1690s.⁴⁴ According to Puritan theology, sickness was often sent by God and provided an opportunity to consider one’s final destiny.⁴⁵ Mayhew seems to fully espouse this belief, commenting that Mary, for example, “was obliged to bear with Patience what her heavenly Father was pleased to lay on her.”⁴⁶ Hannah Nohnosoo seconded this faith in God’s will when she was asked if her medicinal skills would be able to heal someone. “I do not know but I may, if it please God to bless means for that end, she would reply, “otherwise I can do nothing.”⁴⁷ In Mayhew’s perception, therefore, sickness was a part of God’s providential plan and offered the possibility of demonstrating care and compassion, patient suffering, or acceptance by the Christian indigenous women.

Urtassum certainly would agree with Mayhew that sometimes sicknesses has divine origins. Speaking of Juana de San Geronymo, Urtassum writes, “The Lord brought her through the path of great sicknesses and entire poverty until her death, which was as precious as her life was holy.”⁴⁸ This suffering was part of God’s plan for Juana, as Urtassum makes even clearer in a later passage: “Her portion was to exercise a perfect and continual conformity with the Divine Will in her poverty, infirmity, and her neglect.”⁴⁹ While sickness in Juana’s life emphasized her holiness in much the same way that it did in the cases of the indigenous women of Martha’s Vineyard, in two other cases illness played a more dramatic role. An unnamed indigenous girl, the daughter of Sebastian and Magdalena, suffered a sickness that caused paralysis in her hands and feet “because the Lord wanted to test her as an adult in virtues.”⁵⁰ Although she suffered with patience for several months, she finally asked her parents to bring her before the image of Mary in the Jesuit church, where she promised her virginity and her life in service to God if he would heal her. As Urtassum reports, “She soon experienced the effect of this Angelic sacrifice in the sudden relief of her troublesome sickness, and in few days in total health, without any lingering effects from the past.”⁵¹ This miracle confirms the young girl’s sanctity and serves as a defense for her a few years later when her parents wanted her to marry. Urtassum does not go so far as to argue that God sent the disease so the girl would decide to live a chaste life, yet her healing clearly signifies that the girl’s sacrifice pleased God.

⁴³ Ibid, 255 and 280.

⁴⁴ See Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, 74.

⁴⁵ See Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries*, 66 and James Axtell, *The School Upon a Hill: Education and Society in Colonial New England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 74.

⁴⁶ Mayhew, “Indian Converts,” 271.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 255.

⁴⁸ Urtassum, *La gracia triunfante*, 212.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 213.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 215.

⁵¹ Ibid, 217.

Miraculous healing also indicates Petronila de la Concepción found the right path. She had been a servant at the Royal Convent of Jesus and Mary since she was ten years old but later developed a “cancerous growth” on her hand and was sent away from the convent to recuperate. At home, she felt “far from the center of her tranquility.” In order to return, she asked God to heal her, and “her petition was heard, for she soon saw herself healed of all disease.”⁵² At first, the other nuns are hesitant to allow her to return, but when they understand the miraculous nature of her healing they welcome her back with open arms. In *La gracia triunfante*, therefore, sickness is important not only for what it demonstrates about the character of the invalid but also for how it permits God to communicate with the sick and those around them.

Both Mayhew and Urtassum address mystical or supernatural encounters other than healing, although Urtassum accepts these supernatural phenomena much more than Mayhew. *La gracia triunfante* tells how Juana de San Geronymo received a message from God telling her that her patron Don Fernando would die soon, but that he was to be rewarded in heaven. Reporting that Don Fernando did indeed pass away soon after Juana received this message, Urtassum does not doubt Juana’s prophetic capacities. By far the most mystical of the five women profiled is Petronila de la Concepción. As a young girl living in the convent as a servant, she prayed before an image of Christ that he would take away the “undue affection” that she had for a nun in the convent.⁵³ The image of Christ “reached out its arm...and placed its hand on Petronila’s heart, and made her feel the marvelous effects of this divine favor.”⁵⁴ From this point onward, Petronila remained fully dedicated to the Lord. She had numerous conversations with souls in purgatory, which she simply reported to her confessor without fanfare. The only time when Urtassum seems to question Petronila’s divine revelations is when she talks to Mary out loud about a flood that was threatening Mexico City. “How long is this water going to last?” she asked Mary, who replied in an audible voice, “Five years.”⁵⁵ A servant girl, overhearing this conversation, was frightened and reported it to the abbess, Madre Antonia, who investigated it along with the convent’s chaplain, Juan Xavier Quero. They concluded that “given the sanctity of [Juana], along with the other well-investigated circumstances, the truth of that prodigious vision was not to be doubted.”⁵⁶ It can be assumed that Urtassum agreed. The mystical experiences of Juana and Petronila confirm their holiness rather than putting it into question: They are following in the footsteps of established female saints like Teresa of Avila or Rose of Lima, apparently staying well within the boundaries of orthodoxy.

Mayhew, on the other hand, is significantly more reserved in recounting supernatural experiences. When Abigail Kesohtaut was dying, her sister had a dream in which she heard a voice saying “Wunnantinea Kanaanut.” Although Mayhew recognizes that Abigail’s sister was a “godly” woman, he is uncertain as how to interpret this experience. He breaks from the traditional biographical style to insert his own voice, asking:

⁵² Ibid, 228.

⁵³ Urtassum explains that these type of close friendships cause “a waste of time,” among other possible problems. While it is possible to read sexual undertones into Petronila’s affection, the admonition to avoid intimate friendships within the cloister is a common one in monastic life, in order to avoid hurt feelings and exclusivity within the tight quarters of convent walls.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 227.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 232.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 233.

Query: Whether the person that dream the Dream now related, ought to take any other notice of it, than she should of any common Dream; or what she should think concerning it? A Solution of this Problem would gratify both the Person that had the Dream, and him that has related it.⁵⁷

Abigail's death occurred in 1709, nearly twenty years before the publication of *Indian Converts*, which seems like it could have been enough time to confirm or deny the sanctity of her sister and the possible origins of the dream. Mayhew, however, is still unwilling to fully believe in the divine inspiration of the supernatural voice. A similar vision—Abiah Paaonit's perception of a "*marvellous Light*" that offered her "some little Glimpse of the Glory of the Heavenly World,"—provokes another editorial comment from Mayhew. "What notice ought to have been taken of this Phænomenon I shall not undertake to declare," he equivocates, "but shall leave to the Judgement of the Judicious."⁵⁸ Although this vision produces good effects in Abiah, leading her to further joy and trust in God, her holiness does not mean that Mayhew believes in the veracity of her experience. This perspective contrasts with *La gracia triunfante*, where supernatural phenomena are assumed to be divine if the recipient demonstrates appropriate virtue both before and after the experience.

The most important component of Mayhew and Urtassum's texts is how they deal with questions of gender and sexuality. While both try to reassure their audiences that the indigenous women are complying with European Christian gender norms, they have different challenges to overcome in doing so, based on their particular socio-geographic contexts. For Urtassum, this difficulty lies in establishing the capacity for chastity among the indigenous women. As Asunción Lavrin argues, one central question lay unresolved when the convent of Corpus Christi was first opened: "Were Indian women capable of sustaining a spiritual life that could some day lead into full membership in a monastic community?"⁵⁹ The major quality that indigenous women were thought to lack was "constancy," a thinly-veiled reference to their supposed inability to remain chaste. One Jesuit priest described it as an inclination to "wander around."⁶⁰ Although some indigenous women lived within cloister walls, their presence was perpetually temporary as creole priests and nuns harbored doubts about the women's ability to maintain a lifelong commitment to convent life. According to Josefina Muriel, one of the reasons why the Franciscan (Poor Clare) order was chosen to found the convent was because it was one of the stricter orders. "A monastery whose austerities would subjugate the rebellions of the flesh," she explains, "...would not leave any room...for the feared indigenous sensuality."⁶¹ Because many different types of religious orders were available for creole women in Mexico City (some with more flexible rules than the Franciscans), the example implies that indigenous female sexuality was thought to need stronger regulation than creole sexuality.

The idea of indigenous women's sexual promiscuity had been present in New Spain nearly as long as the Spaniards themselves. One Franciscan priest described indigenous women as people "warm by nature," who commit sexual

⁵⁷ Mayhew, "Indian Converts," 239.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 251.

⁵⁹ Lavrin, "Indian Brides of Christ," 225-226.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 244.

⁶¹ Josefina Muriel, *Las indias caciques de Corpus Christi* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional de México, 2001), 44. Translation by author.

sins even when they wish to avoid them.⁶² The conquest of Mexico itself was often described in erotic terms as Spaniards were “entering, possessing, and ravishing a feminized America.”⁶³ The difference in gender norms between the Nahuas and the Spanish contributed to misunderstandings about female indigenous sexuality. Power imbalances (as well as the lack of Spanish women) meant that rape was a common part of the conquest. By the 1720s, two competing views on indigenous sexuality existed. In one perspective, espoused by Urtassum, indigenous women had proved to be capable of chastity (as evidenced by the lives of many indigenous women in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). From the other viewpoint, the increasing popularity of “casta paintings” documented the desire of many creoles to compartmentalize racial identity and avoid miscegenation. The Spanish preoccupation with *limpianze de sangre* meant that the question of indigenous sexuality remained at the forefront of their characterizations of the indigenous.

Urtassum declares his intention by focusing on “virgin candor” in his biographies of women.⁶⁴ The five women made a private vow of chastity at a young age, eventually reveal the vow publically, and abide by it for the rest of their lives. Juana de Geronymo “consecrated her virginity to God and conserved it until her death,” and similar vows were made by Petronila de la Concepción and Francisca de San Miguel.⁶⁵ The two unnamed indigenous girls, however, provide the strongest testimony of their chastity. The first girl was healed of her paralysis after promising her virginity to God (see above). When she is older, her parents suggest that she marry despite her vow in order to avoid living in poverty. Friends and neighbors tell her that she is not required to keep the promise as she made it under extreme circumstances. Like a young Jesus in the temple, the girl responds to these questions “with other reasons, superior for one of her age and sex,” arguing that “the Lord would give her the strength and grace to fulfill her vow.”⁶⁶ Urtassum here interjects his own opinion, saying that the girl would have offered following defense if she had known the scriptures better: When Christ said, “He who can accept this, should accept it” in reference to chastity,⁶⁷ Urtassum argues:

He did not exclude those of her Nation as being incapable if helped by divine grace to achieve victory. And that being their souls of the same type as those of more cultured and civilized Nations, there was no reason why the Lord, calling them to the profession of the Gospel sayings and the most perfect state, did not make them capable of observing it through his divine grace, as he had done to many others, who although they weren't of her Nation were of the same species. That the triumphs of grace in this manner weren't restricted to one or

⁶² Antonio Gutiérrez (1724). Quoted in Monica Díaz, *Indigenous Writings from the Convent* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010), 51.

⁶³ Greer, “Iroquois Virgin,” 240. He is referencing the work of Anne McClintock.

⁶⁴ Urtassum, *La gracia triunfante*, 209.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 211.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 221-222.

⁶⁷ Urtassum quotes this verse in Latin, “Qui potest capere capiat,” referencing Matthew 19:12, “For there are eunuchs, who were born so from their mother’s womb: and there are eunuchs, who were made so by men: and there are eunuchs, who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven. He that can accept this, should accept it.” Special thanks to Scott Moringiello for help with the translation and identifying the verse.

another Nation, but extended to all, the Author of grace choosing from among them who, how, and when to comply with it.⁶⁸

Urtassum here echoes Bartolomé de las Casas' argument that indigenous souls are equal in substance and in value to European souls. Yet he adds an argument: The successful chastity of Catherine Tekakwitha demonstrates that all indigenous women can be chaste if God calls them to that state. The girl's parents are convinced by the simple arguments that she offered, and did not force her to marry. Urtassum probably hoped that his readers would be convinced by the combination of the girl's arguments and his own exegesis.

Another anonymous girl demonstrates heroic chastity in the final biography of the book. Urtassum has been told this story by another priest who lives in the mission of Santa Ines in Chinipas (present-day Mexico). The story is about a young girl who is willingly married to a young indigenous man. In the night of their wedding, she discovers that she will be required to lose her virginity in the marital act. After considering this, she tells the young man, "I have such love for continence, that the most noble sacrifice that you must offer me, is that we live in that state perpetually."⁶⁹ The young man (somewhat reluctantly) agrees, and they live in peace and happiness until she dies several years later. At the funeral, the young man tells the girl's parents that she is returning to God "as pure and intact" as on the day she was married, a fact which both astonishes and edifies her parents, the priest, and all those present.⁷⁰ This example of "extreme continence," as Urtassum himself describes it, serves as the final point in his argument. Indigenous women are capable of maintaining their chastity as adults who live in convents (as the examples of Juana and Francisca demonstrate). Moreover, they are also able to keep a chastity vow made during childhood (as the first anonymous girl does) and maintain their purity even as married women. Urtassum indicates that he could provide more examples but considers the selection of five sufficient to show "how much the law of continence has flowered among [them]."⁷¹ Urtassum hopes that those examples of chastity among indigenous women will diffuse any concerns about their ability to successfully fulfill their monastic vows.

While Mayhew presents his argument in a less explicit manner than Urtassum, there is an underlying concern for well-structured families that frequently surfaces in his biographies and revolves around the role of wives and mothers. Mayhew and his fellow missionaries believed in certain "ideals of gendered behavior" that "assumed the necessity of hierarchy in family, polity, and society at large....[and respected] a husband's 'natural' authority."⁷² According to Lauren Thatcher Ulrich, Puritan women's sphere was "defined by a space (a house and its surrounding yards), a set of tasks (cooking, washing, sewing...) and a limited area of authority (the internal economy of a family)."⁷³ Both parents, however, had authority over their children. As Philip Greven argues, "Obedience and submission were the only acceptable responses for children [to parents]."⁷⁴ Many European observers, however, noted ways in

⁶⁸ Ibid, 221-222.

⁶⁹ Ibid, 243.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 244.

⁷¹ Ibid, 246.

⁷² Bross, *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons*, 109.

⁷³ Ulrich, 119.

⁷⁴ Philip Greven, *The Protestant Temperament* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), 32.

which indigenous culture did not resonate with these norms. For example, the Anglo delineation of geographical space based on gender contrasted with indigenous gender norms, where women frequently worked outside the home. In addition, indigenous child-rearing practices seemed unacceptably permissive when compared to evangelical efforts to break a child's will. Roger Williams' 1643 observation that indigenous parents' "extreme affection...makes ther children sawcie, bold, and undutiful" still rang true for Mayhew, who believed that the Wampanoag were too lenient with their children.⁷⁵ Perturbed by the "looseness" of indigenous relationships, Richard Mather wrote that "If there be any work of Grace amongst them, it would surely bring forth, and be accompanied with the Reformation of their disordered lives."⁷⁶ In *Indian Converts*, Mayhew takes care to demonstrate exactly how these women's lives are no longer disordered. Instead, the women show their ability and desire to comply with hierarchical relationship structures to stay within gendered boundaries, and to work industriously.

Mayhew makes a clear case that the indigenous women respected their husband's authority. Of the twenty-nine women profiled, nineteen explicitly mention the woman's deference to men when it was time for public or familial prayer. According to Dinah Annunnt's husband (as quoted by Mayhew), "she not only excited him to pray without ceasing to God, but prayed her self also in the Family, when he was not present to do it."⁷⁷ The idea that the woman led family prayer only when her husband was absent is repeated in the majority of the cases—even when the woman was the more religious of the marriage. For example, although Hannah Sissetom's husband "by his frequent Drunkenness...very much unman'd himself," she still only prayed with her children "when her Husband was not at home."⁷⁸ In other words, even when the man of the family did not fulfill male gender roles (being "unman'd" by drink for example), the indigenous Christian woman still complied with female gender roles. When no men were present, women typically selected someone to lead the prayer based on their age and respectability, such as Rachel Wompanummoo, who asked her mother to lead prayer on the occasions when her husband was absent.⁷⁹

Of the remaining ten where this respect to hierarchical leadership in prayer is not mentioned, three died as young maids and two die shortly after conversion before they have time to practice Christianity in their family. Mayhew does not mention prayer in three of the other cases. In two women's biographies, however, he provides a special commentary about prayers in indigenous communities. When Jerusha Ompan was nineteen years old, her sister fell gravely ill. Jerusha led prayers at her sister's bedside, despite the presence of her mother. Although Puritan children did not typically lead prayer in the presence of an adult, Mayhew explains, "It has been a Custom amongst our *Indians* to teach their Children Forms of Prayers, and sometimes to call them to make use of them in their Presence." This form of practicing prayer has caused young indigenous to believe that it is "no Presumption to call upon God" even when adults are present, a custom which Mayhew defends, saying, "it is better that it should be so, than that for want of Instruction they should not

⁷⁵ Roger Williams (1643), *A Key into the Language of America* (New York: Cosimo, 2009), 29 and Leibman, *Experience Mayhew's Indian Converts*, 59.

⁷⁶ Quoted in Bross, *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons*, 23-24.

⁷⁷ Mayhew, "Indian Converts," 231.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 271-272.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 300.

know so much as how to desire a Blessing on their Food.”⁸⁰ Mayhew claims that the need to proselytize and instruct young Christians in this non-European environment may lead to some permissiveness within the adult-child hierarchy. On the other hand, Mayhew also clearly states that the only three people at home were Jerusha, her sister, and her mother, implying that the situation might have been different if a man were to have been present. Mayhew does not explain the case of Abigail Sekitchahkomun in such detail. He merely states that Abigail, who lived with her mother and her aunt, “used to take her turn to pray in that little Family, and was probably the best qualified to perform the Duty of any Person in it.”⁸¹ This example appears after that of Jerusha and Mayhew’s explanation of child-led prayers, so perhaps Mayhew did not feel the need to explain again the prayers of the younger woman in the presence of her mother. Either way, there is no male present for these prayers.

The demonstration of obedience extends even to unconverted, sinful husbands. For example, after her conversion Hannah Tiler attempted to convince her husband to give up drinking. Yet her angry remonstrations did not correspond to the ideal of a submissive wife. “The Wrath of God worketh not the Righteousness of God,” Mayhew argues, quoting James 1:20, “and this Woman quickly saw that her contending so sharply with her Husband...was not the way to cure him.” She decided to focus on patience, “bearing both with his excessive Drinking, and other things hard to be indured, which, when he was in drink, she suffered from him.” In a couple other examples, a woman’s gentle love does lead to a conversion of the man. In Hannah’s case, however, “this Method had not presently the desired Effect, yet she found Peace in it.”⁸² Mayhew here shows that God changed Hannah’s heart, rather than changing her husband’s behavior. She is determined to live a life in accordance with evangelical standards of Christian womanhood, even if it means accepting hard treatment from her husband.

In addition to deferring to male leadership, Mayhew’s indigenous Christian women fulfill female gender roles that specify where and how they should work. Mayhew describes many women as discreet and reticent. Dina Ahhmut “seldom went abroad,” Mayhew says, “but tarried at home and minded her own Business, except when duty called her to go out”—just like Abigail Amos, Sarah Hannit, and Jerusha Ompan.⁸³ While Mayhew does not specify whether or not these women work in the fields, he implies that their work keeps them close to home. Thus, their example resonates with English domestic patterns and gendered geographic boundaries. As hard-working women, they defied the stereotype of indigenous people as shiftless and lazy. “She was a Person of very remarkable Industry,” Mayhew says of Jerusha Ompan, “laboring daily with her Hands for her Livelihood.”⁸⁴ Sarah Hannit was “one of those wise Women that builded the House,”⁸⁵ meaning she took care of her home, kept her husband well-clothed, and was an example of hospitality. Unlike other confession narratives of Anglo settlers, which showed true Christians “resisting the temptation of resting on ‘duties,’ as if the performing them were

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 265-266.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 277.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 279.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 230, 246, 257.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 265.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 257. The reference is to Proverbs 14:1.

satisfactory evidence of being united with Christ,⁸⁶ the *Indian Converts* biographies include references to hard work as an external sign of conversion.

Conclusions

Within a century of the publication of *Indian Converts*, Mayhew's congregationalism had lost power on the island, and Wampanoag identity slowly eroded via intermarriage and continuing cultural pressure from white settlers. The convent of Corpus Christi faced a more immediate challenge as tensions over leadership within the convent facilitated a return to the racialized rhetoric that had surrounded its founding. In 1863, the convent was closed by the government as part of liberal president Benito Juárez's anti-ecclesiastical measures.⁸⁷ Both Mayhew and Urtassum, therefore, wrote their biographies of women at a particular moment that allowed for the conceptualization of fully Christianized indigenous women within missionary rhetoric. By virtue of repetition and thick description within codified genres, they both show the ways in which indigenous women conformed to the ideals of Christian societies in their time.

These texts clearly show the influence and power of European belief systems in the New World context. A careful comparison of the two can contribute to our understanding of lived religion in the early modern Atlantic world, and of the ways in which New World contexts affected the expression of beliefs. For example, Catholicism is generally associated with the doctrine of "redemptive suffering" more so than Protestantism, but when *La gracia triunfante* is compared with *Indian Converts*, the focus on patient, holy suffering appears much important in Martha's Vineyard than in New Spain. The ease with which Urtassum discusses mysticism compared to Mayhew might indicate that by 1720, New Spain had recovered from its overwhelming seventeenth-century fears about female mysticism while witchcraft trials were still a recent memory in New England.

Although both *La gracia triunfante* and *Indian Converts* occasionally offer quotes from the women biographied, ultimately the two texts focus on ways that indigenous women fit into pre-established archetypes. Two of the women in *La gracia triunfante* are not even named. Their stories are more important than the actual identity of the person. Although Mayhew includes background data and information on the identity of every woman profiled, these facts helped establish the women within a family context. Neither Urtassum nor Mayhew were ethnographers hoping to understand and share indigenous culture and life. They use the life experiences of these women for the purpose of building European arguments about the ability of indigenous women to live a Christian life.

Allan Greer's discovery of the text of *La gracia triunfante* in a Mexico City archive offers a tantalizing glimpse into how spiritual texts may have circulated in the Atlantic world. By setting aside preconceptions about national borders and cultural differences, scholars can reach new conclusions about lived religion in the American colonies. Although there is no direct connection between *La gracia triunfante* and *Indian Converts*, both texts serve the same purpose: They convince a skeptical audience of indigenous women's ability to fully espouse Christian femininity according to the particular definitions of

⁸⁶ David Hall, *Puritans in the New World: A Critical Anthology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 119.

⁸⁷ See Gallagher, "The Indian Nuns of Mexico City's Monasterio of Corpus Christi," 165.

those norms in New England and New Spain. Both Mayhew and Urtassum earnestly proclaimed the salvific effects of their evangelizing projects, which were eventually the same: the triumph of grace and the conversion of Indians.

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Crossing Oceans, Crossing Boundaries: A Transatlantic Reading of the
Matrimonio de don Martín García de Loyola con Ñusta Beatriz Clara Coya

In Cuzco, Peru, during the second half of the sixteenth century, one of the greatest moments uniting Spain and the recently-fallen Inca Empire took place. Carefully manipulated through decades of broken promises, political maneuvering and physical force, the last descendent of the Sapa Inca, under her new Christian name Ñusta Beatriz Clara Coya, married the Basque soldier don Martín García Óñez de Loyola. Their union not only symbolized the end of the Inca Empire and the beginning of Spanish dominance in the American continent but also became the focal point of colonial propaganda and center of the colonial collective consciousness. Historians have considered interracial marriages between representatives of the respective elites of the colonial political and racial spectrum as central to the process of colonization.¹ In such unions, hierarchies of race, class and gender became solidified and established. The visual representation of marriages like the one between Martín and Beatriz also became metaphorical for the transatlantic experience, particularly for the presence of their daughter Ana Maria Lorenza.

Still remembered as a defining moment during the establishment of the jewel in the Spanish colonial crown, the marriage was commemorated in a lavish composition to hang above the door of the Jesuit Iglesia de la Transfiguración in Cuzco's main square, (today known as the Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús) decades after the event. The visual representation of this union, which was heavily charged with politics and myth, was repurposed, repainted and found its way across Peru to collections in as far apart as Lima and Arequipa. In total, nine versions of the *Matrimonio* are known to exist—while the locations of five are known, the other four works remain missing. The images were put on display in prominent places, such as the entry of the Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús in Cuzco and the Nuestra Señora de Copacabana convent in Lima. The depiction was also copied for private consumption: Copies of *Matrimonio* were described in detail in the inventories of doña Josefa Villegas Cusipacuar y Loyola Ñusta, and doctor don Justo Sahuaraura Inca.² So significant was this marriage that a reenactment was performed in the main square of Cuzco on the feast day of San Francisco de Borja, as described by the noble Peruvian creole Diego de Esquivel y Navia in his 1742 chronicle *Noticias crónologicas de la gran ciudad del Cuzco*:

On Tuesday, October 10, 1741, on the day of San Francisco Borja, a reenactment of the wedding of don Martín and the daughter of don Felipe Tupac Amaru³ was performed; conforming to what is found

¹ Barbara L. Voss, "Domesticating Imperialism: Sexual Politics and the Archaeology of Empire," *American Anthropologist* 110.2 (2008), 191.

² Ari Zigelboim, "Colonial Object, Colonial Subjects: Cultural Strategies of Viceregal Peru's Noble Incas, Circa 1675-1825" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Tulane University, 2007), 64.

³ While Esquivel y Navia names Tupac Amaru as Beatriz's father, John Hemming (a historian renowned for his study of the fall of the Inca Empire) has established that Beatriz's father was, in fact, Sayri Tupac, and that Tupac Amaru was her uncle. See John Hemming, *The Conquest of the Incas* (Orlando: Harcourt, 1973).

painted in a picture above the entrance of the aforementioned church. The husband was played by the son of don Gabriel Argüelles, called Pedro; and the wife, a daughter of a cacique (in white) called Narcisca. They were assisted by the corregidor of the city don Joseph Cayetano Hurtado and the marqués of Valleumbroso don Joseph Pardo, both with great titles, with judicial robes, who left the sacristy without accompaniment and seated themselves in their places. The mass was followed by the sermon; with that they ended the celebration. There was no lack of those who would say there had been performed a farce and masquerade in false costume; this for the judicial robes, and that for the representation of the matrimonial couple. The city criticized this act, noting that it was puerile.⁴

While interracial marital unions were strongly discouraged by the Crown and seen as sinful by the church clerics during the initial period of conquest, the viceregal establishment soon realized the importance of official, sanctified matrimonial unions between conquistadors and women from the ranks of the indigenous elite.⁵ The marriage between don Martín de Loyola, nephew of San Ignacio de Loyola (one of the most pre-eminent Jesuit saints) and Ñusta Beatriz Clara Coya, descendant of Inca Huayna Capac and sole successor to the Tawantinsuyo empire, was sanctified by papal dispensation and realized through manipulation on the part of the viceroy Francisco de Toledo. Beatriz was the only direct descendent of the Inca emperors and, therefore, considered the richest and most powerful spoil of war that could be won by the conquistadors.⁶ The union between the Ñusta Beatriz and Captain Martín represented an incarnation of the conquest. Artistic representations of the personal bond served as visual metaphors for the complex transatlantic consciousness that this alliance of empires created.

The marriage between Martín and Beatriz was not only important for colonial history but also cemented the political power of the Jesuit Order in colonial Peru. In the center, between the two couples, stand San Ignacio de Loyola and San Francisco de Borja. San Ignacio holds a book of his own rule open to the words *Ad majorem Dei gloriam* (To the greater glory of God), while San Francisco points to a skull, an allusion to the *Spiritual Exercises* of San Ignacio and a constant reminder of mortality.⁷ The second union is that of Ana María Lorenza de Loyola, the daughter of Beatriz and Martín, and don Juan Enríquez de Borja y Almanza, the grandson of San Francisco de Borja, the depicted eminent Jesuit saint.

⁴ Diego de Esquivel y Navia (1980 [1742] II:434). The original text reads: "Martes 10 de Octubre de 1741 día de San Francisco de Borja, por la mañana se hizo en la iglesia de la Compañía una representación del casamiento de don Martín García Loyola, y la hija de don Felipe Túpac Amaru: conforme se halla pintado en un cuadro que está a la entrada de dicha iglesia. Hizo al esposo, un hijo de don Gabriel Argüelles, llamado Pedro; y la esposa, una hija de un cacique de (en blanco) llamada Narcisca. Asistieron el corregidor de esta ciudad don Joseph Cayetano Hurtado y el marqués de Valleumbroso don Joseph Pardo, ambos con mantos capitulares, quienes salieron de la sacristía, sin acompañamiento, y se sentaron en sus lugares. Siguióse la misa con sermón; con que se dio fin a la fiesta. No faltó quien dijese, habrese ejecutado mojjanga y encamisada; esta por los mantos capitulares, aquella por la representación de los esposos. Censuró la ciudad este acto, notándo de pueril."

⁵ Susan M. Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 39.

⁶ Ramón Mujica Pinilla in Joseph J. Rishel and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, *The Arts in Latin America 1492-1820* (Philadelphia: Museum of Art, 2006), 440-441.

⁷ *Ibid.*

These marriages and their prominent place in colonial visual culture exemplified the precarious position of indigenous women during the early colonial era. Prior to her marriage, Beatriz “became such hot property as a marriage prospect that she was placed in a convent by the Viceroy and ultimately betrothed to Martín de Loyola.”⁸ Even at the tender age of nine, Beatriz was subjected to sexual violence stemming from her importance in colonial politics when she was raped by Cristobal Arias Maldonado, who wanted to secure his claim to the riches of Peru through uniting himself with Beatriz.⁹ Maldonado’s act of violence involved the highest Spanish authorities as the King of Spain ordered him to return to Europe. This, however, did not stop Maldonado from crossing the Atlantic once again to stop the marriage and pursue his claim to Beatriz.

This article is divided into two parts which examine the artwork as both a piece of propaganda and a metaphor. Analyzing these two functions of the image, the article seeks to provide a synthesis between the various readings, as opposed to addressing the Andean and European perspectives as separate, monolithic and contrasting interpretations. It looks beyond the surface of the *Matrimonio* as the image of consensual union and culture mestizaje. It synthesizes the conflicting parts to create a new reading full of extremes and contradictions, a transatlantic reading that is based on alternating cohesion and friction between varied iconographies, histories, and colonial experiences. Discussing the image as a work of propaganda, the article situates the marriage and the composition within a political campaign to rewrite the history of the conquest launched by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in 1572 following the Inca defeat at Vilcabamba. It is vital to compare and contrast *Matrimonio* with other politically charged works such as the now destroyed *Dinastia Inkaica* commissioned by Toledo. Most importantly, this section elaborates on the complex political climate in which *Matrimonio* came into existence, challenging the bifurcate notion dividing Andean from European on racial and cultural lines. The article also discusses the visual metaphors that are at play to establish a clear hierarchy among the characters. It discusses the significance of what don Martín wears and the phallic allusions that further strengthen the propagandistic Spanish version of the conquest. Ideas of race, the Other, and the exoticization of Andean people are central to that discussion and help to compare the *Matrimonio* to other visual representations such as the portrait of Angelina Yupanqui in Cuzco’s Museo Inka and European allegorical visions of the feminized America. The article concludes with a discussion of the most transatlantic figure in the composition, Ana Maria Lorenza Ñusta de Loyola, who is often discussed only in relation to the other players in the story. It explores the significance of her representation, her marriage, her multiple crossings between Spain and Peru throughout her life, and the controversy of her presence in Peru. While the majority of research on the *Matrimonio* has focused on the saints in the center of the composition or on the significance of the union of Martín and Beatriz, scholars have tended to dismiss Ana Maria and Juan Enríquez as a postscript in the history of conquest. The article argues that it is actually the union of Ana Maria and Juan Enríquez that completes the colonial act and symbolizes the final transfer of power across the Atlantic.

⁸ Susan A. Niles, *The Shape of Inca History: Narrative and Architecture in an Andean Empire* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999), 131.

⁹ Dana Leibsohn and Barbara Mundy, *Vistas: Spanish American Visual Culture, 1520-1820*, created 2005, <http://www.smith.edu/vistas>.

The *Matrimonio* as Propaganda

The most significant and fascinating elements within the composition of *Matrimonio* are the concurrent fallacies of time and space. Firstly, the anachronism between the five *tableaux vivants* shatters the false initial vision of a cohesive event or simple narrative between the five scenes. Most notably, there is no moment in history when all the characters involved in the *Matrimonio* composition were alive. The historical fallacy is most notable in the presence of Tupac Amaru, the leader of the Inca resistance in Vilcabamba after the death of Beatriz's father, Sayri Tupac (also seated in the Inca grouping in the heraldic dexter of the composition), and the perceived benediction that the family appears to offer on the marriage. Considering don Martín's role in the death of Tupac Amaru and the end of the Inca resistance at Vilcabamba as the Captain of the Guard under Francisco de Toledo's command, this vision of benediction seems forced and disingenuous. Furthermore, the conditions of Beatriz's betrothal to don Martín belie the composition, below the façade of a happy and consensual transatlantic union. Don Martín physically separates Beatriz from her family, as the Spanish colonial institution physically did by cloistering the *nústa* at the convent of Santa Clara, just a few steps from the Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús. Martín grasps her wrist as a gesture of control and sexual violence. The timeline of the two unions also precludes any sort of temporal cohesion in the foreground, which seems to erase decades. As both Martín and Beatriz died before Ana Maria Lorenza was eight years old, the two couples could have never stood in such close proximity. The raised platform in the middle ground eliminates an identifiable place to situate the two unions and the Jesuit saints. Ultimately, history and physical space collapse upon themselves by trying to emulate spaces in the Americas, such as Cuzco and Vilcabamba as well as Madrid and Rome, where the Jesuit Order was founded.

However, it is not just the temporal abnormalities that express the erasure of time. Each of the five *tableaux* function as a subsequent composition within the whole and the players do not interact with each other. Despite the assumed benediction of the Inca royal family in the heraldic dexter onto the union of Martín and Beatriz, the two scenes are separated from each other by the sharp aesthetic delineation between the two spaces, the foreground in an ambiguous place and the Inca royal family clearly in the Huakaypata, or Plaza de Armas of Cuzco. Similarly, in the heraldic sinister, the same temporal and spatial divisions separate the wedding scene of Ana Maria and Juan Enríquez in Madrid from Ana Maria and Juan Enríquez in the spatially ambivalent foreground. In the center of the composition, the two most prominent Jesuit saints, San Ignacio de Loyola and San Francisco de Borja, simultaneously unite and separate the significant unions. They act as eyewitnesses for the complete transfer of power from the Inca lineage to the Spanish and the Jesuit Order. Behind San Ignacio and San Francisco, the disparate spaces of Cuzco and Madrid are united by the overriding symbol of Christianity, a hazy vision of the Augustinian City of God,¹⁰ which serves as a metaphor for the transatlantic unification of place through the evangelization efforts of Spanish Christians.

The *Matrimonio* does not present a continuous narrative, as its anachronisms and ambiguous spatial relations invite a variety of readings. The

¹⁰ Maria Timberlake postulates that the ambiguous urban vision behind the two saints is the Augustinian City of God in her 2001 dissertation. See Maria Timberlake, "The Painted Image and the Fabrication of Colonial Andean History: Jesuit and Andean Visions in Conflict in *Matrimonio de Garcia de Loyola con Nusta Beatriz*" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California Los Angeles, 2001), 84.

absence of a traditional coherent narrative is definitive in the interpretation of *Matrimonio* as propaganda, placing it in the campaign to rewrite the history of the conquest. After the fall of Vilcabamba and the subsequent union of Martín and Beatriz, the viceregal government and the Spanish Crown launched a campaign to rewrite the history of the conquest that was spearheaded by Toledo's efforts in the construction of visual and textual propaganda. However, a markedly different reading is possible when Andean concepts of time and space as well as pre-Hispanic aesthetic composition are applied to the *Matrimonio*. On the surface, the composition serves as a powerful element in the official version of the conquest that the Spanish wanted to present to the multiple ethnic populations who frequented the churches and buildings in which the *Matrimonio* was on display. However, when considered in relation to the Inca world view, which responded to the dualities presented as secondary in a European comprehension of the composition, a higher significance is given to the Inca presence than the European conquistadors or Saints. From a Western perspective, the prime compositional importance is on San Francisco and San Ignacio. Nonetheless, pre-Hispanic compositional conventions favored the idea of diagonal lines crossing between the opposing *hanan* (upper, right, male) and *hurin* (lower, left, female) quadrants. The diagonal begins with the Inca royal family in the upper pictorial right and passes through the Jesuit saints to Ana Maria, who, as the last descendent of the Incas, is presented as the culminating point of the compositional transfer of power. It is not a transfer of power from the Inca to the Spanish but also an inter-generational transfer that references Ana Maria's indigenous identity. In fact, in this Andean depiction of the *Matrimonio*, the diagonal reading of composition renders Martín and Juan Enríquez only as modes of transfer by privileging the generational transfer of power through Andean blood.

The inclusion of the arms of Cuzco above the Inca royal family adds another layer of iconographic complexity. While it can be interpreted that the Inca family grouping takes primal position, the inclusion of the Coat of Arms counters this weight by adding yet another part of the visual language of the conquest, especially since the heraldic iconography of the Coat of Arms is loaded with colonial political rhetoric. In 1540, Carlos V granted the Arms of Cuzco:

the arms.... consist of a shield inside of which a golden castle on a field of red in memory that this city and its castle were conquered by the might of arms in our service. It shall have a border of eight condors that are great birds, resembling vultures, that they have in the province of Peru, in the memory that at the time this city was won, there birds gathered to eat the dead that died there.¹¹

The language used in the official royal grant glorifies the violence of the conquest and provides a polarizing and divisive rhetoric that was elemental to

¹¹ The original grant reads: "En Madrid XIX dias del mes de julio de MDXL años se despacho un privilegio de armas para la ciudad del Cuzco en que se le dieron por armas en escudo que dentro del esté un castillo de oro en campo colorado en memoria que la dha ciudad y el castillo della fueron conquistados por fuerza de armas de nro. servicio e por orla ocho condures que son unas aves grandes a manera de buytres que ay en la provincia del peru en memoria que al tiempo que la dha ciudad se gan abaxaron las dichas aves a comer los muertos que en ella murieron los quales ensten en campo de oro." Quoted in Carolyn Dean, "Painted Images of Cuzco's Corpus Christi: Social Conflict and Cultural Strategy in Viceregal Peru" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California Los Angeles, 1990), 258.

the early colonial period. This language changes during the reign of Felipe II with the beginning of the campaign to rewrite the history of the conquest.

In 1556, Felipe II issued a royal decree banning words such as “conquest” and “conquistador” with regard to the Spanish establishment in the New World.¹² These words were replaced with “discovery” and “colonist.” Many of the original commentaries of the conquest were rewritten in the decades between 1550 and 1580. Those second editions of Spanish accounts were notably different from the first printing, particularly with regard to accounts of the Inca state. The second editions often extrapolated on the corruption of the Inca empire and label members of the Inca elite who did not collaborate with the Spanish as usurpers and tyrants. One of the chronicles that appears to have been altered drastically during this era is the *Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista del Perú* by Agustín de Zárate, which was originally published in 1555 (less than two decades after Pizarro’s arrival in Cuzco). Regarding the Inca imperial system, Zárate attempted to translate it into a European hereditary system, such as those of the European monarchies. The second edition of the work, published in 1577 (shortly after the fall of Vilcabamba), discussed the corruption of the Inca monarchical system in an obvious attempt to justify the Spanish conquest as a way of bringing political order and justice into a fundamentally broken system. It is true that the Spanish could attribute their military successes, at least in part, to Pizarro’s opportune arrival during the Inca civil war, which pitted Huascar against his half-brother Atahualpa. While discord in the Inca political system surely added to the swiftness with which the Spanish secured control over the region, it did not account for the discrepancies between the two editions of the chronicle.

The new Spanish version of history written after 1572 did not remain restricted to literary sources and accounts. In fact, in the year of the fall of Vilcabamba, Toledo commissioned an Andean artist to paint the first of a whole new genre of colonial images called genealogical paintings. The first of its kind, *Dinastía Inkaica*, was created in order to present Felipe II a visual history of the land he had just conquered. The works were not only painted by an Andean artist but their veracity was confirmed by the very Andeans who benefitted from its creation on January 14, 1572.¹³ However, prior to sending the work across the Atlantic, Toledo called a meeting of all Andean elites in Cuzco to exhibit this new work, which was lost in 1734 during the fire that destroyed the Alcázar Real de Madrid.¹⁴ The official description in the Royal Inventory of 1600 reads:

Four large canvases on which were painted, on one, the genealogy of the Incas who governed Peru and, on the other three, portraits of the twelve

¹² See Félix Denegri Luna, “Fue, pues, una existencia dramática y casi siempre trágica la de aquellos indios llevados, sea de grado o por fuerza, y apartarse de sus costumbres, de su civilización y sus dioses, cambios impuestos por los nuevos señores, llegados mediante una conquista violenta que no acabó en 1556, por más que ‘disposiciones reales prohíben el empleo de las palabras ‘conquista’ y ‘conquistadores’, que deben reemplazarse por ‘descubrimiento’ y ‘colonos.’” (Denegri Luna, 1980: 1 : x. Quoted in Timberlake, “The Painted Image and the Fabrication of Colonial Andean History.”

¹³ Juan J. R. Villarias-Robles, “Los Panos Históricos de Francisco de Toledo, Virrey del Perú: Contexto e Interpretación de una Representación Gráfica Indígena de la Historia Incaica” in Fermin del Pino-Díaz, Pascal Riviale, and Juan J. R. Villarias-Robles (eds), *Entre textos e imágenes: representaciones antropológicas de la América indígena* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2009), 77.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

incas until Guacayna [Huascar Inca] who was the last, at which time your majesty took possession of these provinces.¹⁵

Toledo's intention was to stimulate the pride of the Andean elites, and to widen the growing division between those who collaborated with the Spanish and those who resisted. The latter were identified as tyrants and usurpers:

This is the information and proof commanded by His Excellency the Viceroy don Francisco de Toledo who made the origin and named the descendants of the tyranny of the Incas in this kingdom, and of the actual deeds of how before and after this tyranny there were no more Natural Rulers of this land.¹⁶

While only textual descriptions of this work exist, the genre of genealogical paintings can be found in many art collections and religious institutions around Peru. The importance of genealogical paintings in connection with the *Matrimonio* is evident in the Convento de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana, a Franciscan convent in Lima where one of the nine copies of the *Matrimonio* is displayed next to a genealogical painting. Both works emblemized the creation of a new colonial collective consciousness. One of the most well-known genealogical series is currently in the collection of the Brooklyn Museum in New York. The series of fourteen Incas were acquired in the early nineteenth century by the New York philanthropist Thomas de Peyster and remained in the New York public collection after his death. The works have been dated to the late colonial period, but their visual source is the 1601-1615 frontice engraving by Antonio de Herrera for the Fifth Decade of the *Historia General de los hechos de los castellanos en las Islas de Tierra Firme del mar Océano que llaman Indias Occidentales*. The Spanish anthropologist Juan J. R. Villarias-Robles has posited that the Herrera engravings, in turn, took their source from the Toledo *Dinastía Inkaica* as Herrera had never traveled to the New World but had access to the Toledo canvases in Madrid, where he worked as Chief Chronicler of Castile and the Americas under Felipe II and Felipe III. While the Herrera engraving does not include Atahualpa, who vehemently resisted the Spanish conquest, the Brooklyn series does. However, the portrait of Atahualpa is not described as the "Fourteenth Inca" but as "El Tirano Bastardo," echoing the language of Toledo's correspondence to the king and further strengthening the aesthetic, textual and political link between the Brooklyn series and the original commissioned by Toledo.¹⁷

¹⁵ Ibid, 80. The original text reads: "Cuatro lienzos grandes en que está pintada, en uno, la descendencia de los Yngas que gobernaron el Perú y, en los otros tres, los retratos de los doce Yngas hasta Guacayna [sic por "Guascar Ynga"] que fue el último, en cuyo tiempo se tomó posesión por Su Magestad de aquellas provincias."

¹⁶ "Esta es la información y probanza que por mandar de Su Excelencia el virrey don Francisco de Toledo se hizo del origen y descendencia de la tiranía de los Ingas en este Reino, y del hecho verdadero de como antes y después de esta tiranía no hubo Señores Naturales en este tierra." Toledo (1882, 181). Quoted in Villarias-Robles, "Los Panos Historicos de Francisco de Toledo, Virrey del Peru," 78-79.

¹⁷ The Brooklyn Museum series consists of fourteen separate canvases, unlike the original Toledo composition and a majority of surviving genealogical paintings, which usually include the Spanish kings following the last Inca. The Brooklyn canvases each feature one bust-length Inca with a textual inscription identifying his place in the Inca hereditary history. The composition of each is almost identical to the Herrera engraving in dress and pose. For a more detailed discussion of the Andean colonial identity in visual culture see Carolyn Dean, *Inca Bodies and the Bodies of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

Like the colonial genealogical portraits which portrayed certain Andeans as corrupt usurpers and showed the conquest as a natural progression from the Inca to the Spanish kings, the *Matrimonio* was also used by the Spaniards to aestheticize the conquest as clean, consensual, and devoid of the complexities that framed the entire period between Pizarro's arrival in Cuzco in 1532 and the fall of Vilcabamba in 1572. Simultaneously to Toledo's campaign to aestheticize the conquest in visual and textual contemporary sources, the religious and evangelical justification was publicized to sanitize the violence of the conquest in the public imagination. Integral to the justification of the conquest was the pretext of converting pagans to Christianity sanctified by the *Inter Caetera*, a 1493 Papal Bull issued by Pope Alexander VI granting Spain exclusive rights to colonize the southern hemisphere. Maria Timberlake has succinctly summarized the importance of the Church and religious visual culture in the conquest, emphasizing "the role of religious art as an agent of power, as images consciously designed to alter the beholder's worldview, to grant power and authority to the Christian Church and its representatives, and to instill a particular vision of history."¹⁸

The *Matrimonio* represents a key element in the overriding campaign of justification that pervaded colonial visual culture. The distant view of the Augustinian City of God visualizes the promise of Christianity and the denunciation of Andean religious and cultural practices. The process of acculturation was greatly accelerated by the evangelizing techniques that the Jesuits and other orders used. The visual language of the *Matrimonio* ensures that each Andean represented was converted and baptized. Both parents of Beatriz, seated in the Inca family grouping in the heraldic dexter, were baptized and took the names Diego (Sayri Tupac) and Maria (Cusi Huarca). Tupac Amaru also converted to Christianity in the fateful year of 1572 under the pressure of Christian clerics.¹⁹ Beatriz spent the best part of her life in the convent of Santa Clara, an institution established in 1551 by the conquistadors as a refuge for their mestiza daughters to be acculturated in European ways and religion while isolated from their Andean mothers. Kathryn Burns has described the founding of Santa Clara in the following manner: "Polo [de Ondegardo, corregidor of Cuzco]... depicts the abbess [of Santa Clara] as engaged in a tug-of-war for the souls of mestizas with the devil himself, whose temptations "cannot fail to be great. He suggests Santa Clara helped to advance the cause of Christianity in the Andes, tearing girls away from their mothers in what he and his companions consider a necessary violence."²⁰

Taking into account the Hispanicization and Christianization of Beatriz as signified by this composition, the very image of Beatriz was one of successful conquest and cultural domination by the conquistadors. While being the most valuable spoil of war and the last legitimate successor of the Inca dynasty, Beatriz was also a Christian and the wife of a Spaniard. Her presence in the collective memory served Spanish purposes of political legitimacy and provided a model example for the Hispanicization of local populations. Even her dress is crucial in the colonial process. In the Inca family grouping, Cusi Huarca wears the traditional Inca clothing, the *lliklla* (a short shawl and *aksu*, women's wrap-around dress). While Beatriz's clothing in the composition may look Andean, the inclusion of European skirts that fan out her *aksu* and the black Spanish shawl that covers her Andean *manta* covered in *tocapu* geometric designs

¹⁸ Timberlake, "The Painted Image and the Fabrication of Colonial Andean History," 77.

¹⁹ Kim MacQuarrie, *The Last Days of the Incas* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2008), 373.

²⁰ Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 16.

represent sartorial indications of Hispanicization.²¹ Sartorially, Beatriz acts as the intermediary between the female incarnation of the Inca empire in Cusi Huaracay and the successful product of conquest in her daughter, Ana Maria.

While the Spanish co-opted imagery of the Incas helped to advance the political, cultural and religious agendas of the conquest, the Andeans used the same tactics to promote the continual Andean claim to the lands of Peru. Powerful Andeans, who were recognized as caciques or granted lands by the Spanish authorities, adapted to using the visual arts as a political tool. They used large-scale portraits of wealthy Andeans or Inca nobles as well as fictionalized ancestral portraits to document their descent from the fallen Inca rulers. Although many of those depictions were inaccurate, they served as pretext to gain favors from the Spaniards. Similarly, the image of the marriage of Ñusta Beatriz with don Martín became a status symbol proving one's relation to the ultimate act of mestizaje. Therefore, personal inventories from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries often describe a copy of the *Matrimonio* in detail. The 1777 inventory of doña Josefa Villegas Cusipacuar y Loyola Ñusta is just one example. It described the *Matrimonio* as "a large canvas with its frame gilded with gold of our father San Ygnacio and San Francisco de Borja, and the wedding of Doña Beatriz."²² Oftentimes colonial inventories did not describe paintings but focused on the golden frames that were usually more valuable than the paintings themselves. Creators of inventories tended to mention the subjects of the paintings only when they catalogued extremely important and noteworthy canvases. As the last known direct descendant of Beatriz and Martín, and through the retention of "Loyola" and "Ñusta" in her name, the significance that particular copy of the *Matrimonio* is obvious. However, due to the emphasis that doña Josefa placed on the *Matrimonio*, it can be understood that a link to this union would also be a source of pride and political and social leverage. Even after the independence movements of the early nineteenth century, don Juan Sahuaraura Inca of Cuzco commemorated his personal version of the *Matrimonio* with two watercolors by the German artist Mauricio Rugendas.²³ Even after Independence, the *Matrimonio* was used as a noteworthy object that documented the owner's family links with the Inca and, thus, served as a personal status symbol.

The *Matrimonio* as Metaphor

Much has been said of the function of the *Matrimonio* composition as metaphor of conquest. As metaphor, the anonymous artist included within the composition common aesthetic and literary allusions to underline the multiple readings of the unions. One such example of a visual metaphor is the strategically placed sword that don Martín wears. It is a testament to his achievements in battle as Captain of the Guard and his bravery in quelling the Inca Rebellion at Vilcabamba. It is a token of his military glory while Beatriz is the major spoil of war. Furthermore, in traditional analysis of Western aesthetics from the Early Modern period, the sword is a signifier of the phallus. The hilt of don Martín's sword takes the place of an erect phallus which points

²¹ Timberlake, "The Painted Image and the Fabrication of Colonial Andean History," 111.

²² "Un lienzo grande con su chorchola dorada con oro de nro padre San Ygnacio y San Francisco de Borja, y el casamiento de Doña Beatriz." Quoted in Timberlake, "The Painted Image and the Fabrication of Colonial Andean History," 360.

²³ Timberlake, "The Painted Image and the Fabrication of Colonial Andean History," 445.

directly at Beatriz's genitals, thus alluding to Martín's sexual conquest of Beatriz that followed the political conquest of the Inca Empire.

However, Beatriz's role as complacent and conquered was also in the best interests of Andean elites as she represented the link to Andean power within the new colonial regime. Ultimately, the union of Beatriz and Martín not only provided the legitimization of European conquest but confirmed that legitimacy was Andean to bestow on the Spaniards. Furthermore, the union produced a legitimizing duality: It confirmed the Spanish presence in Peru and the Andean claim to power within the new colonial system and highlighted the complexity of power relations that transcended racial and ethnic lines.

While Beatriz's role as the conquistador's wife may have been welcomed by some Andean elites, it does not preclude the obvious visual language referring to sexual violence and domination. The only direct physical contact between any of the figures in the foreground is the way that don Martín grips Beatriz's wrist, echoing medieval imagery of rape as well as the forced nature of the marriage itself. Before her betrothal to Martín, Beatriz was kept as a virtual prisoner in the convent of Santa Clara until viceroy Toledo issued her an ultimatum, granting her the choice between marriage and the prospect of spending the rest of her life in the convent. Beatriz chose to marry under the impression that she would be betrothed to Titu Cusi, an Andean noble. However, Toledo had already promised her to don Martín for the purpose of stabilizing the colonial state and to reward Martín's bravery at Vilcabamba. Diane Wolfthal, who has researched depictions of rape and forced sexual contact, describes that a gesture such as don Martín's grasp on Ñusta Beatriz's wrist served as a symbol of rape in medieval and early modern Western visual culture. Wolfthal based her argumentation on evidence from contemporary documents on marriage, such as Marc Antonio Altieri's sixteenth-century treatise *Li nuptiali* (The Nuptials). In the document, Altieri equated the grasping of the hand or wrist of a woman by her husband as the gesture of violence and dominance as "every nuptial act recalls the rape of the Sabines."²⁴

Western early modern equations of marriage and rape completely counter the Andean idea of marriage as the unification of hanan (male) and hurin (female) opposites with the expectation of reciprocity and mutual benefit. The union of Spaniards and Andeans in the *Matrimonio* references the idea of "heroic rape," which is rooted classical mythology (such as the story of the Sabine Women) and suggests that sexual violence of males toward females is necessary to pacify the Other. The idea of conquest as the heroic rape of the exotic female Other is a common theme in colonial visual culture and the European colonial psyche. In early visual representations, the American continent is anthropomorphized as a passive woman ready to be conquered. As Maria Timberlake has noted, "political conquest was framed in the guise of non-consensual sexual domination."²⁵ In visual representations, the allegorical America was often portrayed as a bare breasted Indian princess, and reminiscent of the Sabine Women in the old Roman legend. Just like the heroic act of the Romans to pacify the Sabines through violent sexual domination, the European conquistadors conquered America through the concept of heroic rape, thereby justifying violence and domination for the purpose of pacifying the Indians. The same visual language is evident in the *Portrait of a Ñusta*, which is believed to show Angelina Yupanqui. The portrait, now part of the

²⁴ Diane Wolfthal, *Images of Rape: The 'Heroic' Tradition and Its Alternatives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 16.

²⁵ Timberlake, "The Painted Image and the Fabrication of Colonial Andean History," 95.

collection of the Museo Inka in Cuzco, is approximately a contemporary production of the Compañía de Jesús *Matrimonio*. The portrait of Angelina Yupanqui, one of Francisco Pizarro's indigenous concubines, is also a visual fiction as it was painted many years after the death of Angelina, whose daughter was a contemporary of Beatriz in the convent of Santa Clara. Angelina's portrait features the same techniques as the allegorical engravings and drawings of the feminized America. Angelina's gaze meets that of the viewer, and her soft facial features are seductive and sexualized. In her hand she gently holds a flower, which is a common Western gesture of sexual invitation. Angelina is identified as the Other by her dress, in direct contrast with the crenellated tower in the middle ground, much like the one that appears behind the Inca family grouping and in Cuzco's coat of Arms. It is a symbol not just of conquest but also of Castile, thus representing conquest by the Spanish in particular. Just like Angelina in the *Matrimonio*, Beatriz is exoticized and depicted as the Other, and objectified sexually by her interaction with Martín. While Angelina does not interact with anyone in the frame of her portrait, in the case of the portrait of a Ñusta, the viewer takes on the role of don Martín by being the focus of the Ñusta's gaze and the recipient of her inviting gesture with overtones of sexual contact.

The *Matrimonio*, Ana Maria, and Transatlantic Identity

The ultimate metaphor of the transatlantic identity in the composition of the *Matrimonio* is Ana Maria. She was taken to Spain at the age of eight, where she stayed for ten years. While she fought for her right to inherit her parent's wealth, the Spanish crown sought an appropriate match to the legitimate mestiza²⁶ daughter of an Inca Ñusta and a Spanish conquistador. She was ultimately wed, as can be seen from *Matrimonio* to Juan Enriquez de Borja y Almansa, a relation of don Alvaro de Borja, who was in charge of Beatriz's education in Spain. Through her marriage to Juan Enriquez de Borja y Almansa, the bloodline of the Incas and the conquistadors was linked to the Spanish monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, two Popes, and the great San Francisco de Borja. Ana Maria represents a truly transatlantic figure in the saga of the *Matrimonio* because she was never welcome on either side of the Atlantic although she belonged to the elite of Peru and Spain. After her marriage to Juan Enriquez, the couple returned to Peru and stayed in Lima. However, the Príncipe de Esquilache, a prominent Cuzco marqués, was concerned that Ana Maria's presence would ferment unrest and an Andean unity in the Inca lineage. He made his consternation known many times to the king of Spain, asking him to call the couple back to Spain and bar them from returning to Peru.²⁷ Nonetheless, Ana Maria stayed in Peru with Juan Enriquez for at least seven years. After the birth of their third son, the couple moved to the Yucay Valley, Ana Maria's familial lands, where they spent the rest of their Peruvian sojourn.

Ana Maria's importance in the saga depicted in the *Matrimonio* is evident in her double presence: She occupies the ambiguous space in the foreground (arguably Cuzco) and the Madrid tableau in the heraldic sinister. Her double presence in the canvas corresponds to the transatlanticism that characterized her life. After all, she was a mestiza of legitimate birth with the most prestigious

²⁶ Because of the number of illegitimate mestizo children born in the Americas, legitimacy of birth was a remarkable trait in the early colonial period. See Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America*, 154.

²⁷ Timberlake, "The Painted Image and the Fabrication of Colonial Andean History," 446.

of bloodlines who occupied key places on either sides of the Atlantic—not only physically but also politically and ethnically. However, despite her retention of an indigenous trace in her name, some copies of the *Matrimonio* credit her a Ana Maria Lorenza Ñusta de Loyola or Ana Maria Lorenza Inga de Loyola. She is a symbol of the hispanicized Peru and signifies the final chapter in the conquest told on the bodies of the women in the composition. Her grandmother Cusi Huarca, visible in the heraldic dexter, wears the traditional Andean *lliklla* and *aksu* and thus represents the pre-Hispanic Inca Empire. Her mother, Beatriz, who acquired an almost mythic significance, symbolizes conquest and colonization. This role is signified by her gestural submission to Martín, her hispanicized *manta* and *aksu*, and her life in the Santa Clara convent. Unlike her mother and grandmother, Ana Maria does not retain any markers of indigeneity. Her skin is as pale as that of Juan Enríquez and the lady-in-waiting at her side, and her clothing is completely European. Her childhood in Spain has detached her from the culture of the Andes and the physicality of the Inca Empire. According to the *Matrimonio*, her connection to Peru is in name only. In regards to the interaction of the figures of Beatriz and Ana Maria in the composition, it can be inferred that Beatriz sets the scene for Ana Maria in the manner of a mother. However, the two women act as metaphors of the conquest. Thus, Beatriz's life sets the scene for the complete Hispanicization of Peru, a transatlantic process for which Ana Maria serves as an allegory. However, the Andean perceptions of space and composition discussed above indicate a differently nuanced relationship between the depicted mother and the depicted daughter. The Andean convention of diagonal composition directly link the Inca family with Beatriz and ultimately Ana Maria, a transfer of power that never gives complete authority to the Spanish but instead trades Andeanness and indigenous authority across generations.

Conclusions

The *Matrimonio* is a composition that is not only colonial but fundamentally transatlantic in terms of iconography and function. As an exponent of colonial Peruvian visual culture, it promoted various political agendas of Spanish, Andean, and transatlantic interests while it created a nuanced visual commentary on political, social, racial and sexual notions of empire. The image's iconic and almost mythological significance lay in its depiction of the unions between Ñusta Beatriz and don Martín Óñez García de Loyola as well as Ana Maria with don Juan Enríquez de Borja y Almansa. The composition unites the disparate spaces of Cuzco and Madrid in the upper part of the canvas with a glowing vision of the Augustinian City of God, which signifies the promise of European culture and Christian faith. The union cemented the Spanish imperial government's alliance with the Andean elites after the Spanish victory at Vilcabamba. Due to the complex allegiances, the unions privileged Andeans willing to work with the Spanish political establishment just as it privileged the Jesuit order within the religious political environment of the Spanish Empire. The image was disseminated around the empire and strategically displayed in spaces where a colonial audience would see it.

Through the creation of false space and the use of anachronisms, it appears from the surface that the *Matrimonio* depicts the presumed consensual union between the Spanish conquistadors and the Spanish crown and Jesuit Order. The image became a key part of Francisco de Toledo's campaign to sanitize the

conquest. It was one of iconic images that were created in large numbers to promote a certain vision of syncretism and cultural convergence. Despite the quasi-benedictory function of the Inca royal family in the heraldic dexter, the simultaneous uniting yet separating function of the central saints, and Toledo's campaign to re-write history, the *Matrimonio* composition reveals much about the violent and forced nature of the conquest through nuanced iconographic allegory and metaphor. The Coat of Arms of Cuzco suspended over the Inca family complete with the crenelated tower symbolizing Castile brings to mind the violent words of conquest and death that Carlos V wrote while bestowing the Arms on the city in 1540. Martín's sword takes the aesthetic form of an erect phallus alluding to his sexual conquest of Beatriz. As the only two figures in the foreground to physically interact, Martín's forceful grasp of Beatriz's wrist conjures European aesthetic conventions alluding to rape and forced sexual contact. The gesture is perceived through eyes of conquest, where Beatriz becomes the allegorical feminized America and the act of colonizing the heroic rape that began in Ancient Rome with the rape of the Sabine Women.

Despite the violent iconographic allusions within the seemingly consensual unions of Spain and Peru, strong yet subtle voices of Andean authority and identity are present in the composition. The five separated tableaux within the composition break up the space of the painting and complicate a simple Western reading of the narrative. The separation of the tableaux cite Andean concepts of aesthetic composition with a diagonal axis and a collaborative interplay of opposites that respond to the complementary concepts of *hanan* and *hurin*. The diagonal compositional axis links the Inca family with Ana Maria Lorenza in the heraldic sinister, countering the idea that power could simply be transferred to the Spanish.

Like the transfer of power along the Andean diagonal axis, the creation of a colonial society can be seen in the representation of the female figures in the *Matrimonio*. Beginning with Cusi Huarca, who is dressed in the traditional Andean *lliklla* and *aksu*, the sartorial Hispanicization becomes more evident with each generation. Even though Beatriz's Andean *aksu* and *manta* identify her as clearly indigenous, her *aksu* is fanned out with European petticoats and her *manta* is covered with a black Spanish shawl. Ana Maria retains none of these outwardly signifiers of indigeneity or Andeanness. Her clothing is completely European and her skin is pale. However, the figure of Ana Maria enjoys a double presence: She is a legitimate mestiza of noble birth who completes the act of colonization and becomes the symbol of transatlanticism in the colonial Peruvian cultural memory. She is Peruvian by birth and blood, educated in Spain and yet she spent half of her adult life in Peru with her Spanish husband. While ultimately an example of European visual representation, the *Matrimonio* combines Andean composition conventions with Western allegory and metaphor. While it served the purpose of disseminating a colonial fiction that had been created by the Spanish Crown and the Catholic Church, it also represented a source of indigenous pride and testament to the complex collective colonial consciousness in the Andes of Spanish Peru.

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Andean Ancestors and Iroquoian Cults: Indigenous
Confraternities in a Catholic Atlantic World, 1610–1690

Later, I went to Chuquisaca to ask the Bishop for permission to found a brotherhood of Our Lady, and to be a painter and sculptor of images...And he answered that he did not want to give me a license to become a painter, nor to create images of the Virgin, nor other images, and if I wanted to be a painter I should paint monkeys and their babies, and if I made images of the Virgin he would punish me severely. I left crying; Jesus, Holy Mary, God and his Mother, have mercy on me.¹

Such haunting words lie within a letter written by a seventeenth-century Andean named Tito Yupanqui, who charged himself with the task of creating a shrine in the image of the Virgin Mary. The Native's statement captures his despair facing the fear that Catholic authorities would not endorse his wish to fashion a replica of the Holy Mother. This shrine after all was not intended for individual worship, but for fellow *indios* to venerate at Copacabana. Meanwhile, hundreds of miles away in present-day Quebec, a Huron named Louis Taondechorend marveled at a newly erected chapel close to the Jesuit mission of Notre Dame des Foy. A facsimile of the House of Loreto in Italy, Taondechorend became a founding member of a society devoted to the worship of Mary, Joseph, and Jesus.² Seventeenth-century New France and the Viceroyalty of Peru saw hundreds of Native peoples enlist in confraternities: brother and sisterhoods devoted to the worship of patron saints. Today, historians debate ambivalent questions: Why was the cult of saints so appealing to indigenous peoples in the Catholic Atlantic World? And further, what dimensions of pious factionalism resonated within the *imaginaires* of scattered Amerindian communities?³

Saintly brotherhoods, the worship of Catholic shrines, and the veneration of a pantheon of Christian figures appeared attractive to seventeenth-century Amerindians; however, none of these practices were byproducts solely of Spanish or French instruction. For the first time, this paper seeks to demonstrate that the structures necessary for confraternity development thrived within Andean and Iroquoian social fabrics. Of course, the French and Spanish possessed dissimilar tools of governance within their Atlantic empires. Consequently, confraternities suited the needs of Native communities facing distinct challenges. The present comparative essay begins with the case of Peru, where ancestral spirit worship demonstrates the cosmological bases of indigenous kinship. For Native Andeans, religion and political organization were symbiotically interconnected; it was through polytheistic deity worship that polities differentiated themselves. Two key traumas—the relocation policies

¹ Tito Yupanqui, "The Virgin of Copacabana," in *From Viracocha to the Virgin of Copacabana: Representation of the Sacred at Lake Titicaca*, translated by Veronica Salles Reese (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997), 180.

² Martin Bouvart, "Relation of March 1675," in *The Jesuit Relations V. 60*, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland: Burrows Bros. Co., 1896-1901), 80.

³ For a discussion on indigenous *imaginaires* and structural functional adaptations in Latin America, see: Serge Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

developed by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo and the Extirpation of Idolatry campaigns—temporarily weakened Andean kinship organizations. However, by turning to the divine once more, *indios* embraced Spanish *cofradías* in ways that they understood. Drawing upon a historical memory, Andeans utilized Catholic fraternities to renew bonds of communal identification.

Moving northward to New France, the second segment of this ethnohistorical study re-evaluates Iroquoian engagement with the cult of saints and the emergence of Native North American *confréries*. Similar to the Andes, the Amerindians of Quebec possessed divine notions of kin. Iroquoian clans trusted soothsayers with spiritual matters, while medicine guilds provided a variety of services to band members. In the absence of forced labor and inquisitions, epidemics provoked Iroquois and Huron peoples to consider Catholicism as a means of uniting declining clans. Interpreting European confraternities “on their own terms,” Iroquoian neophytes restored senses of belonging. Following the lead of scholars such as Allan Greer, I intend to analyze the cosmologies and Christianizations of two early modern locales.⁴ In both the north and southern hemispheres, Amerindians accepted confraternities as a “meeting place” between paganism and Catholicism in the seventeenth-century Atlantic World.

In attempting to understand the interrelationships between pre-contact indigenous spiritualities and the earliest Native confraternities, the following paper consults a variety of chronicles detailing evangelization. It is important to note that since the Amerindian societies of the New World did not possess Western notions of “writing,” each document was created following European contact. Thus, this study continues an academic tradition of “ethnographically” reading histories in attempts to uncover intrinsic Native voices. Following the legacy of scholars like Inga Clendinnen, who attempted to garner understandings of Aztec and Maya civilizations through archival documentation alone, the present research acknowledges the limitations of reliance on post-conquest literature.⁵ Indeed, Spanish, French and indigenous writings are each infused with politically-charged motives serving the author’s interests.⁶ In recognizing such biases, I have engaged in cross-comparative readings in efforts to paint a “pre-Columbian” past as close to reality as possible. Beyond missionary reports like *The Jesuit Relations*, this paper consults Amerindian chronicles, idolatry trial records, and mythologies in seeking to comprehend the evolutions engendered by Andean and Iroquoian kinship, ever-relying on divine principles.

Part I: Idolatrous *Huaca* Cults and *Cofradías*

Until now, the correlation between spirituality and kin prior to and following the Spanish subjugation of Peru, has yet to be undertaken. However, a number of scholars have deconstructed Christianization and the proliferation

⁴ For an excellent case study on comparative conversion efforts in the New World, see: Allan Greer, “Towards a Comparative Study of Jesuit Missions and Indigenous Peoples in Seventeenth-Century Canada and Paraguay” in Aparecida Vilaca and Robin Wright (eds), *Native Christians: Modes and Effects of Christianity Among Indigenous Peoples of the Americas* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009).

⁵ For an example of scholarship employing extensive archival research alone to understand Pre-Columbian religions see Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

⁶ More information on Andean writing as resistance can be found in Kathryn Burns, *Into the Archive: Writing and Power in Colonial Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

of *cofradías* through two distinct approaches. Historians Kenneth Mills, Nicholas Griffiths, George Kubler, and Iris Gareis have focused analyses on Extirpation institutions and the reception of Catholicism among Andean neophytes. In an alternate discourse, Veronica Salles-Reese, Phil Charney, Emma Sordo, and Kenneth Mills turned their attention to *cofradía* propagation, debating the origins of the institution's popularity. It is from the inspiration of these historiographical discussions that the present work is based.

A popular discourse concerning the Christianization of Peru, scholars remain wary of the efficacy of Spain's Extirpation of Idolatry Campaign in the Andes. As early as 1946, historians like George Kubler have argued that by the 1660s, efforts to eradicate idolatrous practices resulted in the establishment of Catholic hegemony.⁷ Latin Americanists have since challenged this narrative of cultural destruction. In *The Cross and the Serpent*, Nicholas Griffiths suggests that indigenous communities adopted tenets of Catholicism and developed syncretic faiths. Griffiths asserts that by accepting Christianity as the "dominant" religion, *indios* succeeded in preserving familial deities.⁸ In a similar vein, Iris Gareis argues that indigenous cosmologies survived Extirpation via concealment within Catholic structures. "Repression and Cultural Change," states that pagan deities took the names of Christian figures during idolatry hearings.⁹ Lastly, in *Idolatry and Its Enemies*, Kenneth Mills asserts that the "Inquisition of the Indians" involved moments of repression, renaissance, and syncretism. Mills thus advises historians to consider the timeline of Extirpation as opposed to single moments of conversion.¹⁰ While the present study does not contribute to debates concerning Extirpation's success, it builds off such dialogues by acknowledging that the institution (at the very least) interrupted Pre-Columbian understandings of kinship.

With an emphasis on the rise of the cult of saints, the contributions of Veronica Salles-Reese, Phil Charney, Emma Sordo, and Kenneth Mills analyze the origins of Catholic factionalism in the Viceroyalty of Peru. In *From Viracocha to the Virgin of Copacabana*, Veronica Salles-Reese argues that Copacabana, on the shores of Lake Titicaca, stood as a sacred space for the Kolla people. Following Spanish Conquest, Catholic priests attempted to destroy the significance of the town, tearing down pagan monuments. Salles-Reese suggests that the erection of a *Mary La Candelaria* shrine and establishment of *cofradías* demonstrated indigenous agency in restoring sacrosanctity to the landscape.¹¹ Similarly, Emma Sordo claims that confraternities devoted to *Mary La Candelaria* rapidly spread throughout Peru due to indigenous fascination with Marian miracles.¹² Further contributing to this discourse, Paul Charney presents the non-religious benefits of *cofradías* in "A Sense of Belonging." According to the historian, Catholic brotherhoods

⁷ See George Kubler, "The Quechua in the Colonial World" in Julian H. Steward (ed), *The Handbook of South American Indians*, Vol. II (Washington: Smithsonian, 1946).

⁸ See Nicholas Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996).

⁹ See Iris Gareis, "Repression and Cultural Change" in Nicholas Griffiths and Fernando Cervantes (eds), *Spiritual Encounters* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 1995).

¹⁰ See Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997).

¹¹ See Veronica Salles-Reese, *From Viracocha to the Virgin Of Cabana* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997).

¹² Emma Sordo, "Our Lady of Copacabana and Her Legacy in Colonial Potosí" in Christopher Black and Pamela Gravesstock (eds), *Early Modern Confraternities in Europe and the Americas: International and Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 187-193.

helped Natives rebuild fragmented communities, offering charity to member *cofrades*.¹³ Finally, in “The Naturalization of Andean Christianities,” Kenneth Mills asserts that the cult of saints provided a “natural” avenue for *indios* to transition from polytheistic idol veneration to Catholicism. Embracing Spanish religion in “ways that they understood,” Andeans devoted their patronage to select saints in order to become “good Christians.”¹⁴ Analyzing the interrelationship between pre-Columbian spiritualities and saintly adoration, this paper adds to literature on the origins of Catholic factions.

This important scholarship has deepened our understandings of Catholic intrusions in the Andes and development of *cofradías*. However, never before has a paper analyzed the interrelations between pre-contact cosmologies and confraternities as devices of kinship. In-depth examinations on the nature of *huaca* worship, sacred space veneration, and shamanism reveal the keystone role that spirituality played in the maintenance of tribal identities in Peru. While ethnic divisions experienced a “challenge” as a consequence of Spanish policies, the cult of saints provided *indios* an opportunity to experiment with Catholicism and develop colonial group identities.

Pre-Columbian Andean Kinship in the Age of the Huacas

Worshipping distinct mythological founders, Quechua and Aymara-speaking peoples utilized cosmology to define ethnic boundaries and exclusive communities. Before the Pizarro brothers brought an end to Inca rule in the 1530s, indigenous nations aligned themselves within kinship networks called *ayllus*. While linguistically similar, each of these socio-political units venerated incongruent sets of spirits known as *huacas*.¹⁵ No document captures the sheer amount of *huacas* and their political affiliations more dramatically than *The Huarochiri Manuscript*. A collection of origin myths assembled by authors from the *Huarochiri* province in the early seventeenth century, the manuscript was edited by the Jesuit Francisco de Avila (who likely oversaw its creation in order to arm himself against idolatry within his parish).¹⁶ In revealing the pantheon of pre-Columbian Gods, the text states,

Paquir Buxi's descendants are still alive today and they're the *Nau Paico*, those people. The descendants of *Llama Tanya* are now the *Ruri Cancha*, the *Casin Chauca*, and the *Tacya Canacha*. These three patrilineages are the reported descendants of *Llama Tanya*...¹⁷

In *The Extirpation of Idolatry*—a paper written by Pablo de Arriaga for the purpose of aiding other priests in routing out heathen beliefs from the Andean landscape—the Jesuit observed, “For every clan and faction has a principle *huaca* and other less important ones, and sometimes members of the clan take

¹³ See Paul Charney, “A Sense of Belonging: Colonial Indian *Cofradías* and Ethnicity in the Valley of Lima, Peru,” *The Americas* 54 (1998).

¹⁴ See Kenneth Mills, “The Naturalization of Andean Christianities” in R. Po-Chia Hsia (ed), *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

¹⁵ For a detailed analysis on the veneration and location of Andean *huacas* see Brian Bauer, *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998).

¹⁶ *The Huarochiri Manuscript*, trans. Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 4.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 143.

the name of the community *huaca*.¹⁸ Each indigenous polity possessed its own set of divine beings to which community members paid homage to; sacred ancestors defined the limits of inclusivity and “otherness” within *ayllu* kin arrangements.

The expansion of the Inca Empire throughout the Andes did not fracture tribal distinctions but rather cemented existing ethnic cleavages through tolerance. In Bernabe Cobo’s *History of the Inca Empire*, a Spanish ethnographic attempt to understand Incaic governance, the Jesuit states,

Although it is true that the Peruvian Kings required all conquered persons to receive their Inca religion, they were not required to abandon entirely the religion that they had before... therefore, not only did the conquered keep their former Gods, but the Incas themselves accepted these Gods and had them brought to Cuzco, where they were placed among the Incas’ own Gods.¹⁹

Upon being absorbed into *Tawantinsuyu* (the Incan Empire), indigenous bands continued to worship their own deities. Similar expressions of plurality appear in the writings of the Jesuit Blas Valera who claims, “In Cusco, there was a temple like the Pantheon of Rome, where all the idols from all the nations and peoples subject to the Inca were placed. Each idol stood in its alter with its insignia, but with a chain around its foot, to signify the subjugation and vassalage of its people.”²⁰ While the Inca mandated the worship of *Inti* (God of the Sun) among conquered nations, they allowed *ayllus* to maintain hereditary *huacas* as a strategy of governance.²¹ The Andean chronicler Guaman Poma claims that under Inca rule, idolatry was encouraged and ancestral identities preserved.²²

Beyond the worship of divinities, *ayllus* further defined political inclusivity by attributing sacrosanctity to the landscape of their kin. In *An Account of the Ancient Customs of the Natives of Peru* (1594), Blas Valera asserts that,

Peruvians had two types of temples, some natural and others, artificial. The natural ones were the heavens, the elements, the sea, the land, the mountains, the jagged valleys, the copious rivers, the fountains or the springs, the ponds or deep lakes, the caves... thus these would serve as sacred places and as sanctuaries where *Illa Tecce* and other Gods were worshipped.²³

The *Indio* nations of the Andes held that *huacas* manifested themselves in several forms from wooden idols to stones, or even rivers. The *Huarochiri* for example, were said to make regular pilgrimages to the Peak of *Paria Caca* Mountain in order to seek counsel from the Holy Spirit who dwelled upon its

¹⁸ Pablo Joseph Arriaga, *The Extirpation of Idolatry*, 25.

¹⁹ Bernabe Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, trans. Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 3.

²⁰ Blas Valera, *An Account of the Ancient Customs of the Natives Of Peru*, transl. Sabine Hyland (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 58.

²¹ Kenneth Andrien, *Andean Worlds* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), 27.

²² Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government*, transl. David Frye (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2006), 84-99.

²³ Valera, *An Account of the Ancient Customs of the Natives Of Peru*, 50.

summit.²⁴ Believing that the sacred existed in the natural world, Andean kin groups possessed spiritual notions of territoriality.

The writings of both Spanish missionaries and indigenous chroniclers demonstrate the role that deceased tribesmen played in maintaining community solidarity. Known in Quechua as *malquis*, the mummified remains of predecessors were worshipped by members of each *ayllu*.²⁵ These bodies were kept in caves or artificially constructed tombs and were tended to by elders. The guardians of the *malquis* were expected to offer the mummies food and cloth regularly, while ensuring that their possessions remained in their presence.²⁶ According to Bernabe Cobo in his *History of the Inca Empire*, “A universal custom of all of these barbarous nations has been to show more concern for the place they were to be put after death than for the dwelling in which they lived.”²⁷ Tombs of ancestors were revered as much as the mummies themselves, serving as regular sites of pilgrimage. In the eyes of Jesuit historians like Arriaga, “Next to the stone *huacas*, their [Andeans] greatest veneration is for their *malquis*, called in the lowlands *munaos*.”²⁸ Genealogies of these hallowed predecessors aided in defining *ayllu* membership.

Professing the wisdom of *huacas* to community members, Native shaman bridged celestial and earthly realms, while dictating rules of acceptance and exclusion. According to the historian Nicholas Griffiths, medicine men known as *curenderos* served various functions—from healer to mystic—and unsurprisingly, were the first victims of Spain’s Extirpation of Idolatry campaigns.²⁹ According to Bernabe Cobo in his spiritual ethnography, *Inca Religion and Customs*,

Those responsible for this [sacred] duty were normally old priests or attendants of temples, and they did this work with great care. Whenever one of them was questioned alone, he would give an explanation and tell about the powers said to be possessed by the *huaca* that he was responsible for, the solemnities and words necessary to make sacrifices to it, and the offering that was said to be given to it.³⁰

Amerindian holy men were expected to provide healing services as well as spiritual guidance to *ayllu* members.³¹ Through these figures, Andeans were educated on their nation’s Gods and conventions. *Curenderos* served as the chief actors in establishing cultural norms for their brethren, erecting clear barriers between inclusion and deviance.

While under the imperial domination of the Incas, Andean peoples embraced pagan religiosity as markers of identity. Political cleavages between those accepted as band members and those shunned as “others” rested upon the worship of *huacas*, veneration of sacred spaces, consecration of mummies,

²⁴ *The Huarochiri Manuscript*, 72.

²⁵ Arriaga, *The Extirpation of Idolatry*, 27.

²⁶ Andrien, *Andean Worlds*, 160.

²⁷ Bernabe Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire*, transl. Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 31.

²⁸ Pablo Joseph Arriaga, *The Extirpation of Idolatry*, 27.

²⁹ For a study on the roles held by *curenderos* in Andean society and their victimization during Extirpation Campaigns see Nicholas Griffiths, “Andean *Curanderos* and Their Repressors” in Griffiths and Cervantes (eds), *Spiritual Encounters*.

³⁰ Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, 9.

³¹ Griffiths, “Andean *Curenderos* and Their Repressors,” 188.

and adherence to the wisdom of *curenderos*. The remainder of my discussion on the Andes will demonstrate how the colonial traumas of relocation and Extirpation tested kinship structures. However, turning their gaze towards the heavens as per traditional custom, Andeans employed an imposed religion to forge Catholic networks of support.

The Effects of Relocation and Extirpation

Immediately following Francisco Pizarro's conquest of Peru in the 1530s, the conversion of indigenous societies to Catholicism justified colonization and the resultant challenge to *ayllu* networks. As early as 1513, treatises legitimizing Spanish presence in the Americas were formulated under religious pretexts. *The Requerimiento* was a text read to each Native community encountered by Conquistadors in the New World. One passage from the document states,

Wherefore, as best we can, we ask and require you that you...acknowledge the Church as the Ruler and Superior of the whole world, and the high priest called Pope, and in his name the King and Queen Dona Juana, our lords, in his place, as superiors and lords and kings of these islands and this Tierra-firme by virtue of the said donation, and that you consent and give place that these religious fathers should declare and preach to you the aforesaid.³²

The *Requerimiento* asserted that *indio* villages who peaceably accepted the institutionalization of Catholicism were to be left in peace, but those who did not, provided grounds for a "just war" to be declared against them. Similarly, the writings of theologians like Bartolome de las Casas suggested that Iberian presence in the Americas could only be licensed under the necessity to educate "heathens" in "the error" of their ways.³³ Indeed, the Christianization of Peru began immediately following colonization, however, two state policies in particular targeted Andean kinship arrangements. Through relocation and Extirpation, indigenous communities were interrogated, leaving displaced tribes scattered throughout the Viceroyalty.

The relocation of Native Andeans from their homelands to state-sponsored settlements facilitated the severance of tribal divisions. In 1569, Francisco de Toledo became the fifth Viceroy of Peru and possessed a policy agenda advocating increased subjugation of indigenous peoples. Preceding the Viceroy's term in office, the *sistema de castas*—encoded within the Laws of the Indies—became institutionalized within Andean society. A device created in the Castilian metropole, the *sistema de castas* placed all Amerindian nations at the bottom of an ethnically hierarchical chain of governance.³⁴ While the *casta* system offered Peninsular Spaniards the greatest privileges, members of the Republic of Indians were obliged to participate in forced labor turns (known as the *mita*).³⁵ Viceroy Toledo argued that *indios* often escaped labor obligations due to Spain's inability to police each village. Consequently, part of the official's

³² *The Requerimiento*, available online at <http://www.doctrineofdiscovery.org/requerimiento.htm>.

³³ See Bartolomé de las Casas, *In Defense of the Indians*, transl. Stafford Poole (DeKalb: University of Northern Illinois Press, 1974).

³⁴ A study on *casta* paradigms within Castile and Peru can be found in Nancy van Deusen, "Seeing Indio in Sixteenth-Century Castile," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 69 (2012).

³⁵ More information on the *mita* economic system can be found in Jane Mangan, *Trading Roles* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

Reforms was the relocation of Andean communities to settlements called *reducciones*. Throughout the 1570s, Natives were uprooted from their villages and amalgamated within makeshift Catholic towns for the twin purposes of conversion and labor enforcement.³⁶

Displacing indigenous societies from the land of their ancestors, Toledo compromised *huaca* factions. In *The Huarochiri Manuscript*, anonymous *indio* authors recorded the upheaval of each tribe from the highlands. The collection of documents is colored with statements such as, “All the Cupara people, as we know make up a single *ayllu* called Cupara. These people now live in San Lorenzo, where they remain forcibly relocated right up to this point.”³⁷ In 1615, an Andean letter addressed directly to King Felipe III of Spain known as *The First New Chronicle and Good Government* condemned Viceroy Toledo’s actions. The testimony’s author, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, states,

Consider that Don Francisco de Toledo, the Viceroy, ordered the depopulation and congregation of the *pueblos* of this Kingdom. Ever since, the Indians of this Kingdom have died and have been dying out for the following reasons... Because the Indians were separated from *pueblos* founded in sites and locations selected by their wise nobles: their doctors, licentiates, and philosophers...³⁸

Protesting injustices committed against the Republic of Indians, Guaman Poma demonstrates the deep connections that Natives held with habitual territories.

While removal mandated the exile of ordinary *ayllu* members to *reducciones*, shaman faced graver sentences following dislocation from their kin. In Pablo Arriaga’s *Extirpation of Idolatry*, the Jesuit priest states, “The house of detention at Santa Cruz is used for the most harmful teachers and ministers of idolatry; there are about forty men there at present, most of them advanced in years.”³⁹ Located in Callao, Peru, the House of Santa Cruz began accepting inmates in 1617. The institution of confinement was reserved for *curenderos* who acted as “agents of diabolism” in the New World.⁴⁰ The observations of Blas Valera dictate, “These [Native] priests taught the people the number of their Gods, and idols or statues, and declared the laws and rules about their religion that had been made by either the Kings, or the Republic...”⁴¹ Without their spiritual guides, relocated *ayllu* members lost both a connection to celestial realms and a political figurehead. Eager to extract the labor of Amerindians, tribal distinctions were annexed under a sweeping label: *indio*.

The Extirpation of Idolatry served as Spain’s second device intent on abolishing pagan worship, and by extension, markers of Pre-Columbian ethnicity. In the late sixteenth century, Francisco de Avila—operating a parish in Huarochiri—first claimed that after years of Spanish presence, Natives were not responding to missionization. The priest asserted that superstition flourished throughout the Viceroyalty, and that the “the devil” thrived in the Americas.⁴² In response to Avila’s testimonies, the Crown institutionalized the

³⁶ Andrien, *Andean Worlds*, 82.

³⁷ *The Huarochiri Manuscript*, 64.

³⁸ Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government*, 327.

³⁹ Arriaga, *The Extirpation of Idolatry*, 142.

⁴⁰ Gareis, “Repression and Cultural Change,” 234.

⁴¹ Valera, *An Account of the Ancient Customs of the Natives Of Peru*, 63.

⁴² Arriaga, *The Extirpation of Idolatry*, 4.

Extirpation of Idolatry campaign in 1611, with the mandate of eradicating Andean spiritualities.⁴³ According to Father Arriaga in his work *The Extirpation of Idolatry*, “*huacas* are worshipped as Gods, and since they cannot be removed from their sight because they are fixed and immobile, we must try to route them out of their hearts, showing them truth and disabusing them of error.”⁴⁴ Arriaga’s manuscript suggests that Extirpation involved *visitador*’s moving between communities in search of idols as well as other satanic practices. Two aspects of the Inquisition of the Indians (whose operation was condoned at the Third Council of Lima) critically undermined the cohesion of *ayllu* communities: public idolatry trials and *auto da fe* rituals.

In each *indio* village, Inquisition proceedings were to begin with community hearings, spectacles that tarnished band solidarity. Historians like Irene Silverblatt suggest that these trials closely resembled the witch-hunts of Europe.⁴⁵ In a premier visitation, Egas de Guzman—a Catholic *Visitador* from the *Audiencia* of New Grenada (a north-eastern administrative unit within the Viceroyalty of Peru)—reveals the state coercion involved in idolatry hearings,

Thereupon the judge ordered that the Indian Pedro Conba be stripped of his clothing and asked him to state and declare if he or other Indians have any such shrines [*huacas*]... In order to strike fear in Conba, his arms were tied and the rope thrown over a beam in the hut and pulled slightly, in a manner such that it did him no physical harm. He said that an Indian woman named Clara kept a cotton idol but he did not know what was inside it.⁴⁶

Guzman’s torturous investigation, conducted on the Muisca people, was not an isolated incident. Throughout the Andes, *ayllu* members accused neighbors of satanic reverence before inquisitors. Extirpation records from Cajatambo, Peru in 1657 read,

The witness continued, saying that one time, going as far as the herb gardens and passing the ancients’ settlements of Quirca and Yanqui, he had seen Alonso Chaupis the Blind, Hernando Chaupis Condor, Pedro Sarmineto, and Pedro Capcha Yauri making sacrifices, cutting the throats of many *cuyus* [Andean guinea pigs]...⁴⁷

Idolatry hearings put neighbors at odds while the spiritual unity that once defined *ayllu* units dissipated.

Extirpation campaigns in *indio* settlements culminated with *auto da fe* rituals: demonstrations that attempted to decapitate paganism from Andean *imaginaires*. An *auto da fe* in Peru involved priests collecting non-Catholic

⁴³ For a comprehensive study on the Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru see Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies*.

⁴⁴ Arriaga, *The Extirpation of Idolatry*, 24.

⁴⁵ See Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

⁴⁶ Egas de Guzman, “In the Service of God, I Order These Temples of Idolatrous Worship Raised to the Ground (1596)” in Richard Boyer and Geoffrey Spurling (eds), *Colonial Lives: Documents on Latin American History, 1550-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 41.

⁴⁷ “The Witness Francisco Poma y Altas Caldeas of San Pedro de Acas, Cajatambo, Peru (1657)” in Kenneth Mills, William B. Taylor, and Sandra Lauderdale Graham (eds), *Colonial Latin America: A Documentary History* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2002), 260.

relics and burning them in a pyre.⁴⁸ In the *Extirpation of Idolatry*, Pablo Arriaga articulates *auto da fe* procedure to fellow priests,

After the individuals have given up their objects, the sorcerers are to hand over the *huacas* and *malquis* that they are in charge of and which they have brought from their hiding places... These things, which are generally numerous even in small towns, are to be piled up outside the town together with the mummies of *malquis* removed from the church and burned in a large fire in a remote place.⁴⁹

The burning of mummies prevented Amerindians from connecting with the resting places of their people. Scholarly discussions concerning whether or not idolatry survived Extirpation continue to flourish; Nicholas Griffiths for example, suggests that the Inquisition's most repressive moments saw the greatest resurgence of deity worship.⁵⁰ However, the trial records from Cajamarca and New Grenada presented above, reveal that the attempted obliteration of pagan objects garnered responses from *ayllu* populations. Rooting out *huacas* and *malquis* from Andean society, *auto da fe* spectacles spurred Natives to redefine senses of "self" and "other."

The traumas of relocation and Extirpation embody a colonial effort to rid the Viceroyalty of "errors." By removing Natives from ancestral territories, Francisco de Toledo's Reforms interfered with pilgrimage and prayer. The Extirpation of Idolatry, accepted within each *Audiencia*, then destroyed *ayllu* relics. Beyond disabling the performance of spiritual conventions, the Inquisition of the Indians replaced reciprocity with animosity, as *indios* turned against each other before Catholic authorities. The efficacy of Extirpation and relocation in establishing Catholic Orthodoxy remains debated (with many contemporary Peruvians practicing rituals of the Incaic past, it seems unlikely that Spain's Inquisition purged the Viceroyalty of Native religiosity).⁵¹ However, the two policies directly challenged ethnic divisions. The final segment of my discussion on Peru will discuss how Andeans interpreted Catholicism, and in the process, created pious associations distinct from any in Europe.

The Proliferation of Cofradías

Cofradías—early modern Catholic brother and sisterhoods—originated in Europe and after crossing the Atlantic, were utilized by *indios* to rebuild senses of community. First appearing immediately following the emergence of Christianity, saintly factions greatly increased in number after the Council of Trent (1545-1563).⁵² Organizations comprised of laypeople devoted to a patron saint, *cofradías* were encouraged by the Papacy during the Counter Reformation as a way of expanding the influence of Catholicism. The roles of such "popular religious" societies extended beyond encouraging public worship

⁴⁸ Gareis, "Repression and Cultural Change," 236.

⁴⁹ Arriaga, *The Extirpation of Idolatry*, 130.

⁵⁰ Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent*, 15.

⁵¹ For a work illustrating the employment of Incaic beliefs and symbols in the nineteenth through twentieth centuries see Sinclair Thomson, *We Alone Will Rule* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003).

⁵² Concha Espejo, Jesus Manjon, and Juan Sanchez-Matamores, "Accounting at the Boundaries of the Sacred," *Accounting History* 22 (2006), 133.

to realms diverse as organizing community festivals and providing charity to the impoverished.⁵³ At the commencement of the eighteenth century, more than 25,000 brotherhoods thrived across Europe.⁵⁴ In Spain, the associations became so widespread that the Archbishop of Grenada proclaimed, “We order that visitors...annually visit any colleges, hospitals... brotherhoods and other pious institutions of any name that are under the patronage of lay people...And anything that seems necessary to be removed, should be done.”⁵⁵ *Cofradías* became an uncontrollable phenomenon throughout the continent, with bishops attempting to regulate their propagation.

In the wake of Extirpation efforts, *cofradías* emerged within the Viceroyalty of Peru, bearing characteristics distinct from sister institutions in Europe. Within corporate society, confraternities “racially” defined membership criteria.⁵⁶ According to an examination of wills conducted by Paul Charney, there were forty-six *cofradías* present in Lima in 1619. Of these factions, eighteen were Spanish, thirteen possessed *indio* membership, and fifteen were restricted to *mulatto cofrades*.⁵⁷ The lay associations each held executive elections and allowed for mobility within the institution. In urban centers, Andean peoples enjoyed a variety of *cofradías* that offered member benefits; affiliations representing men, women and craftsmen (such as San Joaquín, the silk weavers guild) permitted members of the Republic of Indians to forge multiple identities.⁵⁸ In rural locales however, there was often only one *cofradía* representing all *indios*. For example, in seventeenth-century Copacabana, *Maria La Candaleria* was selected for the *indios* of the village to venerate.⁵⁹ These village-level institutions allowed relocated Natives of various ethno-linguistic backgrounds to unite under a single banner.

The cult of saints found resonance within the social fabric of *indio* populations; embracing Catholic figures, Andeans found a “meeting place” between polytheism and Spanish Catholicism. In the early seventeenth century, missionaries in Peru noticed that preaching about the lives of saints captivated the fascination of Native parishioners. In *The Extirpation of Idolatry*, Pablo Arriaga states, “We must talk of our faith, our ecclesiastic history, the lives of saints—which they greatly enjoy learning—refuting their errors and teaching our truths until they are thoroughly convinced of both.”⁶⁰ Following the institutionalization of Extirpation in 1611, missionaries began disseminating images of saints throughout *doctrinas*. *Indio* neophytes desired pictures with such intensity that priests found it impossible to keep copies in stock.⁶¹ In 1615, Guaman Poma’s letter to Felipe III illustrated the cult following that saints had begun to develop in Peru. *The First New Chronicle* states, “The author sold off the miserable possessions that he had... Then he went to the Church of Our Lady of *Pena de Francia* (in the convent of *Santa Clara*) because of the devotion that the author held for the Mother God.”⁶² Throughout his testimony,

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ “Testimony of the Bishop of Grenada,” as quoted in Munoz Lopez-Guadalupe and I. Arias de Saavedra Alias, *La Represion de la Religiosidad Popular* (Grenada: University of Grenada Press, 2002), 159.

⁵⁶ Charney, “A Sense of Belonging,” 388.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 384.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 388.

⁵⁹ Yupanqui, “The Virgin of Copacabana,” 180.

⁶⁰ Arriaga, *The Extirpation of Idolatry*, 137.

⁶¹ See Mills, “The Naturalization of Andean Christianities.”

⁶² Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government*, 358.

Guaman Poma refers to Andean followers of “St. Peter” and of “The Blessed Mother;” the chronicle depicts early Amerindian efforts to repair societal relations under the guidance of saintly devotion.⁶³

Close examinations of colonial literature reveals that *Cofradías* possessed inherent structures identical to Pre-Columbian *ayllus*. A passage from Arriaga’s *Extirpation of Idolatry* states,

A common error is their tendency to carry water on both shoulders, to have recourse to both religions at once. I know a place where a cloak was made for the image of Our Lady and a shirt for their *huaca* from the same cloth. They feel and even say that they can worship their *huacas* while believing in God, the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost. Thus, for the worship of Jesus Christ, they generally offer what they offer their *huacas*.⁶⁴

Priests during the seventeenth century debated whether *cofradía* proliferation embodied a byproduct of conversion or a resurgence of *huaca* devotion. *Audiencia* Bishops begged the question: Were saints understood according to their Catholic significance, or did they provide new faces to deities? In Tito Yupanqui’s 1582 letter, the image-maker expressed his frustration when a Bishop in Copacabana refused to give him a license to construct shrines in the Virgin’s likeness.⁶⁵ *Indio cofradías* inspired paranoia amongst clergy who sought to contain their production. While the lives of saints may have been misunderstood by Andean nations during moments along “the greater conversion timeline,” saintly veneration flowed naturally from polytheistic understandings of the cosmos.⁶⁶ In selecting an object of worship from Catholicism’s pantheon of persona, Amerindians fashioned colonial identities through previous spiritual structures.

Through confraternity development, indigenous peoples subsequently rebuilt networks of reciprocity. Similar to the saintly guilds of Europe, seventeenth-century Andean *cofradías* gave out loans to member *cofrades*, held meetings to discuss civic issues, and organized festivals. The institutions accepted associates irrespective of class and offered *indios* a fellowship of support.⁶⁷ In an account of the life of Santa Rosa of Lima, Don Gonzalo de la Maza describes the followers of Santa Rosa who recognized the social and material benefits that *cofradías* provided. The witness states,

Some friar-confessors told him [the witness] of the exceptional conversions of souls and arduous transformations of [people’s] lives that had occurred among those who commended themselves to the blessed Rosa after her death. Other people, especially devout women, have told this witness they wanted to found the convent of St. Catherine of Sienna that she [Rosa] so much desired... And [there are] spiritual people...who have said to this witness that since the death of the blessed Rosa de Sancta Maria, they have received from our Lord remarkable

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Arriaga, *The Extirpation of Idolatry*, 71.

⁶⁵ Yupanqui, “The Virgin of Copacabana,” 180.

⁶⁶ See Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies*.

⁶⁷ Charney, “A Sense of Belonging,” 385.

favors and rewards, much better than those which had been received before.⁶⁸

According to Guaman Poma in his *First New Chronicle*, Pre-Columbian *ayllus* similarly provided welfare assistance. The Andean suggests that affluence was evenly distributed amongst *ayllu* affiliates because each individual served a role that contributed to prosperity.⁶⁹ While Guaman Poma's Pre-Columbian order free of poverty was likely romanticized by the author, *cofradías* replaced social support systems that *ayllus* once provided. In an anthropological investigation, Lyn Lowry examined forty-three wills of Lima's Amerindian population from 1600 to 1620 and discovered that seventy-five percent of men and fifty-five percent of women belonged to *cofradías*.⁷⁰ With charitable benefits similar to *ayllus*, Andeans joined confraternities in higher population percentages than their Spanish counterparts.⁷¹

In a related vein of continuity, saintly guilds gave Amerindians the power to renew spiritual understandings of landscapes. In Tito Yupanqui's letter, the Andean image-maker states that his *Mary La Candelaria* shrine was built to create a place of worship for the *indios* of Copacabana. During the deliverance of the statue to his community, the Andean states, "...And as soon as the cocks crowed, we lifted the image and we came to the town when the sun was coming out; all the people came to see how the Virgin was coming... people came with their trumpets, and we brought the image in a procession."⁷² In the *Audiencia* of Quito, the Sanctuary of Guapulo, Church of El Sagrario, and Chapel of the Rosary were all commissioned by confraternities.⁷³ While in Europe, confraternities frequently developed *after* the construction of a chapel, the *cofradías* of Peru were responsible *for erecting* these places of worship.⁷⁴ In Gonzalo de la Maza's writings on the life of Lima's Santa Rosa, the author proclaims,

Since the day on which the body of the said blessed Rosa was buried in the chapter room of the said convent of Saint Dominic, every time this witness has entered [the chapter room] he has found a great gathering of people of all orders, stations, and sexes, and at the tomb, this witness has seen many of the sick, crippled and maimed.⁷⁵

No longer in possession of *malquis*, the bodies of saints became objects of devotion for *indio* nations. More significantly, the tombs of Catholic figures served as locales in which Amerindians could reconnect with the heavens. Shrines, bodies, and churches devoted to canonized Catholics allowed Natives to renew religious understandings of spaces they came to inhabit.

⁶⁸ Don Gonzalo de la Meza, "Santa Rosa of Lima According to a Pious Accountant (1617)" in Mills, Taylor, and Lauderdale Graham (eds), *Colonial Latin America*, 205.

⁶⁹ See Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government*.

⁷⁰ Lyn Lowry, "Religion y control social en la colonia; El caso de las indias urbanas de Lima, 1570-1620," *Allpanchis* 32 (1998), 27.

⁷¹ Charney, "A Sense of Belonging," 385.

⁷² Yupanqui, "The Virgin of Copacabana," 181.

⁷³ Susan Verdi Webster, "Confraternities as Patrons of Architecture in Colonial Quito, Ecuador" in Christopher Black and Pamela Gravestock (eds), *Early Modern Confraternities in Europe and the Americas* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006), 204.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Don Gonzalo de la Meza, "Santa Rosa of Lima," 205.

Cofradía proliferation demonstrates a renaissance of cosmologically understood Andean kinship arrangements. Saints “naturally” succeeded the pantheon of *huacas*, once revered by *ayllu* communities. Further, devout organizations offered Andeans the solidarity and aid once ensured by tribal units. Drawing upon historical memories—a past era of *huacas*, *malquis*, and holy landscapes—indigenous peoples in the Viceroyalty of Peru renewed social relations via a prescribed European faith. Let us now turn to the case of New France where in isolation from Latin America, a parallel phenomenon was occurring.

Part II: Clandestine Medicine Orders and Confréries

Detailing the lives of Amerindian laymen at the mission of Saint Francois Xavier, near Montreal, Quebec, “The Jesuit Relation of 1672-73” reads,

It is rare to see a devout man who is not a true servant of Our Lady. For that reason, a confraternity of the Holy Family and of the Servitude of the Blessed Virgin has been established in this mission. It is an assembly composed of our most fervent Christians. They meet together every Sunday to ascertain whether all the rules are observed, and to learn what good can be done and evil prevented.⁷⁶

Like in Peru, the Natives of New France reorganized fragments of their societies into pious confraternities. However, Huron and Iroquois transition to Catholicism did not mirror the trajectory of Andean Christianization. The French Empire in North America failed to institutionalize tribute and extirpation as devices of governance.⁷⁷ Indeed, the “racialized” *casta* system that defined Peruvian society had no counterpart in New France. Instead, the French relied upon their indigenous neighbors as allies against the English and partners in an extensive fur trade economy.⁷⁸ Jesuit missionaries immersed themselves into indigenous villages with the hopes of learning their culture and converting souls to Catholicism. Within these mission sites, the Society of Jesus experimented with confraternities as “an instrument of Native evangelization.”⁷⁹ The resultant saintly factions—though bearing European names—were not of French design. Utilizing familiar institutions, the Iroquois and Huron peoples fashioned Catholic cults all their own.

There has been relatively little written about Native engagement with confraternities in New France. However, historians have analyzed Iroquoian Christianization through two methodological approaches. Allan Greer, William B. Hart, and André Sanfaçon have all examined the Jesuits’ use of *confréries* as tools of conversion. Daniel K. Richter and Allan Greer have conversely examined the changes engendered by Iroquoian societies as a result of missionization. It is under the guidance of these disparate themes that my analysis of religious kinship and factionalism in Quebec is based.

The works of Allan Greer, William B. Hart, and André Sanfaçon evaluate Jesuit employment of confraternities as catalysts of conversion. In *Mohawk*

⁷⁶ Anonymous, “Relation of 1672-1673 at St. Francis Xavier,” *The Jesuit Relations* V. 58, 86.

⁷⁷ Greer, “Towards a Comparative Study of Jesuit Missions and Indigenous Peoples in Seventeenth-Century Canada and Paraguay,” 25.

⁷⁸ Allan Greer, *The People of New France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 77.

⁷⁹ Allan Greer, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 14.

Saint, Allan Greer contrasts the similarities between *confréries* and Iroquoian medicine societies. The historian notes that the Catholic institution's popularity may have risen due to its likeness to shamanistic orders (both of which offered charity to the public, regularly recruited initiates, and provided spiritual guidance to commoners).⁸⁰ In "A New Loreto in New France," André Sanfaçon illustrates how the creation of a site of pilgrimage by Pierre Chaumonot inspired the diffusion of the Holy Family confraternity across New France. Sanfaçon claims that as word of Loreto's miracles spread, veneration of the Holy House extended beyond the parish's boundaries.⁸¹ Finally, William B. Hart re-evaluates the Jesuits' use of Marianism in Quebec. "The Kindness of the Blessed Virgin" suggests that Amerindian fascination with the Holy Mother may not have been Jesuit induced, but rather an extension of reverence to *orenda* (power).⁸² Each of these works illustrate how missionaries encouraged the development of *cofréries* in New France to promote "good" Catholicism, but that the cult of saints had unrelated meanings for Native communities. My study contributes to this body of literature by presenting Iroquoian engagement with *confréries* through traditional customs.

In an alternate discourse, the writings of Daniel K. Richter and Allan Greer analyze the structural changes experienced by Iroquoian society as a direct result of Catholic intrusions. In "Iroquois versus Iroquois," Richter states that converts added a new faction within Iroquoian "mourning wars." The scholar asserts that Iroquois often sought Christian Huron captives, since such peoples easily integrated into new bands.⁸³ In a subsequent ethnohistorical study, Allan Greer makes the revisionist argument that Christianity among the Iroquois cannot be seen as Orthodox but rather, "local religion."⁸⁴ "Conversions and Identity," states that rites of Catholicism like communal prayer united clans at Kahnawake. However, autonomous bands retained their conventions, such as burial procedures.⁸⁵ This analysis follows the writings of Richter and Greer by arguing that French confraternities experienced manipulation by Iroquoian nations.

Such past scholarship has augmented understandings of the Jesuit institutionalization of confraternities in New France and Native responses to Christianization. However, the remainder of my comparative study will stand Peruvian *cofradías* against Iroquoian *confréries*. Like in the Andes, indigenous kinship in New France was founded upon divine precepts. Iroquois and Huron clans possessed furtive medicine societies, and believed that *orenda* radiated throughout the territories of their ancestors. Following microbial epidemics, many scattered Natives sought shelter within Jesuit missions. Within these parishes, Amerindians engaged with European *confréries* and subsequently, negotiated "transitions" from paganism to Catholicism.

⁸⁰ Greer, *Mohawk Saint*, 114-115.

⁸¹ André Sanfaçon, "A New Loreto in New France": Pierre-Joseph-Maire Chaumonot, SJ, and the Holy House of Loreto" in Germaine Warkentin and Carolyn Podruchny (eds), *Decentering the Renaissance: Canada and Europe in Multidisciplinary Perspective, 1500-1700* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 210.

⁸² William B. Hart, "The Kindness of the Blessed Virgin" in Nicholas Griffiths and Fernando Cervantes (eds), *Spiritual Encounters: Interactions Between Christianity and Native Religions in Colonial America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 70.

⁸³ Daniel K. Richter, "Iroquois Versus Iroquois," *Ethnohistory* 32 (1985), 1-16.

⁸⁴ Allan Greer, "Conversion and Identity: Iroquois Christianity in Seventeenth-Century New France" in Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton (eds), *Conversion: Old Worlds and New* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 178.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 184.

Iroquoian Spirituality and Kinship

A similar case to the Viceroyalty of Peru, the popularity of confraternities amongst Catholic Iroquoians can be traced back to polytheistic beliefs of the “conquered peoples.” The First Nations of New France did not possess *huacas*, *malquis*, or monuments to ancestors like their Andean counterparts. The Amerindians did, however, delineate limits of inclusion through divine institutions. Huron and Iroquois subdivided nations into clans: extended families with slightly divergent rites. Villages further harbored secret medicine societies that provided healing and guidance to community members. And while ancestral spirits did not thrive within physical landscapes, the Aborigines of Quebec held that supernatural forces flowed through the territories of their forefathers. A polity of clans emphasizing local spiritualities, the Huron and Iroquois possessed sacred notions of kin well before Jesuit arrival.

Each village in *Iroquoia* was composed of several matrilineal families: clans that administered the spirituality of its membership.⁸⁶ According to *Nation Iroquoise* (an anonymous sixteenth-century Jesuit ethnography on the Iroquoian peoples), one village known as *Oney86* was, “...composed of three families, namely the family of the Wolf, the family of the Turtle, and that of the Bear. In this case, they appoint one or two of the principal men of each family to go and explain their plans to their allies.”⁸⁷ Clans often formed covert pacts, creating networks of alliances. Elders reigned as authorities within hereditary units, while membership was defined along female bloodlines. In fact, women often contributed to political decisions. As quoted in *Natione Iroquois*, “The Councils of War are ordinarily arranged as secretly as possible. That is done by an assembly of elders from each village. Some women who have their own voice in these matters, and who make decisions like the old men, join them in this council.”⁸⁸ Named after the flora and fauna of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence region, scholars continue to debate the number of clans that governed the affairs of Iroquoian peoples.⁸⁹ Through clan networks, the limits of inclusion and “otherness” were established.

Medicine men or shaman represented the executive authority in clan religiosity; these figures preached about the divine, interpreted dreams, and cured the sick. In describing an Iroquoian curing ritual, the Jesuit Gabriel Lalement relates,

They were summoned, and ordered to administer to the patient the best drugs used by the Medicine-men of their country. They made their preparations, and all the Village assembled in the cabin to witness a wonderful cure... First appeared some old women, who began to dance in time to the beating of a sort of tambourine; and soon afterward there were seen to enter, with measured tread, three counterfeit bears, hopping now on one foot, now on the other, and making as if they would

⁸⁶ Ibid, 181.

⁸⁷ Jose Antonio Brandao and K. Janet Ritch (eds), *Natione Iroquois* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 65.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 67.

⁸⁹ Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 14-15.

pounce on the sick woman and devour her, although their purpose was merely to apply warm ashes to her swollen cheek.⁹⁰

Clans possessed their own diviners who maintained norms for healing and vision reading. Indeed, Iroquoian societies believed that dreams held great significance (often used by soothsayers to predict a tribe's future in combat or the autumn harvest).⁹¹ Analogous to pre-Columbian Andean nations, shamans upheld the integrity of clan rites.

Contributing to spiritual bases of kinship, Iroquoian clans believed that mystical forces guarded their territories. Shamans asserted that *orenda* lived within flora and fauna that sustained Amerindian communities.⁹² Observing the traditional customs of the Huron, Paul Rageneau notes,

If, for instance, our Hurons while hunting have some difficulty in killing a bear or a stag, and on opening it they find in its head or in its entrails something unusual, such as a stone or a snake, they will say that this is an *Okky*, and this was what gave the animal such strength, and prevented it from dying, and they will take that stone or snake for a charm, and believe that it will bring them good fortune.⁹³

Such testimonies reveal that Amerindians of Quebec venerated natural objects as consecrated. Further commenting on nature's significance to Huron nations, Rageneau declares,

If in a tree, or while digging in the earth, they find a stone of peculiar shape, which, for instance, is made like a dish, a spoon, or a small earthen vessel, they will consider their discovery fortunate; for they say that certain Demons who dwell in the woods, sometimes forget those articles there...⁹⁴

Clan territories provided extended sites of worship for the First Nations of Quebec; a familiar branch, rock, or leaf could contain energy of the cosmos. While epidemic-induced migrations forced indigenous abandonment of their homelands, the Jesuit erection of Catholic monuments provided new holy "spaces" for Iroquoian peoples to revere.

Underground medicine orders—exclusive associations that served local communities—operated as distinct markers of Iroquoian identity. In his "Relation of 1645," Paul Rageneau observes the activities of one such cult stating, "...That dance is only for chosen people, who are admitted to it with ceremony, with great gifts, and after a declaration which they make to the grand masters of the Brotherhood, to keep secret the mysteries that are entrusted to them, as things holy and sacred."⁹⁵ Medicinal factions took an oath to protect their brotherhood's mysteries, worshiped select deities, and provided charity to villagers. Living amongst the Huron in 1636, Paul le Jeune further details the activity of a society that he terms "the brotherhood of lunatics." Father le Jeune relates that the association used, "charms which they throw at

⁹⁰ Gabriel Lalement, "Relation of 1661 and 1662" in *The Jesuit Relations V. 47*, 179.

⁹¹ Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 25-28.

⁹² Hart, "The Kindness of the Blessed Virgin," 70.

⁹³ Paul Rageneau, "Relation of 1648," in *The Jesuit Relations V. 33*, 209.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 210.

⁹⁵ Paul Rageneau, "Relation of 1645-1656," in *The Jesuit Relations V. 4*, 21.

each other and which are composed of Bears' claws, wolves' teeth, eagles' talons, certain stones, and Dogs' sinews."⁹⁶ While these orders had select membership, it was not closed. New initiates were often commoners once cured by a society ritual.⁹⁷ Healing the sick and offering membership to orphaned souls, medicine cults provided a model for future engagements with Catholicism.

Spiritual Dissolutions and Confréries in New France

No Inquisitions or coerced relocations weakened Amerindian spiritual complexes in French North America; rather, infectious disease facilitated the fragmentation of clan systems. According to the letters of the Ursuline nun Marie de L'Incarnation, an Iroquoian woman confessed:

It is the Black Robes that make us die by their spells... They lodged us in a certain village where everyone was well. As soon as they left, everyone was dead except for three or four persons. They went elsewhere and the same thing happened. They visited the cabins in other villages and only those who did not enter were free of mortality and sickness.⁹⁸

An absence of the *mita* and Inquisition did not render Iroquoian societies immune to European microbes. Epidemics initially made conversion efforts difficult for the French, who often received blame for the spread of viruses. In his autobiography, Father Pierre Chaumonot relates, "Comme cette contagion n'attaquoit pas les Francois, on nous prenoit pour des sorciers qui causons ce mal."⁹⁹ A combination of warfare against the Iroquois and virgin soil epidemics nearly eradicated the Huron nation by the late seventeenth-century.¹⁰⁰ Consequently, medicine society membership dwindled, shamans incapable of saving kinsmen were exiled, and entire clans faced extinction.

Large numbers of Iroquoian peoples migrated to Jesuit missions in Quebec after political centers of clan networks weakened; the French missionaries offered Amerindians sanctuary and new group identities.¹⁰¹ According to "The Jesuit Relation of 1672-1673," the mission of St. Francis Xavier contained a diverse demographic:

These were seen mingled together; Outouagahna, Gentagega, Montegnais, Algonquins, Nipissiriniens, Hurons, Iroquois, Algonquins, Loups, Mahigans... and other nations no less opposed to one another through ancient feuds than through diversity of language.¹⁰²

Writing in 1686 from the Mission amongst the Iroquois at Kahnawake, Claude Chuachetière states, "In this little company of savages there were men of different languages: one was of the Chat nation, another was Huron; some were

⁹⁶ As quoted in Hart, "The Kindness of the Blessed Virgin," 76.

⁹⁷ Greer, *Mohawk Saint*, 114.

⁹⁸ Marie Guyart, *Word from New France: The Selected Letters of Marie de L'Incarnation*, transl. Joyce Marshall (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1967), 82.

⁹⁹ Pierre Chaumonot, *Autobiographie et Pièces Inédites*, edited by Auguste Carayon (Paris: Poitiers, 1869), 39.

¹⁰⁰ Dean R. Snow, *The Iroquois* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994), 115.

¹⁰¹ Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 120.

¹⁰² Anonymous, "Relation of 1672-73 at St. Francis Xavier" in *The Jesuit Relations* V. 58, 74.

free Iroquois... and now the mission is made up of over ten or twelve nations who all speak Iroquois.”¹⁰³ The Jesuit missions of Quebec saw rival factions living side-by-side, each ravaged from disease.¹⁰⁴ With disparate spiritual customs, displaced peoples were forced to reconsider divine notions of kin.

Before their introduction to indigenous missions, confraternities crossed the Atlantic from Europe to instill “piety” within settlements of New France.¹⁰⁵ Following the December 1563 Council of Trent, new confraternities, such as *La Confrérie de la Bonne Mort*, multiplied throughout the French countryside.¹⁰⁶ These “reformed” brotherhoods required no entrance fees or initiations. To become a member of the Order of Good Death for example, one simply had to make a confession, take communion, and swear to die as a “good Catholic.”¹⁰⁷ Employed by the papacy as a Counter-Reformation tool to battle Protestantism, lay associations promoted the values of Catholicism amongst peasants.¹⁰⁸ As one of its key mandates, the Society Jesus strove to insert confraternities within European and New World villages. According to the historian Louis Chatellier,

The Society of Jesus did not devote itself solely to missions abroad and to education... They soon began to unite adult and young men in associations under the patronage of the Virgin, and to teach them how to live as good Catholics according to their station in life and according to the principles and spirit of the Council of Trent. Thus were born the Marian Congregations.¹⁰⁹

Missionaries founded numerous *confréries* amongst settlers in Quebec, devoted to the lives of holy figures diverse as Saint Anne, Saint Peter, and Saint Joseph. In the Andes, popular confraternities in Spain subsequently attracted the greatest number of *indio* brothers. For example, The Blessed Souls and Most Holy Sacrament *cofradías* were found in at least ten Amerindian parishes.¹¹⁰ In seventeenth-century New France however, very few confraternities incorporated Native peoples (perhaps due to Iroquoians having less time to experiment with Catholic institutions than Andeans). Possessing a fascination with the Virgin Mary, the House of Loreto and Holy Family Confraternity became vessels through which Iroquoian neophytes became practicing Catholics.

The House of Loreto and the Holy Family

In 1647, the Jesuit Pierre Chaumonot erected a chapel in New France modeled after *Santa Casa* of Loreto, establishing the site of the first Iroquoian lay association.¹¹¹ Having made a pilgrimage from Rome to Loreto in the fall of 1637, Chaumonot believed that the Marian shrine would inspire Huron Natives

¹⁰³ Claude Chauchetière, “Relation of 1686,” in *The Jesuit Relations* V. 58, 152.

¹⁰⁴ See Richter, “Iroquois Versus Iroquois.”

¹⁰⁵ For an excellent analysis of confraternity development amongst colonists in New France see Marie-Aimée Cliche, *Les Pratiques de Dévotion en Nouvelle-France: Comportements Populaires et Encadrement Ecclésial dans le Gouvernement de Québec* (Québec: Presses de l’Université Laval, 1988).

¹⁰⁶ Louis Chatellier, *The Europe of the Devout* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 204.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 205.

¹⁰⁸ See Cliche, *Les Pratiques de Dévotion en Nouvelle-France*.

¹⁰⁹ Chatellier, *The Europe of the Devout*, 1.

¹¹⁰ Sordo, “Our Lady of Copacabana and Her Legacy in Colonial Potosi,” 191.

¹¹¹ Sanfaçon, “A New Loreto in New France”: Pierre-Joseph-Maier Chaumonot, SJ, and the Holy House of Loreto,” 200.

to renounce “heathen practices.”¹¹² According to the missionary, building a monument to Our Lady of Loreto in North America was one of his principle motives for travelling to the New World. A site just north of Notre Dame des Foy called Lorette was selected as Loreto’s resting place in New France.¹¹³ In 1675, Martin Bouvart declared,

As one of our most just and most ardent desires is to extend and increase, as much as we possibly can, the devotion toward the Blessed Virgin,—our all-gracious Mother and all-powerful protectress, whom the French and the savages had found so favourable at Notre Dame des Foy—we have not found a better means to afford her more and more honour, than to build her a second chapel, which should bear the name and should have, so to speak, all the features of her Holy House of Nazareth, now called Loreto.¹¹⁴

Indigenous peoples served as the shrine’s resident patrons, being “savages” most in need of the Virgin’s miracles. The Natives at Loreto—predominantly Huron with some Iroquois adoptees—effectively became a Catholic cult all their own. Emphasizing charity, devotion, and penitence, the Huron of Lorette founded a brotherhood bearing hybridic Amerindian conventions.

Populated by Christian Natives from several nearby missions, the laymen of Lorette possessed an exclusive, yet open membership. Similar to Huron medicine societies with their own regulations, the Holy House of Loreto welcomed neophytes so long as they swore an oath to be “good Catholics” (and at the recommendation of Jesuit Fathers, renounced alcohol). Natives who drank or reverted to paganism faced banishment.¹¹⁵ In detailing the Huron community at Lorette, Claude Dablon proudly declares, “They are all chosen persons, who openly profess Christianity and the most sublime virtues are practiced herein.”¹¹⁶ The cult of Loreto developed their own “local Christianity,” based predominantly on devotion to the Virgin Mary. According to a Huron resident, Paul Gaiachinnon,

We, who live in the blessed Virgin’s village and who are our children, manifest to her that we share her affliction; and should we not with some presents wipe away the tears that she sheds for the death of her first-born? Even if our gifts be not considerable, they will be no less pleasing, considering our good will.¹¹⁷

As guardians of Loreto, Christian Iroquois and Huron held pious affiliations to the Holy Mother in place of familial clans.

Perhaps the most striking parallel between the devotees of Loreto and Pre-Columbian Iroquoian medicine societies was the provision of charity. One observation by the Jesuit Claude Dablon reads,

¹¹² Allan Greer, “A Wandering Jesuit in Europe and America: Father Chaumonot Finds a Home” in Linda Gregerson and Susan Juster (eds), *Empires of God: Religious Encounters in the Early Modern Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 112.

¹¹³ Sanfaçon, “A New Loreto in New France: Pierre-Joseph-Maier Chaumonot, SJ, and the Holy House of Loreto,” 203.

¹¹⁴ Bouvart, “Relation of March 1675” in *The Jesuit Relations V. 60*, 70.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ Claude Dublin, “Relation of 1671-72” in *The Jesuit Relations V. 60*, 26.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

One of the elder women—when she saw that poor widows had neither strength nor means to plant their gardens; and that other women, who had accompanied their husbands to the hunting-grounds, had not been re-farmed when the time came to plant Indian corn—set forth, after commending herself to the blessed Virgin, to invite the other women to do the planting for those who were absent; and they cordially agreed to do so.¹¹⁸

Dablon's later writings echo these sentiments; in 1673 the Jesuit wrote, "The charity that they continually practice among themselves resembles the charity of the early Christians; for, if they possess anything of their own, they act as if they had nothing that is not in common."¹¹⁹ Drawing on clan traditions, the Iroquoians of the "New Loreto" ensured that fellow Catholics found support in the parish.

Engaging with Catholicism through established customs, Iroquoian converts utilized the House of Loreto to re-forge spiritual ties to their land. Alienated from the *Oký* that existed within the flora and fauna of former communities, the shrine of Mary and chapel at Lorette became new sites of devotion through which *orenda* flowed. Relating the thoughts of convert Louis Taondechorend, Father Martin Bouvart laments,

All the cabins which he saw arranged about the chapel represented to him, as it were, the grand temple which encloses the sacred house of Lorette, that they should all regard their village as a great Church, of which all their cabins formed as many different parts.¹²⁰

According to Taodechorend, "Our village will be truly the village of Mary, as long as vice shall dispute neither her sovereignty nor her possessions."¹²¹ The convert alludes that Lorette transformed from a settlement to a holy ground. Numerous *Relations* document Huron crowding around the shrine of Mary, scrubbing the floors of the chapel, and insisting that their children be buried under the Virgin's "holy ground."¹²² As the Jesuits erected patron-saint monuments, Iroquoians made pilgrimages to shrines in nearby parishes. The degree to which Huron "converted" to French notions of Catholicism is debated, however, acceptance of Mary as a sacred figure appears to have been widespread.

Dissimilar to Peru where *indios* chose membership from dozens of *cofradías*, only the Holy Family succeeded in garnering substantive numbers of indigenous patrons in New France. Another faction introduced by Father Pierre Chaumonot, the Holy Family confraternity emphasized imitation of the virtues of Joseph, Mary, and Jesus. The *confrérie* acquired an immediate following among the French settlers of Quebec. In his autobiography, Pierre Chaumonot notes,

...Des femmes et des filles qui sont de l'association de la Sainte Famille, et que les homes et les ecoliers, ou garçons s'acquittent avec encore plus

¹¹⁸ Claude Dublin, "Relation of 1675" in *The Jesuit Relations* V. 69, 26.

¹¹⁹ Claude Dublin "Relation of 1673-74" in *The Jesuit Relations* V. 58, 133.

¹²⁰ Martin Bouvart, "Relation of March 1675" in *The Jesuit Relations* V. 60, 73.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Ibid.*, 94-99.

d'assiduité et de ferveur que jamais de tous les devoirs congrégachistes.¹²³

Recognizing Native reception to Marianism (though surely unaware of its possible relation to reverence of *orenda*), Chaumonot introduced the Holy Family confraternity to the Huron of Lorette. The faction gained instant popularity among neophytes and subsequently spread throughout the Native missions of New France.¹²⁴ In accordance with the House of Loreto, the Holy Family prohibited the consumption of alcohol and disobedience towards Catholic teachings. A faction established amongst European and French colonists, the Holy Family inspired Iroquoian devotion to the Virgin and gradual appropriation of Catholic practices.

A feature of pre-Columbian clans, the Holy Family *confrérie* also gave women agency and power in an otherwise patriarchal regime. The sodality was composed primarily of females who strove to imitate the virtues of Mary.¹²⁵ According to Claude Chauchetière, the women of the holy family—including the most famous member, Catherine Tekakwitha—lived according to the ideals of “*charité, prudence, religion, dévotion, pénitence, et chasteté.*”¹²⁶ Detailing the chastity of female Holy Family associates, Claude Chauchetière writes, “There are already several who have carried their virginity to heaven, who were but thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, or twenty years old.”¹²⁷ Furthermore, sisters of the Holy Family were renowned for charitable practices. Commenting on the women of Kahnawake, Chauchetière declares,

They act like the daughters of mercy in France, and have for their office works of charity to their neighbors; they especially take care of the poor and the sick, to whom they carry wood in secret and at evening, and immediately vanish for fear of being perceived. They go to watch the sick, and give them as alms other things which they read.¹²⁸

The Holy Family filled spiritual advisory and public service roles for scattered Amerindians. Through the *confrérie*, Iroquoian women retained agency within a male-dominated state.

A contentious aspect of Iroquoian Christianization, indigenous neophytes in New France showed devotion to the Virgin Mary through severe repentances. Father Chuachetière relates that it was not uncommon for women to cut their hair, give up possessions, and self-flagellate in order to feel closer to the Holy Mother.¹²⁹ However, many Jesuits were stunned to find that Natives exposed themselves to freezing temperatures and burned their flesh when renouncing sin.¹³⁰ Perhaps female neophytes wanted to please spiritual advisors or assert their place as leaders within a new order of converts. In negotiating a “meeting place” between Catholicism and paganism, Iroquoian

¹²³ Chaumonot, *Autobiographie et Pièces Inédites*, 35.

¹²⁴ Hart, “The Kindness of the Blessed Virgin,” 70.

¹²⁵ Greer, *Mohawk Saint*, 114.

¹²⁶ Claude Chauchetière, *La Vie de la b. Catherine Tegakouita Dite a Present la Sainteté Sauvagesse* (Paris: Manate, 1887), 172-179.

¹²⁷ Chauchetière. “Relation of 1686” in *The Jesuit Relations V. 58*, 201.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 203.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ See for example Dublin, “Relation of 1675” in *The Jesuit Relations V. 60*.

women subjected themselves to repentances with an audacity that surprised Jesuit onlookers.

The House of Loreto and the Holy Family provided Huron and Iroquois peoples a “meeting place” between shamanism and Catholicism. Both *confréries* and medicine societies possessed exclusive but open membership, paid homage to spiritual forces, provided charity, and dictated the rules of association. While disease fractured nations, uprooting Iroquoians from their shamans and *Oký*, the Virgin Mary offered a new banner under which Natives could establish solidarity. Due to the efforts of Jesuits like Pierre Chaumonot, *confréries* “migrated” from France to the New World. While the Jesuits believed that confraternities aided evangelization, Natives recognized their other significance: a renaissance of divine kinship.

Confraternities in a Catholic Atlantic World

Isolated by miles geographically, both Andeans and Iroquoians possessed cosmological bases of kinship, prior to and following European conquest. Peruvian *ayllus* venerated *huacas*, revered *malquis*, and worshiped the territories of their ancestors. Meanwhile, in the northern hemisphere, Iroquoian clans employed medicine societies to interpret the significance of *Okí* and provide spiritual guidance. The establishment of colonial empires challenged traditional practices by spurring migrations and extirpations. However, through confraternities introduced by the Jesuits, indigenous neophytes forged colonial identities in a Catholic Atlantic World.

My comparative study has demonstrated that Catholic factions within Amerindian polities were not identical. Andeans swore patronage to a plethora of saints, as specialized sodalities for women, merchants, and rural parishioners developed.¹³¹ Furthermore, members of the Republic of Indians founded *cofradías* without papal authorization (a phenomenon which alarmed *Audiencia* bishops).¹³² In New France however, only the House of Loreto and Holy Family Confraternity garnered Native membership. Perhaps the result of limited exposure to Christianity, the Huron and Iroquois reorganized into *confréries* only after the Jesuits endorsed such behavior. While distinct in character, indigenous peoples of the Andes and New France both accepted confraternities as reconciliation between two systems of belief. Pre-Columbian *huaca* cults and medicine societies served as foundation for Native Christianities.

Historians fascinated by the Christianization of the Americas continue to debate dubious questions: Was confraternity propagation an attempt at reconciling Catholicism or a resurgence of idolatrous practices? Was the cult of saints understood by indigenous peoples as taught by Spanish and French priests, or did the figures simply donate human faces to ancient deities? Furthermore, to what extent did confraternities thrive in other colonial locales like Mexico, Paraguay, and Brazil? There is still much to be discussed concerning the abolition of idol worship and installation of Christian hegemony in the Catholic Atlantic World. However, ecclesiastic writings, letters, trial records, mythologies and witness accounts reveal that Quechua, Aymara, and Iroquoian nations maintained spiritual group identities both before and following European conquest. The Jesuit Blas Valera famously states, “In the

¹³¹ Charney, “A Sense of Belonging,” 388.

¹³² Yupanqui, “The Virgin of Copacabana,” 180.

end, the Indians were left without a law, without a government, without a future.”¹³³ Drawing upon their ancestors’ understandings of the universe, Andean and Iroquoian peoples challenged Valera’s grim declaration. As was convention of their forefathers, Natives forged divine understandings of kinship identity; and by extension, crafted Catholic affiliations that endured colonial rule.

¹³³ Valera, *An Account of the Ancient Customs of the Natives Of Peru*, 90.

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Review: Erik R. Seeman. *Death in the New World: Cross-Cultural Encounters, 1492–1800*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

In *Death in the New World*, Erik R. Seeman explores how the deathways of Europeans (French and English), Native Americans, and Africans developed in the Atlantic world. He defines deathways through the cultural characteristics of race and religion. Because the role of the nation-state is secondary to these qualities, Seeman's work becomes transnational in scope. Seeman argues that because deathways are a universal experience, they offered different cultures a common base on which to understand each other. In this way deathways were used to forge connections, negotiate confrontations, and develop power relationships.

Seeman uses the definition of deathways as the overriding organizational tool of his work. Following a roughly chronological approach, he explores how the deathways of individual cultures, based on race and religion, reacted in a new Atlantic context. The result is a work both organized around periodization and theme. Seeman begins his work by explaining the typical death practices of Europeans in chapter one. The next five chapters explore the chronology of European and Native American death practices in the Americas. Breaking with this rigid periodization in chapter six, he explores the traditional practices of Africans within Africa as well as how their deathways changed in the Americas. Seeman finishes his work in a similar thematic approach by first looking at the small, but active, Jewish American communities in chapter seven. In his concluding chapter, he makes his only true break with a primarily transnational focus to view American deathways in a time of war, adding importance to the nation-state. Despite this new theme, this chapter allows Seeman to demonstrate how understandings of death, shared by the French, English, and Native American tribes, impacted historical outcomes.

The strength of Seeman's work is his use of material culture to compensate for gaps in primary records. Written records would favor a European perspective offering little insight into Native American and African deathways. Recognizing this as a possible problem of interpretation, Seeman explains how missionaries often misunderstood the deathways they viewed. For example, by analyzing the importance of grave sites, including the preparation and placement of the body, grave artifacts, and the typology and imagery of tombstones, Seeman provides clear indicators of deathways within cultures lacking written documentation. Regarding the importance of the body within the grave, he argues that "in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries...some Indians began to abandon their long-time practice of flexed burials in favor of the Christian model of supine extended burials."¹ This type of evidence provides first-hand accounts of Native American conversion, something often exaggerated in missionary texts. By viewing this change through Native American sources, the author presents a compelling depiction of deathways and their importance in the Atlantic context.

¹ Erik R. Seeman, *Death in the New World: Cross-Cultural Encounters, 1492-1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 173.

Because Seeman utilizes race and religion as the defining characteristics of deathways, he perhaps should have considered how gender functioned within both. Seeman cannot fully explain death practices in relation to connections, conflicts, and power without also explaining how gender is related to each. For example, ideas of gender would influence how missionaries proselytized, the likelihood of conversion, and subsequent changes in death practices. Consider how this appears at the grave site. Women were left with different grave artifacts, underwent different preparations, were arranged differently (often interred with children), and had different typology and imagery on their tombstones. Although Seeman acknowledges these gender differences, he fails to fully explore their importance in his work. By not explaining gender's influence within cultures, his work loses some of the nuance explaining death in the new world. This slight oversight, however, does little to undermine Seeman's primary goal. *Death in the New World* truly offers readers a way to "see the world as the participants viewed it."²

² Ibid, 4.

Jessica Allison

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Review: Inderjeet Parmar. *Foundations of the American Century: The Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations in the Rise of American Power*.
New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.

This text contributes to the growing body of scholarship critiquing the philanthropic efforts of major U.S. private foundations. Focusing on the Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations, Inderjeet Parmar argues that these groups were strategically used to grow and solidify U.S. interests abroad. These foundations were used to forward U.S. government policies through their efforts despite appearances of their scientific impartiality. Consequently, these foundations were crucial to the United States' meteoric rise to global hegemony over the 20th century. This text addresses the understudied role of the Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations, and their elite founders, in shaping U.S. foreign policy over the previous century.

Parmar relies primarily on foundation archives in constructing his arguments. The materials used in this text are rich and varied, including both public and internal communications, annual reports, and oral histories. He also uses U.S. government records to lend insight into interactions between officials. Beyond archival materials, Parmar does rely on secondary sources particularly when examining U.S. policies abroad. Parmar frequently uses these materials when analyzing Asia, Africa, and Latin America and focuses surprisingly on many older publications rather than more recent political or foreign policy research.

While other scholars have examined the motivations behind philanthropy, Parmar argues that scholars have all but neglected the influence that these foundations wielded in creating, advocating for, and establishing foreign policy. Published in 1983, Edward H. Berman's text is one of the few works that also addresses this dynamic. Parmar cites C. Wright Mills's *The Power Elite* as providing a theoretical framework for his research. At the same time, he also argues that this text is seemingly all but ignored by scholars in the field. He argues that the role and influence of elites in determining American foreign policy is under-researched and a more nuanced examination of that role is warranted.

Additionally, philanthropic programs established in the U.S. and abroad maintained a very specific set of goals. Parmar argues that these private foundations helped form a national identity by shifting the focus from local to national, and later- global, interests. This was achieved by highlighting challenges faced abroad, including poverty, illiteracy, and disease, while also advocating for modernization programs. Parmar goes further by arguing that project choices, their locations, and their internal structure were designed to advance Western capitalism and hegemony.

Foundations of the American Century is organized chronologically while focusing on key central themes or projects in each section. Parmar provides a comprehensive introduction which clearly establishes a theoretical framework for his research and outlines his research questions, data sources, and chapter organization. He starts by detailing the histories of each foundation and central leadership. Parmar's later chapters cover U.S. isolationism, the Cold War, post-Cold War and post-9/11 period. His examination, however, of the first half of

the twentieth century is limited, excluding projects in scientific research in Latin America that could have strengthened his primary thesis. The analysis of the Cold War era is the most nuanced, since it examines philanthropic projects in areas of the developing world including Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

It is within this section, however, that there are the most significant limitations within his research. While he understandably focuses on U.S. foreign policy, Parmar misses crucial opportunities to examine scientific research, education, and public health programs established by these three major American foundations. For the Rockefeller Foundation, in particular, scientific advancement was centrally featured in their primary agenda. Despite being briefly discussed in the introduction, these ideas were not sufficiently addressed in the remaining text. Focusing on the U.S. perspective, Parmar neglects the rich historiography of Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller philanthropy and their work in developing countries. The inclusion of these case studies would have provided a more nuanced and well-rounded approach to this topic.

In this solidly researched work, Parmar makes strong strides in examining U.S. philanthropy, while also attempting to make some sense of the driving forces behind major projects. To his credit, Parmar avoids falling into the tired dichotomy of benevolent/malevolent philanthropic benefactors that are often centrally featured in other texts. Despite its limitations, Parmar's text solidly contributes to the growing body of literature on philanthropic foundations and the lines between public and private interests while also examining their role in shaping U.S. foreign policy.

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Review: Karen Ordahl Kupperman. *The Atlantic in World History*.

New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

In her latest book, Karen Ordahl Kupperman advocates for the importance of the Atlantic in world history. Investigating the various interactions between the people of Europe, Africa, and the Americas during the emergence of a global era, Kupperman contributes a form of Atlantic world history that uses the ocean as a lens of analysis. This blend of narratives offers scholars an example of how to illustrate the interactions and contributions of historical actors at the peripheries of the Atlantic world.

Kupperman argues that an Atlantic approach to history offers a more accurate depiction of historical actors and their experiences. She contends that an Atlantic interpretation of history shows that peripheral towns were just as important and influential in World history as the European capitals. Goods, food, and people moved back and forth between continents, influencing the way people conceptualized the world they inhabited. In addition, the Atlantic and surrounding environments shaped interactions between the different continents and people involved.

The study's breadth is a result of the wide variety in Kupperman's sources. In addition to the published accounts of travelers, settlers, and others who interacted in the sphere of the Atlantic, a large selection of secondary sources constitutes the foundation of her work. Kupperman uses the expertise of Spanish, British, French, American, and African scholars to emphasize the importance of the Atlantic.

The Atlantic in World History begins with a description of myths and stories from the past and explores how they shaped the European imagination. Soon the Atlantic became a gateway for cultural exchange as the discovery of new markets and goods initiated contacts between the different groups. In the aftermath, migration increased drastically as Europeans crossed the Atlantic to start new lives. Skyrocketing demand for commodities such as foods, drugs, and dyes boosted trade as European nation states sought to capitalize on their colonial possessions.

Kupperman justifies her advocacy for an Atlantic approach to history as she succeeds in providing a truly inclusive account of the experiences of individuals in the Atlantic world. The book captures the dynamics of relations between people from Africa, Europe, and the Americas. Thanks to her Atlantic framework, Kupperman demonstrates that history was made not only at the centers of empires but also at their peripheries. However, her arguments fall short particularly in the last chapter on developments during the eighteenth century. Her coverage of the Seven Years' War emphasizes the change in relationship between many of the European powers such as Great Britain with their overseas colonies. As a theme, the attempts by Great Britain to strengthen ties with their possessions overseas resonates more with foreshadowing the final showdown before independence. In a sense, Kupperman does not entirely succeed in escaping the nation-state paradigm in her Atlantic interpretation of the Age of Revolutions. Nevertheless, this failure hardly diminishes Kupperman's discussion of the various actors in the Atlantic world who brought the continents closer together.

The Atlantic in World History serves as a good introduction to anyone interested in learning about the significance of the Atlantic Ocean in the early modern period. Kupperman successfully stresses the importance of the Atlantic both as a facilitator for trade, travel, and contact as well as a connector of people living on four different continents.

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Review: José Álvarez-Junco. *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations*.
 Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011.

José Álvarez-Junco's work is an analysis of the rise and evolution of Spanish national identity. The work is divided into four major parts. The first provides a brief chronicle of the early roots of the term "Hispania" in the ancient period. The second part of the book focuses on the cultural identity of Spain in the nineteenth century by discussing its manifestations in the historical works, literature, art, and music. The third part discusses the relationship between Spanish nationalism and Catholic culture and ideology. In the final section of the book, Álvarez-Junco provides an overall analysis of the role of nineteenth-century Spanish politics in the nationalizing effort.

The purpose of the work is to provide an analysis on Spanish cultural identity and nationalism, topics that have received scarce attention from earlier historians. According to Álvarez-Junco, Spanish scholars have neglected nationalism as a subject of inquiry for its closeness to *Francoism*. The author stresses that contemporary regionalists and progressives view manifestations of Spanish nationalism as reactionary and untrustworthy—a perception that has fueled studies on regional nationalisms and which its very existence is an implication of the Spanish state as an artificial construct. Álvarez-Junco's main arguments are that Spain has not been a timeless or artificial entity, that there has been political structure corresponding to the idea of Spain for several centuries, and that this structure has maintained generally stable frontiers in comparison to the continual alterations to the boundaries of other European nation states.¹

According to Álvarez-Junco, historical references to *Spain* in the classical age as a political unit under the name *Hispania* are inaccurate. It was not until the fifth century that Hispania acquired an ethnic meaning apart from a geographical one. A Spanish identity that was tied to the monarchy did not form until the fifteenth century, when a sufficient extent of territorial stability had been reached. Constant conflicts with the Moors and other external enemies helped the Spaniards forge a collective identity. Álvarez-Junco argues that during the fifteenth century the development of an ethnic patriotism gained momentum. That sentiment lacked nationalist character as links between the legitimacy of the state and its acceptance by the populace were missing.

Álvarez-Junco also contends that a true nationalizing movement did not occur until the Spanish War of Independence in the early nineteenth century. Themes that inspired the revolt against the French included independence, freedom, and the dignity of the *patria*. In 1810, when the Cortes retreated to Cádiz, terms such as *nation*, *patria*, and *pueblo* began to substitute *kingdom* and *monarchy*. The collective identity that emerged in the course of the war against the French was based on an animosity against French influence on the Spanish political and cultural scene. In the 1830s, Spanish liberal elites used

¹ José Álvarez-Junco, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 2-3.

the conflict as a means to establish a centralized identity that rested on the *Spanishness* of society.

During the early nineteenth century, Spain began to solidify cultural identities through the invention of myths, symbols, and discourses that pertained to the idea of nation. Álvarez-Junco argues that the creation of a new Spanish history was developed for the purpose of increasing the political legitimacy and popular acceptance of cultural nationalism. He demonstrates that nineteenth-century Spanish historians sought to establish a common Spanish identity that emphasized fierce resistance toward foreign domination throughout history—even if that required alternations of historical facts (i.e. the surrender of the Saguntum habitans to the Romans).

Catholicism played a crucial role in the nationalizing effort and the creation of a Spanish identity. Álvarez-Junco demonstrates that Spanish Catholicism began to claim direct identification with Spanish tradition and identity during the church's stand against the Bourbon monarchy's regalist reforms—the origin of what was to become the National Catholicism of the nineteenth century. This variant of Catholicism combined collective Spanish identity with the defense of the *patria* and Spanish traditions—an idea that would be adapted by Acción Española and CEDA in the nineteenth century. The Romanticist movement of the early nineteenth century provided conservatives an opportunity to reformulate national identity in the context of a Catholic image. By 1840, they had formulated a political program to combat the liberal assault on Catholicism under the moniker of *hispanidad*.

By 1898, Spain's loss of the last colonies inspired Spanish intellectuals to embrace the regenerationist movement that promoted an active nationalism that de-emphasized imperial demands while stressing domestic modernization. Regional nationalism represented a strong response to conservative centralization aspirations of representatives of National Catholicism. Under Franco, the use of propaganda gave rise to a repressive form of nationalism. After the fall of Francoism, national identity remained a hotly debated question.

Álvarez-Junco's work succeeds in explaining the evolution of Spanish national and cultural identities through the meticulous evaluation of a wide range of sources from the spheres of literature, history, art, anthropology, religion and linguistics. The body of historical sources includes official state documents as well as the works of chroniclers from the ancient period to the nineteenth century. Álvarez-Junco's extensive collection of sources makes *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* one of the most comprehensive studies on Spanish nationalism and identity.