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THE UPPER AMAZON IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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THE UPPER AMAZON IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

by

ANN GOLOB

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
Faculty in Anthropology in partial ful-
fillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City
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1982

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

THE UPPER AMAZON IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

by

Ann Golob

Adviser: Professor Eleanor Leacock

This dissertation is a study of the Upper Amazon region of Peru and Ecuador during the colonial era. The study is based on documents written by the Jesuit missionaries who worked in the region from 1636 to 1767. Three major topics are studied in depth: the Jesuit program and personnel; contact with and "pacification" of the Upper Amazon; and Indian life in the mission villages. While a study of the Jesuits themselves is intrinsically interesting, it also serves the need for ethnohistorians to develop a clearer understanding of the background of the missionaries on whose writings they often depend for their research.

The second topic deals with the process of contact and pacification in the Upper Amazon by the Spanish explorers, the settlers and slave raiders as well as by the Jesuits. The Indians under both the Spanish and the Jesuits experienced continual raiding of the interior to bring them to the riverine mission villages and Spanish settlements. The growth of the missions was in fact based on the continual raiding of the inland regions. As a

result, hostility and aggression became the dominant relationship between the two regions during the colonial era.

The third topic is life within the mission villages established by the Jesuits. Three aspects of mission life are studied: the growth and decline of the mission villages, that is, the population dynamics that can be reconstructed from demographic records and descriptions by the missionaries; the reorganization of production and social life for the Indians, in particular the structuring of new lines of factionalism that permeated every aspect of mission life; and the social relations within the villages.

The dissertation concludes with a discussion of the implications of the historical data for reconsidering analyses of the Amazon that do not take into account the extent to which historical events transformed the nature of relationships among and within Indian settlements.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACJ/Q	Archivo de la Compañía de Jesús, Quito
AGI/S	Archivo General de las Indias, Seville
AHN/M	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
AJ/Q	Archivo de los Jesuitas, Quito (housed in the Biblioteca Ecuatoriana Aureliano Espinosa Polit, S.J., Cotacollao, Quito)
ANH/B	Archivo Nacional de la Historia, Bogotá
ANH/Q	Archivo Nacional de la Historia, Quito
APTSJ/A	Archivo de la Provincia Toletana de la Sociedad de Jesús, Alcalá de Henares (Madrid)
ARSI/R	Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu, Rome
BN/M	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid
BNC/R	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome
CM/L	Consejo Municipal, Laguna (formerly, Santiago de la Laguna)
JyC/Q	Jijón y Caamaño Collection, Quito (owned by Banco Central, Quito)
MDRE/L	Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Lima
PC/M	P. Pastells Collection, Madrid
PF/R	Propaganda Fide, Rome
PR/M	Palacio Real, Madrid
RAH/M	Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid
VG/Q	P. Vacas Galindo Collection, Quito
VU/L	P. Vargas Ugarte Collection, Lima

GLOSSARY

AGUARDIENTE	Alcoholic beverage made from sugar cane
ALCALDE	Mayor, magistrate
ALFEREZ	Second lieutenant
ARROBA	Unit of weight, approximately 25 pounds or 11.5 kilograms
AUDIENCIA	Advisory and judicial board composed of crown lawyers. Functioned as appellate courts in their areas, with appeal possible in specific cases to the Council of the Indies in Spain. Also had administrative functions and assumed full viceregal powers when the viceroy was absent or incapacitated. Originally there were seven audiencias in the viceroyalty of Peru: Panama, Lima, Santa Fe de Bogotá, Chacras, Quito, Chile, Buenos Aires. However, at different periods of time the number of audiencias and their jurisdiction changed
BARBASCO	Tropical tree used as a source of poison for killing fish
BAYETA	Thick, coarsely woven, woollen fabric
BROTHER	A Jesuit, not ordained, holding an administrative post of providing a craft or skill to the Order
CABILDO	Town council
CACHIBANCO	Woven cloth used as mosquito netting
CACIQUE	Indian headman or chief. Originally adopted by the Spaniards from a native term in the Antilles and extended it to apply to all natives exercising political authority throughout the Americas
CALENTURAS	Fevers

CARANA	Medicinal herb extracted from the resin of the caraña tree
CASCARILLA	"Peruvian bark," used for making quinine
CATECUMENOS	Neophytes undergoing religious training, not baptized
CHACRAS	Gardens
COLEGIO	Seminary
COPAIBA	A tree; its wood is used for building canoes; its leaves produce an oil resin used to cure ulcerations and wounds
COPAL	A tree; its red wood is highly prized. Its thick resin is used for many purposes including calking canoes. A sap can be extracted from the tree that is used for making an alcoholic beverage
CHARAPA	Large turtle whose eggs and meat are highly prized as choice foods. This type of turtle is among the largest found in this region of the Amazon, weighing as much as 36 kilos and as long as 85 centimeters
CURATO	Parish. In Mainas those towns with a Spanish population were named <u>curatos</u> and had a priest assigned to them who was paid from the coffers of the Royal Treasury
CUSHMAS	Cotton tunic worn by many Amazonian groups
DOCTRINA	Elementary preaching for converting newly conquered people. Also, a parochial jurisdiction comparable to a parish.
ENCOMIENDAS	The right to collect tribute from a certain number of Indians who lived in a given locality. In the Andean highlands, an encomienda consisted of the Indians under the authority of a specific chief or kuraka
ENTRADA	Organized military expedition to conquer new regions

ESCOBILLA	An herb
ESPINGO	A vegetable that provides a seed used to cure dysentary
FISCAL[ES]	An ecclesiastical position in the mission village. Translated as "intermeddler, prier." They provided information about the personal lives of the villagers to the Padre.
FISCALILLOS	The diminutive form of <u>fiscal</u> . Children who performed a similar function to the <u>fiscales</u> among other children.
FRIOS	Malaria
GOBERNACION	Political unit within an <u>audiencia</u>
GOBERNADOR	Supreme official presiding over a <u>gobernación</u> . Appointed by crown or viceroy and subordinate to the viceroy and the <u>audiencia</u> of the region in which his jurisdiction lay
HOLY SEE	The Papacy
JEBERO	First Indian group missionized by the Jesuits, lived along the Marañón and Huallaga Rivers and their tributaries. Linguistically related to the Cahuapanan languages.
JIVARO	One of the few Indian groups that consistently repelled Jesuit or Spanish domination. Lived north of the Marañón River. Linguistically unrelated to other groups.
KURAKA	Indian chief or headman. Originally a Quechua term designating a person exercising political authority. An hereditary position; all descendants granted exemption by Viceroy Toledo from <u>mita</u> and tribute payments.
LEGAJO	File
LONA	Thick fabric, like canvas

MANTA	Length of cloth worn like a shawl over the shoulders and fastened in front
MILITIA	Citizens army. In the mission villages all men between the ages of 18 and 50 received military training and were required to fight against other Indians or the Portuguese.
MITA	A labor draft; in the Andes, legally six months every six to seven years, levied on all adult Indian males between the ages of 18 and 50. From the Quechua <u>mit'a</u> , or labor "turn," labor owed the Inca state by its subjects. In the missions used to provide services for the care of the missionary's house and fields, and for the church.
OPERARIOS	Missionaries
PADRE (P.)	Ordained Jesuit, serving functions of a priest
PADRE PROCURADOR	Business manager of a college or Jesuit province, or a delegate chosen by the Provincial Congregation to conduct the affairs of the Province in Europe or to represent its interests at a General Congregation of the order in Rome.
PADRE PROVINCIAL	Jesuit regional superior appointed for a period of three to six years
PADRE RECTOR	Local superior of a college or house
PROVINCIA	Jesuit region or jurisdiction
PONGO	Rapids
PESO	Unit of Spanish currency equivalent in weight to one ounce of silver and equal to eight <u>reales</u>
PATACON	Unit of Spanish currency, a silver coin, equivalent in weight to one ounce and cut with scissors
RAICILLA	Plant used to induce vomiting; also used to dye cloth red

REAL	One-eighth of a peso
REDUCCION	Forced resettlement of Indians to form a mission village under the guidance of a Padre
SARAMPION	Measles
SUDORES	Tree resin
SUMO	Cane sap
TEMPORALIDADES	Accounting of goods and properties held by the Jesuit order at the time of their expulsion in 1767.
TERCIANAS	Fevers
QUIJOS	<u>Gobernación</u> north of Mainas that incorporated the following rivers: Aguarico, Yasani, Coconaco, Curaray, Coca, upper Napo, as well as the towns of Tena, Archidona, Avila, Maspa and Baeza.
VIRACOCHA	Mestizo or white person; in the Mainas missions it also referred to the children brought up in the missionary's home or seminary, usually children who were orphans or had been captured as children to serve as translators for the missionaries. From the Quechua term meaning "lord" or "Supreme being." Used by the Inca to refer to the Spaniards when they first arrived in Peru.
VIRUELAS	Smallpox
VISITA	Periodic tour of inspection
VISITADOR	A priest appointed to visit a province and report on its affairs, with specific terms of reference and authority
VARA	Unit of linear measure, approximately 33 inches
VASOS	Drinking cup or goblet carved from wood

VICEROYALTY

The largest administrative unit of Spanish colonial government in America. Until the 1700's, there were only two: the Viceroyalty of Mexico or New Spain, and the Viceroyalty of Peru. In the 18th century, two new viceroyalties were carved out in South America: Nueva Granada (1717) and La Plata or Buenos Aires (1776).

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

For many years anthropological studies of the Amazon were based on the premise that contact between Indian groups and Europeans was rare. In many cases where contact was known to have occurred, it was treated as not having seriously affected the functioning of the indigenous culture. Contemporary Amazonian cultures were analyzed as if they were in their natural state, unaffected by historical events. Studies of contemporary cultures were thus erroneously used to learn about "primitives" in general, and even the "pre-Neolithic" stage of human society.

The Handbook of South American Indians is an example of this type of study. While the historical literature is extensively reviewed in the Handbook, there is no analysis of the data. One is left with the impression that colonization resulted only in depopulation. The authors failed to question the process of social reorganization necessitated by new circumstances.

Since the publication of the Handbook many anthropologists have reviewed the historical literature for various Indian groups (Chaumeil 1981, Leeds 1964, Maybury-Lewis 1965, Murphy 1960, Myers 1974, Oberem 1980, Ross 1978, Varese 1973). Historians have also contributed

overviews of the historical literature which are useful for providing the broader framework of historical change (Block 1980a, Hemming 1978, Lehnertz 1974, Sweet 1974, Werlich 1968). This interest in history has led many to study the effects of recent events on indigenous life and culture (Davis 1977, Gross 1979, IWGIA 1972-78, Shapiro 1979, Wagley 1977).

This dissertation is a contribution to the historical studies of the Amazon; it focuses on the Upper Amazon region during the colonial period. This period has not been well studied by anthropologists or historians since the documentation is not readily available and requires extensive historical research. The present research is based on the writings of the Jesuit missionaries who worked in the Upper Amazon from 1636 until the expulsion of the order from the Spanish colonies in 1767. During the colonial period there were few potential chroniclers living in the lowlands except for the missionaries from the religious orders. While Spanish settlers lived in these regions and administrative structures were established for the governing of the lowlands, the historical documentation is not as rich from these sources as it is from the missionaries.

The colonial period of missionization has been romanticized by many historians who assume that the missions provided a stable economy and safety for the

Indians from the Spanish encomenderos. Many anthropologists have accepted this notion of the missions as a system of paternalistic goodwill for the Indians.

The published documents written by Jesuit missionaries support this romanticized view since the data were carefully censored by superiors within the Jesuit order to preserve a benign image of their work. However, the archival collections I consulted in Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, Italy and Spain contain uncensored documents, written for internal consumption within the religious order, that give a substantially different picture of the functioning of the Jesuit missions.

For example, since mission villages were located on major rivers, the former location of the most populous and powerful Amazonian groups, the prevalent notion is that the villages were populated by riverine groups. However, the uncensored documents show that the missions were dependent on gaining new converts through the continual raiding of indigenous settlements away from the rivers in the interior. A massive resettlement was thus set in motion by the Jesuits. Interior groups were forced either to move further away from the major rivers or to organize themselves to fight back.

The mission villages established by the Jesuits further promoted factionalism, hostility and distrust by dividing the Indians into those who supported the

missionaries and served as their confidantes, and those who attempted to defy the rigid structure laid out by the Jesuits. The development of intense factionalism and hostility both within the mission villages and between mission and non-mission regions reordered the nature of indigenous social life.

Need for the Current Study

Throughout the 1950's and 1960's a major question in Amazonian studies had been why such a vast area as the Amazon is characterized by "simple" egalitarian societies with no evidence of state formation (Murdock 1951). In anthropology there is the common assumption that higher forms of political organization will only be found in those areas where there are large, nucleated, sedentary villages. Many anthropologists attempted to explain the absence of this type of village in contemporary Amazonia. Most of the literature was concerned with isolating the ecological variables of critical importance that determined the potential for village size. Meggers (1954) suggested that it was the poor quality of the soils that made large or complex social structures unviable, but Carneiro (1960) found that the soils had a greater potential than was utilized. He suggested that the ease of fissioning and moving to available land resulted in a simple political organization instead of the competition that might have evolved a higher form of development.

Subsequent to Carneiro's article other factors that would force populations to move on a regular basis and would contribute to controlling population size have been suggested. Some of these include: decreasing availability of firewood, weed invasions, disappearance of game and wild food sources, infestation by pests, avoidance of enemies, dislike of neighbors, disease and death (summarized by Jackson 1975:311). The most recent debate has concerned whether or not protein is a critical resource in short supply that places constraints on village size and encourages mobility (Beckerman 1979, Chagnon and Hames 1979, Gross 1975).

Beckerman argues against protein as a limiting factor, claiming both that protein is not in short supply (1979), and that small group size in the Amazon could be adaptive in the post-contact situation (1978). Small groups could more easily avoid contact with contagious disease, as well as make it difficult for slavers, rubber tappers, homesteaders, oil drillers and other predators to find them. Beckerman also suggests that developing a reputation for bellicosity would be a useful technique for surviving over 400 years of predation by Europeans. Beckerman's critique emphasizes the need for adding historical depth to the analysis of such problems as village size and frequency of warfare.

A review of the historical literature shows that the

initial assumption of Murdock's that the Amazon is characterized by "simple," egalitarian, politically autonomous villages, is not an accurate description of Amazonian society at the point of contact. In the Upper Amazon, very large polities were found along the major rivers, often numbering in the thousands, with some form of social stratification. The explorers described paramount chiefs who had authority over a number of villages (Medina 1934:190), enormous quantities of stored food (Markham 1859:30), indigenous slavery (Edmundson 1922: 48-49), well-maintained roads leading from the settlements along the rivers into the interior (Velasquez de Espinosa 1942:413). These characteristics do not conform to the typical description of the tropical forest level of social organization. While these polities were clearly beyond an egalitarian stage of political development, enough is not known about how they were organized to be able to determine exactly what level of social and political development they did attain.

Archaeological excavations have recognized the existence of large settlements in the Amazon. Meggers and Evans (1973, original publication 1954) uncovered the remains of large, complex societies on Marajo Island in the mouth of the Amazon; however, the analysis of these findings was not used to contradict the basic assumption that the jungle was incapable of sustaining large populations.

Instead, Meggers and Evans hypothesized that the advanced cultures found on Marajo Island, complete with social stratification and occupational division of labor, had migrated from the highlands with their social organization already formed. Once on the island, they claim that the society was forced to devolve because the environment could not maintain such large groups.

Lathrap (1970) found similarly large, complex settlements to have existed on the shores of the Ucayali River. To explain these settlements on rivers versus smaller, simpler settlements away from the rivers, Lathrap divided the Amazon into two major ecological zones: the riverine areas and the interfluvial areas (1968). Populations moving into the Amazon found the best area for settlement along the floodplains. As population pressure increased, groups began to expand to further areas of the floodplain and eventually off them entirely, into the interfluvial areas. According to Lathrap, those groups that remained on the rivers had rich alluvial soils that allowed gardens to be productive for long periods of time, as well as rich sources of fat and animal protein from the rivers. These conditions allowed the riverine groups to grow to very large sizes. They were able to deny access to the resources of the floodplains to the interfluvial groups by threatening them with their superior strength.

Those groups that were forced inland could not maintain the same group size or social complexity as was found on the rivers. In these areas the settlements were smaller, less stable and more widely spaced. Finding themselves deprived of riverine resources, they relied on hunting forest animals to provide protein and fat. Agricultural productivity decreased as their dependence on wild foods increased, thus bringing with it the need to be nomadic rather than settled. Lathrap described the development of this type of adaptation as a devolution from the riverine agricultural societies.

In response to Lathrap, Meggers (1971) refined her position to say that certain groups along the rivers were able to achieve "the maximum level of cultural elaboration consistent with...local environmental conditions" (p.149). Lathrap calculated that the floodplains comprise five to ten percent of the total land cover of the Amazon. Meggers argued that it comprises only about two percent. Both are in agreement, however, that large settled populations could only be found in the riverine floodplain areas.

Recent geological studies of "black soils," however, have suggested that large populations could be associated with the interfluvial regions as well. Nigel Smith (1980) studied the occurrence of large regions of "black soil," long known to be evidence of densely populated, pre-contact settlements. The continuous use of the soil gives it the

characteristic black color. The color, as well as its association with pot sherds, is strong evidence that these soils were the result of human settlement. Twelve of the 29 sites that Smith studied were situated in interfluvial areas, indicating that large populations were able to support themselves far from the rivers.

Lathrap's division of the region into two polar types thus becomes an oversimplified model of the range of group interaction. To Lathrap, riverine groups will be warlike, and antagonistic toward inland groups and toward other riverine groups. The inland groups will live in fear of the strength of the riverine groups, and will ensure their own survival by keeping away from the rivers. The riverine people become the pursuers who raid the inland area for slaves, while the inland people become the pursued. Inland groups might resort to guerrilla-warfare type attacks on riverine groups to procure certain goods but not displace those on the rivers.

The relationship Lathrap posits between the two groups should be viewed as only one type of interaction. Further, the emphasis on hostility and aggression between the two may be an artifact of Jesuit-led raiding in the colonial era. Data on the extensive trade networks of the Amazon demonstrate that the relationships that existed between these two groups pre-colonially were far more complex. Frequently the relationship was of a

cooperative or symbiotic nature. In some cases this would have replaced an antagonistic relationship, in other cases they would have co-existed depending on the needs of a particular time and place.

In reviewing the archaeological, historical and ethnographic literature on the Amazon, it is striking to note that extensive networks connected neighboring riverine and interfluvial areas, as well as regions at very great distances from one another. The archaeological data demonstrates very early exchanges of goods from the Amazon region to the Andes (Lathrap 1971, 1973; McNeish, Patterson, Brownman 1975; Myers 1977). The historical literature describes the extensiveness of the exchanges between areas of the Amazon, and particularly the development of regularized networks of long-distance exchange. Information on these exchange networks is critical for any consideration of ecological models. Involvement in an exchange network allows a settlement to transcend its local environmental deficiencies by establishing social and economic relations with other groups that have different environmental resources.

Morey and Morey (1973, 1975, 1977) provide the most detailed historical information on this subject in their work on the elaborate interdependency among foragers, fishermen and cultivators in the Colombian llanos. The riverine Achagua relied on receiving meat and gathered

foods from the interfluvial Guahibo, and the Guahibo relied on the Achagua for their cultivated foods. Although each group was capable of producing its own food, the two maintained a trading relationship. Extensive long-distance trade networks were also found to connect the llanos with the Andes as well as other regions of the Amazon.

Quiripa, a shell product with standardized equivalences, used as a form of currency, was produced in the llanos and exported to various lowland regions. Although Morey and Morey do not suggest it, it seems probable that specializing in food production freed people in the villages to produce goods for inter-regional trade. Unfortunately, information is not yet available on the internal political organization of these groups, but the existence of slavery (1975:553) prior to contact suggests that socio-economic relationships were becoming more complex.

Data from Denevan on the Mojos (1966), Oberem on the Ecuadorian lowlands (1974), Tibesar on the Peruvian montana (1950), DeBoer on the Ucayali River (1977) and Jackson on the Northwest Amazon (1976) corroborate Morey and Morey on the extensiveness of exchange networks in the lowlands. In each area where there were concentrated networks of exchange relationships, some form of indigenous slavery also existed. To date, there has been no attempt to study the role of indigenous slavery in Amazonia and its relationship to trading networks and the development of large,

complex settlements.

There were, then, widely varied types of relationships established among Amazonian groups. There is a constant interplay between the external organization of relationships among villages and the internal organization of the village; both change in relation to each other. Relations might have varied widely depending on the movement of people and goods, and the types of ties that were established. Nonetheless, Lathrap's model of solely competitive relationships whereby interfluvial groups were kept off the more productive rivers by stronger riverine groups is widely accepted.

The original goal of this dissertation was to study colonial documents in order to reconstruct the pre-contact structure of the large, densely, populated settlements that once existed in Amazonia. However, the information I hoped to find was not forthcoming. The research uncovered no new documents from the 16th century¹ and by the time the Jesuits arrived in the 17th century most of the larger settlements had been destroyed through disease, slaveraiding, and warfare. However the Jesuit and related documents describe later transformations that occurred thereby throwing light on the nature of changes that had been taking place. This dissertation focuses on changes within the missions themselves and in the surrounding region in order to show how the pre-contact structure was destroyed

and a new set of interrelationships imposed by the activities of the Jesuit missionaries.

In the Handbook of South American Indians (Steward 1945) many historical accounts of explorers, missionaries, travellers, scientists and others are drawn upon to summarize the history of individual lowland groups. It is striking that the conclusions of the Handbook are the exact opposite of the findings of this dissertation. The Handbook reviewed the published literature on the Jesuit missions and concluded:

The Indians were profoundly influenced by the missions, even when they did not remain permanently in them. Formerly isolated in extended family groups which frequently moved their homes, they were assembled in large permanent villages. The latter did not wholly allay intercommunity and intertribal hostility, but they created contacts which were a condition for diffusion of native as well as Spanish culture elements. (p.511-2)

A tendency toward increase in community size occurred in the historic period, though it is remarkable that the mission villages of several hundred to a thousand persons each disintegrated at the close of the mission period when the people tended to resume their native separatism. (p.527)

The Handbook assumed that the move to larger mission villages was pandemic to the entire region. It was not. The missions were located in the riverine areas and drew on the populations of the interfluvial areas to supply the missions. The Handbook did not recognize that there were two parts to the process of missionization that affected each region in a different way.

At the time the Handbook was written, the main evidence for the size of indigenous communities prior to the mission period came from the 16th century explorers.² All of their journals described large settlements along the rivers. Despite this finding, the Handbook still assumed that separatism was the native condition and that larger villages were only made possible by the presence of the missionaries. The Handbook assumed that if people live in small settlements today, this must always have been true. Such an assumption precluded the possibility that the period of missionization reorganized people's lives, and implied that historical events may have created certain "tendencies", but was not responsible for a major reorganization of daily life within and among villages.

Most anthropologists who have focused on changes in individual Amazonian villages during the twentieth century have ignored the existence of prior significant changes. They interpret the culture as if it were still in its traditional state, and separate history from the rest of their analysis. For example, Moore (1979), Harner (1973) and Whitten (1976) look at events of the 1950's and 1960's, such as the discovery of oil, the construction of roads, the introduction of manufactured goods, the entrance of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and their destructive effects on Indian culture, but fail to consider that 16th,

17th, and 18th century events of similar magnitude would have been equally devastating.

A Typology for Studying Historical Changes in Amazonia

The events of the colonial era were responsible for destroying the former complexity of some indigenous groups, as well as the extensive interconnections that existed among groups. No region of the lowlands escaped the effects of these events although they were felt differently.

A typology that focuses on the various types of contact that occurred from the colonial era until the present in the Amazon would be useful for analyzing differences in relationships established between Indians and various outsiders: settlers, missionaries, traders, soldiers, raiders. Comparisons and similarities can be considered more easily when the basic structural elements of historical adaptations are clarified.

Wolf's typology of peasant communities in Latin America (1955) and his further work on comparing closed corporate peasant communities in Latin America and Java (1957) is the prototype for this type of analysis. By considering the basic structural framework of these communities rather than their cultural content, he put the emphasis on the degree of involvement in cash cropping and the extent to which a peasant economy was incorporated into capitalist economy. Certain cultural characteristics

were associated with each type but these were seen as products of specific economic and historical events.

For the Amazon, where the majority of the Indians are living in a subsistence economy based on horticulture, and hunting and gathering, a typology needs to be built not on involvement in cash cropping but rather on the type and frequency of contact with the western world and the means of acquiring trade goods. The unit of analysis is the settlement or village rather than the culture. Different members of the same culture may choose to respond differently to the various westerners who come through their homelands, such as among the contemporary Jivaro, Mundurucu and Yanomamo.

The emphasis on trade and its importance in restructuring indigenous life has long been recognized by anthropologists and archaeologists studying various parts of the world (particularly noteworthy are: Adams 1974, Codere 1950, DeBoer 1975, Dupre and Rey 1973, Jablow 1951, Lathrap 1973, Leacock 1954, Lewis 1942, Murphy 1960, Sacks 1979, Secoy 1953, Terray 1974). The involvement in trade and the resultant effects on the economic structure of indigenous societies becomes a critical factor in the development of egalitarian society into ranked ones, as discussed by Etienne and Leacock (1980).

Ethnohistorical research has shown that early trade with Europeans, and the exchange of furs, skins, or other local goods for metal tools, concentrated goods, guns and clothing undercut the interdependence

of cooperatively organized bands and villages. This did not mean the disappearance of egalitarian traditions, but it did mean an unequal access to important resources that undermined the economic structure of egalitarianism. (p.13)

The critical point occurs when the production for trade necessitates the development of specialization and a reorganization of production relations.

The development of specialization and trade to the point where adults of each sex were procuring significant quantities of different things (rather than virtually the same things) created the possibility for ties of economic dependence that had not previously existed. (p.13)

As will be seen in the following examples, there were various methods of acquiring trade goods, each having a different set of repercussions.

Six types of settlements can be described based on the relationship each had with western society and the means each developed for producing trade items. The six types are:

Degree of Contact	Acquisition of Trade Goods
I. direct-continuous	from missionaries
II. direct-continuous	barter
III. direct-continuous	wage labor
IV. direct-occasional	wage labor
V. direct-occasional	exploiting other Indians
VI. indirect	indigenous exchange networks

Type I includes those settlements that had direct, continuous contact with westerners and that acquired trade

goods through missionaries. Examples are the Jesuit-run missions of Mainas and the Summer Institute of Linguistics missions found in many parts of South America. Further differentiations can be made between Catholic and evangelist groups and their policies for missionization (Salamone 1977). In the case of the Jesuits, tools were distributed freely to the Indians or used to procure certain services from the Indians. In no case were they to be sold. Shapiro (1971) described how the missionaries among the Yanomamo had a point system for distributing trade goods to the Indians based on the amount of work each one did for the missions and how many points an individual had accumulated.

The "paternalism" of the missionaries led them to view the Indians as children who had to be molded and transformed. Distribution of the trade goods was kept in the hands of the missionaries thereby making the Indians dependent on the missions. An Indian had to please in order to receive goods, and in some periods and places, such as Mainas, the missions were the only source for tools.

Type II includes settlements where Indians had direct, though occasional contact with Europeans and procured trade goods through barter. Many indigenous groups entered into this type of relationship with Europeans.

Murphy analyzed the changes that such relationships

created in the Amazon, specifically among the Mundurucu during the mid-19th century. The Mundurucu produced goods for traders who worked the rivers near the Tapajos River. In exchange for manioc, sarsaparilla, india-rubber and Tonka beans the Indians obtained western manufactured goods. Production of these goods was done by the women. Large quantities were produced; for example, in one year the Mundurucu traded 3000-4000 baskets of manioc, each basket weighing 60 pounds (Murphy 1960:39), that is, 90-150 tons.

Despite the fact that women were the producers of these goods, the traders worked solely through the male chief. They gave the merchandise to the chief to distribute among those in the village. Distribution placed in the hands of the chief gave a new responsibility and power to this position, and exacerbated the relationship between men and women.

Type III are settlements where the Indians have had direct, continuous contact with western society and currently obtain trade goods through wage labor. In these settlements the social organization has broken down and the nuclear family has become the main social unit of the village rather than any larger aggregate. Over time the integration of Type III Indians into the national economy is so complete that they are more accurately described as peasants. The process has been described for the Indians

living along the Brazilian Amazon (Ross 1978). A similar fate befell the Indians of the Mainas missions who remained in the villages after the Jesuit expulsion. Stocks (1978) was interested in how the Cocamilla were able to maintain their cultural identity despite a history of wage labor. Y. Murphy and R. Murphy's analysis of the Mundurucu (1974) who moved to the rivers to tap rubber trees is another example of Indian groups becoming more like peasants.

Type IV includes settlements of Indians who had had occasional, direct contact with western society and currently obtain trade goods through occasional wage labor. In the past these Indians may have lived in the mission villages for a period of time, but now they maintain their own settlements. An example are the Urarina (Kramer 1979) who have moved their settlements depending on whether or not they want the contact with the traders who came through their area.

Type V are settlements where Indians have had occasional, direct contact with westerners and obtained trade goods through exploiting other Indians. The most striking example of this in the historical literature are those Indians who engaged in slaveraiding for the Portuguese and Spanish settlers, and were paid in metal tools. The Omuaguas, Conibos, Tupinambas and Leones are all described in the historical literature as having taken on this role.

Type VI are those settlements of Indians who have had

indirect contact with westerners and received trade goods through indigenous exchange networks. The following case studies of the Yanomamo and Jivaro societies demonstrate that they are not unaffected by the historical events occurring around them. The essential dynamics of their interpersonal relations within and among villages were significantly altered.

Yanomamo

Abundant material has been written about the Yanomamo (Chagnon 1968a, 1968b, 1978; Chagnon and Hames 1979, Lizot 1977, Migliazza 1972, Ramos 1979, Smole 1976, Shapiro 1971, Davis and Matthews 1976). The Yanomamo are considered one of the largest "unacculturated" indigenous groups in South America, inhabiting southern Venezuela and the adjacent portions of northern Brazil. There are between 125 and 150 villages with populations ranging from 40-250 individuals, but 75-90 is the most frequent size. Chagnon distinguishes between those groups that live in the center of the tribal area versus those on the periphery. At the center villages are close to neighbors, are not free to migrate, are larger, have palisades, and are nucleated and enmeshed in alliances with their neighbors. Extreme militancy and hostility toward neighbors is found. Villages at the periphery are more widely spaced and isolated; conflicts with neighbors are less frequent and easily resolved by migration.

Lizot and Smole, however, provide information about the history of the migrations of the Yanomamo which does not support Chagnon's model. Lizot writes that the Yanomamo formerly occupied a territory that bordered at the confluence of the Negro River and the Branco River. They may have clashed with Arawak groups inhabiting the region and been driven out. They may also have retreated before slave hunters who were operating in the area after the European conquest. Ethnohistorical data researched by Migliazza (1972:345-374) suggests that this is likely to have occurred. The Yanomamo took refuge in the mountainous region called the Sierra de Parima, which marks the border between Brazil and Venezuela. In this region, free from European introduced epidemics, they were able to recover their population and begin to expand into the uninhabited regions surrounding them. In the 1920's axes and machetes began to enter these remote mountains, but it was not until the 1950's that the Yanomamo began to reoccupy the lowland, riverine region. Although Lizot does not mention it, the date for moving to the lowlands correlates exactly with the establishment of mission stations in the area by the New Tribes Mission headed by James Barker. Smole corroborates this point about the recent migration from the highlands to the lower altitudes to acquire access to trade goods. Although Smole does not indicate where the goods came from, they must have been from the missionaries. Today

about one-tenth of the population lives in the lowlands along the banks of the navigatable rivers (Lizot 1977:500).

It is in the lowland region that Chagnon did his fieldwork, and where warfare, aggression, hostility and violence are found in the greatest concentration. Smole speculates,

Conceivably, certain lowland Yanomamo, far removed from the security of their own cultural and spatial dominance, constantly menaced by aliens and foreign values, respond violently as an exaggerated defense to compensate for their insecurity. (1976:31)

In the anthropological literature, the four most distinctive features of Yanomamo life are the high frequency of inter-village warfare, the hostility of men against women, women's lack of power in the society, and the importance of the ideology of fierceness. Chagnon and others, consider their work among the Yanomamo to give us information about pristine savages, in their natural state prior to contact.

The Yanomamo seem more like pristine savages, our contemporary ancestors acting out their untrammelled Hobbesian destiny. (Elmer Service in Chagnon 1968:160)

Yet, as the Yanomamo moved closer to the mission stations in order to obtain a continual source of trade goods, the social organization was significantly altered (Shapiro 1971). Villages began to consist of small dwellings built as each family arrived rather than the single structure for the entire community. Ceremonial behavior was modified because of the presence of the missionaries. While

new alliances were established, new rivalries were also encouraged because those Indians located at the mission had a privileged position and access to trade goods. The presence of firearms at the mission made the area less vulnerable to raiding.

The mission villages were centers for the distribution of trade items. Chagnon describes meeting a missionary who had given the residents of one village over 3000 machetes in just eight years. These machetes were then traded inland to more remote Yanomamo. The data are given in a footnote (1978:34) and Chagnon makes no hypotheses about what they might mean in the context of inter-village trading networks. He discounted the missionary presence during his initial research because "it was easy to ignore them at that time for they had no impact on the Yanomamo" (1978:151). Yet extensive trading negotiations must have had effects that spread throughout the inland groups. As of 1978 there were only a dozen or so Yanomamo villages in which missionaries had permanent posts. Although Chagnon describes this as "trifling" in view of the fact that there are perhaps as many as 150 villages - he misses the point that one missionary located in one village affects far more than just that village. The trade items he distributes, are then passed along indigenous trade networks into remote regions.

To summarize, the Yanomamo moved into the lowlands

to be closer to the trade goods brought in by missionaries. Associated with these villages is a high level of warfare, raiding, inter-and intra-village hostility, marked hostility between men and women. They are not "pristine savages" but people who have gone through a period of intense social transformation brought on by migration, disease, trade and missionaries. Even those villages that are not in direct contact with the missionaries have felt their presence indirectly.

Jivaro

The data presented by Harner (1973) on the Jivaro of the Ecuadorian region of the Amazon offer a good example of the indirect effects of colonization on an indigenous group. Harner does not consider his data in this light, rather he believes the Jivaro he studied, east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, represent the "traditional" society. These Jivaro were dependent on hunting and gathering for their subsistence, maintained their belief in the souls, the supernatural spirits, the power of shamans; and they still engaged heavily in feuding and warfare. In the 17th and 18th centuries it was this group of Jivaro that the Jesuits tried to pacify and against whom they led innumerable entradas.

In contrast, the Jivaro on the frontier region of the Cordillera had been moved onto reservations that were run

by missionaries, and their former lands were resettled by whites coming from the Andes. In 1956 these Jivaro were engaged in wage-labor and their children were being sent to boarding schools run by the government. Harner assumes, therefore, that the absence of direct contact with whites and the maintenance of indigenous subsistence activities and beliefs is proof of the continuance of the traditional culture. The time span that he is covering by the concept "traditional" seems to be everything prior to daily contact with whites.

However, from other information provided in the ethnography it is clear that despite the fact that whites had not yet settled in this area, these Jivaro were heavily affected by their presence along the frontier. Examples of these effects are: establishing extensive trading networks with neighboring groups in order to acquire manufactured goods (p.39); resettlement caused by Jivaro from the frontier moving inland to get away from the whites (p.36); epidemics reaching inland from the frontier area (p.37).

It is only in the final chapter on culture change that Harner describes how there has been an increasing emphasis on obtaining trade goods from the frontier areas. He demonstrates an intimate connection between the development of shaman hierarchies and their relationship to trading networks for manufactured goods. Over the years there

has been considerable increase in the number of people who became shamans (one in every four men were shamans in 1956), because shamans received their payment from their clients in the form of trade goods. The Jivaro state that they believe there is a strong correlation between the increase in the number of shamans and the increase in the amount of illness and death due to witchcraft (p.201); the increase in this number has led to the development of shaman hierarchies and competition for acquiring valuables and strong shamanistic powers (p.202). This seems to have affected the general nature of interpersonal relations. There has been a

strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application of retaliatory sanctions reported for the past four or five decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is particularly attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jivaro partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal bewitchings. (p.203-204)

In the chapter on culture change we therefore find that many of the characteristics that Harner has described as part of the traditional Jivaro culture, such as being uncooperative, distrustful, suspicious and warlike are directly related to events of the 20th century. Specifically, I would argue that they are related to the intensification of trade networks for manufactured

goods, and the proliferation of shamans and intensified fear of their powers. The new information presented in Harner's final chapter, therefore, calls for re-evaluation of many statements in the first five chapters.

It may be that Jivaro suspicions of shamans and fear of the recent increase in murders explains why they are preoccupied with the possibility of assassination (p.39). The same fear may motivate individual families to live in deep isolation in the forest, and make men prefer to work alone rather than in the communal gardening efforts that used to occur. The fact that the Jivaro also bar their doors at night and sleep with guns at their sides may be another indication of their general fearfulness. Such intense fear and distrust may explain why the household has become the most significant social unit rather than the village; and why trading partnerships are the strongest male unit, exceeding the obligations of brothers. The increasing importance of establishing trade networks for the individual or the nuclear family could be a significant factor in the breakdown of the larger group. Distrust may prompt men to express a strong desire to kill, thereby explaining why the two most emphasized types of souls called upon are supernatural devices for murdering and avoiding being murdered.

In other words, psychological traits, ideology, customs, habits and other cultural phenomena may have been

intensified, modified, taken on a new significance, or even be recent developments. We do not have enough historical information to evaluate whether or not these traits constitute the "traditional" Jivaro culture. We only know that given their experiences in the 20th century, this is how the Jivaro appeared in 1956.

There are serious political consequences that result from not placing ethnographic data in an historical context. If the Jivaro are seen as having a warlike culture as part of their tradition, the reader is led to believe that the pacification and reservation policy of the government is necessary to save the Indians from themselves. However, when placed within an historical context one can question whether the frequency of warfare might not be correlated to the increase in trade for manufactured goods, and the resultant trading networks and shaman hierarchies.

The summaries of Yanomamo and Jivaro data demonstrate how contact with western society and the reorganization of social and economic relations to procure manufactured goods have had important and often devastating repercussions on other aspects of indigenous culture. Increases in hostility, antagonism and competition are closely associated with both of these groups, and are by-products of recent historical events.

While the major changes associated with the 20th century have been the break-up of village units into nuclear

family units, such as among the Mundurucu, this was preceded in the 17th and 18th centuries by the destruction of prior inter-village connections, particularly long-distance trade networks, as well as a high degree of raiding and resettlement forcing many Indians to move in small groups to avoid attack. This left villages functioning on a more economically and politically autonomous level than previously, as will be demonstrated in this dissertation. Therefore the "simple," egalitarian societies that characterize contemporary Amazonia are a result of historical events since the 16th century.

Scope of the Study

The current study uses Jesuit writings on the Upper Amazon to focus on three major topics: the Jesuit program and personnel (Chapter 2); contact with and "pacification" of the Upper Amazon (Chapter 3); and Indian life in the mission villages (Chapter 4). While a study of the Jesuits themselves is intrinsically interesting, it also serves the need for ethnohistorians to develop a clearer understanding of the background of the missionaries on whose writings they often depend for their research. We need to understand not only the theories, world-view, methods and biases of these missionaries, but also something of their personalities: the values they held in their relations with other people, particularly other missionaries and the Indians, and the types of concerns that structured their daily lives. There is a

wealth of data on these topics written by the Jesuits which makes it possible to reconstruct many aspects of the missionaries' lives. The data also reveal to the reader the missionaries' demand that the Indians respect their authority and be responsible for the care of the missionaries, as well as the Jesuit emphasis on religious training, establishing a native hierarchy within the mission villages, and taking a lenient attitude toward changing Indian customs and beliefs.

The Jesuits' concern with presenting the work of their religious order from the most favorable perspective, that of successful and diligent workers up against incredible odds, resulted in the careful censoring of their published material. Thus the problem in reading their documents is to separate the censored material from the more candid accounts written to fellow missionaries and local superiors.

The second topic deals with the process of contact and pacification in the Upper Amazon by the Spanish explorers, the settlers and slave raiders as well as by the Jesuits. The Indians under both the Spanish and the Jesuits experienced continual raiding of the interior to bring them to the riverine mission villages and Spanish settlements. In Mainas (the name the Jesuits gave to the area where they worked in the Upper Amazon) the Jesuits had a constant problem keeping the Indians in the mission villages, and making the villages grow. Indians died in the villages at alarming rates and others fled to the interior. The

missionaries sent out entradas on a regular basis to bring back the runaways as well as to find new heathens that could be brought to the villages - peacefully or forcibly. The growth of the missions, then, was based on the continual raiding of the inland regions.

For the Indians in the interior, the only ways to maintain their sovereignty were either to fight back fiercely, as did the Jivaro, to attempt to escape from the raiders by breaking into smaller groups and hiding deep in the interior of the jungle, or to form larger groups that could repel the attacks of the Europeans. The three methods met with varying degrees of success depending on particular circumstances.

The most critical repercussion of the continual raiding of the interior was a restructuring of the relationship between riverine and interfluvial areas. Lathrap (1968) has described the relationship between the regions as hostile, based on differential access to resources. This is certainly an accurate description of the relationship in the 17th and 18th centuries. However, other types of relationships existed between riverine and interior peoples in earlier time periods.

The third topic of the dissertation is life within the mission villages established by the Jesuits. Three aspects of mission life are studied: the growth and decline of the mission villages, that is, the population dynamics that can be reconstructed from demographic records and

descriptions written by the missionaries; the reorganization of production and social life for the Indians, in particular the structuring of new lines of factionalism that permeated every aspect of mission life; and the social relations within the villages. The last is a topic that the missionaries wrote almost nothing about, but some inferences can be made from the census records. Most important, the census records enable an analysis of the sex ratios within the mission villages. These records show that there were continual fluctuations in the relative number of males and females in any single village over time, indicating that readjustments were probably made in production and social relations to compensate for the variations.

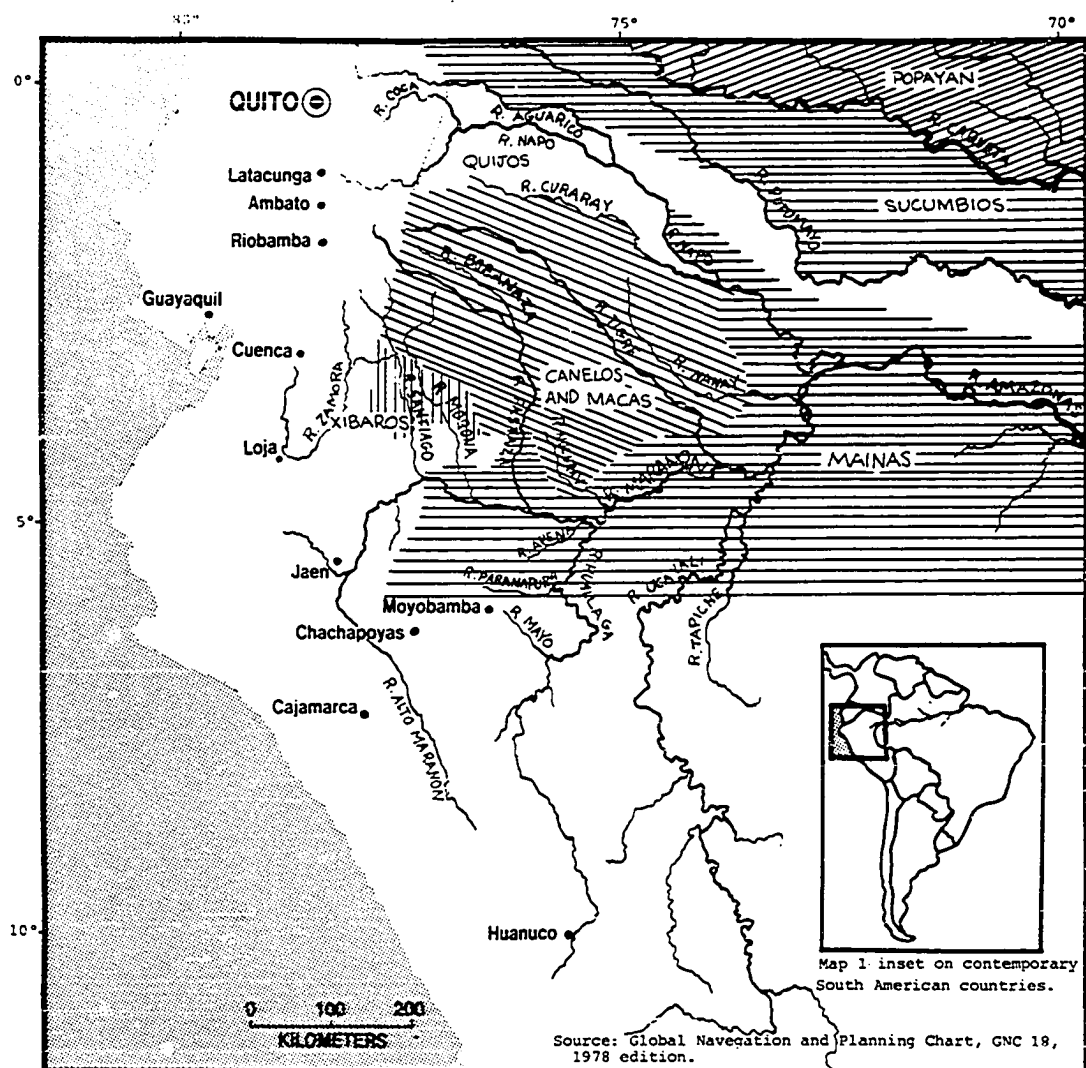
The dissertation concludes with a discussion of the implications of the historical data for reconsidering analyses of the Amazon that do not take into account the extent to which historical events transformed the nature of relationships among and within Indian settlements.

Definition of the Region

The Upper Amazon has been defined in different ways by different researchers (Hegen 1966, Lathrap 1970). For the purposes of the present study, the Upper Amazon region is defined to include that portion of the Marañón River from where it descends into the lowlands at the Pongo de

Manseriche, to the contemporary border with Brazil, east of the city of Iquitos, where it becomes known as the Amazon. (See Map 1.) It also includes the major tributaries that flow north and south into the Marañón and the Amazon: the Morona, Pastaza, Nucuray, Tigre, Nanay, Napo, Huallaga, Ucayali. This definition corresponds logically to the division of the Amazon River into three sections: the lower Amazon (the mouth of the river in eastern Brazil), the middle Amazon (often referred to as the Solimões River by Brazilians), and the upper Amazon. It includes the Marañón River because the division of the Amazon from the Marañón is based on historical circumstance rather than on any ecological or environmental differences. Moreover, it has often been debated at what point the Marañón becomes the Amazon. Currently this point is identified as being at the confluence with the Ucayali: east of the Ucayali River it is termed the Amazon, and west of the Ucayali it is termed the Marañón. Finally, this definition corresponds to the region in which the Jesuit missionaries were working in the 17th and 18th centuries. They first descended into the region from the Pongo de Manseriche and travelled east along the Marañón, onto the Amazon, stopping only because of Portuguese raiding from Brazil. They also moved up and down the major tributaries of the Marañón and Amazon as time, money, and Indian resistance allowed.

The Jesuits called this region "Mainas", after the first Indians they met at the foot of the Pongo de



Manseriche. This name has been used to refer to differing sections of the Peruvian and Ecuadorian jungle by the Jesuits, the colonial government, and currently by the Peruvian government. Some researchers have mistakenly assumed that the boundaries of the region were similarly defined by all of these groups. In the 17th and 18th centuries the Gobernación of Mainas, as defined by the colonial government, meant the section of the lowlands that was just north and south of the Marañón and Amazon rivers, plus adjacent pieces of the tributaries: the Pastaza, Huallaga, Tigre, Ucayali, Napo, etc. The Governor of Mainas had jurisdiction for only this region. The Jesuits, however, were working with a larger concept of the region. They had been awarded the Curato (parish) of Archidona on the upper Napo River in the 17th century, and used this as a base to explore and found missions on the Aguarico, Pastaza, Curaray and adjacent rivers. Politically this section of the lowlands came under the jurisdiction of the Gobernación and Governor of Quijos, not Mainas. However, in their documents the Jesuits refer to their work in and around Archidona as either part of the Curato of Archidona or as part of Mainas. The distinction was insignificant for the Jesuits. The two regions had continual interconnection and interaction with each other, and for all practical purposes the Curato of Archidona was treated as part of Mainas.

In the 19th century, the jurisdiction of Mainas was enlarged by the Bishop of Mainas, Hipolito Rangel (Quevedo

1946), to include the sierran towns of Moyobamba, Lamas, Santiago de las Montañas, Tarapoto and Huanuco as well as all settlements on the Napo, Pastaza, Marañón, Amazon and Huallaga Rivers. Contemporary maps of the Peruvian Amazon have redefined Mainas as the easternmost section of the State of Loreto, ironically perhaps the only region where the Jesuits never established a stronghold. The present research utilizes the Jesuits' conception of the term Mainas that includes the rivers they colonized using Archidona as a base.

Although the Mainas region as so defined covered an extensive area, it is geographically homogeneous. Defined as tropical rain forest, the key distinction to be made is between the soils found in the riverine regions that are annually enriched by flooding, and the upland interfluvial regions made up of old alluvial deposits (Lathrap 1970:22-44). The widely differing potential of these two regions for agricultural production has formed the basis for many recent studies (Myers 1974, Roosevelt 1981).

Research Conditions

The research for this dissertation was carried out in five countries from July 1980 to June 1981: Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Spain, and Italy. I worked in state archives (AGI/S, AHN/M, ANH/B, ANH/Q, BN/M, BNC/R, CM/L, JyC/Q, MDRE/L, PR/M, RAH/M), private collections belonging to the Jesuit order (ACJ/Q, AJ/Q, APTSJ/A, ARSI/R, PC/M, VU/L), a

branch of the Vatican archive (PF/R) and in a Dominican
archive (VG/Q).³

My goal in working in both European and South American archives was to compare the types of data sent to the superiors in each locality. I anticipated finding more descriptive reports and personal letters in South America that had been written to local superiors and fellow missionaries. In Europe I expected to find more administrative types of records. To a large extent this was true.

Research, however, was complicated by a number of factors. Many documents are not where one would expect them. Many others have passed into private collections in Europe and South America, some of which are not open to researchers. The Jesuit collections in South America are excellent. Unfortunately though, many documents have been lost or misplaced over the years. Further, the region of Mainas has been a contested area between Peru and Ecuador for almost one hundred years. Many documents have been closed to researchers in the ANH/Q that the director believes are sensitive to the border issue. Most of the older historians in South America come from the rich families, particularly in Ecuador (Szasdi 1964) and many documents can be found in their personal collections, if these are open to the public. JyC/Q, formerly the private collection of Jijón y Caamaño, now owned by the Banco Central in Quito, is impressive in both the extent of the collection and in the valuable documents it contains. Numerous documents are still in

private hands and perhaps they will surface at some point in time.⁴

Research in the above archives is facilitated by the availability of numerous reference works that describe the exact holdings of the archive.⁵ This quickened the research immeasurably.

The post-Jesuit period in Mainas is equally rich with historical documentation. In 1802 Requena, governor of Mainas, recommended that the Audiencia of Lima take over from Quito the administration of the lowland region. Both Peru and Ecuador have analyzed the historical documents in great detail in order to prove or disprove whether this transfer of power was actually carried out, and which country therefore has legal claim to the land. Numerous books have been published in both countries with collections of documents to prove their case historically. Some archival collections in Quito and Lima are copies of documents that were made in the European archives for this purpose (MDRE/L, VG/Q, Rumazo Collection at the Banco Central, Quito). Study of this time period is also facilitated by the fact that Rangel, Bishop of Mainas after the Jesuits, Requena, and the Franciscans who replaced the Jesuits were all voluninous writers.⁶ There is a rich store of data for anyone interested in studying the time period just prior to independence.

The Historical Documents of the Jesuits

The data on Mainas come to us primarily from the Jesuits themselves. Although there are some reports by non-Jesuits who came through this area, these are far fewer in number and not as detailed in descriptive and ethnographic information. One is forced to rely very heavily on data that have already been selected and censored by the Jesuit hierarchy. Historians in other areas have tried to get around the type of problem this posed by finding new kinds of documents that shed an uncensored light on local conditions. One such type of document is the visita, a report of an official visit made on an irregular basis to check possible abuses, curb graft, determine tribute quotas. Anthropologists and historians have found vast stores of useful data in these reports (Murra 1956, Salomon 1978). A second type of document is official records such as: financial records, account books, administrative records, shipping orders, baptismal-marriage-death records, census records -- in other words, any numerical account that can give some quantitative balance to the qualitative descriptions. If a missionary says the region is thriving, do the numbers back him up? A third type of document is personal, uncensored correspondence and reports written by the missionaries for local superiors. These provide a personalized version of what was happening in which the missionary did not need to worry about presenting an officially acceptable picture in order to get more money or more

missionaries.

For Mainas, the above types of data exist in varying degrees. Three visitas were made, in 1662, 1687 and 1745, respectively, but the data reported do not come close to the descriptive material that Murra and Salomon found for the sierra. Of more help are the census records that exist in impressive quantities for Mainas and that form the basis for Chapter 4 of this dissertation. The large quantity of administrative accounting and reporting about the missionaries forms the basis for Chapter 2. A few financial statements exist for Mainas, but the types of account books that have been found for other Jesuit missions do not exist here. All other types of numerical records seem to have been destroyed. The third type of document, personal communications and reports, yielded some major new documents: over two dozen letters from the Jesuit archive in Quito as well as five reports by P. Magnin from 1739-1744 found in the national archives in Madrid, and an accounting of the missions by P. Widman from the 1760's found in a private Jesuit collection, the Pastells Collection in Madrid. The value of this last group of documents is that they were written for the eyes of their superiors and fellow missionaries only, not as requests to Spanish authorities; nor were they censored by the Jesuit hierarchy for publication to be used as propaganda. Being able to have something more of an insider's view of the Jesuit experience - the daily problems and infighting, the

discontent of the Indians, the harshness of the Jesuit reprisals - made it possible to read the censored accounts with a critical eye. The following section is a description of the types of reports the Jesuits wrote and the variations in the material they presented, depending on the audience to whom they were writing.

Twenty-eight of the 161 missionaries who were in Mainas from 1636 to 1767 wrote reports, letters or journals that have survived to present times. Innumerable others have been lost and some still remain in private collections. The types of materials the missionaries wrote, the data they reported, and the style of reporting varied greatly depending upon whom they were addressing. For example, in 1665 P. Cueva wrote to a fellow missionary that the locusts on the Curaray River "did us much damage to the cachibancos (mosquito nets) and in some clothing and alter coverings, leaving some pieces completely useless" (APTSJ/A Legajo #406 #179). To the King, Cueva exaggerates this story to say, "One day I was in the village of the Abijiras [on the Curaray River] with a dress, socks, and a small awning for protection against the insects and in the morning I woke up nude because the locusts had eaten everything" (AGI/S Quito 114:1667). The closing of the letter asked the King to please send money because conditions were so bad that vast amounts were needed.

The documents used for this study can be divided into two categories. First, those that were expressly written

or edited to receive aid from the Spanish crown or to recruit new missionaries. The reports from the Jesuits in the Archivo General de Indies in Seville, Spain fall into this category. They wrote to report on the Portuguese invasions, to request military support and to request more missionaries. Similarly, the Cartas Edificantes, the Welt-Bott and Cartas Anuas (Annual Letters), were all written to win the interest of potential missionaries. The second type of document was written to Jesuit colleagues and superiors and are predominantly housed in the Jesuit archives located in Rome and Quito.⁷ These documents, plus those of P. Magnin and P. Widman, found in Madrid, are the most candid accounts of mission activities.

Five books written by Mainas missionaries have been published: Fritz (Edmundson 1922), Maroni (1889-1892), Figueroa (1904), Uriarte (1952) and Veigl (1785). Veigl, Maroni and Figueroa wrote histories of the region; Fritz and Uriarte wrote journals. Figueroa, writing 25 years after the arrival of the Jesuits, gave an account of the Jesuit activities, a description of each of the mission villages established, and of the problems they were encountering. Maroni, drawing on his personal experience in the region and on access to the Jesuit archive in Quito, wrote a lengthy report describing the environment, the Indians, and the Jesuit conquests. Large sections of Figueroa's report and Fritz's journal appear in Maroni. Fritz's journal was edited by another Jesuit, a contemporary

of Fritz, who had access to his notes and journals. The published journal is not the entire set of notes and journals written by Fritz. It is unclear whether sections were lifted out of the original or if the editor rewrote and summarized the original, since entries for some years are quite short.

Three unpublished accounts of the area also exist by Padres Veigl (PC/M Tomo 108:f.139-253), Widman (PC/M Tomo 108:47-67, 75-106), and Camacho (PC/M Tomo 132:f.147-194). These are found in the Pastells Collection in Madrid. Pastells also has an anonymous account in Latin, probably written by a German missionary, which pays particular attention to the physical surroundings of Mainas: the climate, plants, trees, animals, minerals; the natural disposition of the Indians; the political and spiritual life in the villages (PC/M Tomo 218:f.1-149).⁸

The Mainas missions were well-known in the 17th and 18th centuries, with histories written by P. Mercado (1957, original publication: 1683), P. Rodríguez (1684), P. Chantre y Herrera (1901) and P. Velasco (1979, original publication: 1788). Mercado's account must have been written for general reading by the small literate population of his time. The book is the only account of the missions written in an almost fanatical religious tone with chapter headings such as: "The Devil tempts the Jivaro to leave the village", "A proverb used among the Indians to explain the pains of purgatory", "Ridiculous medicines and superstitions that apply to their illnesses".

Rodríguez published his account of the missions a year after Mercado. As Procurador General for the missions of the Indies, he represented their interests in the court of Madrid and had access to official documents and reports. Having been stationed in Quito prior to going to Madrid he may have met the Mainas missionaries themselves or read their reports in the Quito archive.

Velasco reportedly had access to the Jesuit archives in Rome in order to write his history. He wrote from exile in Italy after the Jesuit expulsion in 1767. There were probably 32 missionaries in exile together in Ravenna, Italy who has previously been stationed in Mainas.⁹ Velasco, therefore, had a large group of companions to interview about the region. Chantre y Herrera must have collected his data from this same group of missionaries and also clearly had access to the journal of Uriarte, since large sections are copied out directly.

Fascination with the Mainas region has continued among Jesuit historians into the 20th century: Jouanen (1941, 1943), Astrain (1920), Heredia (1924), Bayle (1948a, 1948b, 1949, 1951a, 1951b), Romero Arteta (1962). All of these writers have had access to the Jesuit archives and Bayle had access to private collections of Jesuit letters as well. Jouanen in particular substantiates his assertions with lengthy quotations from unpublished documents. He has reprinted many in extensive appendices. None of the Jesuits, however, are free from the bias of trying to present their order in a

favorable light. Jouanen, for example, writes that the Mainas missionaries only took orphans for translators in their exploratory entradas when in fact they took whoever they could manage to capture, never stopping to question their status (1941:340).

Contemporary historians and anthropologists have also begun to review the published data on Mainas (Grohs 1974, Myers 1978, Sweet 1974, Ulloa 1961). Each of these studies summarizes various aspects of the historical information, but to date no overall analysis of the body of literature has been made.

In many regions of the Americas the Jesuits' writings about their work can be compared to what others in the region described. Unfortunately, there are few eyewitness accounts of Mainas outside of the missionaries who were stationed there. Visitas were made on an irregular basis throughout the colonies. The three visitas made of Mainas in 1662, 1687, and 1745 were all commissioned by the Bishop of Quito. It is unknown who made the inspection in 1662, but in 1687 it was Zeares, a priest from Santiago de las Montanas, and in 1745 it was Riofrio, a priest from the city of Quito. The first two reports contain little information of use, but Riofrio includes a census and description of the mission villages.

The Jesuits also sent their own inspectors to the missions. Nine were sent to Mainas in 1668, 1671, 1687, 1695, 1721, 1727-30, 1736-37, 1750-52 and 1761. Six of

these inspections were made by missionaries stationed in the region, according to the guidelines of their superiors. None of the reports made by these missionaries has survived. The other three inspections were made by Jesuits sent from Quito: Meaurio in 1721, Gutierrez in 1727-30, and Zarate in 1736-37. There are no surviving descriptions from any of these inspectors. However, there is a report by Hormagui (JyC/Q) based on Gutierrez' inspection; and many reports from Zarate about the Portuguese are in the AGI/S and some are republished in Figueroa (1904).

The Spanish governors of Bcrja, capital of Mainas province, typically did not live in the region but simply collected their stipend in Quito. The Seville archive contains some correspondence from these governors to the King but principally they are complaints about the region, problems in receiving their stipend, or summaries of their good works sent to promote their own careers. The ANH in Bogotá, Colombia also contains many governors' letters since from 1717-1809 the Audiencia of Quito came under the jurisdiction of Bogotá rather than that of Lima. The correspondence is, again, complaints about unpaid stipends. The only useful governor's report comes from Iturbide (AGI/S Quito 131:1720). Although his goal was to further his own career, the letter does contain a useful counting of the number of Indians in each village and a recounting of the travel times between villages.

Only once did the Jesuits work closely with a

conquistador to pacify the region: in 1655 to 1657 they aligned themselves with Riba Herrera in his attempt to pacify the Jibaros. He was unsuccessful but the expedition prompted many letters and reports from Spanish soldiers and priests as well as from the Jesuits. These have been published in the Revista de Archivos y Bibliotecas Nacionales (Rey y Boza 1900).

Laureano de la Cruz (1900), a Franciscan missionary, worked on the Napo and Amazon Rivers in the middle of the 17th century. He offers useful ethnographic data about the Indians; however the Jesuits had not yet reached the areas of the river in which he worked, so he does not provide information or descriptions of their work.

La Condamine (1745), the French scientist, travelled through the Mainas region in 1743 accompanied by a Jesuit missionary. His report concentrated on the natural surroundings, the plants and animals, with observations about latitude and longitude taken for cartographic purposes. Juan and Ulloa, who were working with Condamine, published a report on the Americas (1748), and Juan later wrote a secret report (1826) in which he described Mainas at some length. However, neither Juan nor Ulloa visited the region. It was probably because of Juan's close association with the Jesuits in Quito (Merino 1956-57) that he had access to the Jesuit archive where he read about the missions and perhaps talked to some of the missionaries who had been there. Unfortunately, his book provides no new information.

In summary, three important points follow from this discussion of sources. First, many unpublished documents that provide new insights into the area and the conditions of the Indians do exist for this region and quite possibly for other parts of Amazonia. Such information is not available in the published, censored accounts. Second, there is a vast difference in how the Jesuits wrote about themselves and their activities depending on who they were writing to and on the purpose of the document. Third, Jesuit historians, who typically have been the ones to write about the region, frequently slanted their accounts in order to present the work of the Jesuits most favorably.

The chapters that follow detail the specific effects of the Jesuits in the 17th and 18th centuries on the Upper Amazon populations. Chapter 2 offers an ethnographic description of the Jesuits; Chapter 3 discusses contact and pacification in the region by the Spaniards and the Jesuits; Chapter 4 describes daily life in the mission villages themselves. The concluding chapter is a discussion of the impact of these events on the Indians, and the importance of these data for reevaluating certain theoretical assumptions about the Amazon.

Bibliographic Note

The American Anthropologist style is used when citing published sources. Unpublished manuscripts are cited by a modified use of the American Anthropologist style that Salomon (1978) developed for this dissertation. In, for example, (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251, #8H:f.51-62v), AHN/M indicates the name and location of the archive - Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid; Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251 is the legajo (file) classification; 8H is an additional classification specifying which document within the legajo; f.51-62v are the folio (page) numbers for the document. The term v is added to indicate the verso (reverse) side of a page. The date is given when there are no folio pages to cite. In the bibliography, the entry is made under the abbreviation for the name of the archive and the date, title and author is provided there to facilitate locating the document. Some documents do not have a title. In these cases, I have inserted short descriptions in English.

Translations

All translations are by Karen Spalding and myself. The original language of all the documents which were translated was Spanish. The documents have been translated literally to preserve the style of the author's writing. Spelling of proper names in the quotes have been left in the original form of the documents even when it disagreed with standardized spellings. The term tigre,

translated "tiger," was used to describe jaguars. "P." is an abbreviation for "Padre."

FOOTNOTES

1. Tyrer reported that most of the 16th century accounts about Ecuador are in private, inaccessible collections (1976:83).
2. Archaeological studies have corroborated the large size of these riverine settlements (DeBoer and Kaufman 1977, Lathrap 1970, Myers 1973).
3. There is open access to almost all of these archives. The JyC/Q archive requires a letter of permission from the Banco Central in Quito. Some archives require a letter of introduction that explains one's research and the types of materials requested: MDRE/L, VG/L. Not all Jesuit archives are open to the public. Exceptions are PC/M and ARSI/R where access is easily given to researchers. In other cases permission must be obtained from the Jesuit superior (APTSJ/A) or from the archivist (ACJ/Q, AJ/Q, VU/L).
4. For example, Bayle (1949:317) mentions a book of letters written by P. Uriarte which was formerly owned by a wealthy Spaniard, Señor Graiño. His large collection of books and documents has been divided among many Madrid libraries. The books on the Phillipines are now in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. The books on Latin America are in the library of the Instituto de Cultura Hispanica. No one knows where his collection of documents ended up although one historian told me he heard they were sold to a large university in the United States. Despite many attempts I have not been able to track down these documents.
5. For general reference books on historiography and access to archives in Ecuador see: Norris 1978, Szasdi 1964, Vasco 1977. Guides to the Ecuadorian archives include: Romero Arteta 1963-65 for ACJ/Q; Villacís 1979, 1980 for JyC/Q; Vargas 1956 for VG/Q; Freile-Granizo 1974 for ANH/Q; Boletín del Archivo Nacional del Historia, Quito, has summaries of documents from the ANH/Q in the first 54 volumes of the journal. Additionally, Quito's Franciscan archive has recently been catalogued (Kennedy 1980). In Lima, CAAAP (Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica) an organization interested in indigenous affairs, has begun to build up a library and has recently written guides to the Archivo Arzobispal in Lima and the MDRE/L. The Spanish archives are catalogued by: Navarro 1967 for AHN/M; Paz 1933 for BN/M, Mateos 1947 for PC/M.

The Rome archives are catalogued by LaMalle 1968 for ARSI/R; the Bogotá state archive, ANH/B, has been catalogued by Horna (1971). For researchers who are unable to go to Rome, the St. Louis University Library has microfilmed the sections pertaining to the Americas from the ARSI/R and PF/R archives. The microfilms are available in their library and are described by Bannon 1967 and Daly 1966, 1967.

6. Reference books on the border dispute between Ecuador and Peru that contain copies of historical documents include: Alvarez Arteta 1901, Cornejo and Osma 1905, Larrabure y Correa 1905-1909, Pardo 1905, Saltamaria de Paredes 1910, Vacas Galindo 1902-03. Information about Rangel can be found in Barrenechea 1942, Smith 1946, Lohmann-Villena 1940. Numerous documents by the Franciscan missionaries from the late 18th century were published in the first 12 volumes of Mercurio Peruana, 1791-95. More Franciscan documents are available in MDRE/L.
7. Although the Jesuits in the 17th and 18th centuries also reported back to their superiors in Spain, that archive APTSJ/A, now housed outside of Madrid, in Alcala de Henares, does not have many documents.
8. A useful summary of the published and unpublished accounts about Mainas was written by Bayle (1949). Other documents are believed to exist in German archives (Oberem, personal communication).
9. Of the 28 missionaries who were expelled from Mainas, 18 were together in Ravenna, Italy; the other ten were German and were sent to their home countries. In addition, another 17 Jesuits who were expelled from the Audiencia of Quito had been in Mainas at earlier points in their careers. All but three of these Jesuits would also have been in Ravenna. In total there were 32 missionaries in Ravenna, Italy who had previously been in Mainas.

CHAPTER 2

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE JESUITS

Ethnohistorians often rely heavily on missionary reports to reconstruct a picture of indigenous societies. Yet despite reliance on such data, little work has been done to describe the missionaries themselves, their points of view, and their biases. Such assessment is needed in order to evaluate their descriptions as sources of ethnographic and historical data. Historians have criticized anthropologists for failing to master this basic principle of historical methodology (e.g. Vansina 1969).

Current anthropological literature also makes it clear that there were important differences in the ways in which missionaries approached their task of converting the Indians (Beidelman 1981, Polzar 1976, Shapiro 1981) and that the methods chosen played a role in deciding the ultimate success or failure of a mission (Block 1980b, Rigby 1981, Schieffelin 1981). The awareness that these differences in approach affected indigenous peoples differently heightens the need for ethnohistorians to reconstruct the approaches, theories, world-views, methods, and biases of missionaries.

Beidelman (1974) has developed a list of criteria for analyzing the key structural elements of missionary orders. He focuses attention on the cultural background of the missionaries, their theories of conversion, goals, and rela-

tions to the colonial and bureaucratic structure. This set of criteria can be used for both contemporary as well as earlier orders. The types of data that the Jesuits collected about their missionaries make it possible to describe this group of men in terms of Beidelman's criteria.

This chapter focuses on the founding principles of the Jesuits, their activities in South America and the expulsion of 1767. Biographical data on the Jesuits of Mainas are available in sufficient detail to describe their personal backgrounds: nationalities, ages, how long they remained in the area, and why they left. A variety of documents enables us to examine the values of the Jesuit order and to see how the Jesuit superiors graded the Mainas missionaries on these values. The central concerns addressed by these missionaries are made clear in the instructions they received from their superiors in Quito. What emerges is a striking picture of this group of men and their world-view; and therefore of what the Indians encountered and had to deal with. In addition, understanding the history, values, and concerns of the missionaries is useful for evaluation of the accuracy of their writings about Mainas.

Background on the Jesuit Order

Religious orders have always played a key role in the political events of the Catholic Church.¹ This has been particularly true in the case of the Jesuits, probably the most famous of the religious orders, due to their massive organ-

ization and the incredible wealth they controlled. The rise, fall, and internal structure of the order can be explained by analyzing the political needs of the Church.

The Jesuit Order (properly known as the Society of Jesus) developed in the sixteenth century, a time when the power of the Papacy was coming into question in Europe. The growth of strong monarchies to replace feudal barons challenged the growth and prerogatives of the Church. Rapidly spreading Protestantism further threatened the Church with the loss of massive revenues and previously won political strongholds.

The Jesuits served a political function for the Papacy. They acted as intermediaries between the Pope and the rulers of European countries by becoming confessors to kings and educators of the royal children. In this, the Jesuits saw themselves as a spiritual elite designated to "win back" those highly placed persons who directed the destinies of mankind (Freer 1922:78). The Church then used the religious orders to challenge political and financial threats to its power.

While religious orders all held the same essential goal - to spread Christian doctrine and to support the Church hierarchy - the specific ideology and structure with which each order pursued this goal differed widely. The Franciscan order, for example, developed in the 13th century, when the money economy was spreading rapidly throughout Europe and causing major changes in social organization and economic structure (Rosenwein and Little 1974). The Church was

profiting from the new money economy and hence was interested in helping it grow (Baldwin 1929: 73-74). However, the Church needed some means for suppressing criticism of its increasing wealth, criticism that was taking the form of the heresies spreading throughout Europe. St. Francis's ideology glorified poverty and the life of the poor while ignoring the ever-growing wealth and power of the Church. The Franciscan order functioned to nullify dissent by attracting people with justified criticisms of the Church into this particular order rather than allowing them to leave entirely or to effect change. It was thus paradoxical that in the 13th century, when the Church's wealth was increasing tremendously, the Church encouraged the development of an order that extolled the virtues of simplicity and poverty.

The Church fought dissension through ideology. In the 16th century, when its powers were being curtailed by the monarchies, the Church responded by encouraging development of the Jesuit order and placing Jesuits directly in the courts and palaces of the European monarchies. When it was important to return the masses to the Church, away from the heresies of the 13th century, the Church extolled the virtues of poverty. When it was necessary to maintain alliances with kings and princes, the Church extolled the virtues of education and wealth, sending the Jesuits as teachers of these virtues. In both cases the religious orders were protecting the Church's interests.

The key concept for the Franciscan movement was "holy poverty"; the Jesuits had a much simpler idea, absolute obedience to the Pope. The order was to be like a military troop that was always prepared to strike at the command of the General, the head of the order, in order to serve the Pope (Boehmer 1928:84). All power was placed in the hands of the General, who was chosen for life.

The strong centralization of power and authority was the distinctive mark of the Jesuit order. St. Ignatius, the founder of the Jesuits, wanted to make the order like a military troop, to have them be "soldiers for Christ". Earlier orders, such as the Benedictines and Franciscans, did not possess this type of centralized organization. In both cases a general chapter met periodically to determine policy and officials administered affairs between meetings (Boehmer 1928:84). The tight organizational structure of the Jesuits proved more useful in the administration of the overseas missions.

The development of the Jesuit order into what is often referred to as a "quasi-military" organization was not a complete break from the past however. The marked degree of organization and centralization that is found in the Jesuit order was a natural progression in the history of the religious orders. The first Catholic ascetics had lived alone. Later, monks began to associate in communities or monasteries under a superior, although each house was

independent of the others. Monastic houses then combined into congregations, such as the one at Cluny. The friars took centralization to a further stage by dividing their organization into provinces, placing them under one head superior called the Master General (Harney 1941: xiv). The Jesuits took the ideas of centralization and obedience to authority the furthest, placing all power in the General, whom all had to obey and who, in turn, answered only to the Pope.

Similarly, in the history of the religious orders, there was a marked change in the type of work that the orders performed. Originally, monks devoted themselves to their own personal sanctification and to the solemn performance of religious services. Later orders, especially the Franciscans and Dominicans, saw their task as the spread of the faith, the colonization of new territories, and the defense of the Church. The earliest orders remained in permanent monasteries, while the later orders were characterized by great mobility (Harney 1941: xiv). Again, the Jesuits took this idea of mobility, plus the spread of the faith and defense of the Church, farther than any of the preceding orders.

As the tasks of the orders changed, so did the internal structuring of education and activities. The Jesuits gave up their special religious habit, the choir, the singing of the Divine Office in common. Instead, they added prolongation of their studies - a longer period of novitiate and

general spiritual formation - with the taking of formal vows coming only after a long period of testing and training. These changes initially engendered great consternation and suspicion from the Church and from other orders, some of whom considered the changes heretical (Bangert 1972:22).

While obedience was always considered important within the Church, it took on a new meaning with the Jesuits. One Jesuit sees the root of this strict obedience as a reaction to the Protestant movement of the 16th century.

Protestantism was essentially a rebellion against authority, hence a remedy was found in the strict obedience of the Society; the Reformers' revolt was directed above all at the Papacy, a most effective answer was to be had in the Society's absolute obedience to the Pope and in the special vow of obedience to the Holy See. (Harney 1941:23-24)

Harney tries to play down the degree to which this still is a distinctive characteristic of the order by saying that its form of obedience is essentially the same as that of other religious orders; the difference is only one of emphasis. In the Jesuit order the emphasis is on obedience while in the Franciscan order the emphasis is on poverty (Harney 1941: 115-116). However, obedience became increasingly necessary as the Jesuits' mobility broadened and they established missions all over the world.

The emphasis on obedience to all ecclesiastical authorities is clearly a cornerstone of Jesuit training. This is succinctly captured in an excerpt from the diary of a young 20th century Jesuit.

Today I had a long conference with the novice master. He said my resolutions to mind my

own business and see less going on around me were a useful means of overcoming rash judgments and defects against charity. He said no one is more pernicious to the Society than the man who is not humble. I should do my best on all occasions but must afterwards refer everything to God. I should lead a supernatural life, all my motives and aims being founded on God and heaven. When my superiors, no matter who, ask me to do something, they may or may not have a good reason for it. But God has a good reason for it; and it may fall out that His reason may be different from the superior's. It is the safest course to obey promptly and without words. I have made good resolutions; now I hope they stick. (Daly 1946:79-80)

As Fulop-Miller explains, "The Jesuit renders this obedience primarily to his superior, for behind this superior, with all his human shortcomings, he sees the image of the Savior and he submits to him as if he were Christ himself" (Fulop-Miller 1930: 18-19).

Another central concept for the Jesuits is "freedom of will". This idea was embodied in the Spiritual Exercises designed by the Jesuits' founder, Ignatius de Loyola. Every Jesuit must study these exercises, not only during his initiation, but also eight days every year must be set aside to meditate in silence on them. Ignatius' starting assumption was that all men are plagued by a conflict between Christ and Satan which must be resolved. One must use systematic exercise to develop one's natural powers in order to overcome these conflicts.

Ignatius availed himself, in especial, of the power of imagination; he tries to awaken in his pupils quite definite pictorial representations, all with the object of intensifying the power of distinguishing between right and wrong conduct. For man's progress to perfection must be based on this ability

to distinguish right from wrong; but we are perpetually halting between two possibilities, right or wrong, good or bad, Christ or Satan, usually unable to be sure of always choosing what is right. (Fulop-Miller 1930:6)

Through the exercises the soul was to be bullied, subjected and trained. The exercises trained the imagination to experience hell and heaven with all one's senses, to know the burning pain and blessed rapture, so that the distinction between good and evil was forever indelibly imprinted upon the soul.

The novelty of Loyola's training lay chiefly in two points. Intense concentration on a few main principles of doctrine and life and the vigorous employment of the five senses. The neophyte of the Company of Jesus sees, touches and handles spiritual things. He lives again through the supreme vicissitudes of the Gospel story, he realizes with a vivid and unforgettable horror the shortness of life, the physical humiliations of the grave, the terrors of judgment, the penalty and sufferings of the lost. Everything is clear, definite, precise. More, it is practical. After one of the most awful passages ever penned on the future state of the sinner, comes the question, "What led them to this?" "The way which you perhaps have followed until this day; the way of self-love, of sensuality, of luke-warmness." To men who believed in the supernatural in a vivid and definite manner, without any of the reserves and evasions of the modern thinker, these meditations were full of meaning and of power. (Freer 1922:80)

These exercises are considered Ignatius' most important contribution to the common man. They "were not aimed at the spiritual direction of a monastic order, they were a weapon to enable all manner of men to reach spiritual perfection" (Kamen 1972:233).

The recurrent theme of the exercises is that the individual is constantly choosing between two opposing factors:

one has the freedom of will to choose between action and inaction, between good and evil, between Christ and Lucifer. It follows from this that an act can be regarded as sinful only if the performance of the act is intended to violate the moral order of the world. The assumption that an action was wrongful only when a wrongful intention was behind it enabled the Jesuits to absolve sinners who had outwardly contravened the laws of the Church (Fulop-Miller 1930:147). It also allowed the Jesuits to take a tolerant attitude toward Indian practices and gradually and carefully try to change them.

The Jesuits elaborated their position that a free decision of the will is only possible on the basis of a clear appreciation of the circumstances prevailing within and without. Man's actions are capable of judgment from a moral standpoint only if, in their performance, the will and the reason have functioned freely. "The object of the will, therefore, can only be that which has first of all been understood by the mind; without understanding, no true act of will can take place" (Fulop-Miller 1930:147).

This ideology is associated with the Jesuit contribution to the field of education. Toward the end of his life, Ignatius became involved in the founding of Jesuit colleges. He saw two purposes for these educational institutions: to help reform the Church through better education and the training of priests, and to be an effective means for combating heresy. While the Jesuits were not the first order

to become distinguished as educators, education quickly became one of the order's most important activities.

The Jesuits were known for recruiting almost exclusively from the upper classes, particularly during the early days of the order. Their reputation made success among aristocrats much easier.

Very early, however, the Jesuits aimed at winning for their spiritual mission the support of powerful people, princes and nobles, and on account of their unparalleled intellectual training and the fact that many of their members were recruited from the aristocratic classes they gained many successes in this sphere. (Morner 1953:3)

The Jesuits never developed a Third Order for the Masses, as the Franciscans did, nor did Ignatius allow a woman's counterpart to the male order. Membership into the order was highly exclusive, although the Jesuit concept was that any individual could achieve spiritual perfection through hard work -- a prime example of the contradiction between the professed beliefs and the actual activities of the Church. In their theories the Jesuits gave the impression of believing in the common man, but in their recruitment practices they consciously and persistently maintained an elitist attitude.

Training for Jesuits was and is unusually long and arduous. Upon entrance to the order it is decided whether one will become a "brother" or a "priest". In the early days many were accepted before deciding which path they would take. They were called indifferentes. Jesuits

who become brothers perform the domestic works of the Society as bookkeepers, accountants, sacristans, caretakers, and artisans. They pass through three stages (or grades) in the order. Beginning as "novice lay-brothers" who spend two years in spiritual training, they then go on to become "approved temporal coadjutors". After about ten years their status is raised to "formed temporal coadjutors" and they take their final vows. In the missions, brothers accompanied the priests, teaching specific skills or handicrafts, or more often, simply working in conjunction with the missionary.

Those who are destined to become priests go through a different process. They spend their first two years in spiritual training as novices. At the end of this period they take simple, perpetual, public vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. Those who continue their training for the Sacred Orders are called scholastics and they devote more years to study in Jesuit houses. The duration varies according to an individual's background, however the normal course of study involves two years of liberal disciplines in a juniorate, then three years given mainly to philosophy. This is followed by a few years of practical experience as a teacher or prefect, a period called regency. Four years of theological studies ensue with ordination to the priesthood at the close of the third year. Many then go to the universities for higher degrees in specialized branches of ecclesiastical or secular learning. A final year of spirit-

ual formation, tertianship, completes the training. The priests then receive their final grade, either as formed spiritual coadjutors, or as professed of solemn vows. The latter take three vows of religion as solemn vows: poverty, chastity, obedience, and a special fourth vow of absolute obedience to the Pope. The Jesuits are the only religious order who take this kind of vow and only those that are solemnly professed may hold certain higher posts, such as superior general or provincial.

The priests' training process is closely supervised with specific guidelines for correct behavior. For example, Ignatius drew up a list of rules of modesty for the order, some of which are:

The head must not be moved this way or that way lightly, but with gravity, when there is occasion for it; and if there be no occasion for it, let it be held straight with a slight inclination forward, not bending it to either side.

When speaking, especially with men of authority, let not the gaze be fixed full upon the face, but rather a little below the eyes.

Wrinkles on the forehead and much more the nose are to be avoided so that outward serenity may appear, which may give testimony to inward serenity.

All gestures and movements should be such as to give edification to all.

(quoted in Barrett 1927:129)

In addition, each member of the order has a number of advisors, Consultores, whom he must consult on all important questions and who, at the same time, watch his behavior, and when necessary report about him to Rome. This

control system operates on all levels of the Jesuit hierarchy.

Jesuit Enterprises in South America

The discovery of the Americas opened the door for thousands of missionaries from all the religious orders to pour into the region to convert the "heathen", establish missions, build churches, run haciendas, open schools. They were part of the vanguard of pacification (See Chapter 3). In Europe, the power of the Jesuits derived from their close association with royalty and nobility, as both confessors and educators. In South America, the Jesuits' ability to run financially successful operations and to make profits became evident. This led to open hostility from the Church hierarchy and the other religious orders as well as widespread suspicion about Jesuit activities.²

Financial problems within the Church hierarchy dated back to the time of the discovery of the New World. The Pope, preoccupied with the European balance of power and the Turkish threat, was unable to finance sending large numbers of missionaries on long and expensive journeys. Therefore, he gave certain of his prerogatives to the King of Spain in exchange for such financing. The rights and privileges given to the King were known as the Patronato Real (Royal Patronage) and allowed the Crown vast areas of control in terms of supervising the clergy, administering the collection of taxes and tithes, choosing

Bishops, and controlling the ecclesiastical courts. Problems quickly developed in the relationship between Church and State. "There arose a peculiar subordination of the clergy to the civil administration, to the royal will, and to national policy" (Shiels 1961:2).

The Church soon regretted giving away the powers in the Patronato Real and attempted, unsuccessfully, to rescind them. The Bishops set up an office in Rome under the jurisdiction of the Pope and attempted to challenge the power of the Crown by sending their own missionaries into the field. This office, the Propaganda Fide, was an administrative center that paid for the travel and upkeep of its missionaries as well as for their training. The Propaganda Fide was never able to confront the power of the Crown directly or to win back any of the powers it had given away in the 15th and 16th centuries. It was however able to acquire information from its own missionaries rather than be dependent on the reports from Spain.

Caught between two administrative bodies, one representing the Crown, and the other their own superiors, the Jesuits were continuously embroiled in conflict. The bishop, under orders from the Crown, had the right to direct the missions in his jurisdiction but the missionaries saw their orders coming from their own superiors and maintained their allegiance to them. The bishops were seen as representing state interests rather than those

of the religious order. It became increasingly clear that the religious orders, particularly the Jesuits, remained tied to the Pope, not to be beholden to dictates from either state officials, the monarchy, or even other Church officials. This conflict over jurisdiction of power was never resolved and it continued until the order was suppressed.

The Jesuits established three principle types of enterprises in South America: schools and universities, haciendas and missions. It is the haciendas and the missions that were concerned with indigenous populations. Haciendas, large landed estates, functioned to derive profits in order to finance various operations of the order including the transportation of Jesuits from Europe to America, the running expenses of the provincial offices, the inspections made by the provincial to each of the colleges, missions, and residences, and the annual contribution made to maintain the Jesuit offices in Seville, Madrid and Rome that dealt with affairs of the Indies (Cushner 1982:80). "The operation of haciendas was a risk and many did not survive. But profits were high and this was sufficient reason to keep many Jesuit haciendas in efficient operation." (Cushner 1980:68).

The haciendas in Spanish America were considered the most efficient means for providing food for the people and a basis for a livelihood for a select group of Spaniards. For the Jesuits, the hacienda was a source of income, and this was their sole motive in operating it. Farming was not a way of life but a vehicle for income.
(Cushner 1980:80)

The Jesuits came under much criticism because neither laymen nor other orders could maintain the scale of operations that they did - others did not have access to the lines of credit, to donations of land, and to exemption from taxes. The Jesuits' reply to this criticism was that a "good economic foundation was essential to their educational and religious activity. The money for maintaining colleges, students, faculty and Jesuits had to come from a steady source." (Cushner 1980:134) Furthermore, they argued, the profits from the haciendas also supported the founding of new missions. In the late 18th century, the Mainas missions were financed by the profits from four haciendas located near Quito: Yaruqui, Caraburo, Urapamba, Cangagua.

While the haciendas were maintained in order to accrue profits to underwrite the other functions of the religious order, the missions were meant to be at least self-sufficient if not also profitable. The image of a self-sufficient mission, run by benevolent fathers, a place where the Indians were free from hunger and were under tutelage to become good Christians was developed as a picture of utopia by numerous writers. The image is however inaccurate. The missions rarely functioned as self-sufficient units. They were tied into a complex internal trade that connected the missions and haciendas in various parts of South America. The Jesuits' business office, the Procurador, was responsible for coordinating and overseeing transactions between regions and for regulating the quantity and quality of goods. It is

clear from Block's (1980b) description of the Moxos missions for example, that they were dependent on regular shipments from Santa Cruz. "Moxos needed the aid rendered by its parent corporation. Expenses remained high throughout the 18th century, and the missions provided little more than their own nourishment." (Block 1980b:175)

The frontier mission was never a world apart. In order to survive on the peripheries of the empire, the missions, through their own corporations or by entering relationships with nodes on the viceregal economic system, tied themselves to the center. (Block 1980b:178)

As will be shown in Chapter 4, it is more accurate to view the missions as an attempt to Christianize the Indians according to Jesuit values, through a policy of isolation and indoctrination (Cushner 1978) than as a lost paradise (Caraman 1976) or a vanished arcadia (Graham 1965).

The Expulsion in 1767

The Jesuits in Europe as well as South America were embroiled in conflicts with church and royal officials. It was the conflicts on the European front however, which provided the final justifications for the expulsion of the order from Spain and its colonies in 1767 and for its disbandment by the Pope in 1773.³ In Europe, the Jesuits' goal had been to go to the sources of wealth and power in order to secure allies for the Church. As Europe moved toward having strong nations ruled by monarchs, the Jesuits became more than just a symbolic reminder of ties to Rome and the Pope. They were a very real political threat due to their powerful connections

with the royal courts and colonial affairs. The tight organization of the Jesuits with their ability to coordinate their activities aroused suspicion from the Crown, fearing any well-organized group as a threat to its power. "It is quite evident that it was the very organization of the Jesuit order that above all provoked suspicion" (Morner 1966-67:161).

From Spanish settlers in South America came fears that the Jesuit missions were controlled by foreigners. In fact, the King had allowed the Jesuits to recruit non-Spaniards for as many as one-third of the overseas missionaries. Nevertheless, it was a shock to Europeans arriving in a mission in Spanish America to find German or other non-Spanish missionaries. This caused suspicion among the strongly nationalistic Spaniards who had little trust in foreigners (Morner 1966-67).

In addition, the Jesuits had alienated laymen throughout South America by acquiring great financial wealth.⁴ The other religious orders also felt cowed by the power of the Jesuits and suffered financially as the Jesuits grew rich.⁵

The Jesuit institution was rich, so regardless of the life-style of the individual Jesuit, he too was perceived as rich...The business managers, rectors, and mission superiors who carried to America the baroque ideals of architecture and design put excess wealth to use by having designed the most ornate church facades imaginable. It was this combination of symbolic power and actual economic power that proved to be the Jesuits' undoing. (Cushner 1980:178)

The ever-increasing wealth of the Jesuits then was a contin-

ual source of conflict. It was rumored that the Jesuits had accumulated wealth in their missions which they were hiding from colonial officials. Spain became interested in acquiring these missions in the hopes of finding new sources of wealth. More specifically, however, Spain feared that the Jesuits were getting too powerful and that they threatened the economic power of the states.

Conflicts and tensions increased until the Jesuits were finally expelled from a series of Latin countries and their colonies. Portugal was the first to expel the Jesuits in 1759; France followed in 1764; Spain in 1767. More than half the order was affected by expulsions. In 1773 Pope Clement XIV gave in to mounting pressure from these countries and disbanded the entire religious order.

When the Jesuits were expelled from Spanish America, their lands and goods became royal property and were administered by the Junta de Temporalidades for the Crown. But most were sold to the highest bidder at auctions, allowing only the wealthy few to buy the properties (Cushman 1980:180). The missions were turned over to secular priests or to other missionary orders. But the great wealth they hoped to find in these missionized regions never materialized, confirming the fact that the missions were not wealthy in and of themselves but were dependent on their connections to the haciendas and on the mutual support structure developed by the Jesuits.

The expelled Jesuits were sent back to Europe. A few who were too old or sick to make the journey were allowed to remain in South America; a few chose to renounce the order and remain in South America. The majority of the Jesuits who were of Spanish origin, born in Spain or the New World, were exiled to Italy. They received an annual stipend of 73 escudos from the King (APTSJ/A 1460: #45). Jesuit missionaries from other European countries, particularly Germans, were sent back to their home countries and received no financial assistance from the King of Spain. Many missionaries found themselves with little to do and so wrote journals or histories of the regions where they had worked. Some of the key documents about the Mainas missions were written by these exiled missionaries. In 1798 the King of Spain declared an amnesty and the exiled Jesuits were allowed to return to Spain.

The Mainas Missionaries: Biographical Data

Throughout the 131 years (1636-1767) that Jesuit missionaries worked in Mainas, the Jesuit superiors required them, as well as missionaries in all regions, to report to the central office in Rome on a triennial basis. Three types of data were to be reported at that time: a financial summary of the region, biographical data on each missionary, and a secret report on the personality and the effectiveness of each missionary. Twenty-five reports from the Audiencia of Quito, of which Mainas was a part, have survived (ARSI/R

Novi Regni #3, #11). These data, combined with information from P. Velasco (1979) which enumerates the missionaries, their nationalities, and the year each entered the Mainas region, and with information from P. Jouanen (1943:723-749) which gives biographical information on each missionary in the Audiencia of Quito during the 18th century, makes it possible to put together a fairly complete sociological picture of the missionaries who worked in this part of the Upper Amazon.⁶

There were a total of 161 Jesuit missionaries who worked in Mainas (Velasco 1979:335). Throughout the 17th century there were rarely more than eight to ten missionaries in the region at any one time. In the first half of the 18th century, there were between nine and nineteen missionaries at a time; after 1752 the number increased to over 20. When the Jesuits were expelled in 1767 there were 28 missionaries in Mainas. (See Table 1).

Many lay brothers accompanied the 161 missionaries, but their names rarely appear on the triennial reports. This may be because they remained in the region for less than three years and were thus not present when the count was made. For example, P. Fritz was accompanied into the jungle by a brother who died shortly thereafter. Fritz wrote his superiors requesting a new brother be assigned to him (ARSI/R Novi Regni #15I:f.117). In addition, the missionaries were frequently accompanied by mestizo and Indian servants (Jouanen 1941:464). P. Uriarte mentions both Spanish

TABLE 1
Number of Missionaries in Mainas, 1659-1767

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>
1659	9
1661	9
1667	12
1668	8
1671	8
1678	5
1684	5
1687	8
1690	6
1693	9
1707	15
1711	15
1712	12
1719	9
1723	14
1726	15
1729	13
1736	14
1739	17
1740	16
1743	19
1748	18
1752	22
1756	21
1761	29
1767	28

Source: ARSI/R Novi Regni #3, #11.

assistants and Portuguese deserters who became assistants in his missions (Uriarte I, 1952:210, 211, 281, 196, 311, 180, 200, 183, 78, 288). Thus the total number of mission personnel exceeds the numbers reflected in Table 1.

Mainas was governed by the Audiencia of Quito with the number of missionaries in Mainas representing about 1/10 of the total number of Jesuits in that Audiencia. However, the enormous geographical area that the Jesuits were attempting to missionize required far more operarios than they had available. The superiors were continually asking the Crown to send more missionaries because the number made available to them was never sufficient for their need.

Numerous requests for missionaries are found in the documents sent to the King (AGI/S Quito 103, 110, 189, 190, 191, 192, 284; Santa Fe 129, 983; Indiferente General 154-1-21 No. 1872). These requests for additional missionaries were unusually large. Twenty missionaries were requested in 1715, 30 in 1720, 60 in 1741, and 90 in 1751. In 1751, the author insisted that the request was not excessive given the enormous amount of work to be done (AGI/S Quito 110:1751). Had this request been granted, it would have meant an increase of 37.6% for the Audiencia and an increase of 409% for the Mainas missions.

John Phelan (1967:9), in a history of the Audiencia of Quito, wrote that all of the religious orders except the Jesuits were demoralized by bitter strife between the Spanish-born and the South American-born friars.⁷ The Jesuits,

who accepted South American-born members in large number (39% of all the missionaries who went to Mainas [See Table 2] and 58% of all the Jesuits in the Audiencia of Quito in 1767 [See Table 5])⁸ seem to have avoided an internal struggle between the two groups by their strict adherence to the concept of obedience to all authorities.

TABLE 2
Nationalities of Mainas Missionaries

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
South American-born	62	39
Spanish	45	28
German	30	19
Italian	20	12
Portuguese	2	1
French	1	.5
Hungarian	<u>1</u>	<u>.5</u>
TOTAL	161	100%

Source: Velasco (1979)

There is some evidence that in the Mainas region at least, and perhaps in the Audiencia as a whole, foreigners were preferred over South American-born missionaries for leadership positions. Of the 20 Superiors for Mainas, 16 were Europeans, 4 were South American-born. (See Table 3 and Appendix B.) Similarly, the visitadores (inspectors sent on a regular basis to submit reports to the superiors) were predominantly European. (See Table 4 and Appendix C.)

TABLE 3

Nationalities of Mainas Superiors

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
German	8	40
Spanish	5	25
South American-born	4	20
Italian	<u>3</u>	<u>15</u>
TOTAL	20	100%

Source: Velasco (1979); Jouanen (1943)

The most striking feature about the nationalities of the Jesuits in Mainas is the large number of Germans. Overall, 19% of all the missionaries in Mainas were German - the third largest nationality represented. (See Table 5.) In 1767, of a total of 22 Germans in the Audiencia, 10 were stationed in Mainas.

TABLE 4

Nationalities of Mainas Visitadores

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Spanish	5	56
South American-born	3	33
German	<u>1</u>	<u>11</u>
TOTAL	9	100%

Source: Velasco (1979); Jouanen (1943)

TABLE 5

Nationalities of Expelled Jesuits - 1767

MAINAS			AUDIENCIA DE QUITO	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
American-born	8	29	125	58
German	10	36	22	10
Spanish	4	14	42	20
Other Europeans	<u>6</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>12</u>
TOTAL	28	100%	215	100%

Source: AHN/M, Papeles de Jesuitas, Legajo 251 #21

It is puzzling why so many Germans were sent to a region where the Spanish domains were endangered by continual encroachments from the Portuguese. How is it that a strongly nationalistic government like Spain, one which distrusted all foreigners, would agree to send them to the colonies and indeed send them to a region where Spanish control was in danger? The explanation lies in the fact that the Crown was forced to accept foreign missionaries because the Spanish provinces did not have enough young men to fill the large demand. The German provinces were three times larger, and the Jesuits there were anxious to go to the New World. The Jesuit superiors in Madrid campaigned for the right to send foreigners to the colonies. In 1664, permission was received for up to one-quarter of all Jesuit missionaries from foreign countries that were subject to Spain to go to

the colonies. The percentage was increased to one-third in 1674 (Treutlein 1945).

German missionaries were as nationalistic as were the Spanish. This is evident in letters they sent back to Germany which were published in the Welt-Bott. P. Zephyris (Matthei 1972:214) claimed that the Indians hated the Spanish but would gladly obey the Germans, and P. Julian (Matthei 1972:260) claimed that the Germans made the best missionaries. Such assertions were frequently made by Germans throughout the Spanish colonies (Treutlein 1945:230).

The Spaniards often treated the foreigners with suspicion and in some cases foreigners used a Hispanized form of their names to mask their true nationality. In Mainas, P. Nicolas Lanzamani, a Neopolitan, changed his name to Nicolas Durango; in one Spanish document P. Samuel Fritz is referred to as Samuel Fernandez (AGI/S Quito 131:1720); in another he is referred to as "Padre Samuel Frei, a Spaniard" (AGI/S Quito 191:1742). Most frequently, German missionaries were sent in large numbers to the least accessible parts of the Spanish domains: Baja California, Sinaloa, Sonora, Tarahumara, parts of Paraguay, the islands of Chiloe as well as the Marañón (Treutlein 1945:230). This may have been a conscious policy on the part of the Spanish crown to send foreigners to those places where they were the least likely to make trouble. The fact that Marañón became an area of contention between the two Crowns seems not to have changed the Spanish view that foreigners were best kept away from

the capital.

Most missionary orders in this time period recruited members who were in their late teens. The Jesuits who went to Mainas were no exception: 68% entered the order when they were between 15 and 20 years old; 22% waited until they were in their late twenties. A few joined when they were younger than 14, and even fewer after they were 30. (See Table 6.)

TABLE 6

<u>Age Entered Jesuit Order</u>		
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
9-14	8	6
15-20	93	68
21-30	30	22
31-35	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>
TOTAL	137	100%

Source: Velasco (1979); Jouanen (1943); ARSI/R Novi Regni #3, #11.

More than half the missionaries came to Mainas between the ages of 26 and 35; 14% were in their early twenties, and 23% were between the ages of 36 and 45. (See Table 7.) At the end of the Jesuit period the missionaries tended to represent a relatively older group of men than was present in the rest of the Audiencia. Younger men were no longer being sent to the missions at this time. (See Table 8.)

The missionaries who came to Mainas had very little experience; 34% had joined the order six to ten years before

TABLE 7

Age Entered Mainas

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
15-20	3	2
21-25	17	14
26-35	70	57
36-45	28	23
46-55	2	2
over 55	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
TOTAL	122	100%

Source: Velasco (1979); ARSI/R Novi Regni #3, #11.

TABLE 8

Ages of Expelled Jesuits ~ 1767

	<u>MAINAS</u> <u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>AUDIENCIA DE QUITO*</u> <u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
15-19	--	--	11	5
20-29	--	--	39	18.5
30-39	10	36	52	24.5
40-49	10	36	48	22
50-59	4	14	30	14
60-69	2	7	15	7
70-79	2	7	13	3
unknown	<u>--</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>
TOTAL	28	100%	215	100%

*including Mainas

Source: AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas, Legajo 251, #21.

they arrived in Mainas and would thus have only recently completed their required schooling which often took as long as seven years. Another 31% of the missionaries entered Mainas after being in the order eleven to fifteen years. (See Table 9.) Some of these may have worked in other regions but many would have spent several years travelling from Europe to the Americas. It took Fritz, for example, five years to get from Cadiz in southern Spain to the Amazon. Schindler had to wait so long for a ship to be ready to leave Europe that he went to Seville to finish his studies in theology and receive his final ordination as a priest while waiting (ARSI /R Novi Regni 15II:f.325). Once in the Americas, Zephyris spent almost three years in the Andean cities of Quito and Latacunga before he was sent to the jungle. D'Etre, on the other hand, was sent to the missions immediately upon his arrival from Europe.

TABLE 9
Years of Training Before Entering Mainas

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1-5	9	8
6-10	40	34
11-15	37	31
16-20	21	18
21-40	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>
TOTAL	118	100%

Source: Velasco (1979); ARSI/R Novi Regni #3, #11.

Once in the Americas, the missionaries needed to learn Quechua, the lengua general of the Mainas missions, and Spanish if they did not already speak it. The German missionaries often arrived in the Americas unable to speak Spanish. P. Zephyris described learning Spanish once they disembarked from their ships in Cartagena (on the Pacific coast of Colombia) and were enroute to Quito. He described how he and P. Maroni, another Mainas missionary, "with the help of God have already learned enough (Spanish) to hear confessions" (Matthei 1972:174). Six months later he reported knowing enough Quechua to hear confessions, teach the doctrina and give classes to the children. D'Etre had no time to learn Quechua upon his arrival in the Andes and had to master it once he was in his mission village. P. Navarro, on the other hand, was criticized by his fellow missionaries for failing to learn Quechua despite the number of years he had been in the Indies (ACJ/Q #350).

Propaganda to Recruit New Missionaries

The Jesuits were keenly aware of their need to entice others to join them in the missions. With this in mind, many of their letters were edited and published for propaganda purposes. The most famous example is the Cartas edificantes y curiosas, escritas de las misiones extranjeros por algunos misioneros de la compañía de Jesús (Davin 1753-57). Originally published in French, this was soon

translated into Spanish and English. These sixteen volumes, best sellers in the 18th century, were carefully edited by the Jesuit superiors "to emphasize the adventure and challenge of spreading the gospel among benighted peoples in faraway places" (Block 1980a:272). The letters on the Moxos region in Bolivia

offer prototypes of this genre, the lush tropical flora and exotic fauna -- omitting all mention of tropical disease -- and the masses of gentiles, often savage but maleable to the touch of a dedicated apostle of Christ. (Block 1980a:272-3)

There are a number of letters from Mainas missionaries and some descriptions of the Amazon River by Fritz in the Cartas edificantes. A letter from P. Guillermo D'Etre to a fellow Jesuit, D. DuChambge, (Davin 1753-57; Tomo 14:43-65) written in 1731 closely fits the type described by Block. D'Etre opens his letter by lamenting that he has been in the missions for 25 years but has not heard from DuChambge in 23 years. He assumes that his letters have been lost on boats which have been captured by pirates, or their letters have not been able to reach DuChambge because of the recent wars in Spain. He then goes on to describe his arrival in these missions in 1706 and his learning Quechua. He describes the "child-like" quality of the Indians who do not understand the concept of confession and often say they have not sinned even if they have; who do not know how to count their sins, so D'Etre must hold up his fingers for them to count how many sins they have committed. He describes how he has tried to keep the Indians of his vill-

age on the Napo River from fleeing to their original settlements along the shores of the Ucayali River. To do this, he organized an expedition of six Spaniards, their Captain, and more than 300 Christianized Indians, and set out to find the runaway Indians. The Spaniards received a letter from P. Coronado who, along with "his" Indians, had been attacked by the Iquaivates from the Putumayo River. The Christianized Indians with D'Etre are said to have begged to help P. Coronado and to avenge the death of another Spaniard who had been killed by Indians. The expedition forgot the Indians they had originally set out to find and instead went in search of P. Coronado. After almost four weeks of travel, they met up with the Padre, who had not seen another missionary in over a year. Together, they went in search of the Iquaivates. D'Etre describes all aspects of their military operation: how many went first, how many backed them up, the formation of the canoes along the river to best protect themselves. When they arrived at the Iquaivates village, D'Etre stayed back. The soldiers entered the village alone, and handed out cloth to cover the Indians' private parts; then D'Etre entered the village. The Indians feared that they would be taken as slaves but D'Etre told them that he was there to make them children of God. The Spaniards then discovered a large number of Iquaivates Indians living in the jungle and went out to capture them, bringing back 200 prisoners. Thus, while D'Etre was reassuring the Indians, this example shows that their fears were not unreasonable.

The prisoners were brought to the capital of the missions, Lagunas, split up, and sent to different Christian villages. The letter ends abruptly with D'Etre reporting that he has since visited the villages and that all the Indians have become good Christians.

D'Etre's letter incorporates many ideas designed to appeal to potential missionaries: the sense of adventure, dealing with child-like natives who could quickly be brought into submission through military force and good will, Christianized Indians who would serve as faithful and energetic servants of Christ, a missionary who appears to be modest, humble, uncomplaining, brave.

A similar collection of letters was published in Germany in the 18th century, known as Der Neue Welt-Bott Mit Aller-Hand Rachrichten Dern Missionariorum Soc. Jesu, or more simply referred to as the Welt-Bott, "Message to the World". The Welt-Bott was published in eight thick volumes beginning in 1728 in Augsburg and Graz. It is a collection of personal letters from Jesuits, nine-tenths of whom were of German origin, coming from the provinces of Austria, Bohemia, the Upper and Lower Rhine. A small number of these letters were translations from the Cartas Edificantes. The letters contained in the Welt-Bott had originally been written to family and fellow missionaries; none were official letters. Similar to the Cartas Edificantes, these were also personal letters. There are ten missionaries

from Mainas represented in the Welt-Bott and in many cases more than one letter from a particular missionary was published. The German in these letters is particularly difficult for non-native speakers because the letters draw on the various authors' native dialects. Recently Mauro Matthei published three volumes of translations from the Welt-Bott, that contain 24 letters from the Mainas missionaries (Matthei 1969, 1970, 1972).

The most striking feature of the Welt-Bott letters is the strong sense of community shared by the German missionaries. They continually write about each other and emphasize that Germans make the best missionaries for the area. Zephyris goes so far as to say that the lack of German missionaries makes it impossible to extend the missions (AJ/Q Grober). Since all Jesuit writings during this time period passed through a censor's hands somewhere within the Jesuit hierarchy, it is not surprising that the letters reflect many of the same characteristics seen in the Cartas Edificantes.

Cartas Anuas, Annual Letters, were another form for writing enticing descriptions to recruit new members. Only one such letter survives from Mainas; not an annual letter per se since it covers the years 1642-1652. This letter, written by the Superior of the missions, P. Perez, was sent to Rome and was a plea for more missionaries. In it, Perez describes the 40 Indian groups in the region and stresses that this region is a most appropriate post for whoever wants

to imitate the apostles: that is, live a selfless life giving all to the conversion of lost souls.

Once again the Indians are pictured in an idealized way as pious and adoring of their missionary. Perez describes the Cocamilla as being so diligent and dedicated to their missionary that they built the church and house for their Padre and gathered many families to come to the new village while the Padre was away. He concludes by saying that, "Our missionaries write often in their reports, giving a thousand thanks to God for being employed in conquering new souls for Him, and others are sorely tried for not having been employed in this ministry" (ARSI/R Novi Regni #121: f.234).

Not surprisingly, the Jesuit office in Rome received numerous requests to go to the missions. This book of requests is still available at the Jesuit archive and includes the region to which a Padre requested to go and his reason (ARSI/R Novi Regni #1, #2; see #2, f.128 for letter from P. Cujia requesting to go to Mainas). For most, it was the glory attached to the image of a lone missionary converting the savage heathen that attracted them. P. Schindler was particularly attracted by the jungle because it was a remote region where all the glory for a conversion would be his own, he would not have to share it with anyone else. Schindler is quoted as saying:

One soul that I win...is enough prize for my whole life. In cities, if one achieves this, the profit is divided among so many who seek it, that very

little corresponds to each one; but here the prize is entirely mine, since there is no one else here with whom to divide the glory.

(ARSI/R Novi Regni 15II:f.334)

Glory, and securing a place for themselves in posterity by dying a martyr were further incentives for some to join the mission field. Some actively sought to die by the Indians' hand so they could win the "martyr's crown". Richter, who was killed by the Conibo and Piro in 1685, wrote nine years earlier about the martyrdom of Br. Herrera at the hands of the Campas:

Although I am very sorry for the loss of my brother, which sets me back a great deal, he has achieved the glorious death that can only be envied, for he is now in the pity of God, while I must wait for the next risk. (ARSI/R Novi Regni 15I:f.114)

Fritz sought a similar glory:

Before everything his chief anxiety and desire was in his Call, and to shed his blood for the faith of Jesus Christ. (Edmundson 1922:134)

Although Schindler had wanted to go to the missions for many years, he was instead stationed in Quito and was only sent to the missions as a "punishment" for giving a sermon that was misunderstood as satiric and that appeared offensive. A few days after that sermon his superiors sent him to Latacunga and then on to the missions. Magnin had been sent to the missions against his wishes but quickly claimed he was glad that this chance had come to him.

I confess that I left my ministry to enter these missions with great reluctance, and at the beginning I was very unhappy, but after I saw and felt how God presents such copious callings to my hands, I would feel like I was eternally

condemned if I turned back even though I
would have to give a thousand lives
for it. (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas, Legajo 251 #8H:f.62)

It would seem that many missionaries were unhappy about this appointment however because 40% of the missionaries left Mainas after less than five years residence; 23% remained between six and ten years. (See Table 10.) Even those who remained a long time were often moved from one part of the region to another. For example, P. Ignacio Michael was in Mainas for 27 years, 1726-1753. He spent three years in Omaguas, three in Payaguas, seven in Andoas, two in San Regis and twelve in Jeberos ~ thus having worked on the Amazon, Apena, and Pastaza Rivers (PC/M Tomo 108:76). Cujia asked to leave after seven years in the jungle because he wished to return to Spain to die.

I have asked Your Reverence and ask it again with
all my soul, that you relieve me of the care of it
[the missions] and give it to another, or to my
two sainted companions who will carry it forward.
I ask to leave the mission because I am already
burned up, and my words make no sense. I came
from Spain for the mission of the infidels and
left my cathedral, province and government, and
by divine grace I would like to die there.
(ACJ/Q #219)

It was more than twenty years later that Cujia was sent to Spain, only to present a petition to the Royal Council of the Indies about the issue of tithes, and then to return to Quito. Others found the experience in the jungle grueling. For example, P. Francisco Tabregas had a nervous breakdown after a few months and had to return to Quito (Jouanen 1943:396). Some were not cut out for mission life and

were recommended for the sierra, such as Br. Marlani. Magnin wrote that the jungle seemed too boring for him and he should be recalled to Quito before he left for the land of the Portuguese (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas, Legajo 251, #8H: f.57v).

TABLE 10

Number of Years Missionaries Spent in Mainas - Estimates

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1-5	48	40
6-10	27	23
11-15	18	15
16-20	11	9
21-25	6	5
26-30	3	2.5
31-35	3	2.5
36-40	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
TOTAL	120	100%

Source: Velasco (1979); ARSI/R Novi Regni #3, #11.

A few missionaries died in the region. Falcombelli, who arrived old and sick but who had had a life-long ambition to go to the missions and was finally able to achieve his wish after 25 years in the order, died of dropsy after 1½ years in the missions. Franzen also died of dropsy. Fritz and others worked in the missions until they died. Santa Cruz died while looking for a shorter route to connect the missions with Quito. The vast majority of the missionaries

however, were transferred to other areas of the Audiencia, which seems to have been considered a welcome promotion to most.

The Mainas Missionaries: Values of the Jesuits

It is quite difficult to piece together an accurate picture of Jesuit activities and accomplishments due to Jesuit practice of always presenting themselves in the most positive light. Magnin states this quite openly when he writes that he arrived in Borja in 1739 and found everything in a state of confusion. He quickly adds that he can say this only because the father who was previously in charge of Borja has now left the Company (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas, Legajo 251 #3C:f.17). The implication is clear that were he still in the Company, Magnin would not be at liberty to say this. Reporting on fellow missionaries to their superiors was done most often with the request that such information "be kept between ourselves". But in documents that were meant for the public, no such criticism could surface.

The Jesuits, then, tend to present themselves to historians as virtuous, long-suffering, hard-working, humble, and obedient. These are the values to which they aspired and their writings are filled with descriptions of these qualities in themselves and their colleagues. A prime example of such writing is clear in the various descriptions of P. Samuel Fritz. Fritz is depicted as a saintly character with superhuman qualities, throughout

the literature. He is said to have converted 40,000 souls in 40 mission villages in 40 years (Treutlein 1945:236-7). None of these figures are correct, but they result from a consistent campaign to portray Fritz as a charismatic leader who was endowed with saintly virtues.

The best information on the values to which the Jesuits aspired comes from the Cartas de Edificacion that were written on the occasion of a missionary's death. Four such letters survive for the Mainas region: Fritz (Edmundson 1922:131-138), Franzen (Espinosa Polit 1960:210-217), Schindler (ARSI/R Novi Regni, 15II:f.323-342), and Falcombelli (ARSI/R Novi Regni 15II:f. 343-346). The letters were written by fellow missionaries who personally knew the recently deceased father. Fritz's letter was written by his compatriot and fellow-missionary, P. Breyer. Franzen's letter was written by P. Arteta, a Jesuit stationed in Quito; Schindler's was also written by a compatriot and fellow missionary, P. Magnin. Falcombelli's was written by P. Grebmer, superior of Mainas at that time.

Each of the Cartas opens with a description of the missionary's life and death, with particular emphasis on his desire to go to the missions and his "glorious" works while he was there. The second section is a description of his virtues, with examples of each. The most important virtue, repeatedly described, is humility. Humility is closely associated with being obedient, never objecting to a superior's command, subordinating one's own preferences

or wishes to those of one's superiors. Daly's diary excerpt cited earlier in this chapter clearly depicts the training of a young Jesuit who must learn to be more humble by not objecting to or even questioning his orders. Falcombelli is described as having had a passionate desire to go to the missions. He made the dangerous crossing from Europe to South America when he was in his 40's but was then assigned to the colegios in the sierra rather than to the missions.

In conversation, he obviously preferred the missions to the colegios, but he did not resist, knowing that not all are called to the missions. (ARSI/R Novi Regni 15II:f.345-345v)

Still he did not complain nor question the wisdom of his superiors.

Prudent behavior was closely associated with being humble and respecting authority. Schindler was lauded for his exemplary behavior in this regard.

Prudence, which is the virtue that seasons everything, the salt of spiritual life, which if it is wrong, either through defect or excess, destroys the best dish and leaves the most virtuous work without merit. Father Nicclas [Schindler] had that quality to a heroic degree...he was jovial with his equals, affable with his inferiors, and respectful toward his betters. (ARSI/R Novi Regni 15II:f.337)

For the Indians, the appropriate behavior was to act like their kindly father: they were seen as sweet children.

He [Schindler] had come to understand that the only way to win them was through sweetness and affection, and he was so affable with them, bearing himself so well that not only did he give them everything he had, caressing them like a father, giving them gifts, caring for them in their illnesses, and applying whatever remedies he found. But also, from time to time he played with them --

children's games. (ARSI/R Novi Regni 15II:f.337-337v)
 Similarly, Fritz's relationship to the Omaguas was described
 as:

A result of his ever-increasing zeal was also
 a very especial love of all the Indians, whom
 he regarded and cared for as his real children;
 and as he deserved, they likewise regarded and
 respected him, as a Father with such demonstra-
 tion of affection and tenderness, as has never
 been seen nor will ever be seen not only amongst
 barbarians, but even amongst Christian people.
 (Edmundson, 1922:135)

However, not all the Padres found it easy to be
 patient and loving with their charges. Zephyris complained
 that "a parrot could learn to talk faster than an Indian
 could learn to make the sign of the cross" (Matthei 1972:
 196). Uriarte complained that the Indians did not
 appreciate the hard work of the fathers, but he said that
 he realized that one must remain patient even in the face
 of such ingratitude (Uriarte II, 1952:18, 33).

Second only to humility and prudence was the ability to
 suffer greatly without complaining, to make a virtue out of
 pain, to take pleasure in one's mortifications. A mortifi-
 cation is defined as doing without material good: lack of
 salt, lack of clothes, lack of shoes, or suffering from the
 climate, mosquitoes, hunger. It was a virtue to make do
 with as little as possible. Schindler actually attempted
 to live by begging from door to door, but the Indians did
 not understand the concept. The Indians believed, says
 Magnin, that each one takes what he wants or else looks for
 it himself. They could not understand why the father chose

this type of penitence, but assuming it was his choice, they let him suffer and gave him nothing. (ARSI/R Novi Regni 15II:f.336v-337). Schindler turned everything into a mortification; so much so, claims Magnin, that his mortifications became a pleasure to him.

Such was his lack of pleasure that the father was in continual mortification: burial in his cell seemed freedom to him; the rudeness of his Indians enjoyment; silence noise; journeys rest; vigils dreams; and the fasts sustenance.

(ARSI/R Novi Regni 15II:f.336)

In the jungle, illness brought on by the difficult climate was a continual source of bodily pain. The missionaries habitually complained about the mosquitoes, locusts, crocodiles, tigers (i.e. jaguars), and the heat, in order to stress their ability to overcome such worldly discomforts. P. Jiminez listed all his illnesses but declined to leave the region to seek a cure because he felt his work was too urgent.

For the second time, the father rector orders me to advise the superiors of my indispositions, and thus I say to the father provincial and the father vice-provincial that my indispositions are almost continual headaches that prevent me from praying, as well as slow fevers, apoplexy that returns often, pain in the liver, and I think a broken vein from which I often get a swelling on my right side; and it comes from the effort I made in the construction of the church. These are my indispositions, together with many more that Our Lord has seen fit to send me, and with all I am happy to be here among these poor people in order to serve the great vocation to which Our Lord has seen fit to call me, without any merit; I hope to please his Divine Majesty in this.

(ACJ/Q #360)

Modesty was very important to the Padres who, like all priests in the Catholic Church, had to live a life of

chastity. Schindler was commended for his chastity because he was not tempted by the nudity of the Indians (ARSI/R Novi Regni 15II:f.335v); D'Etre would not enter a village until the Indians had covered their nakedness.

The two virtues most frequently associated with P. Fritz were his heroism and his missionary zeal. Breyer describes how his compatriot had no other thought than to serve Christ; any discomfort, any set-back, any hardship was thus acceptable. Breyer described Fritz' zeal to reach the missions:

He entered [the missions] alone, without any escort, and labored unweariedly alone with no companion in that most widespread Mission until the year 1704.
(Edmundson, 1922:132)

However, this was in fact, untrue. Fritz himself wrote that he was accompanied to the mission by a Jesuit brother. When the brother died, he wrote to his superiors requesting a new brother be assigned to him. The request was granted (ARSI/R Novi Regni 15I:f.117). Nonetheless, the ideal was for a Padre to be undaunted by the overwhelming nature of the work to be accomplished. He should march bravely into the jungle, alone, unaided, with only the love of Christ as a shield against possible danger. With such a climate, it is not surprising that to die a martyr was the greatest possible glory.

Miracles were often associated with these missionaries, to attest to their saintlike qualities. For Magnin, a miracle could be something as small as the fortuitous

falling of an arch above the altar in the church. Had it fallen later in the day, it certainly would have killed him. A statue of a saint fell and only a small piece broke off although one would have expected the whole thing to break into small pieces. Magnin told these stories as proof that God was watching over them, and the implication is, blessing their work (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas, Legajo 251 #3C: f.21v-22). P. Lucero collected testimonies from Spanish residents in Borja who took part in an entrada against the Indians who killed Figueroa. They all told the same story of seeing an Indian return from the dead. This was taken as proof that the entrada was God's will, and that the punishment of the Indians should continue (ARSI/R Novi Regni 15I:f.102-109).

These then are the virtues that the Jesuits conveyed about themselves: humility, obedience to authority, prudence, mortification, chastity, heroism, and missionary zeal. The letters and Cartas de Edificación are clearly self laudatory, designed to demonstrate to their superiors their good character and passion for their work.

Evaluation of the Mainas Missionaries

The missionaries' descriptions of themselves did not always match their superiors' descriptions of them. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, secret reports were kept on all Jesuits. The reports were sent back to Rome on a triennial basis and are available to researchers at

the ARSI/R (Novi Regni #3, #11). (See Appendix D for sample of a secret report.) One hundred four reports remain for the Mainas missionaries. The missionaries were graded (in Latin) as follows: ingenium - talent, ability; juditium - ability to make sound judgments; prudentia - discretion; experientia rerum - experience in affairs, experience in the world; profectus in literas - proficiency in letters, writing ability; naturalis complexi - natural disposition, personality; talenta ad ministeria - ministerial talent. In seven of the 25 reports that exist for Mainas, there are also grades for profectus in spiritu - proficiency in spirit, spiritual zeal. A variety of grades were awarded for each characteristic. To simplify, they have been grouped into five basic subdivisions. These are: "excellent" for: optima, prestans, singularis, ingens multa, excellens, magna, insignis, matura; "good" for bona; "mediocre" for: mediocre, modica, sufficiens, nondo matura; "little/none" for: aliqualis, exigua, ferenulla, nulla, ineptus, inutil, recens; "misc." for habet, diuturna, sene lene, non sant firmam, fixmu, parum fixmam, valde perturbatum, vivax. A total of 276 reports exist for the 104 missionaries from Mainas, since those who were in the region for more than three years had more than one report. The grades frequently changed from one report to the next; therefore it is more useful to report each grade given rather than assign just one grade to each missionary for each category. Table 11 presents the total range of grades by percentage.

TABLE 11

Secret Reports on Mainas Missionaries

(Percent of observations)

	<u>Ingenium</u>	<u>Juditium</u>	<u>Prudentia</u>	<u>Experientia</u>	<u>Literas</u>
Excellent	5	4	6	5	3
Good	62	49	17	9	53
Mediocre	25	35	58	41	27
Little/None	3	4	10	38	11
Misc./No report	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: ARSI/R Novi Regni #3, #11.

To summarize, the Mainas missionaries were considered to have the necessary talent and ability with basically good judgment, but were seen as lacking prudence and discretion, and having deficiencies in their worldly experience. This last was probably a result of the fact that the majority of the missionaries came to the missions so soon after completing their seminary training. Their writing ability tended to be good although half were mediocre to talentless.

An evaluation of the same data was made for each individual missionary. A number was assigned to each grade: 4 for excellent, 3 for good, 2 for mediocre, 1 for little or none, and the average grade computed for each missionary. The results are reported in Table 12. The immediate impression is that, overall, the Mainas missionaries were not very highly regarded by their superiors: 73% were rated mediocre to good. However, no similar studies of these secret reports exist for

TABLE 12
Average Grade for Mainas Missionaries

<u>Average Grade</u>	<u>Number of Missionaries</u>		<u>Percent</u>
1.4	1	19	18
1.6	5		
1.8	11		
1.9	2		
2.0	10	76	73
2.1	4		
2.2	21		
2.3	6		
2.4	6		
2.5	5		
2.6	11		
2.7	6		
2.8	5	9	9
2.9	2		
3.0	8		
3.1	1		
TOTAL	104		100%

Source: ARSI/R Novi Regni #3, #11.

other regions of the world, therefore no comparisons can be made. In addition, it is clear from the individual reports that one superior might grade a missionary much lower than did his predecessor three years earlier. It is very likely that the grades themselves reflect more about the person doing the grading than the person being graded; or about the relationship between the individual missionary and a particular superior. Three striking examples are: In 1649 P. Cujia received an overall grade of 1.8, but in a second evaluation made later that same year his grade was changed to 3.0.

P. Lucero received a 1.8 in 1684 but three years later his superiors judged his work as deserving of a much higher evaluation and his score jumped to 3.0. P. Vidra received a 2.4 as an overall grade both 1707 and 1711. In 1712, 1723, 1726, and 1729 his superiors wrote him off as useless to society and inept at everything. His inability may well have resulted from the fact that he became blind during this time. His overall grade sunk to 1.0. However, in his final evaluation of 1736 his grade jumped back to 2.4.

Complaints from fellow missionaries were not necessarily reflected in these reports. P. Navarro was severely criticized by his companions, as "no longer being a man" (ACJ/Q #355, ACJ/Q #361). It is unclear what this phrase meant, but Majano and Jiminez imply it was a result of spending all his time in Borja rather than out converting the Indians. The Jesuits at this time were under severe attack from the encomenderos in Borja and complained that, "only P. Ignacio Navarro are they in love with, because he is no longer a man" (ACJ/Q #361). Lucero added that Navarro had not learned Quechua and had no hope of learning it (ACJ/Q #350). Surprisingly, this contempt for Navarro and his ineptness is not reflected in his secret reports. He is, by and large, considered "good to mediocre" by his superiors, and received a cumulative grade of 2.3 in the secret reports filed on his work.

Ministerial talent was graded in two different ways. In most years they graded each missionary on one or two particular skills. For example, a Padre might be described as

TABLE 13

Ministerial Talents of Mainas Missionaries

	Excellent	Good	Mediocre	Little/None	Excel At
Everything	2	26	55	8	32
Hearing Confessions	6	8	3		5
Governing	1	3	5		4
Preaching		3	6		
Domestic Chores		1	5		
Indians/ Missions	1	5			14
Ministry	4	6			10

Source: ARSI/R Novi Regni #3, #11.

excellent at hearing confessions and mediocre at domestic chores. In other years, the superiors only recorded those tasks at which the missionary excelled. In many cases a missionary was considered to be well-rounded in the performance of all his tasks and was described as excelling at everything. (See Table 13.)

In 1690 a different type of report was filed on the missionaries. The qualities graded in this year were closer to the values the missionaries wrote about in their letters and in the Cartas de Edificación. The six missionaries who were located in Mainas at the time were graded on: virtue, knowledge, humility, mortification, discretion, missionary fervor. (See Table 14 and Appendix E for copy of 1690 secret report.) The missionaries were graded the highest for their fervor in pursuing their task of converting the Indians.

TABLE 14

1690 Special Report on Mainas Missionaries

	Excellent	Good	Mediocre	Fiery
Virtue			6	
Knowledge		3	3	
Humility	4		2	
Mortification	3		3	
Discretion			6	
Missionary Fervor			1	5

Source: ARSI/R Novi Regni #11.

"Fiery," used to describe five of the six Padres, implies a zeal and passion for their work. It is interesting that all the Padres are so poorly regarded for their virtue and discretion, and that only about half are commended for their knowledge, humility and mortification. Fritz did strikingly well in this 1690 report and received a cumulative grade of 3.0. In the regular reports filed every three years, his grades ranged from 2.4 to 3.0, with the average being 2.6.

The missionaries' personalities were evaluated in terms of the four humors of the body: melancolica was a result of an excess of black bile and caused a sullen personality with outbreaks of temper; colerica resulted from an excess of bile and caused an angry and bad-tempered individual; sanguinea was a personality dominated by the humor of blood and resulted in a passionate individual; phlegmatica resulted from phlegm being the dominant humor and created a calm, sluggish, unemotional individual. Combinations of two of these humors were common. A proper mixture of the humors was described as

temperata, a temperate individual. An additional classification, calida, meant a hot, fiery, passionate personality. 22% of the reports rate the Mainas missionaries temperata and another 27% of the reports rate them as some form of colerica (colerica-sanguinea, colerica-melancolica, colerica). (See Table 15.)

TABLE 15

Observations of Natural Disposition of Mainas Missionaries

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Temperata	57	22
Colerica-sanguinea	30	12
Colerica	23	9
Colerica-melancolica	17	6
Melancolica	16	6
Phlegmatica-melancolica	14	5
Calida	14	5
Colerica-adulta (mature)	13	5
Sanguinea	12	5
Phlegmatica	10	4
Misc.	30	12
No report	<u>21</u>	<u>8</u>
TOTAL	257	100%

Source: ARSI/R Novi Regni #3, #11.

Schindler, although described by his superiors as temperata, was known to have frequent fits of melancolica. When he feared having a possible outburst he would choose to shut himself off in his room.

Each time that his habitual indisposition came upon him, which was I don't know what form of melancholy: such was its violence, that from a jovial and happy person that he was he became a

sad night, without being able to speak a word. What did the good father do? Seeing that in this state he would disturb his brothers, and perhaps have attributed to pride what was the effect of what God had granted him, he humiliated himself, recognizing his weakness, and in order to avoid any lack of charity that his adversity could cause, he normally shut himself up for three days in his room, choosing rather that voluntary jail than risk coming out with one less ordered word. (ARSI/R Novi Regni 15II: f.339-339v)

Melancolica appears to have been common to many of the missionaries and may have been induced by long periods of isolation from other Europeans and from the infrequency of seeing or hearing from each other. The missionaries' letters are filled with their loneliness. D'Etre bemoaned the fact that he had not heard from his fellow Jesuit, DuChambge, in 23 years (Davin 1753-57, Tomo 14:53). Jiminez (ACJ/Q #360, #361) was sick with worry when P. Lucero did not return from Quito as expected. When the canoe they sent for him returned wrecked; was that to be taken as a sign that Lucero was killed? The encomenderos said that he had been jailed in Quito; should he believe such stories? He begged his superiors in Quito for some news. Zephyris bemoaned the fact that the closest other mission was four days away, and the next closest to that, twenty days away (Matthei 1972:193). Fritz suggested that the intense loneliness might have made Vidra delusional (Edmundson 1922:105).

On infrequent occasions all the Jesuits would come together. Once every two years they would meet in Lagunas to distribute goods brought down from the sierra (Matthei 1972: 207), and one time all the missionaries came to Omaguas for

the dedication of the new church (Uriarte I 1952:180-181). Clearly though, the occasions on which they saw each other were rare and the loneliness very intense. The hope was that one day there would be enough missionaries to send two to every mission, but this rarely occurred. A new missionary instead indicated a new mission to be founded; there were never enough men to fill the need. Even in 1767 when there were 28 missionaries, they were all located in different villages.

Many Jesuits compensated for their feelings of loneliness with zeal for their work. In the reports where spiritual zeal was graded, slightly more than half the missionaries were considered to be predominantly good with an even distribution of those who were excellent or mediocre.

TABLE 16

Spiritual Zeal of Mainas Missionaries

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Excellent	13	22
Good	31	54
Mediocre	<u>14</u>	<u>24</u>
TOTAL	58	100%

Source: ARSI/R Novi Regni #3, #11.

The Daily Concerns of the Missionaries

Daily missionary activity was strictly regulated by the Jesuit hierarchy, from religious issues such as the proper way to hear confession to such mundane topics as the number of socks they were to take for their journey to the missions.

The superiors in Quito frequently drew up lists of instructions enumerating their orders. Three such lists exist for Mainas at the end of the 17th century. Two of them were written by the Padre Provincial for the Audiencia of Quito, and one was written by a visitador, P. Altamirano (all republished by Jouanen 1941:620-629). Altamirano was not able to visit the Mainas missions personally, so the list of instructions he drew up were given to P. Lucero who made the inspection for him.⁹

The lists of instructions reveal that the first concern of the superiors appears to be the spiritual well-being of the Jesuits. The most important item on this list was for missionaries to do the Spiritual Exercises once a year. The second concern was for their physical well-being. The instructions specify that the missionaries were to travel to Mainas by the safer and quicker route of Archidona and the Napo River rather than take the previously used route from Loja and Jaen. Their clothing allotments were strictly regulated. They were to take the following items: a new cassock made from serge, because other fabrics became indecent; two blouses, two pairs of trousers, two pairs of socks, three pairs of shoes, a hat, a cloak for travel, and a black cassock for travel. In terms of white clothing they were to take: three shirts, three handkerchiefs, three hairnets, and three pairs of thin-soled shoes. For their sleeping needs they took a bed with a pillow, a pillowcase, a small mattress, two sheets (with the fabric of each sheet specified). All these goods were to be picked up from the Colegio in Quito or from

wherever the missionary left. In addition to this, they were to take three mules, an arroba of sugar, four hams, and 8 pesos in silver. From Baeza to Archidona the Indians were to carry the missionaries' goods and the priest in Archidona was to pay the Indians according to the custom of the land. To get to their missions, the fathers were outfitted with canoes, oars, an ax and machete for building a hut for themselves, and a portable ornament for saying mass on the journey. For this part of the trip, Indians were to serve as porters.

The missionaries received a stipend of 90 pesos worth of serge cloth and clothing, as well as 30 pesos worth of axes, machetes, and needles that could only be used for distribution to Indians. In no case were the missionaries to use these goods to engage in business or to make a profit. Once at the mission, it was the Indians' responsibility to care for the fathers. A mita of Indians was to be formed every week to help the priest in whatever way he needed, but particularly in caring for his fields, the church and his house. If the priest went anywhere by river, only the village curacas and caciques were to be entrusted with managing his canoe.

These instructions repeatedly reminded the Jesuits that the hierarchy of command was to be followed in all decision making processes, despite the distances separating villages. No missionary was to leave his village without permission unless it was absolutely urgent. If a missionary wished to appeal something to the Audiencia, it must be with permission from

the Superior of the region who must, in turn, obtain permission from the Padre Provincial or Padre Rector in Quito. In fact, every key decision had to go through the Superior: starting a conquest, founding or moving a village or church, beginning new construction, leaving a village. Similarly, the Indians were to follow orders from their missionary as strictly as the missionary was to follow the orders from his superior. No Indian could leave the village without the permission of the priest; an infraction of this rule could result in punishment. Indians were also supposed to obey the local Indian officials who were chosen by the priest. Chapter 4 discusses the chain of command in the mission villages in greater detail.

The Jesuit Superior was considered to be on the level of Rector rather than priest, but was subordinate to the Rector in Quito. It was his duty to visit the entire mission once a year and call a meeting in Lagunas to review his findings. During his annual visits the Superior was to give spiritual and secular advice.

Regarding the missionaries' relationships with the Indians, the critical concern was for the Indians' proper religious training, with particular attention to the hearing of confession, giving of communion and baptism, and teaching the doctrina. The "head of each household", as chosen by the Jesuits, was to inform the priest of any sick person so that the sacraments could be administered. The Quito superiors placed great importance on the books of baptism, marriage and

death being kept properly. The visitador to Mainas in 1687 (ARSI/R Novi Regni 15I:f.135-140) and 1742 (AGI/S Quito 191:1742) spent almost all his time checking that baptismal records were being kept. This continual concern with counting the number of converts was an outgrowth of the Church's preoccupation to save as many souls as possible for Christ. The figures could also be used to show superiors in Quito and Europe, as well as in the Spanish Court, that the money spent in the region was worthwhile and that operations were a success.

The other key concern of the visitador was that the church be kept properly. This was stated repeatedly in the instructions from Quito. Altars must be kept clean, the best ornaments were to be used, there must always be two portable ornaments (recados) available for saying mass. Even in the relative poverty of these regoins, where so many material goods, especially tools, would have been useful, the demand was that the care and beauty of the church be given priority.

It was preferable to found a new mission near already established regions to facilitate communication. This was a primary reason for the Jesuits trying to move the Indians into mission settlements along the major rivers, where travel was much easier for themselves. The missionaries were supposed to work first with already converted Indians and learn their native languages. Each new language learned was to be written down and a copy sent to Quito so that other missionaries could study it before they went to the missions. P. Vivas proudly reported that they already had copies of the vocabulary

and arte of the Mainas, Jeveros, Aguanos, Roamainas and Oas languages (quoted in Jouanen 1941:626). Quechua was to be taught to all the Indians and made the lengua general of the region rather than Spanish, which the missionaries thought was too difficult for the Indians. This was also a very effective way to keep the Indians dependent on the missionaries as their only source of information and to destroy the possibility for direct communication with other Spaniards.

The missionaries were to admonish the Indians to "leave their idleness" and engage in productive activities, especially the manufacturing of fabric to clothe themselves. They were to ensure that the Indians did not sleep on the ground but on a bed, elevated from the ground or in a healthy spot. All houses were to have crosses; Indians were to dress decently, like Christians; they were not to paint themselves except in rare cases; every Sunday they were to hear mass; evil ways were to be destroyed, especially witchcraft. A jail where Indians could briefly be put into solitary confinement was to be established for those who were disruptive or disobedient. The village was to be kept clean.

To enforce these rules and regulations and change the Indians' behavior, the missionary was allowed to use physical punishment as well as confinement in the jail. The hope was that the missionaries' "love" for the Indians would win their support, but if that failed, missionaries could resort to punishment. It was preferable to have punishments administered by the Indian lieutenants and governors because, "although we

[the Jesuits] are allowed to act in such cases it would be better to act with piety" (Vivas, quoted in Jouanen 1941:625). A missionary should try to maintain his stance of patience and "love" for the Indians. If the missionary was to punish the Indians, however, P. Caverio said that he should only hit with his hand. But P. Vivas said that with children in his care, a Padre could whip the boys up to eight times; the girls should kneel down and be whipped on the shoulders.

One of the primary activities for a missionary was the establishment of schools for the children. The missionary was implored to be kind to the children so they would learn the devotions and help to win over their parents. The schools were to be a major method of spreading Quechua among the Indians.

Support of the missionary was the responsibility of the Indians who were to build his home and care for his garden on a rotating mita system. Over and above this, the missionary was only to take those offerings made freely to him, nothing else. Axes, machetes and fishhooks were never to be sold but could be bartered to the Indians in exchange for support. Or, they could be used to attract new converts. Missionaries were repeatedly reminded that the metal tools were to be gifts and never items for sale.

The missionary was to keep some distance between himself and the Indians using the Indian officials of the village as his middlemen. These Indian officials were to make rounds of the village every night and report any problems to the priest.

The priest was never to go to the house of an Indian without being accompanied by an Indian official or another "reasonable" Indian. Perhaps the fear was that the Padre would be found alone with an Indian woman. Under no condition was an Indian woman or girl to enter the house of the missionary; all tasks that needed to be performed within his home were to be done by boys. In this way, one would assume, a missionary could never be accused of seducing Indian women.

To summarize these instructions, the primary concern of the missionary on a day-to-day basis was to attend to the religious and spiritual well-being of the Indians under his care. This was done in a number of ways: taking care of the proper construction and ornamentation of the church, providing religious training of the Indians, and schools for the children. The Jesuits experienced many failures and setbacks in attempting to accomplish these goals. Magnin wrote that, "when things go from bad to worse it is a punishment for our evils and sins" (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas, Legajo 251 #3C: f.27) thereby precluding the possibility of reevaluating their methods, attitudes, or goals. Failure could only be due to the missionary's failure to work hard enough or, more likely, the Indians being hopelessly lost to the ways of the Devil.

FOOTNOTES

1. Religious orders are defined as "institutes" within the Catholic Church (Harney 1941:463). They are communities of men or women who live together, take part in particular types of activities (such as: meditation, working with the poor, education, missionary work), and maintain certain customs originated by the founder of the order (such as: types of prayer, dress, training). Administratively, the religious orders are self-governing and come under the jurisdiction of the Pope rather than of the secular clergy. Throughout history various religious orders have provided missionaries for the evangelizing of natives. There are about 30 religious orders within the Catholic Church. Some of the well-known orders include the Jesuits, Franciscans, Mercedarians, Augustinians, Dominicans.
2. There was both envy that the Jesuits were able to run a financially more successful operation than were the other religious orders (see Cushner 1980, 1982 for descriptions of their haciendas in colonial Peru and Ecuador), and anger that the profits from their operations were kept within the religious order itself rather than distributed to other activities of the Church. The profits from these operations were sent on an annual basis to the Jesuit order central treasury in Spain (White 1975:422).
3. The conflict between land owners in South America and the Jesuits over access to Indian labor is sometimes cited as an explanation for the expulsion of the Jesuits (Meyer 1976:22). This conflict engendered tension in Mainas (see Chapter 3) as well as in other parts of South America, and was a contributing factor to the growing distrust and dislike of the order. However, the final causes for the expulsion were more closely linked to political events in Europe (Morner 1966-67, Phelan 1967:318, Harney 1941:297) than to these tensions.
4. The Jesuits, unlike laymen, were willed large gifts of tax-free property from church members, had access to many lines of credit, and had developed their financial structure to be able to withstand occasional high losses (Cushner 1980:2). This combination of factors made their economic enterprises financially more stable and more likely to succeed.
5. The Augustinians, for example, wrote lengthy complaints to the Spanish king that the Jesuits were gaining access to all the most desirable lands around Quito and asked the king to intercede on their behalf (VG/Q Tercera Serie, Volumen 22:#8).

6. Velasco counted 161 Jesuits who worked in the Mainas missions. However, not all the triennial reports arrived in the central Jesuit archive in Rome. There are gaps in the data and the Rome archive only provides information on about 104 of these men. The additional information provided by Velasco and Jouanen makes it possible to reconstruct the background of many of the other missionaries. Therefore, the information provided in these tables is based on a large sample of the Mainas missionaries, but not on the entire population.
7. The South American-born Jesuits came from Quito as well as the surrounding Andean towns: Loja, Cuenca, Popayan, Pasto, Riobamba, and Ibarra. They were trained in the Jesuit colegios established in these towns and in Quito.
8. In comparison, the Franciscans working in the central montana of Peru recruited between 75% and 80% of their members from Spain (Lehnertz 1974:331-332).
9. A collection of orders for the 18th century, given to Padres Caverro, Sierra, Andrade, Zarate, Brentano, Grebner, Iriarte did exist in the Jesuit archive in Quito but can not currently be found (ACJ/Q #767).

CHAPTER 3

CONTACT AND PACIFICATION IN THE UPPER AMAZON

The first meeting of Spaniards and Indians in lowland South America occurred only a few years after the conquest of the Inca Empire. The Indians in this region encountered the Spaniards in a variety of ways: from the initial explorations made in the 16th century, from slave-raiding ventures made by Spaniards who settled the surrounding montana regions, and from entradas made by the Spanish settlers in Mainas and later by the Jesuit missionaries to procure Indians for their settlements. This chapter is a study of 17th and 18th century contacts in the Upper Amazon region.

In the regions where the settlers and missionaries established their settlements the effect on the Indians was the most intense; for those Indians who were further away, the effects varied. The same observation described by Karen Spalding for Andean South American can be made about the Amazon.

For the members of local Andean society, the impact of the Spanish presence took a while to be felt, for conquest is a great deal more than catastrophic violence, than armies and plunder and disrupted homes. On the local level, the conquest of Peru was also a long, slow process of adjustment and struggle through which the members of Andean society sought to reach a modus vivendi with their conquerors. In that slow process, the traditions and culture of local society were distorted, changed and restructured day by day in a multitude of small individual adjustments as people sought to survive, and even prosper, under new conditions. The result of this process was a society whose fundamental relationships were very different from what they were

when the invaders first appeared, although much of the external forms and practices appeared to have changed little from the 16th century. (Spalding n.d.:309)

The chapter also discusses the policies of "pacification" as developed by the missionaries and Spanish settlers. It is clear that the pacification process involved extensive raiding and violence. Thus, it was against a background of conflict that the Indians responded to the missionaries in a variety of ways, discussed later in this chapter.

The Inca Empire fell to the Spanish conquistadores in 1532. Finding great wealth, including gold, silver, and fine woven cloth, in the royal city of Cuzco, the Spaniards were excited about the possibility of finding more wealth in other regions. As stories of Inca wealth filtered back to Spain, thousands of men migrated to the New World in hope of finding the same riches as their compatriots.

The new-found wealth of the central Andes was carefully distributed among a small number of men in the form of encomiendas. Encomiendas, strictly speaking, were not land grants but were rather royal decrees awarding the right to collect tribute from a specified number of Indians living in a specific locality for a given period of time (usually one or two lifetimes) (Phelan 1967:59). In the early days of the encomienda, however, the Spaniard had the right to collect whatever he could; he had unrestricted access to Indian labor and produce (Spalding n.d.:225). Initially, grants were very large: usually the Indians

involved in one encomienda would number in the thousands. By 1536, just four years after the conquest, 500 Spaniards out of a total population of 2,000 held encomiendas. The number of incoming Spaniards increased tremendously during this time, but the number of encomiendas did not. Four years later the number of encomenderos had dropped from 25% of the Spanish population to 12.5%, and in 1555 the encomenderos represented only 6% of the Spanish population (Spalding n.d.:256). A large population was being created there that had no access to earning a living as an encomendero. Landless men had only a few options open to them: find employment with the encomenderos, get a position in the developing state bureaucracy, or join new expeditions that were exploring the districts cutlying the central Andes where the land had not been subdivided among the first conquistadores. The majority chose to explore new regions and found new settlements. In 1534 Sebastian Benalcazar made his way north and founded the city of Quito.

Exploration of the lowlands began almost immediately. Bolstered by stories from early explorers, Spaniards were excited by the possibility of finding great wealth. However, they were also impressed by the difficulty of travel. Hundreds of the Indians who accompanied Ursua and Aguirre (1560) died from the change in altitude. Pizarro (1539) got so lost in the dense forest of the eastern slopes of the montana that he never reached the lowlands and was forced to turn around and return to Quito. The difficulty

of the steep descent from the highlands into the lowlands would clearly make contact between the two regions a critical problem for any towns that might be established.

The Spaniards did begin to settle the regions on the eastern slopes of the montana. It was not until 1619, however, that the first lowland settlement was made in the Upper Amazon, along the lower Marañon River, in what was to become known as Mainas. A Spaniard from the city of Loja, Don Diego Vaca de Vega had received permission from the Viceroy of Lima¹ to establish a settlement named San Francisco de Borja in the lowland region and to be named governor of all the territory he could conquer.

As governor of the region, Vaca de Vega had three key responsibilities: to establish a solid economic foundation for the Spaniards who were to settle the region, to establish a political structure for the governance of the Indians and Spaniards in the region, and to conquer new territories for the King of Spain. Establishing an economic foundation meant distributing encomiendas. But the number of Indians found in the area around Borja were small and the encomiendas that were distributed were tiny in comparison to those in the highlands. The largest encomienda has only 150 Indians, the majority had only 15 or 20 Indians upon whose labor they could be dependent. The Spaniards who chose to remain probably had no other options for finding a better situation for themselves back in the highlands, or they remained in the hope that things would get better, more

Indians would be brought under their control or perhaps that a great store of gold would one day be found.

Vaca de Vega, as Governor, had the responsibility to name a local municipalidad for the regulating and functioning of the town of Borja.² The governorship of Mainas was passed on to the sons of Vaca de Vega. Under the governance of this family, continual entradas were carried out against the neighboring indigenous settlements in the hope of founding new towns and distributing more encomiendas. Neither occurred, but the number of Indians in the already existing encomiendas were maintained or even increased as a result of these annual raids. Subsequent governors did not usually reside in Borja, but rather in Quito, where they collected their stipend from the Crown and made no attempt to govern. The number of Spaniards in Borja decreased considerably as a result of no great wealth or produce being found and only a small garrison of soldiers remained in the town during the 18th century.

The Spaniards came looking for new territories to conquer where land, encomiendas and access to Indian labor could provide the basis for their livelihood. The Jesuit missionaries, on the other hand, were motivated by other factors. The history textbooks state that the Jesuits were "invited" into the region, but in fact, the Padres had begun applying for permisos to enter many years before. Many factors must have entered into the decision of the Jesuits to pursue missionary activity in the lowlands.

The Jesuits were late-comers to the Audiencia of Quito, having arrived in 1567 when much of the territory of the Audiencia was already distributed among the other religious orders. The Jesuits thus needed their own regions where they could develop bases for their operation.

While the Jesuits were prominent educators and had already established themselves as the intelligentsia of the Catholic Church, they - like all religious orders - saw one of their primary tasks as the conversion of the heathen. The Americas offered a vast territory for this work. Since the Jesuits were schooled in the virtues of bravery, humility, and willingness to make great sacrifices and sustain painful mortifications, the difficult physical conditions of the lowlands did not deter them. As P. Perez, a superior of Mainas described his life in the region in the mid-17th century, it was an appropriate post for those who wanted to imitate the apostles.

As detailed in Chapter 2, the orders given to the missionaries by their superiors demonstrate that the primary concern of the missionaries was to ensure the proper religious training of the Indians. In addition the Jesuits had very specific ideas about how the economic and political foundation of the mission villages should be structured. The goal was self-sufficiency through establishing sedentary villages based on agricultural production and the raising of livestock. Contemporary writers have often romanticized the degree to which the Jesuits success-

fully developed such an economically self-sufficient structure in the mission villages of Paraguay. Writers in the 18th century, such as Voltaire, D'Alembert, Montesquieu and Raynal contributed to this depiction of the Jesuit mission villages as a form of utopia for the Indians where they were free from hunger and privations, where all their needs were well-organized and cared for by the Padres. The inaccuracy of this viewpoint, severely criticized by many historians, is summarized by Cushner, a noted Jesuit historian:

The Reductions [mission villages] were not a true socialist state; nor had there been ever reached the heights of civilization (whatever that means); nor, I suspect, would the Indians there have considered their state a Utopia. The Reductions were, on the other hand a very pragmatic attempt to Christianize the Indian through two devices, familiar to sociologists and psychologists: isolation and indoctrination. (1978:222)

Cushner goes on to demonstrate that these ideas were not new to the Jesuits.

The feature of the Reductions that is their hallmark, community land, was not a Jesuit idea at all. It was common practice in Peru, long before the Reduction began, that all Indian towns have their "tierra comun", cultivated by the community whose produce was to pay for tribute and be stored for hard times. All too little acknowledged is the fact that the Franciscans had begun the Reductions of Paraguay as early as 1601. The idea in fact was theirs. To isolate the Reductions was the Jesuit innovation. (1978:222)

In the Mainas missions the Padres came with the hope of founding economically viable villages where the conversion of their charges could proceed in an orderly

manner. They were, however, sorely disappointed. On the whole, their experience was that the Indians did not want to join the villages. Of those that did join, many would flee after a brief period of time. The Padres could not maintain a stable population and in some areas they could not maintain any population at all. They were unable to progress to working more fully on the economic and political structuring of the mission. This chapter elaborates how the central focus of their work became recruiting Indians to the villages and keeping them there. The Jesuits resorted to recruitment practices founded on force. Their conviction that they represented truth and all undermining of their work was the handiwork of the Devil was so unshakable, that they had few qualms about resorting to physical violence to force the Indians to accept their vision of the world.

The third set of actors in this lowland drama were the Indians themselves. Many Indians were initially attracted to the Spaniards and Jesuits, both out of curiosity and as a means to procure iron tools. Some groups of Indians, such as the Conibo, hoped to use their relationship with the Spanish settlers and Jesuits to gain control over the trade in iron tools and thus achieve a basis for ascendancy over neighboring Indian settlements (DeBoer 1981b). Others, such as the Omaguas, sought out the Jesuits to protect them from Portuguese raids. And some, such as the Jeberos (not to be confused with the

Jivaros, who are a different ethnic group both linguistically and culturally, although the name by which they have become known to historians is very similar), accepted the Jesuits as protection from the Spanish encomenderos who had raided their territory on numerous occasions. The majority of Indians who joined the Jesuit missions, though, did so by coercion, not free will. The Padres sent out continual raiding parties to collect run-away Indians and any others they could find.

Many historians have tried to explain how a small band of Spanish invaders were able to conquer a vast territory. Many factors have been pointed out including depopulation caused by disease, guns, and horses. Equal to these three was the ability of the Spanish to play on internal divisions and factionalism already present among the Indians, escalating tensions as a result. An increase in violence was one of the first major outcomes of contact with the Spaniards.³ The Indian cultures went through a variety of transformations: depopulation through disease, devastation of previous inter-regional contacts, internal reorganization as they attempted to reorient themselves to procure Spanish goods, or as they reorganized themselves to avoid all contact with the Spaniards.

The Indian response to events in their region varied, but it was rarely a passive response. As the Spanish demands and persecution of the Indians escalated, many Indians responded by attacking the Spaniards. It is

interesting that in some cases (described in the final section of this chapter) Indian raids brought ostracism by fellow Indians. Similarly, the Indians often refused to cooperate with the Jesuits. Some fought back, others organized uprisings. It appears that those Indians who wanted to escape from the mission villages did so by retreating into the forest, away from the rivers, and living in small bands so as to avoid detection. How these Indians adapted to the events that were going on around them is not known. The Indians, then, were not always the cooperative, passive Indians that Jesuit documents describe them as. But more about their refusal to cooperate does not surface in the Jesuit writings.

Chapter 3 is divided into four sections. The first is a description of the initial Indian contacts with the Spaniards during the 16th century. Their intensity was so great along the lower Marañón River that Taylor and Descola (n.d.) concluded that the Indians were already pacified when Vaca de Vaga arrived there.

The second section is a description of the settlement of San Francisco de Borja; the establishment of the political organization that tied the lowland region into the Spanish bureaucracy centered in the highlands; the distribution of encomiendas; and the attempt of the Spanish to establish an economically viable structure.

Third is the arrival of the Jesuits. Whatever their goals, ideals, hopes for the missionization of this region

might have been, they were impeded from putting these into motion by their inability to maintain a stable mission population. Their work became primarily concerned with the recruitment and maintenance of an Indian population.

The fourth section of the chapter focuses on the Indians who escaped direct domination by the settlers and missionaries. Too often it is assumed that if Indians escaped direct domination there were no transformations of their daily lives. This section reviews the scant data that exist in order to document some of the changes that did take place.

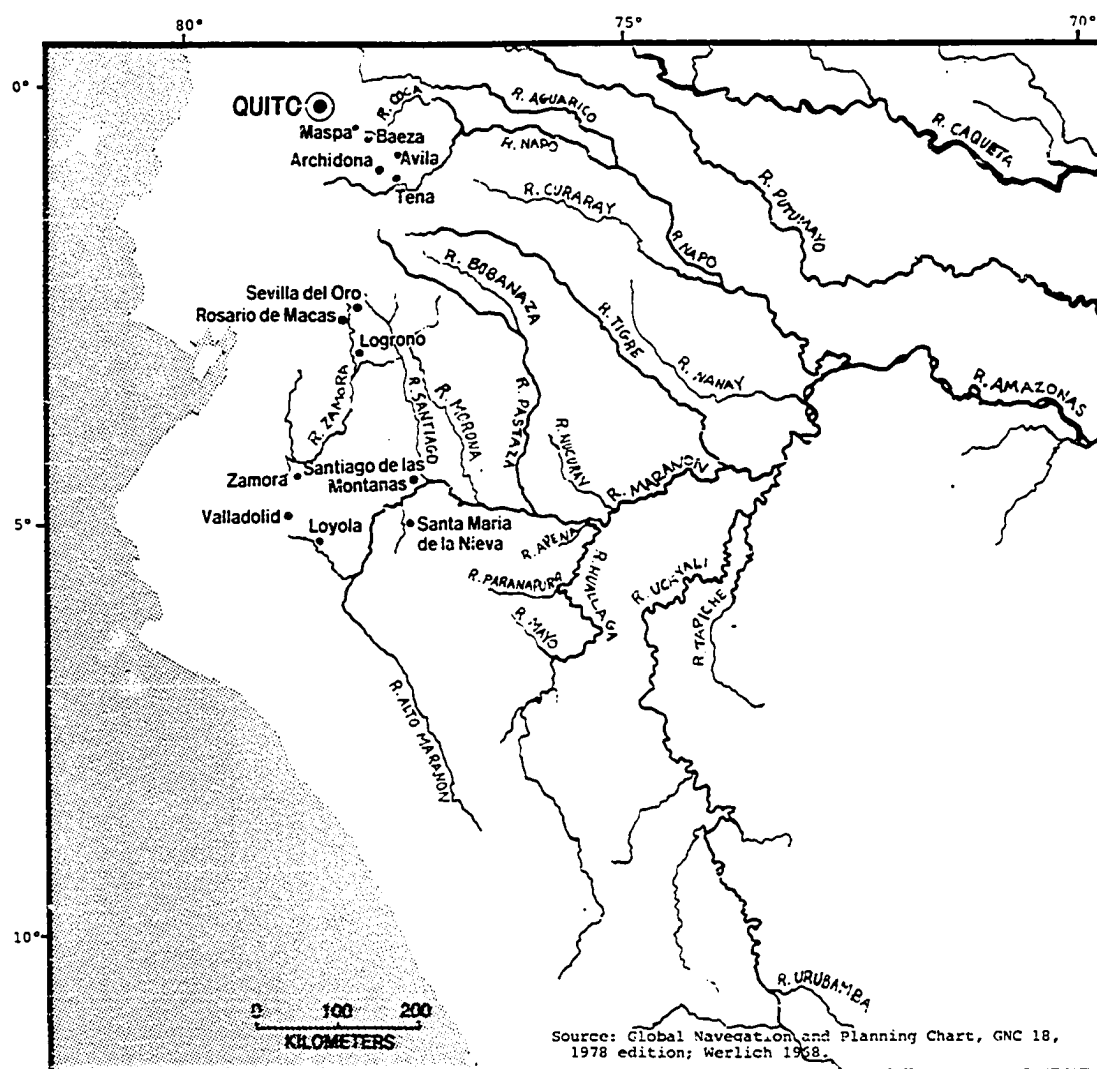
This chapter demonstrates that pacification was a violent process in the lowland region that forced native groups to conform to the rules and norms of western society. Although the word pacification, coming from the verb, to pacify, implies ending the violence in a situation (American Heritage Dictionary), in actuality it meant using violence and terror to force a group of people to accommodate themselves to the will of those in power. Therefore, it did not end violence, it created violence; it did not ease anger, it created anger. The ramifications for the Indians not directly being pacified were equally great. A new division was created in the region between those Indians who accepted Spanish authority and those who did not.

The Beginning of Spanish Penetration:

Settlements and Raiding

Even though few expeditions went directly through the Mainas region during the 16th century,⁴ many of the surrounding highland regions were being settled by the Spanish. Contact came in several waves. The first was the founding of several towns, beginning in the mid-16th century and each decade moving closer and closer to the lowland region. (See Map 2.) Between 1544 and 1577, the towns of Chachapoyas, Loja, Zamora and Valladolid were founded. Moving in closer to the Pongo de Manseriche, which was to become the gateway to the Mainas missions, the towns of Santiago de las Montanas, Loyola and Santa Maria de la Nieva were founded between 1557 and 1564. In the northern area, the towns of Baeza, Avila, Archidona, Maspa, Tena and Macas were founded from 1558 to 1564. These became the principal towns of the province of Quijos. Moving south from Quijos, Logrono and Sevilla del Oro were founded in 1564 and 1575, respectively.

The Spaniards who settled these towns had hopes of finding gold and spices in the region. When these hopes did not materialize, the Spaniards made do with establishing encomiendas for production of indigenous crops. However, this only provided the encomendero with a small increment to his income; it could not serve as a basis for wealth. For that, he would have to pursue other sources



MAP 2: SPANISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE 16TH CENTURY

of revenue, such as engaging in commerce or investing in land (Phelan 1967:59-60).

The encomenderos became notorious throughout Latin America for exploiting the labor of the Indians, forcing them to pay tribute to their overlords as well as turn over all the produce of their labor to the encomendero. In this way, the encomendero could hope to live on a "satisfactory" income. Treatment of the Indians was akin to slave labor, but unlike slaves, the Indians were responsible for meeting their own subsistence needs; the encomendero provided no assistance.

Thousands of Indians were drawn into the encomienda system in this region. For example, in 1577 Baeza had 5,013 tribute-paying Indians who were divided among 19 encomenderos. The total Indian population was estimated at over 11,500. Avila had over 2,600 Indians divided among 12 encomenderos in 1599. Archidona had over 1,300 Indians divided among 10 encomenderos at about the same time (Rumazo 1946:225).

Mistreatment of the Indians appears to have been common in the encomiendas, often resulting in rebellions by the Indians. In the mid-1570's a visita was made to the Quijos region to investigate charges of Indian mistreatment. Finding the accusations true, the visitador imposed high fines on the encomenderos. The encomenderos then passed these fines along to the Indians by forcing them to work harder and produce more goods for their tribute payments. As a result, the Indians rose in revolt against the Spaniards and destroyed the towns of Archidona, Avila, and Baeza. Phelan, a noted historian of

the Audiencia of Quito, wrote,

While the visitor did uncover real abuses against the Indians by the encomenderos - by fining such large sums he prompted the encomenderos to pass the burden on to the Indians. The action proved to be the proverbial straw that broke the over-worked backs of the Indians. (1967:25)

The visitadores did not specify corrections for this mistreatment. Neither did they schedule return visits to check that the abuses had ceased. They simply imposed high fines which added to the revenues of the Crown. Another rebellion by the Jivaros in 1599 drove the Spanish out of Sevilla del Oro and Logrono. Many of the towns which were destroyed in the uprisings were subsequently refounded, though usually on a smaller scale.

As settlements moved eastward from the Andes, Spaniards began to raid the lowlands for slaves to work on their encomiendas, in their fields, and mills. Raiding the lowlands began in the 16th century but was not restricted to that century; there are reports of Spanish raids into Mainas during the Jesuit tenure. The slaveraiders came from the towns of Chachapoyas, Moyobamba, Jaen, Santiago de las Montanas. In the 16th century the raiders from Santiago de las Montanas concentrated their efforts on the Mainas Indians near the Pongo de Manseriche. Laws were continually passed by the Viceroy in Lima to end these raids. In 1668, for example, an order was passed that no Spaniard could enter areas where the Jesuits were working (Jouanen 1941:484). In 1701 it was decreed that highland settlers were prohibited from taking

Indians from the Jesuit mission villages; violation of this order carried a fine of 2,000 pesos (Jouanen 1943:394). In 1703 another order was passed that all Indians taken from Mainas were to be restored to their lands (ACJ/Q #724). These orders seem to have been to no avail, slave raiding continued. As late as 1751, the Procurador for the Mainas missions wrote to the Audiencia requesting that they order the inhabitants of Archidona and Avila not to pursue the Omaguas-Yetes located on the Napo and Curaray Rivers since they were part of the mission village of San Joaquin de Omaguas (ANH/Q Presidencia de Quito Vol. 41:#1583).

Although Mainas was a region from which the settlers raided, it was also a region to which the Indians fled for refuge. The Parapapura Indians, originally related to the Jeberos, fled to the Parapapura River to escape the slavers from the Spanish settlement of Moyobamba (Steward 1945:607). Indians fleeing from the Lamas slave raiders founded the town of San Regis de los Lamistas in 1718 on the Parapapura River, near the confluence with the Huallaga (Jouanen 1943:424).

The Viceregal orders made it clear that the Spanish slave raiding of the lowlands was an extensive problem. However, the Spaniards wrote almost nothing about these raids, concentrating their writings on the Portuguese raids. Despite the paucity of the existing data, appreciating the extensiveness of the Spanish slave raiding, as detailed above, is a critical piece in studying the history of the region.

The lowland Indians were seen as a potential source of

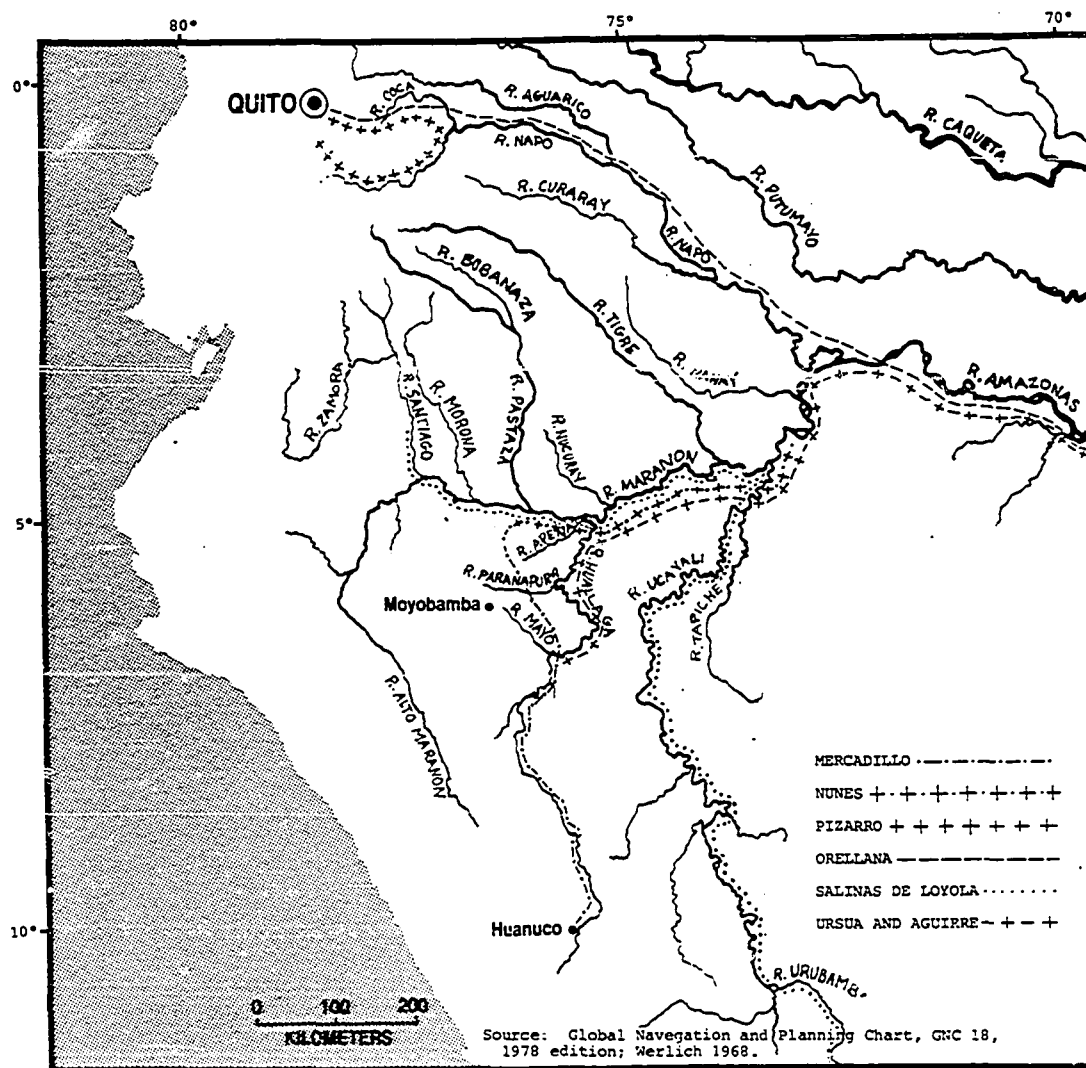
cheap labor and regardless of the law, the encomenderos organized slave raids to procure the labor they required. This altered indigenous settlement patterns.

Spanish Expeditions

From the Spanish settlements, expeditions were organized to explore the jungle region. There were four well-known expeditions made in the 16th century by Mercadillo and Nunes, Pizarro and Orellana, Salinas de Loyola, and Ursua and Aguirre, as well as a migration of Tupinamba Indians from the coast of Brazil, across the Amazon to the Peruvian town of Moyobamba. All told stories of great riches and populous lands.

Little is known about the first exploration down the Huallaga and Marañón Rivers by Alonso de Marcadillo and Diego Nunes in 1538-1539 (Jimenez de la Espada 1895). Mercadillo organized an entrada from the town of Huanuco and marched northward along the eastern bank of the Huallaga River. He crossed the Huallaga just past its confluence with the Mayo River and marched northwest to the Lower Marañón where he encountered some Mainas Indians. (See Map 3.) He established a camp there and spent one and a half months with the Mainas while he waited for Nunes to scout the Marañón River. Nunes sailed for twenty-five days until he arrived at a province that he named "Machifaro".⁵ Both Spaniards offered ethnographic descriptions of the Indians, but did not reveal much about the nature of their relationships with them.

The second expedition, made by Pizarro and Orellana from 1539 to 1542, is usually cited as the first exploration of the



MAP 3: EXPLORATIONS IN THE 16TH CENTURY

Amazon, since the Mercadillo-Nunes account remained unknown for many years. Pizarro (Markham 1859) and Orellana (Medina 1934) began their expedition from Quito, following the Coca River to the Napo River to the Marañón. (See Map 3.) Pizarro, however, never got past the Coca River and in time returned to Quito. With 58 men, Orellana followed the Napo to the Marañón and then went down the Amazon to its mouth in Brazil. Desperate to find riches, the explorers were known for torturing Indians to force them to tell of lands with great wealth further east. As the expedition continued downriver, they were often without food and starving. They would resort to surprise attacks on Indian villages to steal storehouses of food if they could not immediately establish friendly relations. "Their reputation moved down river ahead of their arrival" (Sweet 1974:7) and Orellana was often greeted by attacking Indian armies. Many Indians became interested in the tools, strange clothes and other goods that the Spanish offered to trade in exchange for food and thus put their arms aside. Although it is not known precisely how much exchange of material goods occurred during the Mercadillo-Nunes expedition, Orellana is certainly to be credited with spreading knowledge to the Indians about the superior technology of the Spaniards. This was a technology that could be used as a form of exchange for food, or could be used to forcibly take the food required. Either by peaceful exchange or by forceful attack, the Spaniards could usually get their way. The Indians might choose to fight them off forcefully,

with no let up, as did the Machifaro, and hope the Spaniards would simply move on; or they could take the chance that the Spaniards were not raiders intent on taking slaves, and attempt peaceful exchanges of goods.

When Orellana returned to Quito after the expedition news spread of the rich lands he had discovered to the east.⁶ Then, a few years later, in 1549 the settlers of Moyobamba woke to find that a group of Indians had arrived in their town from the coast of Brazil. They had travelled along the Amazon, to the Marañón, up the Huallaga and into the town of Moyobamba. Two Portuguese had begun the journey with them but had been killed in a conflict with Indians they met along the way. These Indians told stories, similar to those of the explorers, of great riches and populous towns in the Amazon, exciting settlers' ambition to conquer these regions. Many settlers applied for licenses to conquer various lowland regions (e.g. MDRE/L LEA-11-299). In 1557 Juan Salinas de Loyola, a relative of the founder of the Jesuit order, organized an expedition from Loja to the Upper Marañón (Jimenez de la Espada 1965, Tomo IV). He travelled down the Santiago River, entered the Marañón, crossed the Pongo de Manseriche, and travelled down the Marañón to the Ucayali. (See Map 3.) His observations about the Indians on the Ucayali are discussed by Myers (1974), but little is known about his contacts and observations of the Indians on the Marañón River.

The most notorious of all the explorations was made by Pedro Ursua and Lope de Aguirre, from 1560 to 1561

(Simon 1861, Velasquez de Espinosa 1942).⁷ Travelling with 900 people, the majority of whom were Indians recruited from the Andes, Ursua and Aguirre were much more formidable opponents to the Indians than Orellana and his 58 men. The Omaguas, for example, who had a friendly greeting for Orellana, continually attacked the Ursua expedition. To facilitate their journey through the jungle, Ursua would capture Indians to serve as interpreters along various stretches of the river. Little else is known about the exchanges between the Indians and Spaniards in these 16th century explorations except that when the Indians welcomed the Spanish and offered food, the Spanish offered in exchange: glass beads, tin horns, combs, knives, scissors and bells (Simon 1861:29).

The results of these various contacts between the Indians and the Spaniards during the 16th century suggest that the pacification of the lowlands was well underway before any Spanish settlement was founded in the region. With so many towns founded near the gateways to the lowlands it is likely that encomenderos, although few in number, had a strongly-felt effect on these previously uncontacted populations.

The Arrival of the Spanish Settlers

The continued hope of finding "El Dorado"⁸ made the lowlands an attractive area to the Spaniards. This was combined with the hope of finding populous Indian settlements from which to obtain slaves. There was particular interest in the Mainas Indians who lived just below the Pongo de

Manseriche. An attempt was made in 1580 to found a settlement there, but this failed (Jimenez de la Espada 1965:34-35). Throughout the later half of the 16th century, the Spaniards from Santiago de las Montanas and Santa Maria de Nieva frequently raided the Mainas Indian villages to obtain slaves (Figueroa 1904:14-15). The Indians responded with attacks on the highland settlements. In 1616 the Spaniards decided to retaliate and sent twenty Spaniards and twenty highland Indians to the Mainas territory. They claimed that they were met by friendly Indians and their caciques, and brought some Indians back to Santiago.

Don Diego Vaca de Vega applied to the Viceroy of Lima for permission to establish a settlement in that region, and when the permiso came through in 1618, he made preparations for his expedition. He set out a year later with 68 soldiers, 2 priests and a large retinue of Indians. They travelled along the Marañón River to the Pongo de Manseriche and into the territory of the Mainas Indians. This was a likely destination for the expedition since they were guided by a Christian Indian who was married to a daughter of a Mainas Indian cacique. The Christian Indian used his knowledge about the region and the language to escort the Spaniards into this territory. The Spaniards had received reports of several thousand Indians in the region and made plans for establishing several cities. However, they only succeeded in founding San Francisco de Borja, on the northern bank of the Marañón at the foot of the Pongo de Manseriche.

The Spaniards set two processes into motion immediately. The first was to bring more and more Indians under Spanish control by sending out expeditions to contact and pacify the Indians. Their preference was to go to the largest and most populous tribes. Vaca de Vega had hopes of conquering the Cocama, whom he had heard were among the largest and most powerful group in the region. The second process was to divide the already conquered Indians into encomiendas. An undercurrent throughout was to force the Indians to accept the Spanish authority. Under no condition was their authority to be questioned or disobeyed. The Spanish were often harsh and unyielding. A gruesome example of this was Vaca de Vega who reported that he was "forced" to kill ten Indians who had left his expedition to go fishing without obtaining his permission to do so (AGI/S Quito 10:1620).

Forty-two encomiendas were distributed by Vaca de Vega with different numbers of Indians assigned to each one. A few Spaniards were given as many as 150 Indians while the majority only received 15 or 20. The soldiers who accompanied Vaca de Vega were given one or two Indians each who were to serve them in their homes. Of these 42 encomiendas, only 19 were large enough to be established outside the confines of the town of Borja. The majority of those were along the Marañón River east of Borja, one was on the Pastaza River (BN/M #3046). Those who remained in town were likely to have their fields nearby.

The encomenderos experimented with various forms of crops including cacao, tobacco, cotton and with domesticated animals, particularly cattle. Their hopes were to be able to raise these goods on a large enough scale to ship them to Quito but the plan was not feasible for many reasons, not the least of which was the prohibitive distances that separated Borja from the sierra. They were 900 miles from Quito and 200 from Jaen de Bracamoros (e.f. Super 1979).

It was estimated that only one in ten Indians survived the Borja encomiendas (Steward, 1945:631). Other Indians lived in terror of being taken there, where "they would be killed from hunger and worked to death in the weaving mills"⁹ (ACJ/Q #198:f.9). P. Cueva described how the Jeberos would rather commit suicide than fall into the hands of the Spanish; they would rather kill a child they could not take with them when fleeing than allow him to be subjected to the cruelty of the Spanish. The harsh treatment of the Indians thus became well-known. Violence and terror reigned in and around Borga, and Indians lived in fear of this fate befalling them.

While Vaca de Vega remained in Borja directing the establishment of the encomiendas, he sent his son, Pedro Vaca de Vega, on expeditions on the Marañón, the Pastaza and other neighboring rivers. The goal was to find more large settlements of Indians where towns could be established, similar to Borja, and encomiendas distributed. The search for gold was not a major motivating factor for these soldiers. Rather, they seem to have hoped to seek their fortune by

colonizing new regions with large numbers of Indians whose labor could be exploited. On Pedro Vaca de Vega's first expedition, he claimed to have found 4,000 Indians around the nearby rivers; Fray Ponce de Leon, a Mercedarian missionary who accompanied him, claimed to have baptized 2,754 Indians (Perez 1966:244). In the following years, expeditions were increasingly concerned with retrieving run-away Indians, and returning them to their encomenderos. It soon became an annual tradition for the Spaniards from Borja to go out and bring back run-aways as well as any other Indians they were able to capture (Jouanen 1941:34).

Indian uprisings began almost immediately. Repeatedly, the town of Borja was attacked and robbed by outsiders, particularly by the Cocama. In addition, the Cocama successfully held the Spanish off despite continuous attempts by the Spanish to gain a foothold in their territory. There were various small uprisings in the encomiendas where encomenderos were killed. On a number of occasions Indians gathered together and attacked Borja. In 1635 the largest uprising occurred. More than 1,000 Indians gathered together and attacked the town of Borja and the encomiendas, killing at least nine of the encomenderos and their families. The uprising was successful in at least one way: the attempt by the Spaniards to find a new, easily colonized region were largely ended by the revolt. No great economic profits were found to exist here. Few encomenderos remained after 1635. Of the original 42, only 21 were still in Borja by

1645 (Jouanen 1941:360), 18 in 1661 (Figueroa 1904:31), and 14 were still in Borja by 1739 (Zarate in Figueroa 1904:384).

This period of Spanish authority had its effects. The Indians had encountered a ruthless group of men who killed them outright for disobeying orders, worked them to death in their fields and mills, and followed them if they fled to force them to return.

The rebellion of 1635 brought more than 1,000 Indians together to fight. The large size of this rebellion attests to the ability of the Indians to overcome whatever differences they may have had and to organize against a common enemy. No other rebellion of such a large scale ever shook the region. This may be due to the Jesuits' hard work designed to institutionalize various lines of factionalism among the Indians (see Chapter 4).

While the encomenderos gave up hope of finding riches after the 1635 rebellion, the military attacks on the Indians continued. Following the rebellion, soldiers were called down from Santiago de las Montanas to punish the Indians. The ecclesiastical history books report that it was the arrival of the two Jesuits in 1636, Padres Cueva and Cujia that pacified the region (Astrain 1916, Figueroa 1904, Heredia 1924, Jouanen 1941), thus perpetuating a myth of the power these god-fearing men could command. An alternate explanation would be that the Jesuits arrived in the region over a year after the rebellion to find the region had already been pacified by the gun.

The Arrival of the Jesuits and Their Relationship
to the Spaniards

The lowland region had interested the Jesuits for many years. They first mentioned the Mainas Indians in their Annual Letter of 1595 (Jouanen 1941:334). A new, unexplored region, thought to be well populated and rich in natural resources clearly appealed to the order. In 1630 they began a series of applications to the Padre General of the Jesuit order in Rome and the King of Spain to found the missions. Two years later, approval came from both. In 1634 they opened a small college in Cuenca (in highland Ecuador) to serve as the point of departure for the new missions as well as a house of refuge and storage for the missions (Heredia 1924).¹⁰ With everything in order, they were prepared to enter the region in 1636 after the Indian revolt.

P. Lucas de la Cueva described the state of the region when he and P. Cujia first arrived in 1636.

We found the land in revolt, because the Mainas, irritated by the labor and exhausted by the personal service, tributes, and extortions with which they were afflicted, had revolted, killing thirty or more people, and fleeing to the nations of their enemies, preferring to die at the hands of their enemies rather than from the labor and hunger inflicted on them by the soldiers, whom they regard as their greatest enemies.
(ACJ/Q #198:f.1)

It was a fearful Indian population, still suffering reprisals from the uprising of the previous year. It is not surprising that in 1640 Cueva wrote to his superiors in Quito begging for permission to work without the soldiers who intimidated and

terrified the Indians. The Indians of the settlement were suspicious of Cueva's motives and accused him of gathering them together so that the soldiers could more easily take them and send them to Borja to work in the weaving mills (f.9). Yet, Cueva told his superiors that if he must work with soldiers he would rather go back to the monastery, because it was impossible to achieve any results with soldiers undermining them. He wrote,

Some [the Jesuit Superiors] say, and it is not the least of the difficulties they bring up, that there are few soldiers with whom to penetrate and pursue the Indians, and that the latter, if there is no one to restrain them, will turn wild. I have no doubt that such people are afraid of those who must be brought to the yoke of Our Holy Law by blows, and for that reason many are agreed that it is necessary to go among [the Indians] armed with soldiers and guard. Thus it is said to have been decided in a serious meeting in Lima among people of great authority, with much learning and fine conscience, although I am not sure if with much experience . . . that order was that we do not enter the land without a great many soldiers. (ACJ/Q #198:f.8)

The Governor of Mainas promised Cueva that no soldiers would enter the new mission village he was trying to establish among the Jeberos; and the Jeberos in return promised Cueva that they would remain with him only if the Spaniards did not enter on their land. Cueva ended by saying, "they [the Indians] do not want Heaven if soldiers go there, nor to live, if it must be among soldiers" (f.9). He then elaborated this point by describing numerous instances of Indians committing suicide or killing their own children rather than falling into the hands of the Spaniards. He added that the Indians were already sufficiently intimidated by the Spaniards, having seen

them hang and kill Indians for any part they might have played in the 1635 revolt (f.10).

Cueva's request went unheeded and it remained Jesuit policy that all entradas must be done in the company of soldiers. Cueva's companion, Cujia, travelled with the soldiers on their annual entradas to capture run-away and other Indians (Jouanen 1941:348). Surrounded by Indians, who were mostly unfriendly to them, and with the memory of a recent revolt fresh in their minds, subsequent Jesuits were glad to have the soldiers available to them, and even happier that the very mention of the word "soldiers" could instill terror in the hearts of the Indians. In the Annual Letter of 1652, the superior of the missions, P. Perez, described the importance of the soldiers located in Borja,

This port [Borja] is . . . necessary, and it is the most important of the reasons, so that, as has happened many times, when the Indians revolt down-river and inland, or make war upon one another, or due to their ignorance of the faith they move against the fathers on the assumption that the latter will do them harm, and not the good that is intended, then in such cases they have in the soldiers that are in Borja a brake on their excesses, for it has been a great foresight on the part of Our Lord that the Indians of these provinces . . . are so afraid of the very name of the Spaniards that their fear when they hear that the Spanish captain is coming down to punish them passes all imagination. (ARSI/R Novi Regni #12I:f.233)

Jesuit historians have tried to play down the association of the Jesuit missionaries with the soldiers; Astrain wrote that the soldiers were available to the missionaries only to punish major crimes (1920:456). This is far from the truth. The Jesuits found work in this region impossible without the soldiers. Even P. Fritz, one of the most glorified of the

Mainas missionaries begged the soldiers to patrol his region on the Marañón, near the mouth of the Napo, on a biennial basis "to keep things in order" (Edmundson 1922:99-100), that is, to maintain a high level of fear in the Indians so they would be less likely to rebel.¹¹ A Royal Decree was handed down in 1698 that gave the governor of Mainas authority to visit every village once a year and punish any crimes (ACJ/Q #660). In Paraguay the Spanish militia was not allowed within the Jesuit missions but they were more than welcome in the Marañón. Since the Jesuit control in this region was so tenuous, with the Indians constantly fleeing from the mission villages, only the threat of violence enabled them to maintain their hold.

When the Jesuits were working in and around Borja, on the Marañón, they had access to the Spanish militia stationed in Borja. In addition, the various Indian militias in the mission villages were within fairly close proximity. However, as the missions extended themselves further eastward toward the Amazon, they did not have the militia and they were much more dependent on their own skill in converting the Indians by giving gifts, and by befriending one group in the hope that this group would help make an introduction to another. The establishment of missions on the Napo River, for example, where there are some detailed descriptions by P. Magnin, point to very small villages, much smaller than those in the upper Marañón region and even more tenuous in their ability to maintain the Indians. (See Chapter 4.) The prevalence of small

villages was related to the lack of military aid available for conquering the outlying regions.

In addition to working with the missionaries, the Spanish governors led the soldiers on entradas to conquer new regions. Their goal was ostensibly to bring back runaway Indians from the encomiendas but in fact they captured whomever they could find. By the 1650's they attempted to pacify larger and larger areas, predominantly working on the tributaries of the upper Marañón, Pastaza, Morona and Huallaga rivers. In 1656 Governor Vaca de Evan made as many as nine entradas against different Indian groups (Anda Aguirre 1955:93). Indians were taken to serve on the encomiendas as well as to be personal slaves to the soldiers. To try to divert the soldiers from taking Indians, P. Fritz requested that when soldiers were sent to his missions "they come with their wages paid from the Royal Treasury, so that they should not attempt to carry off natives for their service in payment for the toil that they have in these duties" (Edmundson 1922:100). There was then a constant background of attacks on the Indians by the Spanish governors, encomenderos and soldiers in addition to those of the missionaries, but nothing is known about the Spanish attacks beyond the fact that they occurred. No descriptions, documents, journals have ever been found on Spanish activity in the region.

Although the number of encomenderos in Borja decreased significantly after the 1635 revolt, those that remained presented considerable problems for the Jesuits.

The encomenderos accused the Jesuits of a number of misdeeds including becoming rich from working gold mines and traveling out of the region to relax rather than to establish new mission villages (ACJ/Q #234). The encomenderos attempted to have the Jesuits removed from the region but in an unusual move, the Governor of Mainas, Vaca de la Cadena, came to their aid in 1641 and requested that they remain (ACJ/Q #294). The heart of the dispute between the two groups centered on the issue of access to Indian labor (Werlich 1968:181). The Spaniards wanted the missionaries to help pacify the Indians who would then become available labor to the encomiendas, not the missions. But the Jesuits sought to establish their missions free of Spanish control, where Indian labor would be used for the development of the missions. This basic conflict pitted the two groups against each other. Spicer described a similar phenomenon in Mexico where he said the Spaniards "saw the missionaries as building up little kingdoms of their own which robbed the civil authority of labor supply and at the same time created a rival power and authority" (1962:159). Later in the 17th century and during the 18th century, the Jesuits began to experience similar problems with the Mainas governors (Chantre y Herrera 1901:Book X) who also sought to build their wealth via Indian labor. Again the problem was one of jurisdiction. Those Indians in the missions could not be used by the governor so the governor began leading entradas to capture new Indians. The Jesuits appealed to

the Viceroy in Lima to stop the governor and leave the region free to be under missionary control.

The basic conflict between the Spaniards and the Jesuits was never resolved but over time the Jesuits became a larger and larger force in the region as the number of Spaniards decreased significantly. By the mid-18th century the governor of Mainas rarely even appeared in the region. The conflict subsided because of diminishing interest by the Spaniards.

The Jesuit Conversion Process: The Idealized Picture

In the 17th century, many forces were converging on the Indians to pacify them: Spanish slave-raids from highland towns, Spanish slave-raids from San Francisco de Borja and Jesuit entradas from the various mission villages. As we have noted, violence was rampant throughout the region, yet the Jesuit writings present a friendly, non-violent picture of the conversion process. Unpublished documents from Quito and Madrid clarify that the process was far from the idealized description that appeared in many of the propaganda letters published in Europe. The formulation of this picture may have been the work of the Jesuit superiors in Europe since the same description appears in Jesuit letters from other parts of the world (e.g. Block 1980a: 216 for Moxos). A letter from P. Richter, published in the Welt-Bott (reprinted Matthei 1969:192-193), gives the best description of how the Jesuits in Mainas idealized the actual conversion process. Richter wrote of the plan to be

followed. The first step in founding a new village was to travel with some Christianized Indians until some infidels were discovered. A few infidels were to be brought back with the missionary who would teach them Quechua so that they could serve as interpreters for the missionary. When the language training was completed, the Indians would return to their lands with the missionary. He would give out a few gifts, and say a few words through the interpreter, and then leave. A few days later, it was expected that Indians would show up at the mission with presents for the Padre consisting of parrots, monkeys and other jungle goods. The Padre would be awaiting them with needles, knives and fishhooks. Through the interpreter, the Padre would explain that if the Indians wanted to establish a Christian village no one would harm them. He would assure them that they could conserve their songs and dances, and that their liberty and material goods would be preserved. Richter lamented that "if the Spanish did not exploit the Indians so much they would all be Christian, therefore, in order to secure their confidence you must not take away their liberty nor expropriate their goods. With gifts you can obtain everything." (Matthei 1969:193) Richter claimed that the Indians were so anxious to follow a Padre that all he must do is present the cacique with an axe, and the entire flock would follow him to the path of Christ.

Richter's description omits the violence that was associated with taking interpreters, moving Indians to a

mission village, and converting them to Catholicism. His assumption was that the Indians would be impressed with the holiness and godliness of a Padre, and once they were convinced that they would not be exploited by the Spaniards, they would be willing to accept the authority of the missionary.

A sufficient supply of gifts was an essential requirement for the missionaries. The most highly esteemed gifts were iron tools. The missionaries were aware that converting the Indians would be impossible without these gifts and that the Indians often only wanted to establish an association with a Padre in order to acquire tools. The history of Richter's experience with the Conibo is the best example of a group of Indians who attempted to serve as middlemen between Jesuit tools and the other Indians. The Conibo attempted to stop all other interaction between Jesuits and Indians on the Ucayali River, and to be able to acquire a new source of power for themselves. When they were successful in this, they chose to cut all ties with the missionaries rather than to compromise their own freedom (DeBoer 1981b). The Omaguas attempted a similar process on the Marañón; to control the trade with the Jesuits and stop the missionaries from visiting the neighboring Payaguas (Matthei 1972:126) and Yurimaguas (Edmundson 1922:103).

The Jesuits were aware that gifts could serve to establish friendships and often times this was the only way to establish relations, but gifts did not guarantee

that the relationship would last. Frequently the Indians came to receive gifts and then returned to the jungle, especially if the flow of gifts did not continue (Edmundson 1922:95). At other times, the Indians fought over the way the tools were distributed. In an expedition that Richter led to the Conibo, accompanied by the Jeberos Indians, he promised every Conibo an ax and a knife if they would join the expedition. This enraged the Jeberos who were not as well paid for their work (Matthei 1969:251). In another incident the Conibo refused to help Richter in his campaign against the Campa because he could no longer pay the tools he had promised them (ARSI/R Novi Regni #15I:f.114).

When they were unable to maintain relationships through what may be considered the bribe of gifts, the Jesuits relied on force to win souls for their missions. As Figueroa put it, if the Indians failed to respond properly to the missionary's persuasion, a demonstration of the power of the Spaniard's firearms usually made them more cooperative (1904:178-179).

The Use of Indian Interpreters

A cornerstone of the Jesuit pacification plan was to acquire Indians from various tribes who could be educated by the missionaries to serve as interpreters when the Padres were ready to approach their tribe. The Jesuits attempted to acquire interpreters, preferably young boys, from all the possible tribes so that they never had to enter infidel lands without a native who could speak to the Indians. Maroni

said that the Indians "fear strangers and if someone they don't know comes through they try to kill him. The missionaries are safer then, if someone can speak the Indian language." (1889:94) These interpreters were almost always taken by force, often by sneak attack on a village when least expected. Nieto Polo described this technique:

There are many languages in this area - a problem sown by the devil to make conversion of the Indians more difficult. The only way to surmount this difficulty is to seize a few boys of the tribe at unguarded moments in their fields or in their hunting grounds, in conformity with Royal Decree and to carry them off, profitably deceived, to our towns so that by being raised and communicating with those already Christianized they will subsequently serve as guides and interpreters to befriend the rest of their nations. (AGI/S Quito 158:1735)¹²

Large numbers of Indians were carried off in this fashion. Frtiz described having Indians from the Annales, Mapirinas, Cammuris, Pevas, Cavaches, Icaguates, Pararas, Mayorunas, Iquitos and others in his seminary in San Joaquin de Omaguas (Edmundson 1922:139). Richter used the Conibo slaves from various neighboring Indian groups as his interpreters (Jouanen 1941:503). Cueva described taking interpreters throughout his journey on the Curaray in 1665 (APTSJ/A Legajo 406 #179:f.216-240) and bringing them back to Borja where they were enrolled in the seminary that had been established by Cujia. When Cueva could not make contact with an Indian group he would at least take some interpreters.

Travelling via the Curaray...we encountered a... road. We sent 40 Indians to scout the area and on the third day they returned with eleven unknown heathen...They arrived very mistreated, swollen,

and covered with welts, because although they put up no resistance when they were captured, once taken they resisted so violently that in order to hold them, they suffered heavily from so many blows, welts and swellings...Now that we had interpreters from this nation, we went on with the journey. (APTSJ/A Legajo 406 #179:f.223)

Interpreters were believed to be the only way to achieve peace in this area. Describing this same journey in another document Cueva wrote,

The only means to achieve this peace has been the interpreters, for we have good ones, and having had them, I understand that they can do the same [establish peace] with the other three nations of the Curaray, which are the Ardas, Semigayes, and Caparas; these are the nations that there are and that we have surveyed, and although we didn't speak with them for lack of interpreters, we took with us some people as the King commanded, so that they can be trained to interpret. (ACJ/Q #341)

These interpreters were raised by the Jesuits and infused with allegiance to the Padres. They formed an important social grouping within the structure of the missions (see chapter 4).

Raiding for Converts

The best description of an expedition for acquiring Indians to settle the missions comes from P. Magnin¹³ (ANH/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251 #10J). In 1741 the mission population was so small that the Governor of Mainas ordered the Jesuits to increase the province by taking more infidels from the jungle to settle the mission villages. The Borja Indians were told to carry out an expedition on the Pastaza River to look for runaways. The Sergeant Major of Borja, a Spaniard, was made head of the expedition.

There were approximately 100 participants. Mission Indians from the nearby villages were taken to form the militia: 30 Cahuapanas, 50 Jeberos, 10 Mainas as well as 9 viracochas and 2 guides from Andoas. They travelled in 16 canoes following military formation with a rear and forward guard, spies and relays.

The expedition guide, Gonzalo is an interesting example of an Indian man who had been opposed to the presence of the missionaries but then changed allegiance. Three years earlier, Gonzalo had convinced the Roamaynas Indians to leave the mission village of Pinches so they could live in freedom and practice polygamy. They fled, but fell into the hands of infidels who captured them all, killing many. Gonzalo and a companion escaped. Gonzalo knew the attacking Indians were Mainas Indians from the style of their cushmas. He then returned to the village from which he was exiled and agreed to lead this expedition in the hope of being able to free his son who was being held captive and to gain revenge on the Mainas.

In order to find this group of Mainas Indians the expedition decided to follow the Nucuray River, rather than the Pastaza. They found a wide road that led to a village, but when they entered they found it empty. They followed the path to another village where they found only an Indian boy and his father, whom they captured. The father escaped but the boy was not able to get away. He told the troops that he was a Mainas Indian and that there were various

Mainas villages nearby. They followed his directions to one of the villages but the Indian militia was so noisy that the villagers had fled before they arrived. They found 14 houses, all empty except for one young boy who was sleeping. They captured him and estimated that there had been about 30 Indian warriors there. They then followed the signs of those who had fled and discovered them nearby. The militia robbed and tortured the Indians, with the intent to kill the new captives. Many were badly beaten up and some were killed including the kuraka of the village. However, most of those taken captive were able to flee leaving only one old Indian man, two boys, five women and fourteen babies; 22 people in all. The militia learned that upriver there were more and larger villages but by now they were in poor shape. They feared attack so they decided to return to Borja. The captured Indians were taken to San Ignacio de Maynas (located near Borja) where they immediately began to fall ill from various diseases to which they were exposed (see chapter 4), and six months later only ten of the original 22 captives were still alive.

This particular venture was clearly not very successful, 100 Indians succeeded in capturing only 22, of whom 12 died within the first six months. Nevertheless, these types of expeditions were carried out continuously. The growth of the missions was based on being able to bring in new Indians from the surrounding regions on a steady basis (see chapter 4). P. Widman, for example, reported 39 such

expeditions in only eleven years, 1750 to 1761, which brought 2713 Indians to various mission villages (PC/M Tomo 108:f.47-67, 75-106. See Appendix F for a listing of each expedition, its date and the number of Indians captured.)

Violence was the usual method for bringing the Indians to the missions.

P. Jaime Torres travelled with the Yameos of Navapo and Alabonos of the Rio Tigre to the Iquitos with whom he was friendly and he brought 40 souls to Navapo, it is said more by force than of their own free will, as he had done the year before with some Ayacores, neighbors of the Iquitos. (f.76)

On an expedition made this year, a distance of four days journey from the town of Chamicuros some 17 Barbudos were seized and tied up and brought back by force. (f.56)

In 1758 the Alabonos and Iquitos travelled along the Tigre and Eneracamu, accompanied by a mulato, Nicolas Perez and a Portuguese, Francisco Gonzalez, sent by E. Gutierrez Donada...and they seized 110 souls...[who] they tied up and brought back forcibly to Alabonos. (f.58)

Occasionally, however people were brought to the missions without violence.

Two runaway Andoas came forth out of the forest and they presented themselves in Borja with their families, a total of 10 souls. (f.79)

The town of Santa Maria de Nanay increased this year (1759) with 105 souls, brought peacefully from the Nanay without threat of arms or viracochas. (f.61)

P. Widman brought 20 Iquitos Indians to San Regis, all voluntarily. (f. 99)

Capturing Indians was such a central part of maintaining the missions that P. Falcombelli, although in the region for

less than a year and a half, had already made several trips for new converts (ARSI/R Novi Regni #15II:345). These expeditions often brought in large numbers of Indians. Therefore, when Uriarte sent out an expedition in 1752 that returned with only ten Indians and their families (probably about 30-40 individuals), he deemed it a failure (1952 I:77). Many expeditions that were sent out failed to find any new Indians at all.

The missionaries of Chamicuros and La Laguna are hindered in their attempts to find the heathen of whom they had certain traces toward the east and the Marañón (perhaps toward the west). The missionary of Cahuapanas went personally with a substantial number of Indians, as well as two viracochas in search of heathen along the Pucabarranca of the Río Cahuapana, but they found only curmas, or old chacras. The missionary of Urarinas made attempts along the side valleys of the Río Chambira and the large lake of Mararoca. The missionary of San Regis did so along the Tigre in search of Aunales, but they found nothing.
(PC/M Tomo 108: f.102-103)

To increase the likelihood of success, the Jesuits preferred to send out expeditions accompanied by at least a few Spaniards who carried firearms (AGI/S Quito 158:1735). Without the advantage of these arms the Indians in the militia stood little chance against unconquered Indians; but with them their force and capability was immediately increased.

Indian Reactions and Jesuit Responses

The thinly disguised excuse for raiding expeditions was to bring runaways back to the mission villages. The

Jesuits assumed the right to forcibly return the Indians to the missions since they had left without permission. Yet once an expedition was out, it captured whomever it could find. Indian reaction to these attacks was rarely passive. Rebellions against Spanish authority frequently occurred.

In the mission villages the Indians often reacted violently to Jesuit control. On occasion, the Indians killed particularly oppressive missionaries and Spaniards. The Jesuit response to these attacks was usually an even greater display of violence. When the military strength of the Indians outweighed what the Jesuits could organize, the Padres would be forced to try other options to reconcile the Indians. However, given the difficulty of organizing a large scale attack, the Indians usually resorted to fleeing the missions. Sometimes an entire village would leave, but usually small groups of Indians, or even individuals, would flee. The Jesuits therefore spent the majority of their time organizing and carrying out expeditions to bring both runaways and new Indians to the missions.

Some of the most famous rebellions against Spanish and Jesuit authority were organized by the Cocamas of the Ucayali. Even P. Cueva, who had complained bitterly in 1640 of having to be associated with soldiers, now gladly took part in reprisals. He described his 1665 expedition to the Ucayali (APTSJ/A Legajo 406 #179:f. 210-216) organized to punish the Cocamas for conspiring with the Chipeos and Magarinas to kill the Jesuits, the Spaniards and the Mainas

Indians who served them.

Cueva had decided that all of the Indian uprisings had to be ended, so he organized a group of Christianized Jeberos, Cocamas and Mainas Indians to accompany the soldiers from Borja on an expedition to the Ucayali. There were 400 warriors in their militia, making a formidable opposition to the Cocamas as they sailed down the Marañón toward the Ucayali. Not surprisingly, such large numbers were well received in the first village they entered on the Ucayali, and the next village quickly made peace with the Padre. In the third village the village Indians planned an attack, which was unsuccessful. The Padre ordered ten of the most important Indians who had organized the attack to be executed, of whom six were Cocamas. One of the Indians, while on the gallows, turned to P. Majano who accompanied him and said, "If I had killed you, you wouldn't kill me now" (f.215). This total lack of remorse, and willingness to face death bravely, infuriated P. Cueva. Four of the Indians "died so well" that it made their fellow Indians envious and this further infuriated Cueva. The Chipeos, who had been forced to take part in the attack with the Cocamas, were not murdered but instead were exiled to Borja. The Cocamas Indians who had fled their mission village, Santa Maria de Huallaga on the Huallaga River, were ordered to return there, and Cueva made sure to escort them there on his return to Borja.

The Cocamas resented this form of punishment and the

following year, 1666, they led another rebellion which succeeded in killing P. Figueroa. In March of 1667 the Cocamas attacked the village of Santa Maria de Huallaga and attempted to burn it to the ground (ACJ/Q #355, 360, 360). In 1670 the Jesuits retaliated and sent out 160 Indians and 20 Spaniards to punish the Cocamas. The captives who were taken were used to found the village of Santiago de la Laguna.

Jesuit policy then was that any time a missionary was killed or Jesuit authority questioned, massive retaliatory attacks were organized by soldiers and fellow Jesuits to capture and hang the organizers of the uprising, and to forcibly take captives to found new villages. This policy could not always be enacted however, since the response of the Jesuits had to be evaluated in terms of the strength of the Indians concerned. When P. Camacho was killed by the Caumaris in 1753 in the village of Pebas, the Jesuits chose not to punish the Indians involved but instead to proclaim a general reprieve in the hopes of encouraging them to return peacefully to the mission village (PC/M Tomo 108:53). Large numbers of Indians had fled after Camacho's death, both those involved and those not involved in the uprising, fearing the inevitable reprisals from the Spaniards and the Jesuits. Since there were not enough Indians left in the town to avenge the murder, the Superior of the missions had no other recourse but to issue a general pardon. He sent a

new missionary, P. Bahamonde, to retrieve the Indians who had fled to the forest, as well as whomever else he might be able to find.

The missionaries lived in fear of the Indians successfully overrunning them. They developed strong militias in the mission villages, and retained the use of the Spanish militia in Borja in order to keep the Indians in a state of fear. Uriarte in particular describes numerous threats to his life (1952 I:91, 107, 115). According to Jesuit accounts, the Indians were more often reacting to the excesses of the Spaniards who accompanied the missionaries rather than to the missionaries themselves. For example, Widman described one of the attacks on Uriarte and concluded that the Indians were protesting the violent excesses of a Spanish lieutenant who accompanied Uriarte but that the Indians "maintained that they liked and admired and Padre" (PC/M Tomo 108:f.77). Similarly, when the Indians killed P. Camacho, Widman blamed the anger of the Indians on two factors. Camacho had been "carried away by his zeal and tried to make good Christians of them by force too quickly" (PC/M Tomo 108:f.53), and in this pursuit the Indians were particularly incensed that Camacho had punished a relative of theirs. Secondly, they were angered that Camacho had not heeded their request not to bring a certain viracocha into the town who was known to be particularly harsh and severe.

The Jesuits learned not to halt certain Indian practices abruptly even though they personally found them abhorrent to the Christian faith. As early as 1640, P. Prov. Gaspar Sobrino warned the missionaries working in the Andean province of the Paez Indians to work with moderation and patience:

As for ending abuses and concubinages among the Indians and other sins it is necessary to be very careful and moderate, for excessive zeal can cause a great deal of harm and impede the conversion of many; and thus you must fix a principle in your heart, that sins that are found must be remedied little by little with great patience and magnanimity...Any punishment for sins must be introduced with great care and only after having achieved authority over the Indians.
(ACJ/Q #201:f.4-5)

The same edict held for the Mainas missionaries. P. Suarez was killed by the Abijiras in 1667 as a result of trying to end the polygamy among them too quickly. Wishing to prevent similar deaths, Fritz instructed Padres Vidra and Breyer not to attempt to stop certain heathen practices among the Omaguas because of the anger and violence it stirred among them (Edmundson 1922:105). In pursuit of their goal to maintain their mission villages, they had to turn a cheek to certain indigenous practices.

In certain circumstances the missionaries' fear of the Indians and their potential strength was so great that a missionary saw no other choice but to flee. For example, Riofrio, the visitador to Mainas in 1745,

found the remains of a large bonfire in the village of San Miguel de Siecoya on the Napo River in which the missionary P. Francisco Real, and two servants had been burned. Further down river, P. Pietragrasa was living in fear of the same fate befalling him. He told Riofrio of his fears and they agreed that he should leave the village where he was stationed, but should give the Indians an appropriate pretext to explain his absence rather than admit that fear was driving him away.

[We gave] the Indians the pretext that the Padre had not been able to learn the language of that nation when he had been there four months, and in order that they not withdraw [from the village], he [Riofrio] offered to send another Padre who was expert in their language with some gifts for them.

(AGI/S Quito 191:1745)

In addition to rebellions and killing the Padres, the Indians also resorted to fleeing from the mission villages. In the case of the Omaguas, they first attempted to destroy the village. Their plan was to set fire to the church and missionary's house and if the missionary came out alive they would kill him with their clubs, along with any Indians that might support him. Fritz discovered their plan and called in the soldiers from Borja to put down the uprising by flogging those who planned to take part in it and banishing to Borja those who had organized it. The following year, the leader of this uprising escaped from Borja and secretly arrive in San Joaquin de Omaguas. At night he gathered the Indians and convinced

them to flee the village. Within a few days Fritz reported there were only ten Indians left in the village. Fearing attack, Fritz was forced to abandon the village. But the Jesuits quickly responded to this situation by travelling to various surrounding regions to gather the fugitives. They used both force and bribery to return the Indians to the village (Edmundson 1922:110-112).

In most cases the Indians fled in relatively small numbers with only their own safety in mind. The best description of the mission Indians' continual desire to flee comes from P. Magnin. He depicts the Indians in the village of San Francisco de Borja (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas, Legajo 251, #3C) as caged animals desperate to escape the confines of the mission, yet unable to go both because of the difficulty of finding safety outside the mission and the difficulty of organizing enough Indians to flee together without word leaking to the Padre.

The Indian's temptation to flee to the jungle is the most common thing that happens to those of this city. Their conversation is frequently on this subject; that if they flee they will go to such and such area, to such and such place; that they will live thus and so; that they would have such and such chacras, such and such weddings, such and such drunken feasts...and all the whims and fancies that occur to them. (f.23)

Magnin describes an Indian who tried to flee by planning ahead: he planted crops in secret and when they were ready to be harvested he fled. Unable to make it alone, he stole back to the village to try to convince the kuraka to get others to join him. Plans were made for many to flee but

on the day of the flight the plan was revealed. The punishment of the participants was public whipping and humiliation and banishment for the kuraka.

They were paraded through the streets with the jailer giving the fugitives lashes at every corner, and later cut their hair and their hands were lashed together... Besides this the kuraka was exiled along with other punishments... Thus God punished them, and through His great mercy preserved that little village (f.23v)

Magnin graphically describes the fears of the Indians who attempted to make a new life for themselves outside the missions, and their thankfulness at returning to Borja. "All their harvests had been lost; they had become ill several times, sometimes to the point of death; many were in clear danger of being taken by tigers" (f.23v). They argued with each other over their unfortunate state and one Indian described a nagging fear "that there was someone behind him who was trying to seize him" (f.24). Magnin claimed they knew this was the devil, but it is as likely that they feared the expeditions which had been sent out to recapture them and so they travelled with the fear of being hunted animals. Relieved to be returned to Borja and freed of their fears, one Indian said,

Do with me what you want...let the punishment be what it will; I well merit it, for it is better to suffer public shame in Borja than to live under such conditions without any companions other than the furies and the demons, and with corrections, God will forgive us. (f.24-24v)

But Magnin laments, "despite such examples as I say, not all learn by experience, and like the goat runs to the hill, so

various of these people think that they would be better off in those hiding places" (f.24v).

From accounts of the various mission villages one can assume that the great majority of Indians chose to flee. It is unknown how many returned either forcibly or by choice. It would seem though that there was a continual flux in the mission population. It was not steady; there was movement in and out of the villages on a continual basis. The missionaries therefore, spent the largest part of their energies collecting and re-collecting Indians and trying to force them to stay.

A few Indian groups successfully kept the missionaries out of their territories altogether.

Missionaries have been forced to give up converting certain areas because the Indians have a history of rising up and killing the missionaries in the past: the Gibaros, Piros, Cunibos, Abijiras and others.
(AGI/S Quito 158:1735)¹⁴

The most successful of these were the Jivaros who managed to put off the repeated attempts to conquer their territory. The Jivaro territory became the long sought after "El Dorado" in the Spaniards' mind. As early as 1655, Riva Herrera received royal permission to begin the conquest of the Jivaro region (see Rey y Bosa and Romero 1899-1900, Tomo 3 and 4 for many primary documents on this expedition). Riva Herrera set up a new chain of terror and violence, akin only to the Spanish settlement of Borja 35 years before. He and 100 Spaniards recruited

from the frontier towns began work on the lower Huallaga among the Barbudo and Aguano Indians and then moved on to an unsuccessful attempt to conquer the Jivaros. Even the Jesuits requested that missionary activities in the Jivaro region should cease because it seemed hopeless and there were no goods to be procured from the region (ACJ/Q #306).

The Spaniards accompanying Riva Herrera moved on to the Tigre, Morona and Pastaza Rivers. In 1656 they founded the town of Santander de la Nueva Montana on the banks of the Pastaza, a half-day from the Marañón. The Roamaynas Indians were brought to the area surrounding the new town and were divided into encomiendas. The violent treatment of the Indians sent new shock waves through the region and Cueva appealed to the Viceroy in Lima to have Riva Herrera's commission revoked. Riva Herrera left the lowlands only two years after he arrived, but the upheaval continued much longer. Many Indians fled the missions in the wake of his activities and it took many years for the missionaries to re-collect them.

The hope that gold would be discovered in Jivaro lands persisted and the Spaniards repeatedly tried to gain a foothold there. Rodríguez (1684:383) wrote that gold was known to exist in the region and although P. Lucero reported in 1685 that there was none (Jouanen 1941:633), Madrid ignored his report and demanded the conquest of the Jivaros in order to seize the gold. The Jesuits thus conducted expeditions into Jivaro lands in the 1680's

and 1690's, under the leadership of P. Viva (see Costales and Costales 1977 for primary documents and descriptions of this expedition). Hundreds of Indians were forced to join the militia to support these expeditions, creating shortages of males in the missions for two decades. The failure of Viva's attempts closed the Jivaro lands to all Spaniards and missionaries until the mid-1760's when P. Camacho successfully started a village within Jivaro territory (PC/M Tomo 108:f.94-95, 1-0-101). The expulsion of the Jesuits a few years later closed the region to the Spaniards once again (Chantre y Herrera 1901:574).

In summary the Indians joined the missions initially for two reasons: to acquire tools or to seek protection. For most Indians the Jesuits were the major source for acquiring tools. Some hoped to turn this new trade to their advantage. For example, the Conibo sought a new position of power in the Ucayali region by achieving a monopoly of control over the Jesuit trade goods. Other Indians sought protection from the even greater brutality found in the encomiendas; some, such as the Omaguas sought protection from the Portuguese raids.

The Jesuits, however, were unable to deliver many of these promises of tools and protection. Tools were not abundantly available. The Jesuits could not acquire them in great enough quantity. Maroni reported that when visiting various Indian groups on the Napo he was very pleased to see the chiefs who came to visit him but they

were not glad to see him since he lacked tools (VU/L Papeles Various Mss. #24). This pointed out what the missionaries knew and despaired about: the Indians were not truly interested in understanding Catholicism, but only in acquiring tools. In addition, the missions did not serve as protection from the Spanish or the Portuguese invaders. Thousands of Indians were bodily taken from the missions and thousands of others were forced to join the militia to fight both the Portuguese and heathen Indians. In reviewing their history, it is apparent that the Jesuits were largely ineffectual in protecting the Indians against raiders who continued to be a formidable problem in the 17th and 18th centuries. (The Portuguese raids will be discussed in Chapter 4.)

Historians frequently describe the Jesuit missions as a haven from the violence of the outside world. However, the degree of violence that was associated with bringing and keeping the Indians in the missions has never been well documented. The Jesuits were only able to maintain the size of the villages by continual raiding of the interior. Once the Indians were assembled, the problem was to get them to stay. To most Indians, the reasons for leaving outweighed those for staying.

Reorganization in the Interior

The arrival of the Spaniards and the Jesuits heralded an entirely new situation in the upper Amazon region. The most obvious and immediate byproduct of the violence

wrought by them was an increase in violence among Indian groups. Data on the Omaguas from the expeditions of Orellana and Aguirre in the mid-16th century, compared to data from the expedition of Acuna in the mid-17th century shows a startling increase in the amount and frequency of warfare.¹⁵

Omaguas Indians lived on both the Amazon and Napo Rivers. Those on the Napo began to have direct contact with the Spanish encomenderos from the Quijos province in the 16th century. Indeed, some Indians were forced onto the encomiendas. Many explorations were made to various parts of the Omaguas territory in the late 16th century because this was believed to be the lost El Dorado of the lowlands. Further, missionary activity began briefly here in 1621 and was reinstated in 1630.¹⁶ It is likely that the two groups of Omaguas were in communication at this time.

In the 16th century the Omaguas of the Amazon were described by the explorers as living on the mainland and on the islands of the Amazon in large, permanent settlements. From his brief visit Orellana described peaceful inter-tribal relations based on continuous and extensive trading relations. There was evidence that they were at war only with the Machifaro, another large, riverine group living further down the Marañón. In these reports there is no mention of the existence of a slave class of captives, a characteristic that was closely associated with the Omaguas in later descriptions.

The 17th century Omaguas on the Amazon had made a major

resettlement from the shores of the mainland to the large islands. Persistent warfare forced them onto the islands to escape attack from their numerous enemies. Warfare had now become perpetual for them; Acuna described the Omaguas' principal activity as the pursuit of warfare. Sweet speculates that this change resulted from the "introduction of European trade goods and the European demand for slaves" (1974:208) but he does not specify how these introductions were made. He suggests that Acuna's journey may have been largely responsible for these pressures but this does not seem likely. The changes had already occurred by the time Acuna arrived there.

It is more likely that contact with the Omaguas on the Napo who were in association with the Spaniards played a role in the increase in warfare on the Amazon. There are a number of possible explanations for the increase of warfare among neighboring groups. Was the supremacy of the Omaguas in the region challenged by other Indian groups who achieved new access to goods and power by associating themselves with the Spaniards? Did access to trade goods from new locations alter the network of intertribal trading relations? Did the Omaguas begin to engage in slave raiding of other Indians for the Europeans? Whatever the specific events may have been, one of the first indirect effects of contact for the Omaguas on the Amazon was a general increase in violence, fighting, and warfare.

Indians who chose to fight or attack the Spaniards

could expect almost certain reprisals from the Spanish troops and the missionaries, and in some cases from their fellow Indians. For example, in the 1630's a group of Encabellados Indians of the Napo River murdered a number of Spanish soldiers and their captain, Captain Palacio, who were accompanying two Franciscan friars through the region. The Franciscans escaped down the Napo and onto the Marañón. They made it all the way to the Pará where they secured help from the Portuguese.¹⁷ The Portuguese returned to the Napo in 1638, enroute to Quito, and spent 11 months in this region,¹⁸ killing Indians and destroying stores of food in their attempt to find and punish the murderers of the Spanish soldiers. The intensity of these raids caused a split between the Encabellados. Those who had not been involved in the attack on the Spanish blamed the raids on those who were responsible for the attack. The guilty Indians were forced by the others to move away from the Napo. In the course of their flight, they met P. Santa Cruz who had an Abijiras interpreter with him. The interpreter was used by the Encabellados to strike up a friendship with the Abijiras and the Encabellados came to settle with them on the Curaray River. According to Cueva's account, the Encabellados' desire to eat human meat grew and grew until one day they went out and attacked an isolated settlement, killing and eating those that they found there. The Abijiras were disturbed at this turn of events and feared that one day the Encabellados might turn against them. To prevent this

from occurring, the Abijiras rose up one evening and murdered all the Encabellados who had joined their settlement as well as the interpreter who had helped to create the alliance (APTSJ/A Legajo 406 #179:f.219-220).

Many conflicting situations existed for the Indians. Under what conditions was it safe to kill the Spaniards? Would their own group support their actions? How would they be able to form new alliances if forced to move? It is striking that here, the choice to kill Spaniards made a band of Encabellados outcasts within their own group many years after the actual event, when they came under attack from the Portuguese. It is also of interest to note the difficulty of establishing alliances and that in this case the friendship between Indian groups was established through the use of the Jesuit-trained interpreter.

A key component that helped to determine the survivability for a group was its size. The small number of Encabellados who fled were forced to ally themselves with another Indian group to survive in a new region. Clearly a larger settlement was more impregnable. The Mainas Indians were considered "the rulers of the Nucuray" (River) (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251, #10J:f.68) because they were so numerous that other groups did not stand a chance if they attacked them. Surrounding groups on the Nucuray River were more prone to attack because they were comparatively smaller.

Although strength may have been in numbers, Indians

were often forced to flee in small groups. Nieto Polo described how Indians moved far away from the rivers where the Padres worked, to remote corners of the jungle, in order to find protection. They were scared of being discovered and therefore were forced to approach all strangers as enemies.

The greater part of the nations which remain to be conquered live not only at a distance from the old settlements but also from the Marañón itself and also from other better known rivers which are the paths customarily followed by the preachers of the gospel. The natives are naturally timid and suspicious and lacking a rational approach they give free reign to their enmity.

The horror these Indians have of the Spaniards and the Portuguese is so great that the Indians shelter themselves in the densest parts of the forests and in the most remote localities of the rivers in unknown, rugged or marshy places where the remoteness serves them as a wall and as a defense. To befriend these people...the missionary is obliged to travel about like a hunter for many days or even months through the forests, crossing rivers, traversing thickets, penetrating into marshes and quagmires, trusting in providence and in the sustenance which the forest is capable of, there being great abundance of fruit and game only on the banks of the rivers, until finding a cluster of huts because not only the tribes but even families themselves may live many days journey apart, and finding themselves discovered and not yet being aware of their fortune, they either suspect hostility and immediately seek safety in flight or they set ambushes with the aim of killing their charitable guests.
(AGI/S Quito 158:1735)

The Indians would have had reason to fear not only the Spaniards and the Jesuits, but also other Indians. The Padres were expert at using one Indian to expose the whereabouts of the others. Widman described many examples

of such maneuvers.

A runaway woman who ten years before, after her husband had died, came out with her three sons of her own accord and was living in La Laguna, gave notice that there were other runaways of her tribe, the Ytucale. With this news they went in search of them and brought back 21 people to the town of San Javier de Urarines. (PC/M Tomo 108:f.79)

In the year 1748 the Andoas had gone to the Rio Guasago partly to seek their relatives, partly to make canoes. (f.79-80)

The year of 1754 the P. Superior wished to punish the Caumaris who had killed P. Casado... they departed...taking as a guide a widow who had been among the killers and who had left upon the death of her husband. On the seventh day they surprised two young Yaguas as well as an old woman who acted as lookouts for the killers and using them as guides they caught the killers on the eighth day and then three more Indians with their families who at a distance of a few leagues also acted as spies for the other side. (f.81)

Such activity led to an altogether new, high level of distrust, previously unknown to the Indians. There was good reason to fear that a strange Indian might be an advance party for Spanish or Jesuit raiders. An Indian entering a strange village would have to talk fast to explain why he was there, where he came from and whether anyone was with him.

The best way to avoid ambush [is for] some of the braver Indians to march ahead with their Spanish leader in the darkest time of the night approaching the huts of the godless in complete quiet and at daybreak when they are the least vigilant they suddenly enter and remove or secure their arms and calming them with presents and signs of affection they inform them, via interpreters, befriending them...Greater problems ensue when there is no one present who is aware of their language. (Nieto Polo in AGI/S Quito 158:1735)

The presence of the Spanish settlers bordering the outskirts of the lowlands provided an additional opportunity for some Indians to forge trade alliances with the Spaniards and circumvent dealing with the missionaries. There is little data on this topic, but it was not unknown for Indians to have trading agreements with the Spaniards where they provided slaves in exchange for tools. Magnin described the Indians from the Aguarico River being prey to the slave raiding of the Leones Indians of the Putumayo River. He met many orphans and widows whose fathers and husbands had been killed in such slave raids; but he did not report how many were actually taken (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251, #8H:f.59v). Closer to the lower Marañón, Cueva reported a similar type of trading of slaves for tools that took place in the 17th century:

The Indians [the Jivaros] trade in Moyobamba, where they go with some boys whom they capture from enemy nations and sell in exchange for axes, knives, machetes and other instruments needed for their fields or plantings.
(ACJ/Q #198:f.6)

In the 17th and 18th centuries, a major way to distinguish between Amazonian groups was whether they were Christian or non-Christian Indians. Mission villages were established along the major rivers and Indians from the surrounding inland areas were used to settle them. While access to the rivers may have been advantageous before the arrival of the Europeans (Lathrap 1968) it now became synonymous with belonging to the mission villages. Both hostility and

cooperation marked the relationship between the riverine and interfluvial regions prior to contact, but during the colonial period the relationship seems only to have been hostile. The two regions served different purposes within the Jesuit scheme: the rivers were for settling mission villages; the inland area was for taking Indians. In retaliation for raids, it was not uncommon for the non-Christian Indians to attack the mission villages. There are numerous examples of this found in the Jesuit writings. Fritz notes however that the motivation for many of these "retaliatory" raids was to procure iron tools from the missions (Edmundson 1922:100).

This chapter has detailed the contact between the Indians and the explorers, the Spanish settlers and the Jesuit missionaries in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Contact, and the resultant pacification, brought with it a good deal of violence at the hands of the Spanish encomenderos, Spanish soldiers, Jesuit missionaries, and even Christianized Indians - albeit with elaborate rationalizations that they were subduing the heathens. Resettlement became a necessary response for many of the indigenous groups. Attacks and counter-attacks, flight from mission villages, and fear kept the mission population in flux and resulted in the Jesuits altering their primary task in the area: establishing economically viable villages. They constantly were searching for runaways and new

recruits. Indian groups were faced with a dilemma: cooperate, flee, or fight back. The choices made sometimes split Indian groups and led to more violence amongst themselves.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Spanish colonies were subdivided into two administrative regions: the Viceroyalty of Peru (with its capital in Lima) which dealt with all of South America, and the Viceroyalty of Mexico for all of North and Meso-America. Each Viceroyalty, headed by a Viceroy who was chosen by the king, was further subdivided into administrative units known as Audiencias. There were seven Audiencias in the Viceroyalty of Peru: Panama, Lima, Santa Fe de Bogotá, Chacras, Quito, Chile, and Buenos Aires. Mainas came under the jurisdiction of the Audiencia of Quito. However, if the Spanish settlers or the Jesuits were dissatisfied with decisions they received from Quito, they could appeal to the Viceroy in Lima.
2. The political structure of Maines never became more complex than just this municipalidad since the number of Spaniards residing in Borja was so small. The administration of the many mission villages came under the jurisdiction of the Jesuits, not the Spaniards.
3. This has been shown in many ethnohistorical case studies of North American Indians, particularly those on the Plains Indians (Jablow 1951, Lewis 1942, Secoy 1953).
4. A notable exception is Salinas de Loyola in 1538.
5. Jos (1927) and Gil Munilla (1954), two historians, believe that the Machifaro Nunes encountered were not the same ones that Orellana and Ursua each described. The later explorers, they believe, were much further down the Marañón, near the confluence with the Napo River when they met the Machifaro.
6. Of great interest to the Spaniards was the story of the villages of Amazon women which Orellana and his men described. Although some of the descriptions of these villages are very elaborate (Medina 1934:205), no Spaniard ever visited these villages and no reports are based on first-hand knowledge. Leonard (1944) has made an interesting analysis of the various accounts of the communities of Amazon women described by the conquistadores in Mexico. He relates the details reported in these stories to those found in novels popular in 16th century Spain, and widely read among the soldiers in the Americas. Whether these communities ever existed is not known, but it is interesting that the Amazon River received its name from the popularity of this story about the communities of only women.
7. Aguirre perpetrated more atrocities among his own men

than any other explorer. This generated numerous accounts of the journey (Jos 1927).

8. It was believed that the Inca fled Cuzco in 1532 with this treasure, El Dorado, and were hiding it in the jungle.
9. This is the only reference to weaving mills existing in Borja. Weaving mills for the production of woolen cloth, known as obrajes in Spanish, were the basis of the economy for the highland area of the Audiencia of Quito (Tyrer 1976). Perhaps the encomenderos in Mainas hoped to establish similar production in the lowlands.
10. In time, Quito served this purpose rather than Cuenca.
11. It is clear from the context that P. Fritz is requesting the soldiers to pacify the Indians, and not to repel the Portuguese raiders.
12. Whenever the missionaries wrote of taking interpreters, they state that they were doing it by Royal Decree. However, the Royal Decree to which they were referring could not be located in the archives.
13. It is unclear whether Magnin accompanied the expedition or if he interviewed the participants afterwards.
14. Nine missionaries were killed in the 131 year period of Jesuit activity in the Mainas region.
15. This is not to say that warfare did not exist in the pre-contact period. Maroni (1890:254-265) described the techniques and methods for conducting warfare that he observed. DeBoer (1981a) has analyzed the possible war strategies of riverine Indians and the role of buffer zones to separate warring settlements.
16. See Oberem (1967-68) for a detailed history of these various contacts with the Omaguas of the Napo River.
17. Portugal and Spain were united as one country for about a hundred years until 1680.
18. P. Cueva reports that the Portuguese remained in the region of the Napo for eleven months. This seems to be very long but other accounts (Jiminez de la Espada 1889) do not specify the time period.

CHAPTER 4

LIFE IN THE JESUIT MISSION VILLAGES

Daily life in a Jesuit mission village was to be a well structured, orderly procession of prayers, schooling, religious training, agricultural work, militia training and more prayers. These activities were to be regulated according to instructions from the Superiors. The Padre's job was simply to enact these instructions. It was, of course, anything but simple to do this. Mission life, while it was supposed to be well structured and orderly, was more often chaotic and frightening, plagued by disease, death, raids and people fleeing in large numbers. The biggest problem for the Padres was to get Indians to remain in the missions. Chapter 4 is a study of these two sides of mission life: what the Padres were attempting to establish and the Indian response.

Two sets of data are drawn from: descriptive reports by the missionaries and demographic data collected throughout the 18th century. The demographic data allow new insights into the day-to-day conditions with which the Indians were forced to cope. The data are divided into categories according to age, sex and marital status. They allow us to look at a number of questions: how large were the villages? How many men, women and children were there? How did disease, raiding and fleeing deplete the missions? Further, the imbalances found in the sex ratio lead to asking: how was production reorganized when there was a

shortage of men or women? What might account for the unusually large number of widowers? Where would these men be able to find new wives? Unfortunately, many of these questions can not be answered from the available demographic data. They do, nevertheless, clarify some of the day-to-day conditions that the Indians experienced which the missionaries may not have been aware of, or which they may have wished to conceal.

This chapter is divided into five sections. The first is a description of the demographic records - the types of information recorded and the conditions under which the data were collected. Second is a study of the growth and decline of the mission villages. Though there was potential for a high population growth, indicated by the large percent of the population under 15, this was probably not realized due to the continuous high death tolls within the missions resulting from epidemics, diseases, and Portuguese raids. The growth of the missions therefore, was probably due to bringing in new converts on a continuous basis. This would also explain why the bulk of the literature by the Mainas Jesuits concerns missionizing new regions rather than describing the already established villages.

Third is an account of the massive Jesuit resettlement of the region. The Jesuit goal was to encourage all traffic, commerce and interaction to be along

the major rivers, which were easier for Europeans to navigate than overland routes. Since the indigenous groups who originally lived along the rivers had been decimated by the early period of contact, the Jesuits needed to resettle the rivers by bringing Indians from further inland onto the rivers.

The fourth section is a study of the reorganization of production and social life in the mission villages. The goal of the Padres was to restructure production in order to create sedentary communities based on horticulture and domesticated animals. They failed in this regard; the missions never became financially self-sufficient, but were dependent on annual contributions from the Crown and the Jesuit treasury. Concomitantly, social life went through a variety of changes: the Indians were responsible for the physical care and well-being of their missionary; the Indians were schooled in new crafts and skills; religious training became a large part of the day so that former leisure time was taken up with new responsibilities to the Church. In addition, the political and ecclesiastical structure of the village and the evolution of a new class of people - the viracochas - created new lines of factionalism and tension among the Christianized Indians.

Section five is a review of the sex ratios in the villages as reported in census data. Continual fluctuations in the relative numbers of males and females

over time were a result of chance fluctuations occurring in nature as well as the migration in and out of the mission villages. In order to attempt to balance the number of males and females, the villages would have had to pursue different strategies at different times.

Types of Demographic Records

The missionaries in Mainas were repeatedly counting their converts - baptized and non-baptized - in order to report back to their superiors and to the King of Spain on the extent of their success. They kept several types of records. The most important were the village records of baptisms, marriages and deaths. Although these books were found when the Jesuits left the region in 1767 and are listed in the Temporalidades (BN/M #17614), none have survived to the present. The most common type of report were approximations of the total number of Indians in the missions.

The best demographic information currently available comes from detailed census reports where the data were categorized by age, sex and marital status. Six such reports were found for Mainas for the years: 1719, 1740, 1745, 1767, 1769 and 1776. Each report was prepared by a different individual; only two were prepared by the Jesuits, but an additional two were probably prepared with the aid of the local Jesuit Padre. The census of 1719 was prepared by P. Fritz (BNC/R Fondo Gesuitico #1249/1); the census of 1740 by an unidentified Jesuit missionary (PF/R Amer. Mer.

#2:f.479-480); the census of 1745 by visitador Riofrio, probably done in conjunction with the Jesuits present in each village (AGI/S Quito 191:1745); the census of 1767 (BN/M #17614) was prepared by the commissioner, Basabe, who was appointed by the Audiencia of Quito to lead the Jesuits out of Mainas. He was ordered to make an enumeration of the Indians in each village as well as an accounting of all goods in the Jesuit's possession. He may have been aided in taking the census by the Jesuits or by their baptismal records. The reports of 1769 and 1776 were prepared by secular priests who replaced the Jesuits after the expulsion. The censuses were found in the Jesuit Archive in Santiago, Chile and were published by Schuller (1911).

Although the reports were prepared on an irregular basis, and for different authorities, the format remained the same and was clearly characteristic of the times and the area. Census data from the Jesuit missions in the Moxos region of Bolivia was done in a similar manner (Block 1980a:293-300) as was data collected by the Franciscans for their missions on the Ucayali River (Schuller 1908).

The four basic categories used were: married couples; widows/widowers; male/female adolescents; male/female children. In 1719 and 1740 widows/widowers was not used and a category defined as "single" was found in its place. This category is presumed to have included two groups of people: widowers and widows and unmarried people

who were older than adolescents. Unfortunately, when this "single" category was used it was not broken down into males and females. The data for calculating the sex ratios for these two years is therefore not complete.

The census reports only represented baptized Indians. The number of catecumenos, neophytes still undergoing training in the faith, was presented with no breakdown into categories of age, sex or marital status. The census data then should be regarded as a large sample of the mission population but not as the entire population.

Since the census data present a sample of the population, it is necessary to ask whether or not it is a representative sample. Baptism was the event which qualified Indians for inclusion in the census. At what point were Indians baptized? Were all children baptized immediately after they were born? Did the adults receive baptism only after undergoing religious indoctrination? When new Indians were brought to the village did children and adults both await baptism until after religious training, or did the children receive baptism before their parents? The Padres preferred to bring in young boys to be used as interpreters and raised in the seminaries. Thus it also needs to be considered whether when raiding for new converts for the mission villages, they selectively chose children.

A number of reasons make it probable that the census data do constitute a representative sample of the

entire age structure of the villages and are not skewed toward children. First, the census records were prepared to impress the authorities with how many people had been converted to Catholicism. This was the critical point upon which the Jesuits' success in the region was determined by the authorities who dispensed the financial backing needed to expand their operations. It is doubtful that they would have underenumerated the adults in the population. Second, the percent of the population represented by children in Mainas is strikingly close to that reported for Moxos in the 18th century (see Table 18) as well as to the percent reported in the 20th century for the same region (see Appendix H). Third, the percent of the population represented by children does not vary significantly from 1719 to 1776 (see Table 18) although the percent of neophytes does vary widely throughout this period (see Table 20). Fourth, when the missionaries raided for new converts they had a stated preference for children, but an accounting by P. Widman of the entradas made by the Jesuits (see Appendix F) makes it clear that while they may have preferred children, they took whomever they were able to capture. It was probably at the point of capture that the Padres separated the male children they wanted to live in the seminaries and be trained as interpreters. In the early days of the missions, P. Cueva described raiding specifically for interpreters who were young boys. But later, as the entire structure of the mission population

was based on capturing converts by force, it seems there was no attempt to be selective, but rather to take whomever they could capture.

There are problems in the data, however, when one tries to make comparisons of the sex ratio within one village over time. Since there was a continual flux in the population of the villages one cannot assume that the majority of adults who were present in a village in 1719 were the same individuals present in 1740. While it is still valid to look at the change in the sex ratio over time and to look at the sex ratio at the regional level, it must be clear that these were not stable populations and that some alterations in the sex ratio may be related to fluctuations in migration patterns.

Growth and Decline of the Mission Villages

A mission village, called a reducción in Spanish, was a forced resettlement of Indians into a given locality, subject to the authority of the Padre. Rarely did the missionaries in Mainas consider a native settlement an appropriate site for a mission village. Instead, the Indians were brought to a site chosen by the missionary. This resettlement had a number of advantages for the missionaries: it located the new settlement where it was most needed in relation to the rest of the mission system; initially it separated those Indians interested in joining the mission from those who were not; and the organization of the village

structure could be laid out according to the specifications of the Padre rather than being tied to the indigenous format.

It is not known how many mission villages were founded by the Jesuits. Velasco gives an improbable figure of 153 (1979). The census reports listed 41 as the maximum at any one time. Over the entire time period that the Jesuits were resident in the region there were only about 60 villages founded that actually functioned as mission-run villages.¹ Many others that were "founded" and listed by Velasco were quickly abandoned by the Indians. In some, the Padres made contact with the Indians but did not have the manpower or supplies to truly establish a mission village. The number of Indians, then, who were counted in the census reports were far less than the number who had contact with the missionaries and the mission Indians.

Table 17 presents the growth and decline of the Jesuit missions in the 18th century in terms of the number of Indians and the number of villages in the Mainas territory. Unfortunately there are not similar demographic data available for the 17th century. There are two significant drops in population reported in these data: from 1719 to 1727 and again from 1745 to 1760. In both periods the number of villages decreased. The rest of the periods are marked by substantial growth. What accounts for these periods of growth: a high birth rate or the continual movement of new Indians into the missions? What accounts for the periods

TABLE 17

Census Reports for Mainas - Jesuit Era

	<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Indians</u>	<u>Number of Villages</u>
(1)	1719	7966	28
(2)	1727	5942	22
(3)	1740	11036	32
(4)	1745	12909	41
(5)	1760	12229	34
(6)	1767	19234	36

Sources: (1) BNC/R Fondo Gesuitico #1249/1; (2) Jouanen 1943:426; (3) PF/R Ameri. Mer. #2:f.479-480; (4) AGI/S Quito 191:1745; (5) Jouanen 1943:527; (6) Jouanen 1943:536.

of decline: a drop in population, an increase in mortality from epidemics, an increase in Portuguese raiding? The Mainas data only give information about the number of children in the villages from which one can infer the potential level of population growth. The actual population growth would have to be correlated with both the mortality rates and the rate of out-migration, neither of which are available in the data.

The following sections combine the demographic and descriptive sources to allow for discussion of the growth and decline of the mission populations. A rough calculation of the potential for population growth of the Mainas missions can be made from the census data by calculating the age structure of the villages. Researchers have found a relationship between age structure and the rate of population growth (U.N. 1973:264). They describe three possible types of population. A progressive population has a high proportion

of children and a high rate of growth, with at least 40 percent of the population under 15 years of age. A stationary population has a moderate proportion of children and aged people with slow growth or stationary numbers: 26.5 percent of the population is under 15 years of age. A regressive population has a high proportion of aged people and declining numbers, with 20 percent under 15 years of age. The census categories for Mainas are general ones which approximate the ages of the Indians rather than specifying how many were under age 15 and, how many were aged. However, the category "children" commonly referred to people under 7 years, and "adolescents" commonly referred to those people between 7 and 15.²

Block (1980a:297-298) calculated the age structure for the Moxos region of Bolivia but only used the portion of the census referring to "children," ignoring the information about "adolescents." He concluded that populations were declining rapidly. A reassessment of his data on Moxos and an assessment of the data on Mainas both show a potential for substantial population growth. The age structure presented in Table 18 shows a potential population growth as a result of the high percentage of children - almost half the population - under 15.³ The data, however, do not represent a closed population. For example, although 48 percent of the mission population was made up of children and adolescents in 1719, indicating a high potential for population growth, the population actually declined sharply

TABLE 18

Age Structure in Mainas and Moxos from Census Reports

	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
<u>Mainas</u>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Adolescents and Children	48%	43%	45%	46%	47%	47%
<u>Moxos (7)</u>	<u>1720</u>	<u>1736</u>	<u>1748</u>	<u>1752</u>	<u>1764</u>	
Adolescents and Children	43%	50%	47%	46%	47%	

Sources: (1) BNC/R Fondo Gesuitico #1249/1; (2) PF/R Amer. Mer.#2:f.479-480; (3) AGI/S Quito 191:1745; (4) BN/M #17614; (5) and (6) Schuller 1911; (7) Block 1980a:297-298.

from 1719 to 1727.⁴ Other factors must therefore be taken into account.

Disease and Epidemics

Although the population growth would appear to have been great based on the high proportion of children that were consistently found in the census reports, the death rate was alarmingly high in this region. Uriarte reviewed his baptismal books for the village of Omaguas over a period of twenty years and was horrified to note that 30-40 children died every year. Further, he found that all the children he baptized in the year 1757 were dead four years later, with the exception of one mestizo child (1952 I: 252-253).

Indians who moved into the missions stood a good chance of dying within a short time. Magnin noted that in 1743 when 22 Indians were captured in a raid on the Nucuray River and brought to San Ignacio de Mainas, on the Marañón

River, three days after their arrival all but one was ill with fevers. The last one became sick a short time later. Within two months, four adults and one baby had died. The others were still sick with colds and coughs and their deaths seemed imminent. Four months later Magnin wrote in a postscript that no more than 10 of the original 22 were still alive. In other words, in 6 months the death rate was 55 percent for these 22 people. (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251, #10J:f.69v)

Disease was continual. Fevers were often reported by the missionaries as a recurring illness for the Indians as well as for themselves (Zephyris in Matthei 1972:216; Magnin in Bayle 1951b:94; Uriarte 1952 I:225). These fevers, which they called: "intermittent" fevers, tercianas, calenturas and frios, were all probably malaria. In addition Zephyris, Magnin and Uriarte included the following symptoms as most common: diarrhea, dysentary, catarrh⁵, inflammation of the eyes, swellings, consumption, abscesses, sores, and yaws.^{6,7} Uriarte is the only missionary to associate the annual rains with the onset of disease, particularly catarrh (1952 I:252, 286, II:17).

In addition to disease the missionaries also noted difficulties with childbirth. The Jesuits tried to stay informed of all births in their villages so that if the delivery was difficult and death seemed imminent, the baby could be baptized and the mother given confession before either died (Chantre y Herrera 1901:607-608). Uriarte

offered descriptions of women having problems with child-birth (I:246) as well as of children born with birth defects. One morning he described being awakened to baptize three newborns, all of whom were born with soft jawbones and could not suck. There was no hope for their survival (I:286). Not only was childbirth dangerous and infant mortality high (Jouanen 1943:537), Magnin noted that sterility of women was a problem in the missions (Bayle 1951:103). This sterility may have been a byproduct of some of the diseases that swept through the area.

The missionaries were equally affected by these diseases. Richter reported that each of the missionaries became sick soon after his arrival in the region (Matthei 1969:191). Their writings were filled with descriptions of their own "indispositions." Again, fevers were particularly common. Magnin associated having fevers with jaundice, an indication that this was malaria (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251, #8H:f.55). "Dropsy" was a frequent complaint of the missionaries and the cause of death of Padres Falcombelli (ARSI/R Novi Regni #15II:f.343v), Fritz and Bollarte (Edmundson 1922: 60, 124).

In addition to the diseases mentioned, the two biggest killers were viruelas - smallpox, and sarampion - measles. These diseases passed through the region leaving thousands dead in their wake. Sweet calculated the number of people that died in the measles epidemic of 1749 on the Negro and Solimões (Middle Amazon) Rivers and found that in one year,

at least 2371 people died, and 335 people fled from the region (1974:737). Smallpox was an equally devastating disease. In European cities the death rate went as high as 20%, and in the Americas among Indians who had no genetic immunity to the disease, the death rate could run as high as 100 percent (Sweet 1974:109).

Table 19 reports the frequency of the epidemics in Mainas and the area affected.

TABLE 19

Epidemics in Mainas

<u>Year</u>	<u>Epidemic</u>	<u>Region</u>
1642	Smallpox	Borja and environs
1660	Measles	Borja and environs including Río Pastaza
1669	Smallpox	Unknown
1680	Smallpox	Started on Río Huallaga
1749	Smallpox	Río Napo
	Measles	Lower Marañon
1756	Smallpox	Upper Marañon
1762	Smallpox	Upper Marañon

Sources: Velasco (1979), Heredia (1924),
Figuera (1904).

The epidemics had uneven courses, not hitting every village and occurring with different degrees of force. Chantre y Herrera reported that the smallpox epidemic of 1756 killed 200 in Borja, 400 in Lagunas, and halved the population in Yurimaguas and Xeberos; the Indians in San Ignacio de Mainas and Chamicuros avoided the epidemic by fleeing to the jungle (1901:524). Other illnesses often came immediately after a

devastating epidemic. For example, the 1756 smallpox epidemic was followed by an epidemic of colds, fevers and diarrhea the next year (PC/M Tomo 108:f.89). In 1758 both Yurimaguas and Laguna were hit by another, unspecified epidemic (f.91-92).

There are not totals for the numbers of deaths from these epidemics. Velasco's figures are inflated way beyond what might be believable. He cited 44,000, 20,000 and 66,000 as having died in the 1660, 1669 and 1680 epidemics, respectively (1979:450). The Jesuits neither had contact with such large numbers of Indians nor detailed information about them which could enable them to arrive at such high numbers. Yet there is no question that the numbers of deaths were very high. Cueva graphically described the situation when he wrote that a missionary needed to have "an ax in one hand [presumably for trading] and a hoe to dig graves in the other" (Figueroa 1904:183).

The Indians often fled to the forest to escape the onslaught of disease (Uriarte 1952 I:265). Some probably became ill despite this precaution and then spread disease to regions not contacted by the Spaniards. Uriarte reported that many times Indians would refuse to join a mission village because they feared the epidemics. The Padre's response was to say, "But you will eventually sicken and die anyway, why not join these missions where you can receive axes and machetes" (1952 I:72-73).

Uriarte provided information about attempts to control

these diseases. Malaria was treated with aguardiente, sugar and sudores of pepper, as well as with sugar water, cascarilla (Peruvian bark, quinine), raicilla and marapauba⁸ (1952 I:252, 286). In 1762 P. Esquini experimented with a vaccine against smallpox in the village of Chamicuros, but the results were negligible (pg. 256). Other local remedies included: garlic which was used against snake and arrow wounds (ACJ/Q #350); sumo (cane sap) used to revive a man who had been poisoned with barbasco (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas #251, 8H:f.26); ground avocado used to stop bleeding (PC/M Tomo 108:f.50). Other locally grown herbs were used for various medicinal purposes: caraña, copaiba, yellow copal, escobilla, espingo (see Appendix I for listing).

Despite these medicinal attempts, Uriarte noted that the Indians, particularly the children, still died in great numbers (1952 I:286). The chief and overriding concern that people were forced to cope with daily was the possibility of imminent death. David Sweet writes,

On a day-to-day basis, the people of all races in Amazonia were kept reminded -- by ever-present disease more than by any other single factor -- of the possibility of an early death, of the unlikelihood of the fulfillment of long-term plans and projects, of the tenuousness of men's hold over the environment and their ties to one another. It was an atmosphere conducive not to institution-building, to investment and accumulation and trust, but rather to a quest for quick and easy gain, to a spirit of unscrupulous self-reliance and ultimate social irresponsibility. The social and organic pathologies were as one. (1974:86-87)

We can only imagine the terror and psychological turmoil that this new and unpredictable force in people's lives

would have caused. Everyday life was plagued by new questions. Would one's children survive infancy? Would a spouse live to help support the family or would one face the probability of having to find alternative forms of support in the likelihood of his or her death? We can only speculate about the profound effects such devastation would have on the peoples and indeed on the social fabric of the times. Such high death rates appear to have been unprecedented in the region.

Movement into the Mission Villages

The Jesuits brought Indians into the mission system in large and constant numbers. Their plan was for the system to be continually expanding as the number of missionaries grew. Rarely did missionaries work together, each usually went out on his own to conquer new uncontacted regions. But though Indians were brought into the missions in large numbers, they also left in large numbers. Most Indians came to the villages in search of iron tools. When the tools were not forthcoming in sufficient quantity, many became disillusioned and left.

It happens that often a village has many people, and tomorrow one will hardly find the third part of them, for only with presents and gifts can the Padres keep them, which costs a great deal.
(Visitador Zeares, ARSI/R Novi Regni #15I:f.139v)

Visitador Riofrio noted that while the apostles were able to make conversions with miracles, the Jesuit missionaries had to offer gifts because due to "the nature of these

Indians, a knife is more appreciated than a miracle" (AGI/S Quito 191:1745). He went on to note that the supply of gifts had to continue if the Indians were to remain.

While the Indians are easily attracted and drawn to leave their hiding places to be reduced and settled for a piece of a tool, even after they are established and have received instruction, if they lack the gifts and trinkets, they leave and abandon the missionaries. (AGI/S Quito 191:1745)

In addition to the lack of tools, the Indians left the missions because they feared dying from the diseases which repeatedly passed through the mission villages; they disliked the overbearing structure of the mission and its strict regulations; they feared being attacked by the Portuguese and by hostile non-mission Indians.

Given this continual flux, the census data provide some insight into the actual scale of the movement into the missions (see Table 20). Block analyzed the total number of neophytes in the region of Moxos in comparison to the number of baptized Indians. He found a steady decrease from 20 percent neophytes in 1720 to: 10 percent in 1736, 4 percent in 1748, 2 percent in 1752, .1 percent in 1764 (1980a:296). He explained the decline as resulting from a steady decline of immigration to the missions - no new converts were coming in and those in the category of neophyte were moving into the baptized category as they received the necessary training (Uriarte reported the training could take up to six years, 1952 I:194-5).

The opposite pattern is found in Mainas. The percent of neophytes increased steadily from 5 percent in 1719 to:

13 percent in 1727, 13 percent in 1740, 23 percent in 1745. After the expulsion, the number of neophytes dropped to less than 1 percent.

TABLE 20

Percent of Neophytes
in Comparison to Baptized Indians in Mainas

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Baptized Indians</u>	<u>Total Neophytes</u>	<u>Percent of Neophytes</u>
Jesuit Era:			
(1) 1719	7586	380	5
(2) 1727	5194	748	13
(3) 1740	9549	1487	13
(4) 1745	9976	2939	23
Post-Jesuit Era:			
(5) 1767	11620	154	1
(6) 1769	9131	32	.4
(7) 1776	8857	70	.8

Sources: (1) BNC/R Fondo Gesuitico #1249/1; (2) Jouanen 1943:426; (3) PF/R Amer. Mer. #2:f.479-480; (4) AGI/S Quito 191:1745; (5) BN/M #17614; (6) and (7) Schuller 1911.

The data in Table 20 corroborate the writings of the Jesuits describing how they were continually trying to bring new converts into the villages (see Appendix F and discussion in Chapter 3). 1745 represented a peak period for these efforts, almost one-quarter of all the Indians present were recent converts.

After the Jesuits left the region, the missions declined rapidly. Table 20 shows the very small percentage of neophytes after 1767. Table 17 shows 19,234 Indians and 36 mission villages for 1767. These figures were reported

TABLE 21

Decline of Mainas Missions, Post-Jesuit Era

	<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Indians</u>	<u>Number of Villages</u>
(1)	1767	11774	22
(2)	1769	9131	22
(3)	1776	8927	22
(4)	1786	9111	22
(5)	1798	4455	22

Sources: (1) BN/M #17614; (2) and (3) Schuller 1911;
(4) and (5) Gonzalez Suarez 1970:206.

on the eve of the Jesuit expulsion. Table 21 shows a marked decrease for that same year with 11,774 Indians in only 22 villages. This indicates a sharp drop in both number of Indians and of villages immediately after the expulsion. As seen in Table 21, the number of Indians continued to drop while the number of villages stabilized at 22.

The difference in the Jesuit and post-Jesuit eras points out a key distinction in recruitment practices. The Jesuits had a clear and conscious policy of continually enlarging the mission system by raiding interfluvial areas for more Indians and founding new villages. In the post-Jesuit era, when secular priests and then the Franciscans took over, a similar process does not appear to have been attempted. The number of villages, after a sharp drop, was maintained, but the number of villagers was continually declining. The dramatic difference between the two periods points out the great effort the Jesuits put into expanding

their operation through raiding.

Portuguese Raids

Depopulation in the missions resulted not only from disease and fleeing, but also from the extensive Portuguese raiding of the mission villages. These raids became a persistent threat to the missions throughout the Jesuit era. Raiding parties of Portuguese soldiers were recorded as early as 1661 on the Amazon River, in the territory of the Omaguas. Fear of these attackers led the Omaguas to request that a Jesuit missionary be sent to protect them. A few years later P. Fritz was sent. His journal records raids occurring almost every year (Edmundson 1922:91, 95, 102, 106, 118-119, 121-124, 126-129). The severity of these attacks varied but those in 1709 and 1710 appear to have been among the worst. Governor Iturbide reported that 5040 Indians were taken in the 1709 attack (AGI/S Quito 131:1720).

The Portuguese mounted well-armed expeditions. The 1710 attack was said to have included 1500 Portuguese and mestizos and 4000 Indians (Phelan 1967:37). The effect of these raids was devastating. Fritz, for example, was reputed to have founded 38 villages on the Amazon and Napo Rivers, but after the Portuguese raids only five villages remained (AGI/S Quito 158:1735). In 1711 it was necessary to relocate the Yurimaguas Indians from the Amazon River to the Huallaga River (Heredia 1924).

The Jesuits continually wrote to the King describing

their desperate situation and requesting money, soldiers, and more missionaries to combat these invasions (See: Zarate in Figueroa 1901:351-371; Zarate in AGI/S Quito 190:1735; Riofrio in AGI/S Quito 191:1745; and most of the documents in AGI/S Quito 158). Help, however, was not forthcoming from the Crown. The Royal Treasury usually did not have the necessary financial resources available to aid the missionaries (Edmundson 1922:127), so the missionaries were left on their own. With few arms, insufficient soldiers, and untrained Indian militias, the Jesuits had almost no ability to combat these attacks. Perhaps the presence of a missionary might frighten a small band of Portuguese, but generally the mission villages, located on the major rivers, were sitting ducks for the attackers.

On a few rare occasions the colonial government did send a small amount of aid to the region. In 1710 for example, Orellana was sent from Quito with a band of 100 soldiers (ANH/Q Pres. de Quito Tomo 41, #1583). Responsibility for combating the Portuguese was in the hands of the governor of Mainas, but since the governor usually resided in Quito, he was not available when needed (AGI/S Quito 190:1735). Visitador Zarate, recognizing the futility of the governor protecting the missions, recommended that a new village be founded on the Amazon, near Para, to hold the Portuguese back (AGI/S Quito 190:1735). Since money for this was not forthcoming, the village of Omaguas was used as the official Spanish headquarters from which to

enforce the limits with the Portuguese (AGI/S Quito 231:1764)..

Omaguas was not the only village whose location was strategic for repelling the Portuguese attacks. The Jesuits purposely tried to choose locations for this purpose. P. Magnin for example, attempted to found missions on the Aguarico River (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251, #8H) after the colonial government failed to build a fortification there to combat the Portuguese (AGI/S Quito 158:1735). P. Carlos Abrisi wrote a series of recommendations for the locations of new Indian villages on the Amazon, Napo and Huallaga Rivers to aid in repelling the Portuguese (MDRE/L LEB-11-33).

When a village was attacked by the Portuguese, Jesuit policy was to redouble efforts to repopulate and enlarge the village (Chantre y Herrera 1901:Book X). This may explain why the population of Omaguas kept growing throughout the 18th century even though they were prey to so many Portuguese raids: the Jesuits were concentrating their efforts on bringing more and more Indians to this village to solidify their fortification.

The goal of the Portuguese raiders was threefold: to acquire territory, to acquire slaves, and to trade.

Regarding the violence and pretensions of the Portuguese...They have two principal objectives. The first is to make themselves masters not only of the greater part of the Marañón belonging to the crown of Castille, but also of all the Napo River, and adjacent lands, as far as the Aguarico and Palamino Rivers.

The other objective of the Portuguese is to establish

trade not only with those of the mission, but also with Borja, Jaen, Lamas, Moyobamba, Archidona, Quito, and Lima...The impulse for this objective is the great poverty and total lack of silver in the Pará and San Luis del Marañón, head of that state, where skeins of cotton and cacao beans are used for money to buy what is needed.
(Maroni in AGI/S Quito 158:1733)

The only motive that the Portuguese of the Pará have is their greed for having many slaves to serve them in their houses and fields. As the Pará is a pitiful country, sterile and already consumed without any trade other than sugar and cacao, without gold and silver to buy blacks from Guinea, since they have already exhausted all the people between the Pará and the Negro River, they [the Portuguese] have invaded the Marañón, going from the Negro River to Napo, and even farther where the country abounds with Indian nations and cacao.
(Hormagui in JyC/Q)

The Portuguese relied not only on direct attack of the villages but also played on the factionalism already found in the region to win the friendship of those Indians who were hostile to the Jesuits. Schindler reported that a group of Indians had fled Laguna some years before and spent two years among the Portuguese. They returned,

so well bought off by the Portuguese, so satisfied with their gifts and information (no doubt excited to animosity against the Spanish) so rich in clothes, and fabrics that they are far above the means of other Indians, even to the extent of having guns and the guns are so new and accurate that they would go well in the hands of any military captain in Europe, and we feel no little concern at their return because the spirits of the Indians are stirred up just seeing them so galeant and decked out, since the Indians are fickle and attracted by novelty.
(Schindler in AGI/S Quito 158:1736)

Sweet suggests that some Omaguas were similarly more receptive to the Portuguese than the Spanish because the former were more lax in their standards for social and religious life, and were able to deliver at least modest amounts of trade goods on a regular basis (1974:419). On other occasions, the Portuguese forced Indians to either find Indian slaves for them or be taken as slaves themselves. One chief reported to Fritz that the Portuguese had given him iron goods and trinkets to find captives for them, "threatening that if he did not make up the number of prisoners before they went to Pará, they would carry him and all his people in fetters down with them". (Edmundson 1922:102)

A lasting resolution to the problem of the Portuguese raids was not achieved until after the Jesuits had left the region. The conditions of the treaty which established the exact boundaries between the two crowns were established by Requena (Smith 1946).

To summarize this section, the population in the Mainas missions was not stable; there was continual migration in and out of the villages. The growth of the mission villages might seem to be a result of a high birth rate, as indicated by the large percent of children in the age structure. This, however, seems unlikely since the descriptive reports of the high death rate particularly among children, would have eliminated any potentially large population growth.

The two significant drops in the population for the region (See Table 17) from 1719 to 1727, and again from 1745 to 1760, are probably explained by the intensity of Portuguese raiding and the epidemics that swept through the region. (See Table 19.)

Location of the Missions: Resettlement of the Region

The Jesuits preferred to establish their mission villages along the major rivers: the Marañón, Amazon, Huallaga, Napo, Tigre, Pastaza, Aguarico, and several of the tributaries: the Apena, Nanay, Cahuapanas, Paranapura, Bobonaza, and Chinchipe. Geographically, this represented an enormous area; from east to west alone, it was nearly 400 miles.

Travel along the rivers was time consuming and occasionally dangerous, particularly when the canoes hit rapids, strong undercurrents, or encountered crocodiles. The missionaries' accounts are filled with the perils of travel on these rivers.

From the Ucayali to the confluence of the Napo [along the Marañón River], the canoes were followed several times by enraged crocodiles who fed in these areas on dead bodies; the Indians said that the animals were the type killed by the barbarians. We all became very worried, and even more so when we reached the unfortunate place where Rodrigo Chuta was taken from the middle of the canoe and consumed without our seeing him again. The Lord saw fit to withhold what we feared most, which are the waves and storms of the Marañón, that delay and endanger navigation.
(P. Cueva in APTSJ/A Legajo 406 #179:f.217)

Yet the rivers were preferable to overland travel. Cueva described the physical pain he suffered attempting to traverse this terrain.

I returned [to the camp] as I said, at the request of the Indians, and it was necessary due to the difficulty of the trails. I did not reach camp on my own feet, because of the pain that they caused me, having swelled to the point of blood coming out, with other sores brought about by the stoniness of the rivers, as well as having lost my sandals four leagues back among the stones, and although I brought others, I couldn't put them on because of the swelling I mentioned. (f.231)

Communication and transportation was easier along the rivers. Therefore the missionaries worked to bring the Indians out from the hinterlands and onto the major waterways.

In the 17th century the missionaries tried to locate a number of villages in close proximity so that one missionary could administer a few villages. In 1678 for example, there were only four missionaries but they attended to twenty villages. Each missionary was responsible for five villages (Jouanen 1941:478). P. Fritz wrote from Omaguas, his base of operations, about visiting different Indian villages that were in close proximity (ARSI/R Novi Regni #15I:f.117-118).

By the 18th century the missions extended over such a vast area that a missionary would be located in one village that was several days or weeks away from a fellow missionary, as the Padres attempted to space themselves across the jungle. Table 22 presents the distances

TABLE 22

Distances Between Mission Villages in Mainas

<u>From</u>	<u>To</u>	<u>Time or Leagues*</u>
Borja	Laguna	8-9 days
Laguna	Chamicuros	8 leagues
Chamicuros	Aguanos	2 leagues
Laguna	Jeberos	3 days
Jeberos	Chayabitas	3 days
Chayabitas	Cahuapanas	9 leagues by land
Paranapurac	Chayabitas	2 leagues
Paranapurac	Muniches	2 leagues
Yurimaguas	Laguna	2 days
Laguna	Omaguas	5 days
mouth of Napo on Marañón	Omaguas	5 days
Laguna	Andoas	20 days
Andoas	Quito	35-40 days
Andoas	Borja	9 days

* Travel is by river unless specified. Figures given are for travel downriver; upriver journeys are generally twice as long.

Source: Iturbide, AGI/S Quito 131:1720.

between many of the mission villages.

Resettlement of the Indians from the interior to the rivers was not easily accomplished: the Indians resisted moving and often only the persistent demands of the missionaries made them agree. Fritz described haranguing the Omaguas to move to the mainland and off the islands of the Amazon. He wanted them to live on high points of the

mainland so that they would not be inundated every year by the flooding of the Amazon. The Indians protested because they feared being attacked by the inland groups. Fritz finally convinced them (Edmundson 1922:90-91). Widman described moving most of the Indians from a village on the Bobanaza River to the Pastaza River, except for five families who were to maintain a small village as a stopping-off point for travellers enroute to Andoas (PC/M Tomo 108: f.78). Magnin described insisting that a group of Indians found their new village on the Napo River itself rather than on one of its tributaries (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251, #8H:f.55). Villages were to be established to facilitate communication and transportation. The location of the villages of Capucuy and Tiriri were chosen by the Jesuits to enhance communication between the Napo and Aguarico Rivers (f.60v). Maroni tried to convince the Aguarico Indians to open a road through the jungle and settle on the banks of the Napo where the climate was better, provisions could be more abundant, and communication with other Christian Indians would be easier. The Aguarico feared moving onto the Napo because of possible attacks by the infidel Omaguas and Cocamas, specifically being captured and carried off to be their slaves (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251, #8H:f.53v).

Fear of the infidel Omaguas was very prevalent along the Napo River. Magnin repeatedly described the Indians' reluctance to settle on the river. Luring the Indians with

the promise of tools was the missionaries' usual recourse. Magnin tried a more direct approach once, and took a group of Auricus boys from the village of San Miguel to meet the missionized Omaguas on the Marañón, "so that they might see with their own eyes how false was the story told them by the old people, and also so that they could get some idea of the layout and government of the Christian villages" (f.56v). To inspire them to make the journey, Magnin gave each of the boys a present of some clothes, including shirts and socks. At the beginning of their journey they stopped off in the village of San Joseph, also on the Napo River, where the Indians tried to convince the boys not to make the trip, "telling them that I [Magnin] was taking them to sell to the Omaguas" (f.57). When they reached the Omaguas mission on the Marañón River, the two groups did not take to each other.

The residents of the village, however, did not please my catecumenos. [The Auricus] said that they [the Omaguas] were haughty and rude unfortunates, that their food of charapas [a type of large turtle] and similar things were fit only for tigers and dogs and not for rational people, that their drinks were horrible, and the mosquitos intolerable. (f.57)

They then visited the Yameos "where they were given a great reception and they all became friends, [the Auricus] saying that these were people like themselves, who ate maize and jungle meat" (f.57). It is interesting to note that the Indians made the distinction between riverine foods - turtles - and meat from hunting. This points to

the fundamental difference in the subsistence strategies of these two groups, and the degree to which such differences were considered crucial characteristics of their society.

On their way back, the group stopped in the Omaguas village but the Auricus refused to stay with Magnin. He sent them on ahead with their promise to,

undeceive those of the jungle, and say that what some of them were saying about the villages of the Marañón being composed of slaves was entirely false. They have done this in fact, and it has helped many to come out to the river to settle.
(f.57)

To force the Indians onto the rivers, some missionaries established a base camp on the river and waited for the Indians to come to them to receive tools and settle (Nieto Polo in AGI/S Quito 158:1735). Other missionaries attempted to brave the jungle and follow the Indians to their retreats and ask, bribe, or force them to return with the Padres to the rivers.

It will be necessary many times to seek them out, remove them from their retreats by repeated considerable affection and sometimes with threats, without becoming indignant by their loutish treatment, it will be no little triumph if after all this a few families entrust themselves to the Padre so that he can use them to form the village he desires.
(Nieto Polo in AGI/S Quito 158:1735)

The Indians who fled from the Jesuit settlements went the furthest away from the Marañón River "and also [away] from other better known rivers which are the paths customarily followed by the preachers of the gospel" (Nieto Polo in

AGI/S Quito 158:1735). Nieto Polo described how the Indians tried to find refuge in the densest part of the forest even though fruit and game were less abundant in these parts.

Throughout the 1730's and 1740's various Padres worked on the Napo River, including Padres Deubler, Franzen, Maroni, Magnin, Widman, in order to establish a string of mission villages along the river. (See Map 4.) They tried to get other inland groups to join the villages. The history of the village of San Miguel reflects many of the problems they faced. San Miguel was founded by P. Maroni when he befriended the kuraka in 1737. He was able to bring together about 30 families at this time. By 1740 the village had grown through in-migration, and with more than 300 people they decided to move to a larger site. Before the move could be carried out, disease struck and many Indians returned to their original lands. Magnin, who reported these events, expressed hope that the village would continue to grow again, since many inland groups continually appeared to visit the Padre and receive a little gift (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251, #8H:f.53).

The founding of other villages along the Napo River followed a similar course: a small group of Indians followed the missionary and established the nucleus of a village that the missionaries hoped would then thrive and grow into a larger settlement. San Joseph de Icacuates started with 160 Indians, San Pedro started with 40 Indians,

San Bartholome started with 60 Indians, San Estanislao started with 2 Indians, San Luis Gonzaga started with 130 Indians, Santa Cruz de los Zecqueias started with 84 Indians (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251, #8H:f.53).

These activities of the Jesuits were creating a major resettlement of the region. The Indians that had lived along the rivers pre-colonially were no longer there. Those Indians had been missionized, died from epidemics, or had fled inland, primarily during the 16th and 17th centuries. By the 18th century, the Jesuits often found the rivers abandoned except for occasional small groupings of Indians who attacked them.

In this river [Napo] besides its being almost entirely unpopulated with little or no hope of provisions, it is besieged by various infidel pirates, criminals responsible for many deaths.

(Maroni in PC/M Tomo 80:f.543)

The Jesuits then sought to resettle these riverine areas by bringing new Indians there from the interfluvial regions. We can hypothesize that the depletion of the interfluvial regions - taking some Indians to move onto the rivers, while others receded further inland to avoid the armies led by the missionaries - would have resulted in the destruction of any overland routes of communication or trade that existed pre-colonially. Further, distrust of all strangers became greater in the interfluvial areas and Indians who fled from the missions were often attacked by non-mission Indians (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo

251, #3C:f.24), giving Indians cause to find even more isolated regions to which to move.

Given this movement of the population in and out of the mission villages, the census records which indicate the total number of Indians in the mission at that point in time, represent only a fraction of the Indians that had some contact with the Padres. Events on the rivers were being filtered into the interfluvial areas on a consistent basis.

Reorganization of Production and Social Life

Since the Indians were moved to the mission villages in small groupings, it was not unusual for a village to be founded with two, three or more different Indians groups. The village of San Ignacio de las Pebas was made up of five Indian groups (see Table 23).

TABLE 23

Population of Indian Groups in San Ignacio de Pebas

<u>Indian Group</u>	<u>1755</u>	<u>1759</u>
Pebas	44	53
Ticunas	138	85
Caumaris	110	88
Cahuachis	220	217
Yaguas	88	103
TOTAL	630	546

Source: PC/M Tomo 108:f.54, 97.

The villages of Andoas and Pinches each had eight Indian groups living there in 1767 (BN/M #17614).

Table 24, shows the Indian groups living in some of the mission villages in 1777, ten years after the expulsion of the Jesuits. Each village has only two or three Indian groups remaining. Only three Indian groups of the five in Pebas and eight in Andoas remained at this time, and two of the eight remained in Pinches. This decrease was probably a result of the Indians' exodus from the missions which began after the Jesuit expulsion.

TABLE 24

Indian Groups per Village

<u>Village</u>	<u>Indian Groups</u>
San Xavier de Urarinas	Urarinas, Itucalles, Uritos
San Juan Francisco Regis	Yameos, Hahuapeas, Iquitos
San Joaquin de los Omaguas	Omaguas, Yameos, Yurimaguas, Mayorunas
San Pablo de Napeanos	Iquitos, Napeanos
San Ignacio de los Pebas	Caumaris, Caguachis, Yaguas
Santo Tome de Andoas	Canelos, Gayes, Semigayes
San Joseph de Pinches	Pinches, Roamainas
San Antonio de los Muniches	Muniches, Otanais
N.S. de los Niebes de los Yurimaguas	Yurimaguas, Aysuaris, Boraderos
Santiago de la Laguna	Cocamas, Cocomillas, Panos
San Javier de Chamicuros	Chamicuros, Aguanos
La Limpia Concepcion de N.S. de los Xeberos	Xeberos, Cutinavas, Paranapuras
La Presentacion de Chayavitas	Paranapuras, Chayavitas

Source: Requena 1777 (in: Barrenechea 1945:106-8)

It is not known to what extent these indigenous groups within the mission villages were different from each other, or specifically what criteria the missionaries used to name Indian groups. It is clear from their writings, however, that the major characteristic they considered was language. They were aware of both major language groups and their dialects and kept lists of both (Maroni 1889: Part III; Veigl in PC/M Tomo 132:f.195-201; Velasco 1979: 463-468). When linguistic affiliation could not be determined, they resorted to both physical appearance and material culture, as the following examples demonstrate.

P. Cueva named one group of Indians "squirrel":

We gave [the Indians] the name of "Ardas" [squirrel] for their appearance of being covered with hair, that hung from the nape [back] of their heads, like the tail of a squirrel, reaching to their waist, while they shaved the rest of the head.
(APTSJ/A Legajo 406, #179:f.223)

Further along on this same expedition, P. Cueva came upon another village which his Gayes interpreters thought must be Gayes Indians because of the "bravery and strength" with which the Indians fought the Indian militia. However, after examining the village after the Indians abandoned it, they "found no evidence of it [being Gayes] in their houses... [or] in the other things they left" (f.224). Cueva comments that, "some thought they were Soronatoas, because of I don't know what signs" (f.224). They ended up naming these Indians the Semigayes because of their resemblance to the Gayes" (f.225).

Fleeing and resettling in smaller units created more subdivisions amongst the Indians. The Jeberos, when reunited with the Abijiras, described them as their former kinsmen.

This is not so surprising when we think that the same has happened between the Cutinanas and the Jiveros, between the Barbudos and the Agunaos, the Siclunas and Coylatilis, who thanks to God today we have drawn together after so many years of withdrawal and absence, that led them to be seen as different nations. (Emphasis added; f.232)

In the missionaries writings the Indians appear as separate groups when in fact there may have been many connections which were unknown to the missionaries. Further, as Indians were forced to flee in small groups, time and distance made them appear to later missionaries as more different than they had once been.

Indian groups were split among different villages by the missionaries as a way to prevent rebellion. D'Etre described conquering a group of 200 Iquaivates Indians and sending them to various mission villages (Davin 1753-57, Tomo 14:65). Widman described an entrada that captured a group of heathen and sent the kuraka and his family to Omaguas "for greater security" (PC/M Tomo 108:f.87) and the rest of the Indians to Chamicuros and Laguna.

This dividing of Indian groups made for language barriers within the villages. Although P. Camacho reported that some Indians spoke two or three languages and others four or five (PC/M Tomo 132:f.175), Requena, governor just after the Jesuit era, did not find this multilingual facility prevalent

in the region. Instead, he reported that the Indians within a village could not communicate with each other because of the language barriers. Further, it was rare for Indians to speak Spanish although some older Indians spoke Quechua. Requena reported that the Jesuits taught Quechua only to the men and not to the women and children (PR/M #2892:f.246) thereby creating a new line of distinction between the sexes according to linguistic ability. This left the women and children unable to communicate outside their own group, except through their men.

Village Structure

Structure and order, cornerstones of Jesuit training and guiding principles in the formation of the missions, were given visual expression in the lay-out of the village. The village was structured around a central plaza with church, meeting hall, school and the houses of the priest and cacique around the perimeter of the plaza. The Indians' houses were built around these central buildings. Some late 17th century descriptions of the villages by visitador Zeares attest to the attempt to give the mission physical order and to impress the visitor with the degree of ornamentation which could be afforded. Zeares was most impressed by the village of San Javier de Chamicuros which he described as,

located inland in a very pleasant area, with its houses and church beautifully ordered, together with the residence of the fathers, which seemed to me to be more like the pleasure house of a

prince than a new reducción of barbarian Indians, for I assure you that it is the equal of many hamlets in Flanders, that are so celebrated throughout the world. (ARSI/R Novi Regni #15I:f.139)

He described the church as:

very beautiful and spacious, godly in its furnishings as well as in the pictures and two very devout images that it has. (f.139)

Laguna, the capital of the missions, and the largest reducción kept a supply of canoes, animals, and building materials available to supply the needs of other villages. Zeares was impressed by their horses, mules and sugar mill "all of which is cause for admiration, for they [the Jesuits] have obtained them in so remote a place" (f.139v). He describes the Jesuits as having their "walled residence" in Laguna, which is reminiscent of the description of the Jesuit walled residence described by Trigger among the Huron (1976 II:670). The Laguna church was noteworthy because it had a roof, walls and a bricked floor. This implied that other reducciones had more make-shift churches, with an open tent-like structure rather than a closed-in building.

Watercolors painted by Governor Requena just after the Jesuit expulsion depict the villages of San Joaquin de Omaguas and San Ignacio de Pebas (Smith 1946). In both, the church had a projecting roof that formed a porch in front and a devotional cross which was set in front of the door. The priest's house, located near the church, was large, with an open gallery on two sides.

Descriptions of the priests' houses given in the

Temporalidades are all remarkably similar, suggesting they were built according to specific instructions from the superiors. Almost all had seven rooms, built in two stories with one or more staircases, and were covered with palm (Uriarte 1952 II:117; BN/M #17614). There were separate houses for the kitchen and dispensary. The kitchen was probably kept separate from the priest's house because women worked in the kitchen and women were forbidden to enter the home of the Padre. In some villages, a sugarmill and/or forge for making tools were located near the Padre's home. The Temporalidades (BN/M #17614) also enumerate the number and size of canoes in the village, the number and titles of the books in the Padre's possession, the number and type of tools, and the number of doors with locks on them. Almost all the doors in the Padre's home and the church were to be kept locked as a precaution against robbery.

While the structure of the buildings was simply built using local materials, the Jesuits attempted to enrich the atmosphere by importing silver chalises, candle-holders, ornaments, religious paintings (BN/M #17614). In contrast to the large and ornate church, the villager's huts were of simple construction made from palm poles with steep thatch roofs.

Cushner points out that this stark contrast from the grandeur of the church to the simplicity of the villager's huts was an implicit goal of the Jesuits. Discussing the

Jesuit missions in the Upper Parana of Paraguay, he writes,

Size emphasized power...Indians lived in small structures which could best be described as hovels. The massive, stone edifice of the church and rectory in the midst of some Indian settlement must have been for the Indian not only an occasion of wonder but also of dread. And so it was meant to be: mysterious, a combination of earthly power and mystic authority, designed deliberately to produce awe and fear in the minds of the native people. (1980:177)

Production

It had always been hoped that the missions would become self-sufficient and permanently sedentary. The Jesuits introduced new crops and domesticated animals to further this goal. The Indians also produced crops and handicrafts which were specialties of a localized area in order to exchange them with other villages and regions. (See Appendices I and J for a listing of these crops and handicrafts.) The new crops included bananas, tobacco, rice, and sugar cane. These were in addition to the traditional crops: yucca, maize, barbasco and cotton (Figuerola 1901:72).

The Jesuits wrote much about their attempt to establish domesticated animals in the region. They saw this as a key to enabling the villages to become sedentary. When the Spaniards first descended into this region in the 1620's they began to import cattle and sheep (Vacas Galindo 1902-3:453). In 1661 there were 75 cows in Jeberos (Jouanen 1941:370). P. Lucero established a hacienda, "Jesus del Monte", in the 1670's to raise livestock that

would provide meat for the missions. But the hacienda never got off the ground financially and the project ended with his death. The missionaries, however, tried to encourage breeding domesticated animals wherever they went. For example, P. Cueva made a habit of giving out chickens to recently contacted groups (APTSJ/A Legajo 406, #179:f.221). After a century and a half of attempting to raise new animals in this region, the project still was not very successful. Magnin reported that in 1743 all the animals in Borja were dying. These animals included cows, pigs, birds, chickens and guinea pigs (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251, #3C:f.27).

Guns were introduced during this period, either by the Jesuits or the Portuguese, or both. Zephyris described the Indians as preferring to hunt with their bows and arrows rather than with the inefficient and noisy guns of those times (Matthei 1972:195). The Portuguese distributed guns to the Cocamas as an enticement for them to move to Portuguese territory and fight against the Spaniards (AGI/S Quito 158:1736).

The Jesuits provide almost no information about the division of labor within the missions except to say that women were kept in the "traditional" tasks (traditional according to the Jesuits' view) of maintaining a home: sewing, cooking, spinning, and weaving. Men were both taught mechanical skills and sent to work in the fields.

In addition to providing for themselves, the Indians

were responsible for the physical care of their missionary. A mita system rotated the responsibility among all the adult Indians. When Figueroa described the system in 1665, only two Indians were required for each day of the week to meet the basic food requirements of the Padre (1901:83). In the mid-18th century, Uriarte described having had four Indians plus two seminary boys who were needed every week in the mita. As a group they were responsible for fishing, hunting and planting. In addition to this crew, he had 12 orphan boys who lived in his house, in a seminary type arrangement (to be described in a following section) and girls who worked in the kitchen and were taught by an old woman from Quito and her husband how to care for the household, the sick and the poor (Uriarte 1952 I:199). The fields that were planted for the missionaries were to feed not only themselves, but also the sick and the new arrivals to the village.

The missionaries also liked to have Jesuit brothers accompany them to aid in their tasks (Uriarte 1952 I:224). When brothers were not available, Spanish and mestizo servants would be brought down from the sierra. There was, therefore, a large retinue of people serving the needs of the missionary.

They [the Indians] see these sermons as fables, illusions or inventions of the missionary, whom they frequently imagine to be an imposter who tempts with these stories to make them serve him, build him a house, and work the fields.
(Nieto Polo in AGI/S Quito 158:1735)

It is no surprise that the Indians often came to resent the missionary and to be suspicious of his real motives.

Financial Structure

There is no evidence that the Jesuits were able to develop a financially stable or profitable economy in Mainas. The scant data that exist indicate that goods were not produced in sufficient quantity for significant levels of export or exchange. For example, P. Uriarte, answering an accusation that the Jesuits were making profits from selling mission-produced wax, said they produced only three arrobas of wax in 18 years, equivalent to two and one-third pounds per year. This would only be sufficient for church use (1952 II:133).

Since the ability to produce local goods for exchange and support of the missions was not sufficient to meet their needs, the Jesuits developed a number of methods for financially supporting the missions. In the 17th century they accepted responsibility for the Curato of Archidona and the Curato of Borja. This meant that they received an annual stipend from the Royal Treasury to support their Padre in these towns and to support the needs of the church. The Curato of Archidona paid 183 pesos, 6½ reales annually, and the Curato of Borja paid 331 pesos 2 reales annually (ARSI/R Novi Regni #11:1739). Second, they negotiated with the King that he would pay an annual stipend to each missionary. In 1665 the King paid 183 pesos, 6 reales to

each missionary; in the mid 1730's this figure was increased to 200 pesos. In addition, the King also began to pay 200 pesos to each missionary when he initially left for Mainas (ARSI/R Novi Regni #11:1739).

These amounts were not sufficient. The Jesuit order was forced to augment them. The financial reports that were sent to Rome indicate that certain sums of money were invested for each of the Jesuits' 14 provinces in the Audiencia of Quito. The missionaries in each province were then allowed to receive five percent interest from this principal. Analyzing these figures for the 18th century (See Table 25) the King paid for 75 percent to 82 percent of the total cost of maintaining the missions and the Jesuits paid the remainder. This was a significant change from 1641 when the King told the Jesuits they were responsible for the entire cost of the pacification and reduction of Mainas (ACJ/Q #203).

Despite these sources of funding, the Mainas missions never had enough money to buy sufficient quantities of tools and other goods, or to send more missionaries to the region. Richter lamented that there was no shortage of missionaries willing to come to the region, only a lack of money (Matthei 1969:193). To try to acquire more money, the missionaries tried various schemes. Magnin requested permission to collect payments from the Indians for saying mass as did the secular priests (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251, #2B); Cueva collected alms from people in Quito

TABLE 25

Financial Assistance to Mainas from the
Royal Treasury and from the Jesuits

	1707	1711	1723	1726	1740	1752
Royal Treasury paid:						
Stipend to Missionaries*	2745	2745	2196	2379	3200	4400
<u>Curato</u> of Borja	331	331	331	331	331	331
<u>Curato</u> of Archidona	183	183	183	183	183	183
Jesuits paid:						
Interest on Principal	<u>712</u>	<u>844</u>	<u>900</u>	<u>900</u>	<u>1135</u>	<u>1157</u>
TOTAL	3971	4103	3610	3793	4849	6071
Percent Paid by Jesuits:	18	21	25	24	24	19
Percent Paid by Royal Treasury:	82	79	75	76	76	81

* The size of the stipend was tied to the number of missionaries in the region. There were 15 in 1707 and 1711; 12 in 1723; 13 in 1726; 16 in 1740; and 22 in 1752.

Source: ARSI/R Novi Regni #11.

(Astrain 1920:602). Beginning in the 1740's the Jesuits acquired four haciendas. The goal was that the profits earned by these haciendas were to be used to help finance the Mainas missions (Cushner 1982).

The missionaries had their stipends sent to them in the form of material goods. A stipend of 200 pesos would typically be used to buy the following types of goods: wine to say Mass, a small bag of wheat for the host, 4 dozen knives, one to two scissors, some fishhooks, one to two bundles of glass beads, four to five papers of needles, 100 varas of cloth to clothe the Indians, 30 varas of

bayeta (rough cloth), 100 pounds of iron to make axes and other tools (Chantre y Herrera 1901:726). In 1653 P. Perez (ACJ/Q #281) sent a list to the P. Prov. in Quito requesting that the 346 pesos that were owed to the missions be divided up and spent on the following goods:

Clothes (<u>mantas</u> , shirts)	17 p.	5%
Miscellaneous objects (palm wax, plates, jugs, ropes, shoes)	95	27%
Food (wheat, cheese, sugar, spice, fruit)	63	19%
Wine	133	38%
Transportation costs	<u>37</u>	<u>11%</u>
TOTAL	346p.	100%

Frequently stipends and small amounts of locally produced goods were sent to Quito in exchange for religious items to decorate the church (Requena in PR/M #2892:f.253). In 1668 P. Jiminez (ACJ/Q #360) sent the Padre Procurador 30 varas of lona (canvas-like cloth), vanilla, 190 bundles of tobacco, 6 pesos of gold, 4 pesos of silver, and 18 reales of gold dust in exchange for three life-size paintings of St. Michael, the Virgin and St. Gabriel, as well as a communion vessel for 200 wafers, and some beads.

The Indians were able to directly procure manufactured goods by exchanging their handicrafts. Uriarte described Indians coming to Omaguas from various surrounding villages on a weekly basis to exchange their handicrafts for goods imported from Lamas and Moyobamba (1952 I:213). The types of imported goods included cloth, poison, tobacco, sugar, tools and salt (Uriarte 1952 I:184, 213, 277). The

Indian handicrafts commanded different prices depending on the region they came from. For example, one vara of cachibanco cloth from the Mainas Indians cost two reales, from the Roamainas Indians three reales, and from any other part of the region one-half real (Jouanen 1943:395).

Seminaries

It was the responsibility of the missionaries to educate the children in their villages. Two seminaries established for this purpose were repeatedly described in their writings. The first was established in San Francisco de Borja in 1640 by P. Cujia. The school taught religion and mechanical skills to boys, prayer and "skills appropriate for women" to girls (Heredia 1924). Both Spanish and Indian children were trained in this school. Many Spanish residents of Borja, when questioned by Lucero in 1684, stated that they had studied in Cujia's school when they were boys (ARSI/R Novi Regni #15 I:102-109). Children from various villages came to Borja to study in the seminary. Jouanen stated that the "interpreters" captured from various Indian groups were brought to Borja for training in this seminary (1943:409).

The description from Fritz of the seminary in Omaguas also sounds like a training center for "interpreters" who were taken from the various Indian tribes of that region. Fritz reported that in his seminary there lived

Indians, and especially youths of various tribes and languages, Annalas, Mapirinas, Cammuris, Pevas, Cavaches, Icaquates, Pararas, Mayorunas and Quitos and others, so that this Mission Settlement is today, as it were, the Seminary of the heathen nations and the camp from whence one sets out for fresh conquests. (Edmundson 1922:139)

All these youths lived together and the missionary reportedly provided food and clothing (p. 140). It would probably be more accurate to say that the mitas of Indian labor which provided food and clothing for the missionary, also had to provide for the boys.

Life in the seminary began with prayers, studying the catechism and singing hymns before going in for breakfast. The boys then went about their various tasks: cooking lunch, learning instruments to be played for mass, spinning cotton, weaving cloth for their clothing, mending the shoes and garments of the Padre as well as their own, making sandals and breeches, making hammocks, oars, bows, arrows, lances, and shields. Only the few who showed greater ability learned how to read, write, "bleed, shave". At noon lunch was served; the Indians "remaining on foot while the Father is eating" (p. 140). They then returned to prayers and in the time remaining until two o'clock, they were free for their own rest and amusement. From two until five they were occupied in similar tasks to those of the morning. From five to six was for rest and bathing. At six they returned to prayers and upon completion could request permission from the Padre to visit their friends

and family in the village. When they returned to the seminary in the evening some were instructed in Quechua while others were busy with singing or cooking. The night ended in prayer after which "all go to rest in the same room, which is locked" (p.141).

A similar seminary was established for girls and young widows, directed by the wives of the Spaniards living in the village. Their instruction was more limited and included spinning, weaving, painting, rearing poultry, and of course prayer. They too slept together in a closed, locked chamber.

Military exercises were established as part of the seminary training, and both males and females took part in the exercises. This was considered practical training so the Indians could both invade the "lands of the heathen" and defend themselves against the Portuguese.

Boys entered the seminary at about age 8 or 9, while girls did not enter until they were 12. They remained until they married, usually in their mid-teens. When they left the seminary, the Padre gave them iron tools and other necessary items to establish themselves in the village (p. 141). Although P. Fritz gave no indication of the size of the seminary, Uriarte reported that the school had only 16 boys living together (Uriarte 1952 I:253).

While only these two villages seemed to have had well-established seminaries attached to them, other villages had small retinues of children who lived with and served

the Padre. Zephyris described this in the most detail for his village, San Joseph de Pinches, on the Pastaza River, where he had 13 boys assisting in caring for him. He was quick to recognize that people would think this was an excessively large number, but he explained that the children were orphans and it was the custom of missionaries to take orphans into their homes. The boys came to live in the home of the Padre and the Padre became responsible for their education. In turn, it was the responsibility of the children to care for the missionary by hunting, fishing, raising cattle and domesticated animals for him. Orphan girls were placed in the care of an older woman who lived near the church. All were "educated" until they were old enough to marry (Zephyris in Matthei 1972:192-3).

Zephyris reported that the scarcity of missionaries required a need for having "boys on hand who speak many languages and can serve as interpreters" (p.193). They memorized sermons, taught the catechism and aided in the conversion of the Indians. These boys, captured forcibly on raids to "infidel" lands, were considered orphans by the missionaries. They undoubtedly made up the bulk of the children living with the Padre.

It is likely that a group of children brought up by the missionaries, away from their families or native village, became a class of people who were felt to be distinctly different from the rest of the Indian population. By their close association with the Padres they grew to be

more like them than like their fellow Indians and therefore they were both feared and distrusted: their allegiance was with foreigners rather than with their own people.

This group of Indians brought up by the missionaries was called viracochas. This term had an interesting history of changes in meaning. During Inca times it referred to the gods, and later became associated with the Spaniards, who were briefly mistakenly thought to have heralded the arrival of the lost gods. In the jungle, viracocha originally referred to mestizos (Figueroa 1904:384), but was also used as a disrespectful term for any European or white person (Julian in Matthei 1972:126). The alliances of the mission viracochas were suspect to other Indians, and they were thus looked upon as strangers (Uriarte 1952 II:107). Their lives were frequently threatened, along with the missionary whom they accompanied.

Many viracochas who became completely aligned with the interests of the missionaries became their "right hand man", teaching the catechism and other aspects of Christian doctrine to the heathen, going out to capture runaway Indians, or punishing Indians in the missions (Uriarte 1952 I:225; Magnin in AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251, #3C:f.35v; Widman in PC/M Tomo 108:f.53). A viracocha who was trained by the missionaries and who then turned against his mentors could have become a powerful figure among the rebellious Indians. Nieto Polo offered such an example: a powerful Cocama cacique whose son-in-law was a viracocha

who helped to lead a rebellion against the Spanish (AGI/S Quito 158:1735).

In almost all frontier regions, new races of people evolved: mestizos, mamelucos, mulattos. They represented a class of people whose alliances were divided between the groups of their parentage and who were often not accepted by either group. Among the Jesuits, who did not sire children, it was those whom they raised and trained that were suspect, seen as potentially dangerous, with intimate knowledge of the white world and its workings. It was a dangerous knowledge that could be used against other Indians, to capture runaways and bring them back to the missions, or a knowledge that could be allied with enemies of the missionaries, as with the son-in-law of the Cocama cacique.

Local Government

A strict hierarchical structure of local government was designed for the missions based on the Spanish custom of the times. The primary role of the local government was to mete out punishment, organize the mita, and perform other tasks that the missionary needed but did not want to do himself. This created a distance between the Indians and the Padre, where the Padre could maintain a stance of "love and affection for his Indians" while directing both punishments and demands for their labor through Indian officials.

The government was headed by a governor. He was usually the local cacique. If there was more than one local cacique, the missionary chose the one who had the most people backing him (Chantre y Herrera 1901:585). The governor was chosen for life and his job was passed down through blood ties, thereby placing a certain status and position within one particular family. The governor was also physically set apart from the others by the placement of his home on the central plaza along with that of the missionary and the church.

The governor was assisted by a cabildo (town council), whose members were chosen by the missionaries. The governor and cabildo organized and maintained the local militia. All men between the ages of 18 and 50 were required to join. The cabildo chose the captains, alfereces, sargeants and other key positions. The governor and cabildo also served as judge and jury for all crimes.

Since personal relationships now came under the strict regulation of the church, the governor and his assistants were empowered to punish "scandalous" behavior and control personal relationships in ways that had never existed prior to Jesuit intervention. Magnin described two such examples. In one, a fight ensued between a husband and wife where the husband attacked his wife. She asked for a separation and the cabildo had the power to send the husband away. At a later point, she requested that he be allowed to return

and he did. Another scandal - Magnin's term for the incident - was created when the same husband went out to hunt for his wife and children. She had forgotten to lock up their chickens while he was away, but the husband was the one who was punished by the governor for not supervising his wife more closely (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251, #3C:f.22-23).

Another case Magnin related (f.26-27) was that of a woman who had conspired with her lover to kill her husband. Having carried this out, she lived in fear of her crime becoming public knowledge. In time it did become known, but the governor did not know what to do with her, so he decided not to punish her. The woman, however, lived in continual terror that her case would be passed on to higher authorities, which was the practice with serious crimes, and that she would eventually be hung for her part in her husband's death. Magnin described the escalation of her fears concerning the power of the governor and his assistants to seal her fate. She therefore finally chose to flee downriver to the Portuguese territory where she hoped her past would not catch up with her.

In addition to the government officials, there was also a chain of ecclesiastical officials. The most important of these were the fiscales, of whom there were usually four in each village. They served the missionary by being a source of information about local events in the village. They were responsible for reporting who was sick, reporting

when a woman was giving birth, making sure everyone went to Mass, reporting who did not go to Mass, and making sure that proper Christian behavior was carried out within the Indians' homes. Taking on this job could make an Indian not trusted by his neighbors; for example, Schindler's fiscal was threatened with murder by the Omaguas for reporting everything to the Padre (ARSI/R Novi Regni #15 II: f.337). Magnin's fiscal, clearly overwhelmed by the conflicting interests inherent in this job, requested permission to give up his position. Magnin refused because he considered this Indian to be the most capable person in the village and he did not want to lose him. He instead ordered the fiscal to be more careful in his job. When the Indian was not, Magnin punished him,

as he merited, breaking the alcalde's staff into splinters on his back, showing him with this the end of his rod and impressing him with the fear of justice. He was so humiliated that I thought that he had reformed, but when I least thought it would happen, I received news that he had fled [the village].
(AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251, #3C:f.23)

The Jesuit mission villages introduced the Indians to these concepts of hierarchy and control in ways that had not existed for them heretofore. This created divisions among the Indians, most generally between those who had the authority to control others and those who were controlled. This effective division of the Indians amongst themselves was a common practice of the Jesuit order. Cushner describes how the Jesuits instituted a

similar practice among the slaves on their Andean haciendas. In exchange for their administrative services, the slaves received a number of small privileges, such as better food and clothing, permission to ride horses, small amounts of money and above all, "the social distinction of a commanding voice in community affairs" (1975:189). The only information that a similar reward situation may have existed in the Mainas missions, is that the governor was chosen to live on the village plaza - thus locating him spatially with the heads of power. Among the Moxos, Block found data to suggest there was a division of rights and privileges among four separate groupings of Indians (1980a:301-305).

Cushner goes on to describe that on the haciendas, slave families were rarely divided but instead were cemented together by "inculcating obedience to parents, elders, and officials as a virtue" (p.189). Teaching a respect for all authority began in the home, within the family structure. If this was well taught, it was easy to go the next step and teach that,

their state (as slaves) was ordained by God himself, that their only duty was to obey their masters, and that their reward for this would come in heaven. By a twist of logic, therefore, any act of revolt was an offense against a God who was quick to chastise in the form of plagues and earthquakes...Given this conditioning, the slave was little equipped to image revolt as a viable alternative. (p.189)

The Jesuits taught absolute obedience to all authorities because this was the very heart of their own training and belief system about the world. When placed in the context

of the newly founded missions and coupled with new distinctions between individuals it was also an effective means for dividing the Indians amongst themselves making it difficult for them to organize against the Padres. It is not surprising that as the mission system grew, the villages were thus crippled by groups of Indians fleeing in small numbers rather than by large, concerted uprisings. The ability to organize that kind of massive attack had been seriously impeded by the Jesuits' ability to organize factionalism and a means of reporting on the activities of one's neighbors.

Religious Training

Reinforcement of the concepts of obedience to authorities and belief in a hierarchical chain of command came through in the religious training of the Indians. Descriptions of the religious training fill many of the missionaries' writings (in particular, Chantre y Herrera 1901: 634-673; P. Moncada in PC/M Tomo 108:f.67-74; Uriarte 1952 I passim; Magnin in AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251, #3C).

A missionary day was spent in a cycle of religious activities: prayers, teaching, church services, preparing for feast days. Magnin described the customs and services that he established in Borja. Mass was held every day with special Masses on Fridays and Sundays. Sermons were given at the Sunday Mass. Catechism was held on Wednesdays,

Fridays and Sundays. Confession and communion were held regularly. P. Prov. Baltazar Moncada (PC/M Tomo 108:f.67-74) further instructed that processions were to accompany the Mass four days a week. Masses were to be held alternately in Quechua and the local Indian language. Instruction was given to the boys in Quechua. The only reference to women by Moncada is that "no instruction should be given to women outside of the church" (f.74). Attendance at Mass was mandatory. At the beginning of Mass, staff-bearers were to make the rounds of the village and make sure no one had stayed behind. After the Mass, while the Padre was instructing the boys and girls, "the alcaldes should look for the Indians (men) who are absent, the fiscals seeking the women and the fiscalillos [boys who occupy the equivalent position of fiscal for children] the children, or they should find out the reason for the absence and inform the Padre" (f.69).

Magnin described the devoutness of his parishioners, "in particular...some women and widows who, although they must work all day in order to have a yuca or banana to eat, still it seems to them that to fail to attend Mass is a great sin" (f.18). Both men and women came to the special Masses, decorating the church with flowers, candles and incense. The chanting of the rosary took place on Saturday afternoons. Magnin was struck by their preciseness in counting their prayers.

Various ones do not have a rosary and must
keep track on the fingers of their hands...
if someone should manage to get one [a rosary]
...[they] are the envy of everyone. (f.18v)

Annual celebrations were held on Christmas, Corpus Christi, New Year, Holy Week, and Easter as well as for the four patron saints of the city: San Juan Bautista, patron of farms; Santa Rosa, patron guarding against disease; San Francisco de Borja, patron of the city; the Immaculate Concepcion, patroness of soldiers. When the saints' day was celebrated, there was an election held for the ecclesiastical officials for the following year. They were responsible for organizing the celebration of the feasts, contributing white or black wax, alms, and organizing the decoration of the church. The Indians procured the wax through barter.

Religious ceremonies were often not understood by the Indians. When Magnin first tried to baptize a group of small children the mothers feared their children were being taken away to become slaves.

The Indians resisted stoutly, not wanting to let go of the children, crying and screaming for their beloved offspring. But after they were told that this was not happening, but that they were taking the children to wash them with the water of the baptism, they gave them up.

(AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251, #10J:f.68v)

Once the mothers were reassured, the children became scared and "began to scream and cry, filling the church with their sobs...Nor did the screaming end until the function ended" (f.68v). Similarly, religious concepts often became confused to the Indians. One old Indian, as he was dying, said to the missionary, "'ractaigrei rischac, thus I will go to

the earth' meaning heaven, which he thought to be the country of the missionaries" (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251, #3C:f.21v).

Magnin and others did not fail to mention the lack of religiosity that was also found in the village.

Where there are good, the diabolic is never lacking, and so it is, that I cannot hide in the first place the failure of some to attend the functions of the church: they are so rough and ill brought up that they are not willing to lose time on anything that is not their house, their work, hunting or drinking. (f.20)

Falcombeli had limited success in stopping the Indians in the village of San Ignacio de Pebas from drinking on feast days. He succeeded only in a compromise, they would drink only by day and stop when the sermon began (ARSI/R Novi Regni #15II:f.345v). Breyer noted with disgust that the Indians end up getting very drunk on a feast day "because a feast isn't a feast unless they get drunk. And this is how it goes on this holy day!" (Matthei 1969:254)

Nieto Polo complained that fiery sermons were lost on the Indians who were unable to grasp these theological concepts, and simply interrupted the Padre with requests for tools (AGI/S Quito 158:1735).

The Padres had the final trump card however. Whenever there was an accident, a misfortune or a natural disaster, the missionary was quick to tell the Indians that this was the wrath of God punishing them for their lack of piety. Magnin gives the example that after a wedding, the Indians got into their canoes, all half-drunk. A canoe overturned

and one Indian almost drowned. "Since that time everyone has taken the warning to heart, at least about making such noise and scandal on a feast day" (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251, #3C:f.27).

Social Relations within the Villages

The Jesuits provide no information about the nature of social relationships within the mission villages, except for descriptions of the hierarchical structure among government and church officials. The census data do provide insights into some of the social relations and suggest questions for the descriptive data. Since the census divides all the information between males and females, sex ratios can be calculated. (The sex ratio is defined as the number of males per 100 females.) In large populations studied worldwide, the sex ratio ranges from 99 to 104 (Helm 1980:263), or according to another source, from 104 to 107 (Peterson 1975:67), with the average being 105 (U.N. 1973:262). For each of the six Mainas census reports, the total sex ratio of all males to all females was computed and then they were broken down into the respective categories to see the relationship of widowers to widows, male adolescents to female adolescents, male children to female children. These ratios provide some information about marriage patterns, loss of husbands probably through warfare, and about selective infanticide.

TABLE 26
Sex Ratios for Mainas
Males per 100 Females

	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>	<u>Average</u>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
Total Population	110	109	102	104	98	102	104
Widows	---	---	78	69	50	39	59
Adolescents	142	139	117	131	122	157	134.6
Children	94	102	106	100	100	109	101.8

Sources: (1) BNC/R Fondo Gesuitico #1249/1; (2) PF/R Ameri. Mer. #2:f.479-480; (3) AGI/S Quito 191:1745; (4) BN/M #17614; (5) and (6) Schuller 1911.

Note: The data reported in Table 26 is missing information on sex ratios for widows for the years 1719 and 1740. In those two years the category "single" was used and no breakdown by sex was given. It is likely that the sex ratio for the total population is higher because this data was unavailable.

The average sex ratio for Mainas, 104, is well within the worldwide norm. The sex ratio of widowers to widows shows a serious imbalance - there were consistently many more widowed women than men. This is not surprising. All men between the ages of 18 and 50 were required to join the village militia and fight, if necessary, against the Portuguese raiders and infidel Indians.⁹ On these expeditions, the missionaries typically travelled with a few hundred able-bodied men, and the death rate was often very high in these battles.

The sex ratio of male to female adolescents shows a much higher number of males than females. This is probably because women were marrying at a younger age than men and

therefore moved into the category of married women. To whatever extent there was selective recruitment of males to serve as interpreters, that would further explain a higher number of males in this category.

The sex ratio of male children to female children, 101.8, is again within the worldwide norm and is strikingly close to the figure reported for the sex ratio of children in lowland Amazonia in the 20th century, 102.3 (U.N. 1973: 263). At this regional level then there is no evidence for selective infanticide even though some missionaries reported it was occasionally practiced (Richter in Matthei 1969:181; Chantre y Herrera 1901:73-77).

Studying the sex ratios for the same categories of Indians at the village level produced similar conclusions. However, when calculating the sex ratios within the villages, the numbers were so small that the ratio easily became skewed by a small numerical difference. For example, if there were five widowers and three widows the sex ratio would be 167. If there were 150 boys and 100 girls, the sex ratio would be 150. In the first case the actual difference between the numbers is not significant, but in the second the difference is significant. In these cases, because the numbers were small, the clue to the significance comes from the actual size of the numbers rather than the sex ratio itself. Therefore, when working with small populations it is useful to have some way to test the statistical significance of one's findings by looking at the number of

males and females in relation to the total population. Meister (1980) proposes a simple test for this which then allows the researcher to determine the likelihood of a sex ratio occurring through cultural intervention rather than by chance in nature. A common form of cultural intervention, although not the only one, is selective infanticide. Meister cautions that one test result which indicates cultural intervention is not enough to conclude that this was necessarily the cause for the skewed ratio for that year. A series of sex ratios, preferably five or six, would be needed to conclude that some form of intervention was present, particularly selective infanticide.

For the total population the statistical probability of each sex ratio having occurred by chance was determined. In 91 calculations made from the data for 19 villages, only seven were questionable (probability was between .01 and .05) and four were unlikely to have occurred by chance (less than .01 probability). (See Appendix G.)¹⁰

On the village level, there is a predominance of widows to widowers, with three exceptions: Napeanos, Urarines and Yurimaguas. In the latter two cases, the number of widowers outweighs the number of widows from the 1745 census through to the 1776 census. However, the numbers are very small with the exception of Yurimaguas in 1745 when there were 20 widowers and only 6 widows, and Napeanos where there were 60 widowers and 20 widows in 1745. It is not known why there was a preponderance of widowers at this

time but this suggests that these unmarried males, perhaps with young children, were forced to look for available women outside of the village. Widman reported that in the village of Pinches the shortage of women led the Indians to make an arrangement with the missionary to be allowed to go out on an expedition and bring back runaways (presumably women) who had fled eleven years before (PC/M Tomo 108:f.51).

The sex ratio of male adolescents to female adolescents shows that in three-quarters of the 91 cases examined, there were more males than females. This is again probably related to the fact that females married at a younger age than males and thus entered the category of married women. The other one-quarter of the cases is interesting - it reflects a number of situations where there was a shortage of men. Most likely, the men were stationed in the militia in other parts of the region or on expeditions with the missionaries at the time of the census. Since this imbalance is not correlated with a similar imbalance in the sex ratio of children, it is unlikely to have been caused by selective infanticide.

The sex ratio of male children to female children showed that in the 91 cases examined, seven were questionable as to whether they would have occurred by chance (probability between .01 and .05) and four were unlikely to have occurred by chance (less than .01 probability). The missionaries occasionally refer to infanticide being practiced but only Lucero reported selective infanticide, stating that

the Indians killed their children when there were too many girls (Figueroa 1904:414). One might argue that infanticide had previously been more prevalent but that the presence of the missionary at the birth of a child would have been a powerful incentive against killing a newborn baby. This may have been true although it is unlikely that the missionary was present at anywhere near the majority of births. Instead, the wide fluctuations in sex ratios among children (see Table 27) all of which appear due to chance (according to the Meister test) point out that individual villages must have had to pursue different strategies at different times in order to deal with a surplus of unmarried men or women. This may be a partial explanation for why people fled the missions, or why mission Indians were willing to join in military expeditions to find new Indians - to increase the number of males or females depending on the need at that time.

TABLE 27
Sex Ratios of Children in Three Villages

	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Cahuapanas	116	120	84	123	98	115
Muniches	128	100	--	83	100	142
Yurimaguas	85	71	105	85	124	122

Sources: (1) BNC/R Fondo Gesuitico #1249/1; (2) PF/R Ameri. Mer. #2:f.479-480; (3) AGI/S Quito 191:1745; (4) BN/M #17614; (5) and (6) Schuller 1911.

The continual fluctuation of the sex ratios found in these reports are a result of both the constant migration into and out of the mission villages and the imbalances that occur by chance in nature. Using the test proposed by Meister (1980), it was shown that the sex ratios in the villages could all be explained by chance fluctuations in nature, but knowing the historical conditions in this region, they were undoubtedly also due to migration.

FOOTNOTES

1. The number of villages enumerated in the six census reports totals about 60.
2. In a personal communication Prof. Nicolas Cushner of the History Department at Empire State College, Buffalo, New York delineated the commonly accepted age categories used by the Jesuit census takers. Dr. Cushner is a noted Jesuit historian (see: Cushner 1980, 1982).
3. In 1965 the percent of the population under 15 in lowland South America was calculated at 43.8 percent (U.N. 1973:265). In 1972 the percent of the population under 15 on the Peruvian section of the Amazon River was 46.94 percent, and 48.28 percent on the Napo River (San Roman n.d.:119). The 18th century figures then were only slightly higher than in the 20th century.
4. In some individual villages the age structure was significantly higher or lower than the average reported in the text. San Pablo de Napeanos had a low percentage of children and adolescents, between 28 percent and 38 percent from the years 1740 to 1776. Other villages were much higher, reaching over 50 percent, such as: Chamicuros, 56 percent in 1740 and 1767; Chayabitas, 56 percent in 1745; Aguanos, 59 percent in 1740; Borja 61 percent in 1745; Cahuapanas, 60% in 1740. (Raw data presented in Appendix G.)
5. Catarrh is an upper respiratory infection that could cause severe head pain and difficulty of hearing.
6. Yaws, translated as cuchipes or gallico in the documents, is an infectious tropical skin disease characterized by multiple red pimples.
7. The ten primary causes of death in the region of Laguna as of 1968 were: intestinal parasites including amebiasis, helminthiasis, hookworm; blennorrhea, a serious eye infection; leishmaniasis; salmonella; infectious hepatitis; influenza; chicken pox; tuberculosis (CM/L 1968). (I was unable to find similar contemporary information about other parts of the Mainas region.) When the missionaries described inflammation of the eye perhaps they were referring to blennorrhea. Swellings, abscesses and sores may be a result of amebiasis. Consumption may be a reference to tuberculosis. Magnin refers to an Indian whose nose was eaten away (AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251, #8H:f.21); this may

be a result of leishmaniasis.

8. I have not been able to find a translation for marapauba, but from the context it is clearly an herb used for medicinal purposes.
9. Often when the missionaries counted the number of Indians in a village they only reported the number of indios de lanza - men eligible for the militia.
10. I had originally hoped to be able to correlate these imbalances in the sex ratios with descriptive materials about the villages during those periods. However, this type of descriptive data were not available. As noted earlier, the missionaries preferred to write about new conquests and not about the already established villages.

CHAPTER 5

FAILURE OF THE JESUITS: IMPACT ON THE INDIANS

Failure of the Jesuits

In 1767 the King's decree expelling the Jesuits from all the Spanish colonies arrived in Quito. Soldiers were sent throughout the Audiencia to collect the missionaries and to escort them back to Europe. Commissioner Basabe was sent to the Mainas missions; he and his men travelled with the missionaries down the Amazon to Pará (Reis 1960) and on to Europe. Initially secular priests replaced the Jesuits in Mainas (BN/M #17615). However, they were found insufficiently organized and unprepared to work in this remote region. Further, few priests were willing to make a lengthy journey despite the 500 pesos annual salary offered by the king (Jouanen 1943:602). The Franciscans were called in to take over the missions. They arrived in 1774 (PR/M #2892).

Looking back on 131 years of missionary activity in Mainas, the Jesuits' contemporaries had few compliments for their work. Escobar y Mendoza, one of the secular priests who replaced the Jesuits, described the Indians as still being barbarians, despite thousands of pesos expended by the Royal Treasury. He considered the Jesuit's work to have been a failure and an extravagant waste of the King's money (Osma 1908:61).

The Jesuits were never quite so candid as to have

considered their own efforts a failure, but almost every Jesuit chronicler described the multitude of problems that beset the missions and, in their words, "kept them from being more successful." In their opinion, it was not their fault that things had not gone well, but rather a result of conditions inherent in the region as well as the lack of sufficient support from Spain.

Historians tend to agree that the three biggest impediments to the growth of the missions were disease, the Portuguese raiding and Indian rebellions (Chantre y Herrera 1901:580-581; Heredia 1924; Velasco 1979:437-454). Each of these resulted in the depopulation of the villages. Additionally, in their letters and journals the Jesuits described other problems that they felt were of equal importance.

The major problem the Padres complained about was the diversity of Indian languages which made it impossible to rapidly missionize new groups of Indians. Interpreters had to be captured and trained; the missionary needed to learn the native language; communication was difficult if not impossible between Indian groups living within the same village. This factor, more than any other, slowed down their work.

Other Padres focused on the difficult conditions that made them feel demoralized. Zephyris wrote of the inhospitable conditions of the jungle, the incredible heat, the mosquitoes, the lack of adequate food, rivers full of

crocodiles, jungles full of poisonous snakes and ferocious tigers (jaguars) (Matthei 1972:180). As a result travel was dangerous and the Padres, separated by great distances, were extremely isolated from each other (Matthei 1972: 189-190). Figueroa stressed that the Padres "had not worked more in these missions" due to their own illnesses and the lack of arms (1904:170, 173). Rodriguez said their work was equally impeded by the difficulty in entering or travelling in the region due to the weeds, wild animals and bad climate (1684:167-169). Breyer, summarizing the problems of the 17th century, wrote that they included the Indian violence, the great distances between villages, the difficulty of communication, the scarcity of Spaniards, and the isolation and abandonment of the missionaries (Matthei 1969:253). In the 18th century, Padres D'Etre, Deubler, Reen and Maroni wrote P. Visitador Zarate that the key problem was the lack of Spanish aid to maintain the missions and to repel the Portuguese attacks (Figueroa 1904:319-320).

In addition to the above problems, the Jesuits were frequently embroiled in heated arguments with the secular priests (ACJ/Q #278), with the encomenderos of Borja (ACJ/Q #360, 361), and with the Franciscans and Dominicans (ACJ/Q #214, 220; Barnuevo 1942; AGI/S Quito 213; RAH/H Tomo 218:1682). All of these arguments dealt with the issue of jurisdiction. In the case of the secular priests the argument concerned legal jurisdiction for the Curato (parish) of Borja. In the case of the encomenderos of Borja it dealt

with jurisdiction over the labor of the Indians. In the case of the Franciscans and Dominicans it dealt with demarcating the boundaries of the domains of each religious order.

Even within the Jesuit order there were severe conflicts. The first forty or fifty years of missionary work in Mainas were made more difficult by the reluctance of the Jesuit hierarchy to support the lowland work. The superiors in Quito were reluctant for two reasons. First, they received reports from the encomenderos about misconduct on the part of the missionaries that they were compelled to investigate (ACJ/Q #234). Second, the superiors were unsure of the financial potential for the region and seem to have been reluctant to financially overcommit themselves. It was standard operating procedure for the Jesuits to do a full financial appraisal of a region before committing themselves to it (Block 1980a:205; Cushner 1982:58). No such report is known to have been made for Mainas. But the superiors in Quito frequently recalled the Padres for accounts of their work; these accounts may have served in place of a formal appraisal.

The Padres complained bitterly about being recalled to Quito because it undermined whatever gains they may have begun to make (ACJ/Q #198, 218, 348). In one letter they graphically described themselves as "members cut off from the head" (ACJ/Q #355) because they could not rely on the support of their superiors.

It is clear in the Jesuits' writings that they felt their problems could be resolved by sending more missionaries. Nieto Polo wrote that the lack of personnel "causes the loss of many souls and the despair of the missionaries who live in remote areas, separated from each other by many days" (AGI/S Quito 158:1735). While some requests were filled by the king, although usually on a smaller scale than what had been requested, the missionaries did not always arrive. In 1720, twenty missionaries sent to Mainas to help counteract the Portuguese threat were shipwrecked and died.

In summary, by their own standards the Jesuits considered their work in Mainas to have been plagued by problems that impeded their success. The problems were usually things that were beyond their control - the inhospitable condition of the jungle, the rebellious nature of the Indians, the incorrigible Portuguese raiders, insufficient supplies or missionaries provided by the king. Even the death of the Indians from European diseases was blamed on the Indians. Breyer wrote,

Our Indians have such an inclination to die that it takes little more than a single smell of a Spaniard for them to sicken and die.
(Matthei 1973:253)

The goal of the Jesuits had been to convert all the heathen they could find, to bring them to live in Christian villages and to establish a stable, self-sufficient economy. They did not succeed. The Indians fled from the villages;

they would often not accept the demands the Padres made on their behavior; the basis for a stable, self-sufficient economy was never found.

The depopulation of the missions resulted from the Jesuit policy that brought large groups of Indians together into riverine villages. The villages were centers for the spread of diseases and targets for the Portuguese raiders. This created the continual depopulation of the Indians and thereby undermined the possibility of the villages developing a solid economic base. The missionaries therefore concentrated their efforts on continually rebuilding the missions by raiding the interfluvial areas for more Indians. A vicious circle was set into motion.

Impact on the Indians

Some writers have assumed that if the missionaries did not achieve their goals then they did not have an impact or significant affect on the Indians (e.g. Lehnertz 1974). The findings presented in this dissertation point to a different conclusion. Both in the riverine areas where the mission villages were established and in the interfluvial areas where Indian settlements were raided, the Jesuits had a significant affect.

Mission Villages

The mission villages were founded along the major

rivers to facilitate communication and transportation for the Padres. Indians were brought into the missions from the surrounding inland regions, but they fled back when conditions in the missions were unacceptable. Immigration and emigration was set in motion.

Factionalism, one of the most significant developments of life in the mission villages, was fostered by Jesuit policy in order to cross cut the population into different sectors. This made it difficult if not impossible to rebel successfully or organize against the missions. To varying degrees, the Jesuits divided the men from the women, the children from the adults, the children amongst themselves and the adults amongst themselves.

The Jesuit missionaries' own fear of and contempt for women structured how they viewed the role of women within the mission village. The Jesuits were preoccupied with not being alone in the vicinity of a woman: they could not enter an Indian home by themselves for fear a woman would be found alone; no woman could ever enter the Padre's home; no woman could receive religious instruction outside of the church. This fear of women was translated into contempt for them. Widman tells the story that when the Padres were trying to mollify the Indians in Borja, who wanted to move their village to a new site against the wishes of the Governor of Mainas, the Padres told them that "they should not let themselves be governed by their women who were stirring them up" (PC/M Tomo 108:96). In

the Jesuit's view, they were acting not as rational men, but rather allowing themselves to be controlled by women.

A sexual division of labor existed in the Amazon prior to the arrival of the Jesuits, but the Padres imbued it with a new, rigid structure that could not easily be counteracted. Women were relegated to the care of the home and the production of some craft goods. Men were given the responsibility for gardening, hunting and care of domesticated animals. The most significant change was that women were removed from the field of production, they were no longer responsible for gardening. Loosing this critical responsibility meant that they lost the right to distribute the fruits of their labor, and that they became much more dependent on their husbands for their subsistence needs.

The Padres also kept women from becoming equal members of mission villages simply by the fact that they were never trained in Quechua, the lingua franca of the region. Communication with other Indian groups in the village was thus curtailed, and women became dependent on their husbands as their source of information about and communication with the larger world.

The establishment of the nuclear family as the basic dwelling unit would have eroded the previous networks of extended families and thrust the married couple into a more exclusive, more rigid, dependent relationship.

The governing structure of the mission village served

to divide the adults from each other in a number of different ways. There were Indians chosen to assume political functions within the village. They had the power to control even the personal lives of the villagers. They could mete out punishments, send an errant husband away, allow him to return, etc.

Within the church, ecclesiastical officials were chosen. Many of these jobs were largely ceremonial and connected to the preparation for certain feasts and holidays, but the job of the fiscales was central to the Padres' information gathering about the Indians. The fiscal was to make it his business to know everything about the Indians' personal lives and to report this information back to the Padre.

In addition to dividing the Indians amongst themselves, the Jesuits also created a whole new grouping of Indians, the viracochas. Although they were of Indian origin, they had been brought up by the Padres in the village seminaries and their allegiances were with the Padres. They were feared and hated by the villagers. Their intimate knowledge of both worlds made them a powerful enemy or ally to either the Padres or the Indians.

These subdivisions in the adult world also existed for the children. Some children were chosen to be fiscalillos who reported to the Padre about the behavior of the other children. While their key job was to report whether or not

each child attended church, they were learning to assume the role of confidante to the Padre, preparing themselves to be fiscales when they became adults.

Children were further divided into those who received education from the Padres in the village seminary versus those who did not, and between those children who lived in the seminary versus those who did not. Children received training from the Padres in the hopes that they would make their parents become more kindly disposed to the church. In other words, the children were to become agents for the Padres, to help spread the faith to their parents who were less impressionable than they were.

Since the Jesuit expulsion, the majority of the descendants of the Indians who have remained in the mission villages have become peasants, dependent on small-scale family production to meet their basic subsistence needs. Manufactured goods are acquired either through wage labor or by selling their produce in the markets. In either case they are part of the cash economy. The major towns that are currently found along the rivers in the Upper Amazon were begun as Jesuit mission villages: Yurimaguas, Laguna, Iquitos, Jeberos, Nanay, San Regis, Andoas, Pinches.

Interfluvial Region

The interfluvial region was both an area that was raided for Indians to be brought to the missions, and an area that was used as a refuge for Indians fleeing from the

missions. There was a continual resettlement and movement that became part of life within the region. Strategies had to be developed for coping with the raiding parties and with the fleeing Indians. Three basic strategies evolved. One, a group fought back all attempts to control them, such as the Jivaros. Two, some, such as the Abijiras, Cocamas and Conibos forced the missionaries to flee their settlements after some initial contact and association. Three, others grouped into large settlements which by their physical presence could ward off attack, such as the Mainas Indians on the Nucuray River. The most common reaction, however, was to splinter off into relatively small groups and try to hide deep in the forest away from raiding parties.

Therefore, the predominance of small, egalitarian, autonomous villages in the Amazon are not a "traditional" characteristic of this region but rather a result of the historical events that destroyed previous interconnections and created new lines of hostility between populations.

Riverine-Interfluvial Relationship

The explorers described an active and extensive trade network that crossed vast regions of the Amazon. Cooperation and friendship were one element that connected riverine and interfluvial groups brought together in the various trade networks. During the colonial era, however, the relationship between the two regions was predominantly

hostile. The missions, located on the rivers, raided the inland groups on a continuous basis to obtain Indian recruits. Assisted by Spanish soldiers who carried guns, these raids were formidable enemies to the inland Indians.

Many Indians fought these attacks, some attacking the missions in return. However, the Jesuit documents do not record these attacks in any detail. They create the impression that their power and authority was more respected than it probably was.

In summary, there is a critical need for more historical studies of Amazonia. This dissertation has shown the extent of the changes that developed in the Upper Amazon during the colonial era and has given some insights into the pre-colonial organization.

Pre-colonially, large, densely populated settlements existed along the major rivers. Extensive trade networks connected regions that were great distances from each other. Complex social relationships, especially slavery, were associated with these settlements. There are no data about how settlements in the interfluvial regions were organized or what size the populations attained. It is conceivable that large settlements were able to maintain themselves away from the rich resources of the rivers if they were part of a trading network that provided additional sources of food, similar to what Morey and Morey described for the Achagua and Guahibo.

Focusing on the trade networks should not give the impression that life was idyllic in these times. Warfare, raiding and hostilities did exist but it was within a structure which also organized the movement of large quantities of goods and people. Too often an appreciation of this cooperation and organization has been lost when anthropologists focus on warfare.

Further, while anthropologists have recognized the importance of involvement in trade on altering the nature of production and social organization, no studies have been done on this for Amazonia. Although there are very little data for any one region, a compilation of all the known material on the Amazon could be done in order to lay out the trade networks, the goods traded, how they were produced, and the areas brought into contact by the network.

The pre-colonial structure of inter-village relations was destroyed by the Spanish conquest. In its place we find various types of indigenous settlements, described in Chapter 1. They differ from each other in terms of the type of contact they had with westerners and how they have organized production and social relations to procure manufactured goods. The changes that this produced both within and between indigenous settlements was great. Many examples of this have been given in the dissertation.

A critical point of the dissertation has been to show that no Amazonian group was unaffected by these events -

even those that were furthest from direct contact, such as the Jivaro and Yanomamo. This has implications for contemporary fieldwork. We cannot make the assumption that people are living the "traditional" life style just because they were isolated geographically. The prior interconnections between groups were destroyed by the conquest and settlements were left more autonomous than they had been previously. Further, production and social organization were altered as each settlement chose a particular method for acquiring manufactured goods, particularly iron tools.

Recognizing the historical past of the Indians in the Amazon brings into question whether the concept of "traditional" is appropriate, useful or accurate for understanding the lowlands. Fried's description of the problems of the concept of "tribe" (1975) can be applied to the concept of "traditional." It is an artifact of the colonial era and fails to recognize the many changes in indigenous life that were produced in this era. The Yanomamo and Jivaro are two examples of lowland cultures described by ethnographers as being traditionally warlike and fierce. Yet looking at the historical background of both, these two characteristics appear to result from the reorganization of social relations in order to procure larger amounts of western trade goods.

There is a great need to understand the historical background of the Amazonian region. Current events are

propelling many Indians to form cooperatives, sue for titles to land and fight national governments, oil companies, and other such enterprises. It needs to be made clear that their present situation is a response to events of the last 400 years.

APPENDIX A: SAMPLE OF MAINAS MISSIONARIES: BIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

Name	Birth Place	Age Entered Jesuit Order	Years of Training/Experience		Year Entered Mainas	Age Entered Mainas	Estimate of Number of Years in Mainas	Average Grade
			Before Entering Mainas	Year Entered Mainas				
ARIAS, Laurentias	Quito (Ecuador)	21	--	--	--	--	6	1.8
BAHAMONTE, Josephus	Quito (Ecuador)	32	--	--	--	--	22	2.5
BOADILLA, Gregorius	Cuenca (Ecuador)	14	4	1695	18	19	19	2.2
BRENTANO, Carlos	Hungary	20	14	1728	34	12	12	2.9
BREYER, Wenceslais	Bohemia	18	7	1687	25	19	19	2.5
CAMACHO, Andreas	Popayan (Colombia)	18	9	1753	27	3	3	1.6
CAMPOS, Pedro	Spain	16	11	1708	27	5	5	2.7
CASES, Josephus	Spain	23	16	1683	39	10	10	2.6
CERUELA, --	--	--	--	--	--	12	12	2.7
COLOMA, Franciscus	Loja (Ecuador)	16	--	--	--	--	--	2.0
COLOMO, Juan	Loja (Ecuador)	17	15	1712	32	8	8	2.6
CORONADO, Luis	Spain	14	33	1720	47	4	4	--
CUEVA, Lucas de la	Spain	16	9	1638	25	31	31	2.8
CUJIA, Gaspar	Sardinia	--	--	1638	33	14	14	2.6
D'ETRE, Guillermo	Flanders	19	12	1700	31	20	20	2.9
DEUBLER, Leonardo	Hamberg	20	22	1733	44	34	34	2.3
DURANGO, Nicolas	Naples (Italy)	16	8	1683	24	24	24	2.4
FALCOMBELI, Francisco	Turin (Italy)	21	25	1744	46	1 1/2	1 1/2	--
FEIJOO, Francisco	Cuenca (Ecuador)	15	0	1683	15	28	28	2.0
FIGUEROA, Francisco	Popayan (Colombia)	--	--	1641	--	25	25	3.0
FRANZEN, Henricus	Germany	23	6	1728	29	38	38	2.2
FRITZ, Samuel	Bohemia	22	14	1687	36	38	38	2.6
GREBMER, Guillermus	Germany	20	19	1724	39	28	28	3.0
JIMENEZ, Jose	Guayaquil (Ecuador)	--	--	1707	--	5	5	1.9
JULIAN, Juan Baptista	Germany	20	13	1723	33	13	13	3.0
LUCERO, Juan Lorenzo	Pasto (Colombia)	19	6	1661	25	29	29	2.3
MAGNIN, Juan	Germany	19	18	1738	37	6	6	3.0
MAJANO, Lucas	Guayaquil (Ecuador)	--	--	1658	26	9	9	2.2

APPENDIX A: (Continued)

Name	Birth Place	Years of Training/Experience				Age Entered Mainas	Estimate of Number of Years in Mainas	Average Grade
		Age Entered Jesuit Order	Before Entering Mainas	Year Entered Mainas				
MARIACA, Manuel	Riobamba (Ecuador)	--	--	1712	--	2	2.4	
MARONI, Pablo	Venice (Italy)	17	17	1729	34	--	2.8	
MICHEL, Ignatius	Germany	20	12	1724	32	18	1.8	
NARVAEZ, Joannes	Spain	15	12	1691	27	11	2.2	
NAVARRO, Ignatius Francisco	Spain	15	--	--	--	22	2.3	
PEREZ, Dominicus	Spain	33	3	1707	36	5	1.6	
PIETRAGRASA, Joachim	Italy	16	21	1744	37	8	2.6	
REAL, Francisco	Italy	31	6	1743	37	2	--	
RICHTER, Henricus	Germany	15	17	1685	32	11	2.4	
SALDARRIAGA, Juan de	Spain	27	10	1698	37	14	2.2	
SANA, Juan Baptista	Sardinia (Italy)	22	--	--	--	--	2.7	
SANTA CRUZ, Raymundo de	Ibarra (Ecuador)	--	--	1651	--	11	2.4	
SANTOS, Thomas	Quito (Ecuador)	16	28	1695	44	6	2.2	
SCHINDLER, Nicolas	Germany	15	18	1729	33	11	3.2	
SUAREZ, Pedro	Cartagena (Colombia)	--	--	1665	--	3	2.2	
TORRES, Jacob	Spain	20	5	1746	25	6	2.4	
URIARTE, Manuel	Spain	17	14	1751	31	17	2.2	
VEIGL, Francisco Xavier	Austria	15	18	1756	33	10	2.2	
VELASCO, Pedro	Spain	15	--	--	--	--	2.0	
VIDAL, Gaspar	Spain	--	5	1687	--	--	1.8	
VIDRA, Francisco	Germany	18	--	--	--	35	1.6	
VIVA, Francisco	Naples (Italy)	16	13	1683	29	14	2.6	
WIDMAN, Adam	Germany	23	10	1728	33	38	2.7	
ZEPHYRIS, Xavier	Austria	19	12	1724	31	16	2.5	

Source: ARSI/R Novi Regni #3, #11; Jouanen (1941, 1943), Velasco (1979).

Note: -- indicates no data available.

APPENDIX B: SUPERIORS OF THE MAINAS MISSIONS

<u>SUPERIORS</u>	<u>NATIONALITY</u>	<u>YEARS AS SUPERIOR</u>	<u>NUMBER OF YEARS</u>
CUJIA, Gaspar	Sardinian	1638-1651	13
PEREZ, Bartolome	Spanish	1651-1653	2
SANTA CRUZ, Raymundo de	South-American	1653-1659	6
FIGUEROA, Francisco de	South-American	1659-1665	6
MAJANO, Tomas	Spanish	1665-1669	4
LUCERO, Juan Lorenzo	South-American	1669-1687	18
VIVA, Francisco	Italian	1687-1695	8
VIDAL, Gaspar	Spanish	1695-1704	9
FRITZ, Samuel	German	1704-1712	8
BOADILLA, Gregorio	South-American	1712-1719	7
D'ETRE, Guillermo	German	1719-1726	7
ZURMILLEN, Bernardo	German	1726-1729	3
JULIAN, Juan Baptista	German	1729-1736	7
SCHINDLER, Nicolas	German	1736-1743	7
GREBMER, Guillermo	German	1743-1748	6
WIDMAN, Adam	German	1748-1756	8
IRIARTE, Martim	Spanish	1756-1758	2
ESQUIMI, Pedro	Italian	1758-1762	4
VEIGL, Francisco	German	1762-1766	4
AGUILAR, Francisco	Spanish	1766-1768	2

Source: ARSI/R Novi Regni #3, #11, Jouanen (1941, 1943), Velasco (1979).

APPENDIX C: VISITADORES TO THE MAINAS MISSIONS

<u>VISITADORES</u>	<u>NATIONALITY</u>	<u>YEAR OF VISIT</u>
CUEVA, Lucas de la	Spanish	1668
MAJANO, Tomas	Spanish	1671
CASES, Josephus de	Spanish	1687
LUCERO, Juan Lorenzo	South-American	1695-1696
MEAURO, Ignacio de	South-American	1721
GUTIERREZ, Diego	South-American	1727-1730
ZARATE, Andres	Spanish	1736-1737
IRIARTE, Martim	Spanish	1750-1752
VEIGL, Francisco	German	1761

Source: ARSI/R Novi Regni #3, #11, Jouanen (1941, 1943), Velasco (1979).

APPENDIX D: REPRESENTATIVE SECRET REPORT OF MAINAS MISSIONARIES - 1711

NAME	INGENIUM	JUDICIUM	PRUDENTIA	EXPERIENTIA RERUM	PROFECTUS IN LITTERIS	NATURALIS COMPLEXIO	TALENTA AD MINISTERIA
FRITZ	Bona	Bona	Mediocre ter bona	Magna	Bona	Colerica- sanguinea	Bona
BREYER	Bona	Mediocre	Mediocre	Bona	Bona	Colerica	Mediocre
CERUELA	Bona	Mediocre	Sufficiens	Bona	Bona	Colerica-adulta	Bona
SANA	Bona	Bona	Mediocre	Bona	Bona	Colerica-adulta	Bona
D'ETRE	Bona	Bona	Bona	Sufficiens	Bona	Colerica-adulta	Mediocre
VELASCO	Bona	Exigua	Exigua	Mediocre	Bona	Colerica-nimis	Bona
VIDRA	Mediocre	Bona	Mediocre	Bona	Mediocre	Fleumatica	Mediocre
FEIJOO	Mediocre	Mediocre	Exigua	Bona	Mediocre	Colerica	Exigua
SALDARRIAGA	Mediocre	Mediocre	Sufficiens	Bona	Exigua	Colerica	Exigua
JIMENEZ	Exigua	Mediocre	Mediocre	Bona	Exigua	Temperata	Exigua
BOADILLA	Mediocre	Bona	Bona	Bona	Mediocre	Temperata	Mediocre
CAMPOS	Bona	Mediocre	Sufficiens	Bona	Bona	Temperata	Bona
PEREZ	Exigua nimis	Mediocre	Exigua	Modica	Ferenulla	Fleumatica	Exigua
COLOMO	Bona	Mediocre	Mediocre	Bona	Bona	Vexica	Bona
MARIACA	Bona	Bona	Bona	Sufficiens	Bona	Temperata	Bona

Source: ARSI/R Novi Regni # 11.

APPENDIX E: REPRESENTATIVE SECRET REPORT OF MAINAS MISSIONARIES - 1690

NAME	INGENIUM	VIRTUS	SCIENTIA	PRUDENTIA	HUMILITAS	MORTIFICATIO	DISCRETIO	ZELUS ANIMARUM
VIVA	Vivax	Mediocre	Bona	Mediocre	Mediocre	Mediocre	Mediocre	Mediocre
RICHTER	Bonum	Supra-Mediocre	Sufficiens	Mediocre	Sufficiens	Supra- Mediocre	Mediocre	Fervidus
FRITZ	Bonum	Plusquam-Mediocre	Bona	Sufficiens	Magna	Magna	Sufficiens	Fervens
SANTOS	Bonum	Supra-Mediocre	Sufficiens	Sufficiens	Magna	Sufficiens	Sufficiens	Fervidus
VIDAL	Bonum	Plusquam-Mediocre	Bona	Mediocre	Magna	Excellens	Mediocre	Fervens
ARIAS	Bonum	Supra-Mediocre	Sufficiens	Mediocre	Prestans	Excellens	Mediocre	Fervidus

Source: ARSI/R Novi Regni # 11.

APPENDIX F: ACCOUNTING BY P. WIDMAN OF JESUIT ENTRADAS,
1750-1761.

Accounting by Padre Widman of the entradas made from the mission villages to inland regions to capture new Indians. He describes 39 entradas made between the years 1750 and 1761 which brought 2713 Indians into the mission villages. Source: PC/M Tomo 108:f.47-67, 75-106.

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>NUMBER CAPTURED</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
1750	52	The missionary of Pinches, P. Sebastian Imbert, recaptured 52 runaways from Pinches and Roamainas. (f.51)
1750	17	On June 22 there arrived in Omaguas 17 Yetes or Omaguas from Napo who came voluntarily, motivated by knowing that on the Marañón there were a group of Indians who spoke their own language, and also because they were persecuted in their own lands by the Zaparos and Indians from Avila. (f.51)
1751	58	The Pinches in order to obtain women to marry, because they had few of them, made an arrangement with their missionary to bring back runaway Roamainas who had fled 11 years before. They brought back 58 souls. (f.51)
1751	13	Omaguas and Mayarunas made two <u>entradas</u> to the Río Tapichi which flows into the Ucayali five days journey above its mouth. In one they achieved nothing, while in the other they seized 11 Mayoruna and 2 women. (f.51)
1752	190	P. Jose Bahamonde brought back 190 souls of Iquitos and Masamaes from the tributary Huazimocha which flows into the Blanco, not very far up from its mouth and brought them to Napeanos. (f.52)
1752	12	P. Pietragrasa brought back 3 families (approximately 12 people) to Borja who had fled some years before. (f.75)
1752	40	P. Jaime Torres travelled with the Yameos of Navapo and Alabonos of the

YEAR	NUMBER CAPTURED	DESCRIPTION
		Río Tigre to the Iquitos with whom he was friendly and he brought 40 souls to Navapo, it is said more by force than of their own free will, as he had done the year before with some Ayacores, neighbors of the Iquitos. (f.76)
1752	40	P. Uriarte found in Río Aguarico a tribe of 40 souls of heathen who had left Nombre de Jesus and took them to Capucuy. (f.78)
1753	110	The missionary of Andoas retrieved 110 Semigayes from Bobanaza. (f.78)
1754	10	Two runaway Andoas came forth out of the forest and they presented themselves in Borja with their families, a total of 10 souls. (f.79)
1754	21	A runaway woman who 10 years before, after her man had died, came out with her three sons of her own accord and was living in La Laguna, gave notice that there were other runaways of her tribe, the Ytucale. With this news they went in search of them and brought back 21 people to the town of San Javier de Urarines. (f.79)
1754	46	A missionary of San Regis set out with the Yamoos and Payaguas for the Napo to see if they could remove more Payaguas...[instead they] discovered 46 souls of Maltamaes and brought them to San Regis. (f.79)
1755	17	On an expedition made this year, a distance of four days journey from the town of Chamicuros some 17 Barbudos were seized and tied up and brought back by force. (f.56)
1755	190	In 1755, Brother Espinosa set forth from the village of San Javier in search of the Urarines who were still in the forest and he was able to bring back 190 souls with great difficulty. (f.82)

YEAR	NUMBER CAPTURED	DESCRIPTION
1755	32	A Spaniard, accompanied by Indians went in search of Iquitos, and those that he could find, which numbered 32 souls, he tied up and brought forcefully to Alabonos where the other Iquitos brought out by P. Jaime Torres are located. (f.83)
1755	19	P. Camacho brought 19 souls from R. Morona to Andoas. Three of them subsequently became sick and died in the village (as is often the case). (f.85)
1755	158	P. Camacho persuaded 158 Indians, believed to be Muratas, to settle near the Rio Guasaga. (f.85)
1756	40	The Ticunas of the town of Pebas went in search of their relatives and they brought back 40 souls. (f.86)
1756	17	At four days journey from Chamicuros the Indians found 17 heathen. They surrounded and seized them, beat them with kicks and blows and brought them back by force despite the fact that the <u>viracocha</u> had been instructed to befriend them. (f.87)
1756	35	Missionary from San Regis recaptured 5 runaways and 30 new souls who he brought by force to Alabono. (f.88)
1756	54	On December 13, there arrived in Pebas 54 Ticunas from the Remete tributary, in the neighborhood of Yahuari. (f. 89)
1756	38	On December 20, Bahamonde went to help the Yaguas who were suffering from an epidemic of <u>catarros</u> and God rewarded his zeal by causing him to meet a party of Yaguas. They returned with 38 souls. (f.89)

YEAR	NUMBER CAPTURED	DESCRIPTION
1757	54	P. Camacho was informed that a very old Murata woman was sick nine days journey away. He went to see her and brought back 54 souls. (f.90)
1757	118	The companions of Br. Rodriguez brought 118 souls to the village of Capucuy. (f.91)
1758	110	In 1758 the Alabonos and Iquitos travelled along the Tigre and Ener-acamu, accompanied by a mulato, Nicolas Perez and a Portuguese, Francisco Gonzalez, sent by H. Gutierrez Donada...and they seized 110 souls...(who) they tied up and brought back forcibly to Alabonos. (f.58)
1758	178	Omaguas brought out 33 heathen Mayorunas. The town of Santa Maria de Nanay gained 105 souls of Iquitos while Santa Barbara gained 40 of the same tribe, all brought up from the Nanay without recourse to arms or <u>viracochas</u> (as it is said). (f.93)
1759	21	21 Mainas Indians captured from the Río Pastaza were taken to Cahuapanas. (f.59)
1759	17	17 women and children were captured on the Río Pastaza and brought back to Jeberos by force. (f.61)
1759	105	The town of Santa Maria de Nanay increased this year with 105 souls, brought peacefully from the Nanay without threat of arms or <u>viracochas</u> . (f.61)
1759	15	15 Iquitos Indians were captured and brought back to Alabonos. (f.62)
1759	33	33 runaway Urarines from Chambira were brought back. (f.62)
1759	55	The town of Pebas was increased through recruitment of 55 souls, part of them runaways and part of them new Yahuas, Ticunas, Pebas. (f.62)

YEAR	NUMBER CAPTURED	DESCRIPTION
1760	53	In two expeditions this year 53 souls of Urarines from Chambirayacu were brought back. (f.63)
1760	20	P. Widman brought 20 Iquitos Indians to San Regis, all voluntarily. (f.99)
1760	184	P. Camacho was able to effect a friendship between the Jibaros and Muratos...and he brought 184 Jibaros to the town of Nuestra Senora de Dolores de Muratos. (f.64)
1761	30	The missionary of Pebas...undertook ...to seek out the Mayarunas in the Camoschiru River. He found 30 souls and took them to Pebas. (f.66)
1761	500	The new town of Loreto de Ticunas (founded this year) grew to 500 souls in this year. (f.66)
1761	11	P. Bahamonde went in search of the Masamaes who had withdrawn and he found 11 souls on the Rio Blanco and brought them to the Marañón to add to the little settlement of Napeanos. (f.105)

APPENDIX G: CENSUS DATA FOR 19 MISSION VILLAGES

Note: There is a change in the reporting of children and adolescents in the census reports of 1719, 1740, 1745, 1767 compared to 1769 and 1776. In the later two reports, they seem to have defined the age of children as older because many more people fall into this category rather than adolescents.

Sources: 1719 data: BNC/R Fondo Gesuitico #1249/1;
1740 data: PF/R Amer. Mer. #2:f.479-480;
1745 data: AGI/S Quito 191:1745;
1767 data: BN/M #17614;
1769 and 1776 data: Schuller 1911.

Village of: SAN ANTONIO ABAD DE LOS AGUANOS

<u>RAW DATA</u>	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>
Married Men	26	23	23
Married Women	26	23	23
Widowers	n.d.	n.d.	1
Widows	n.d.	n.d.	5
Single People	5*	4*	n.d.
Male Adolescents	15	22	11
Female Adolescents	11	24	6
Male Children	9	15	15
Female Children	10	12	21
 Total Males	 50	 60	 50
Total Females	47	59	55
Single	5	4	-
Sub-Total	102	123	105
Neophytes	-	-	-
TOTAL	102	123	105

* not included in calculation of sex ratio
n.d. - no data

<u>SEX RATIOS</u>	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>
Males/Females	106	101	90
Widowers/Widows**	-	-	20
Adolescents**	136	91	183
Children	90	125	71

** probability of occurrence not calculated

<u>AGE STRUCTURE</u> (in percentage)	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>
Adults	56	41	50
Adolescents	25	37	16
Children	19	22	34

Village of: SAN FRANCISCO DE BORJA

<u>RAW DATA</u>	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Married Men	100	41	32	28	25
Married Women	100	41	32	28	25
Widowers	n.d.	n.d.	6	10	8
Widows	n.d.	n.d.	12	15	15
Single People	118*	17*	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Male Adolescents	50	30	36	20	17
Female Adolescents	45	22	26	15	10
Male Children	60	18	32	20	22
Female Children	33	24	33	35	30
 Total Males	 210	 89	 106	 78	 72
Total Females	178	87	103	93	80
Single	118	17	-	-	-
Sub-Total	506	193	209	171	152
Neophytes	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	506	193	209	171	152

* not included in calculation of sex ratio
n.d. - no data

<u>SEX RATIOS</u>	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Males/Females	117 ¹	102	102	83	90
Widowers/Widows**	-	-	50	66	53
Adolescents**	111	136	138	133	170
Children	181 ¹	75	96	57 ¹	73

** probability of occurrence not calculated

¹ probability of occurrence, $.01 < p < .05$

<u>AGE STRUCTURE</u> (in percentage)	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Adults	63	51	39	48	47
Adolescents	19	27	30	20	18
Children	18	22	31	32	35

Village of: LIMPIA CONCEPCION DE CAHUAPANAS

<u>RAW DATA</u>	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Married Men	69	85	91	163	176	180
Married Women	69	85	91	163	176	180
Widowers	n.d.	n.d.	7	3	10	6
Widows	n.d.	n.d.	30	16	26	24
Single People	50*	30*	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Male Adolescents	44	50	53	121	50	49
Female Adolescents	70	32	43	67	20	19
Male Children	50	120	78	111	192	204
Female Children	43	100	92	90	194	176
 Total Males	 163	 255	 229	 398	 428	 439
Total Females	182	217	256	336	416	399
Single	50	30	-	-	-	-
Sub-Total	395	502	485	734	844	838
Neophytes	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	395	502	485	734	844	838

* not included in calculation of sex ratio
n.d. - no data

<u>SEX RATIOS</u>	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Males/Females	89	117 ¹	89	118 ²	102	110
Widowers/Widows**	-	-	23	18	38	25
Adolescents**	62	156	123	180	250	257
Children	116	120	84	123	98	115

** probability of occurrence not calculated

¹ probability of occurrence, $.01 < p < .05$

² probability of occurrence, $p < .01$

<u>AGE STRUCTURE</u> (in percentage)	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Adults	48	40	45	47	46	46
Adolescents	29	16	20	26	8	8
Children	23	44	35	27	46	46

Village of: SANTISIMA TRINIDAD DE CAPUCUY

<u>RAW DATA</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Married Men	36	20	9
Married Women	36	20	9
Widowers	16	10	0
Widows	11	8	4
Single People	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Male Adolescents	37	10	5
Female Adolescents	18	12	0
Male Children	12	8	5
Female Children	12	15	3
 Total Males	 101	 48	 19
Total Females	77	55	16
Single	-	-	-
Sub-Total	178	103	35
Neophytes***	11	-	-
TOTAL	189	103	35

*** not included in calculation of sex ratio or age structure
n.d. - no data

<u>SEX RATIOS</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Males/Females	131 ¹	87	118
Widowers/Widows**	145	125	-
Adolescents**	205	83	-
Children	100	53	166

** probability of occurrence not calculated

¹ probability of occurrence, $.01 < p < .05$

<u>AGE STRUCTURE</u> (in percentage)	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Adults	56	56	63
Adolescents	31	21	14
Children	13	23	23

Village of: SAN JAVIER DE LOS CHAMICUROS

<u>RAW DATA</u>	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Married Men	50	62	61	95	118	115
Married Women	50	62	61	95	118	115
Widowers	n.d.	n.d.	2	3	10	7
Widows	n.d.	n.d.	7	9	11	11
Single People	23*	10*	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Male Adolescents	35	60	32	66	24	22
Female Adolescents	27	58	31	68	23	22
Male Children	7	30	26	53	115	112
Female Children	13	24	20	67	124	127
 Total Males	 92	 152	 121	 217	 267	 256
Total Females	90	144	119	239	276	275
Single	23	10	-	-	-	-
Sub-Total	205	306	240	456	543	531
Neophytes	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	205	306	240	456	543	531

* not included in calculation of sex ratio
n.d. - no data

<u>SEX RATIOS</u>	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Males/Females	102	105	101	90	96	93
Widowers/Widows**	-	-	28	33	90	63
Adolescents**	129	103	103	97	104	100
Children	53	125	130	79	92	88

** probability of occurrence not calculated

<u>AGE STRUCTURE</u> (in percentage)	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Adults	60	44	55	44	47	47
Adolescents	30	39	26	30	9	8
Children	10	17	19	26	44	45

Village of: LA PRESENTACION DE CHAYABITAS

<u>RAW DATA</u>	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Married Men	70	95	90	220	240	233
Married Women	70	95	90	220	240	233
Widowers	n.d.	n.d.	3	2	15	7
Widows	n.d.	n.d.	27	54	60	63
Single People	53*	28*	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Male Adolescents	45	20	44	152	52	49
Female Adolescents	38	27	54	91	35	32
Male Children	50	71	82	140	218	266
Female Children	45	88	84	146	216	224
 Total Males	 165	 186	 219	 514	 525	 555
Total Females	153	210	255	511	551	552
Single	53	28	-	-	-	-
Sub-Total	371	424	474	1025	1076	1107
Neophytes	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	371	424	474	1025	1076	1107

* not included in calculation of sex ratio

n.d. - no data

<u>SEX RATIOS</u>	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Males/Females	107	88	85 ¹	100	95	100
Widowers/Widows**	-	-	11	3	25	11
Adolescents**	118	74	81	167	148	153
Children	111	80	97	95	100	118 ¹

** probability of occurrence not calculated

¹ probability of occurrence, .01 < p < .05

<u>AGE STRUCTURE</u> (in percentage)	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Adults	52	51	44	48	52	48
Adolescents	22	11	21	24	8	7
Children	26	38	35	28	40	45

Village of: SAN JAVIER DE ICAHUATES

<u>RAW DATA</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Married Men	25	16	6
Married Women	25	16	6
Widowers	11	8	0
Widows	12	12	3
Single People	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Male Adolescents	10	10	5
Female Adolescents	8	15	1
Male Children	9	16	10
Female Children	14	13	1
 Total Males	 55	 50	 21
Total Females	59	56	11
Single	-	-	-
Sub-Total	114	106	32
Neophytes***	107	2	2
TOTAL	221	108	34

*** not included in calculation of sex ratio or age structure
n.d. - no data

<u>SEX RATIOS</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Males/Females	93	89	190 ¹
Widowers/Widows**	91	66	-
Adolescents**	125	66	500
Children	64	123	1000 ²

** probability of occurrence not calculated

¹ probability of occurrence, $.01 < p < .05$

² probability of occurrence, $p < .01$

<u>AGE STRUCTURE</u> (in percentage)	<u>1745</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Adults	64	49	47
Adolescents	16	24	19
Children	20	27	34

Village of: LA LIMPIA CONCEPCION DE N.S. DE LOS JEBEROS

<u>RAW DATA</u>	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Married Men	198	296	319	490	514	509
Married Women	198	296	319	490	514	509
Widowers	n.d.	n.d.	16	31	20	20
Widows	n.d.	n.d.	55	41	76	70
Single People	120*	111*	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Male Adolescents	78	161	104	259	53	56
Female Adolescents	82	147	169	148	39	30
Male Children	140	161	188	236	436	410
Female Children	220	149	150	257	404	425
 Total Males	 416	 618	 627	 1016	 1023	 995
Total Females	500	592	693	936	1033	1034
Single	120	111	-	-	-	-
Sub-Total	1036	1321	1320	1952	2056	2029
Neophytes	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	1036	1321	1320	1952	2056	2029

* not included in calculation of sex ratio

n.d. - no data

<u>SEX RATIOS</u>	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Males/Females	83 ²	104	90 ¹	108 ¹	99	96
Widowers/Widows**	-	-	29	75	26	28
Adolescents**	95	109	61	175	135	186
Children	63 ²	108	125 ¹	91	107	96

** probability of occurrence not calculated

¹ probability of occurrence, $.01 < p < .05$

² probability of occurrence, $p < .01$

<u>AGE STRUCTURE</u> (in percentage)	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Adults	50	53	54	54	55	55
Adolescents	15	23	21	21	4	4
Children	35	24	25	25	41	41

Village of: SANTIAGO DE LA LAGUNA

<u>RAW DATA</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Married Men	241	269	300	297
Married Women	241	269	300	297
Widowers	24	30	15	13
Widows	48	34	28	30
Single People	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Male Adolescents	159	186	26	24
Female Adolescents	98	190	14	14
Male Children	160	80	230	266
Female Children	136	84	236	220
 Total Males	 584	 565	 571	 600
Total Females	523	577	578	561
Single	-	-	-	-
Sub-Total	1107	1142	1149	1161
Neophytes***	2	-	-	-
TOTAL	1109	1142	1149	1161

*** not included in calculation of sex ratio or age structure
n.d. - no data

<u>SEX RATIOS</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Males/Females	111 ¹	97	98	106
Widowers/Widows**	50	88	53	43
Adolescents**	162	97	185	171
Children	117	95	97	120 ¹

** probability of occurrence not calculated
¹ probability of occurrence, .01 < p < .05

<u>AGE STRUCTURE</u> (in percentage)	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Adults	50	53	56	55
Adolescents	23	33	3	3
Children	27	14	41	42

Village of: SAN IGNACIO DE MAYNAS

<u>RAW DATA</u>	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Married Men	12	11	17	70	66
Married Women	12	11	17	70	66
Widowers	n.d.	n.d.	1	5	2
Widows	n.d.	n.d.	1	12	12
Single People	20*	1*	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Male Adolescents	6	7	9	24	19
Female Adolescents	7	7	6	24	20
Male Children	9	3	5	46	40
Female Children	5	4	6	38	36
 Total Males	 27	 21	 32	 145	 127
Total Females	24	22	30	144	134
Single	20	1	-	-	-
Sub-Total	71	44	62	289	261
Neophytes***	-	-	5	-	-
TOTAL	71	44	67	289	261

* not included in calculation of sex ratio

*** not included in calculation of sex ratio or age structure

n.d. - no data

<u>SEX RATIOS</u>	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Males/Females	112	95	106	100	94
Widowers/Widows**	-	-	100	41	16
Adolescents**	85	100	150	100	95
Children	180	75	83	121	111

** probability of occurrence not calculated

<u>AGE STRUCTURE</u> (in percentage)	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Adults	62	52	58	54	56
Adolescents	18	32	24	17	15
Children	20	16	18	29	29

Village of: SAN ANTONIO DE LOS MUNICHES

<u>RAW DATA</u>	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Married Men	12	32	34	28	26
Married Women	12	32	34	28	26
Widowers	n.d.	n.d.	2	6	5
Widows	n.d.	n.d.	2	4	3
Single People	17*	14*	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Male Adolescents	16	20	21	11	11
Female Adolescents	7	23	11	26	10
Male Children	9	9	20	30	27
Female Children	7	9	24	30	19
 Total Males	 37	 61	 77	 75	 69
Total Females	26	64	71	88	58
Single	17	14	-	-	-
Sub-Total	80	139	148	163	127
Neophytes	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	80	139	148	163	127

* not included in calculation of sex ratio

n.d. - no data

<u>SEX RATIOS</u>	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Males/Females	142	95	108	85	118
Widowers/Widows**	-	-	100	150	166
Adolescents**	228	86	190	42	110
Children	128	100	83	100	142

** probability of occurrence not calculated

<u>AGE STRUCTURE</u> (in percentage)	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Adults	51	56	49	40	47
Adolescents	29	31	22	23	17
Children	20	13	29	37	36

Village of: SAN PABLO DE NAPEANOS

<u>RAW DATA</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Married Men	71	75	56	32	31
Married Women	71	75	56	32	31
Widowers	n.d.	60	24	6	5
Widows	n.d.	20	15	6	7
Single People	81*	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Male Adolescents	29	54	21	6	4
Female Adolescents	16	25	18	2	1
Male Children	19	14	22	22	20
Female Children	14	11	23	18	16
 Total Males	 119	 203	 123	 66	 60
Total Females	101	131	112	58	55
Single	81	-	-	-	-
Sub-Total	301	334	235	124	115
Neophytes***	228	211	-	-	-
TOTAL	529	545	235	124	115

* not included in calculation of sex ratio

*** not included in calculation of sex ratio or age structure

n.d. - no data

<u>SEX RATIOS</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Males/Females	117	154 ²	109	113	109
Widowers/Widows**	-	300	160	100	71
Adolescents**	181	216	116	300	400
Children	135	127	95	122	125

** probability of occurrence not calculated

² probability of occurrence, $p < .01$

<u>AGE STRUCTURE</u> (in percentage)	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Adults	74	69	64	62	65
Adolescents	15	24	17	6	4
Children	11	7	19	32	31

Village of: SAN JOAQUIN DE LOS OMAGUAS

<u>RAW DATA</u>	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Married Men	73	123	163	130	104	101
Married Women	73	123	163	130	104	101
Widowers	n.d.	n.d.	56	12	10	9
Widows	n.d.	n.d.	61	10	20	23
Single People	43*	65*	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Male Adolescents	36	60	81	64	26	22
Female Adolescents	34	40	57	60	12	12
Male Children	40	74	72	94	60	55
Female Children	38	89	82	100	60	57
 Total Males	 149	 257	 372	 300	 200	 187
Total Females	145	247	363	300	196	193
Single	43	65	-	-	-	-
Sub-Total	337	569	735	600	396	380
Neophytes***	-	91	161	20	-	-
TOTAL	337	660	896	620	396	380

* not included in calculation of sex ratio

*** not included in calculation of sex ratio or age structure

n.d. - no data

<u>SEX RATIOS</u>	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Males/Females	102	104	102	100	102	96
Widowers/Widows**	-	-	91	120	50	39
Adolescents**	105	150	142	106	216	183
Children	105	83	87	94	100	96

** probability of occurrence not calculated

<u>AGE STRUCTURE</u> (in percentage)	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Adults	56	55	60	47	60	62
Adolescents	21	17	19	21	9	9
Children	23	28	21	32	31	29

Village of: LA ANUNCIACION DE LOS PARANAPURAS

<u>RAW DATA</u>	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>
Married Men	32	44	46
Married Women	32	44	46
Widowers	n.d.	n.d.	4
Widows	n.d.	n.d.	11
Single People	23*	14*	n.d.
Male Adolescents	14	7	28
Female Adolescents	16	8	26
Male Children	18	20	18
Female Children	22	21	19
 Total Males	 64	 71	 96
Total Females	70	73	102
Single	23	14	-
Sub-Total	157	158	198
Neophytes	-	-	-
TOTAL	157	158	198

* not included in calculation of sex ratio
n.d. - no data

<u>SEX RATIOS</u>	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>
Males/Females	91	97	94
Widowers/Widows**	-	-	36
Adolescents**	87	87	107
Children	81	95	94

** probability of occurrence not calculated

<u>AGE STRUCTURE</u> (in percentage)	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>
Adults	55	65	54
Adolescents	19	9	27
Children	26	26	19

Village of: SAN IGNACIO DE LOS PEBAS

<u>RAW DATA</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Married Men	46	48	120	72	69
Married Women	46	48	120	72	69
Widowers	n.d.	12	12	8	5
Widows	n.d.	13	17	12	14
Single People	21*	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Male Adolescents	14	12	18	12	10
Female Adolescents	10	14	9	10	8
Male Children	21	45	39	46	44
Female Children	26	48	29	46	43
 Total Males	 81	 117	 189	 138	 128
Total Females	82	123	175	140	134
Single	21	-	-	-	-
Sub-Total	184	240	364	278	262
Neophytes***	70	241	45	5	2
TOTAL	254	481	409	283	264

* not included in calculation of sex ratio

*** not included in calculation of sex ratio or age structure

n.d. - no data

<u>SEX RATIOS</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Males/Females	98	95	108	98	95
Widowers/Widows**	-	92	70	66	35
Adolescents**	140	85	200	120	125
Children	80	93	134	100	102

** probability of occurrence not calculated

<u>AGE STRUCTURE</u> (in percentage)	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Adults	61	50	74	59	60
Adolescents	13	11	7	8	7
Children	26	39	19	33	33

Village of: SAN JOSEPH DE PINCHES

<u>RAW DATA</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Married Men	27	24	29	39	40
Married Women	27	24	29	39	40
Widowers	n.d.	4	1	5	5
Widows	n.d.	10	12	14	9
Single People	9*	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Male Adolescents	10	9	25	14	12
Female Adolescents	11	8	23	12	12
Male Children	15	16	21	30	34
Female Children	8	6	24	31	33
 Total Males	 52	 53	 76	 88	 91
Total Females	46	48	88	96	94
Single	9	-	-	-	-
Sub-Total	107	101	164	184	185
Neophytes	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	107	101	164	184	185

* not included in calculation of sex ratio

n.d. - no data

<u>SEX RATIOS</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Males/Females	113	110	86	91	96
Widowers/Widows**	-	40	8	35	55
Adolescents**	90	112	108	116	100
Children	187	266 ¹	87	96	103

** probability of occurrence not calculated

¹ probability of occurrence, $.01 < p < .05$

<u>AGE STRUCTURE</u> (in percentage)	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Adults	59	61	43	53	51
Adolescents	20	17	30	14	13
Children	21	22	27	33	36

Village of: SAN JUAN FRANCISCO REGIS

<u>RAW DATA</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Married Men	100	153	92	70	68
Married Women	100	153	92	70	68
Widowers	n.d.	30	5	8	6
Widows	n.d.	27	27	16	18
Single People	30*	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Male Adolescents	50	67	62	10	9
Female Adolescents	15	26	49	12	10
Male Children	27	50	40	36	35
Female Children	23	46	34	54	35
 Total Males	 177	 300	 199	 124	 118
Total Females	138	252	202	152	131
Single	30	-	-	-	-
Sub-Total	345	552	401	276	249
Neophytes***	50	512	11	-	-
TOTAL	395	1064	412	276	249

* not included in calculation of sex ratio

*** not included in calculation of sex ratio or age structure

n.d. - no data

<u>SEX RATIOS</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Males/Females	128 ¹	119 ¹	98	81 ¹	90
Widowers/Widows**	-	111	18	50	33
Adolescents**	333	257	126	83	90
Children	117	108	117	66 ¹	100

** probability of occurrence not calculated

¹ probability of occurrence, .01 < p < .05

<u>AGE STRUCTURE</u> (in percentage)	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Adults	67	66	54	59	64
Adolescents	19	17	28	8	8
Children	14	17	18	33	28

Village of: SAN XAVIER DE URARINES

<u>RAW DATA</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Married Men	50	112	44	42
Married Women	50	112	44	42
Widowers	32	3	5	4
Widows	25	3	2	2
Single People	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Male Adolescents	12	43	10	9
Female Adolescents	36	21	24	21
Male Children	19	46	7	1
Female Children	29	23	14	16
 Total Males	 113	 204	 66	 56
Total Females	140	159	84	81
Single	-	-	-	-
Sub-Total	253	363	150	137
Neophytes***	253	-	-	-
TOTAL	506	363	150	137

*** not included in calculation of sex ratio or age structure
n.d. - no data

<u>SEX RATIOS</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Males/Females	80 ¹	128 ²	78	69 ¹
Widowers/Widows**	128	100	250	200
Adolescents**	33	204	41	42
Children	65	200 ²	50	6 ²

** probability of occurrence not calculated

¹ probability of occurrence, $.01 < p < .05$

² probability of occurrence, $p < .01$

<u>AGE STRUCTURE</u> (in percentage)	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Adults	62	63	63	66
Adolescents	19	18	23	22
Children	19	19	14	12

Village of: N.S. DE LAS NIEBES DE LOS YURIMAGUAS

<u>RAW DATA</u>	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Married Men	100	83	80	65	69	71
Married Women	100	83	80	65	69	71
Widowers	n.d.	n.d.	20	0	11	11
Widows	n.d.	n.d.	6	2	5	6
Single People	50*	12*	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Male Adolescents	50	47	34	24	28	20
Female Adolescents	40	8	18	19	18	14
Male Children	30	35	40	28	67	66
Female Children	35	49	38	33	54	54
 Total Males	 180	 165	 174	 117	 175	 168
Total Females	175	140	142	119	146	145
Single	50	12	-	-	-	-
Sub-Total	405	317	316	236	321	313
Neophytes	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	405	317	316	236	321	313

* not included in calculation of sex ratio
n.d. - no data

<u>SEX RATIOS</u>	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Males/Females	102	117	122 ¹	98	119 ¹	115
Widowers/Widows**	-	-	333	-	220	183
Adolescents**	125	587	188	126	155	142
Children	85	71	105	84	124	122

** probability of occurrence not calculated
¹ probability of occurrence, .01<p<.05

<u>AGE STRUCTURE</u> (in percentage)	<u>1719</u>	<u>1740</u>	<u>1745</u>	<u>1767</u>	<u>1769</u>	<u>1776</u>
Adults	62	57	59	56	49	51
Adolescents	22	17	16	18	13	11
Children	16	26	25	26	38	38

APPENDIX H: COMPARISON OF 18TH AND 20TH CENTURY DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

	Average for 18th century, <u>Mainas missions</u> (1)	1965 Tropical <u>S. America</u> (2)	1972 Amazon <u>River</u> (3)	1972 Napo <u>River</u> (3)
<u>Age Structure</u>				
- under 15	46%	43.8%	46.94%	48.28%
- between 15 and 60	54%	53.2%	50.49%	48.67%
<u>Sex Ratio</u>				
- total males/ total females	104	100.5	101.75	103.30

Sources: (1) Average taken from Table 17.

(2) U.N. 1973:263, 265.

(3) San Roman n.d.:119.

APPENDIX I - LOCALLY PRODUCED CROPS IN THE MAINAS MISSIONS
18TH CENTURY

<u>PRODUCT</u>	<u>LOCALITY</u>	<u>LOCAL PRICE/1701</u>
Achiote (a dye)	Borja	1/2r./lb.
Aguave (a fiber)	Archidona	
Almonds	Omaguas	
Anil	All villages	
Avenjibre (?)	All parts but especially Jeberos	
Azeite Maria (oil)	Chamicuros, Aguanos	
Bananas	Chamicuros	1r./4 bunches
	Mainas	1r./5 bunches
	Jeberos, Guallaga, Chayabitas	1r./6 bunches
	(?)	10r./arroba
Brea (a tree that produces a thick resin-like tar)		
Cacao	Shores of the Marañón, Pastaza, Tigre, Napo	
Canapistula (tree)	Jeberos	
Caraña (medicinal herb extracted from the resin of the caraña tree)	Jeberos	1r./lb.
Chicras (used as flint to make fire)	Semigayes	
Cinnamon	Andoas, Pinches	

<u>PRODUCT</u>	<u>LOCALITY</u>	<u>LOCAL PRICE/1701</u>
Copaiba (a tree; its wood is used for building canoes; its leaves produce an oily resin used to cure ulcerations and wounds.)	Chamicuros, Aguanos, Jeberos, Chayabitas, Urarines	
Copal (tree; its red wood is highly prized; its thick resin is used for many purposes including calk- ing canoes. A sap can be extracted from the tree that is used for making an alcoholic drink.)	All villages	4r./1 arroba
Copal, Yellow (medicinal herb)	Andoas	
Cotton	All villages but especially in Chaya- bitas, Paranapuras, Omaguas, Cahuapanas	
Escobilla (an herb)	All villages	
Espingo (a vegetable that pro- vides a seed used to cure dysentary)	Ticunas	
Gold dust	Shores of Marañón and Napo	
Guavyusa (herb for tea)	All villages	
Hen	(?)	2r.
Peppercorns	Omaguas	
Rooster	(?)	1r.

<u>PRODUCT</u>	<u>LOCALITY</u>	<u>LOCAL PRICE/1701</u>
Salt	Turumbassa, above Pongo de Manseriche; Huallaga, above Yurimaguas in Cachiyacu de Paranapuras. Collected by Indians from: Andoas, Muniches, Yurimaguas	
Sarsaparilla	Shores of Marañón, Napo; Chayabitas, Cahuapanas	
Tobacco	Borja	4r./bundle
Ungurave (a palm fruit used to prepare <u>chicha</u> ; extract oil from the fruit that is similar to olive oil.)	All villages	
Vanilla	Chayabitas, Cahuapanas, Parana- puras	12r./lb.
Wax (white)	Produced in many but not all villages	4r./lb.
Wax (black, yellow, red)	Produced in some villages	black wax: 1r./lb.
Wood	Santa Barbara de Nanay and in San Pablo de Napeanos they col- lected wood of good quality that was sent back to Europe	

TRANSPORTATION COSTS:

Peon that carried cargo by land: 4r./day

Messenger with letters: 1r./day

Sources: Figueroa 1904:405-6; Bayle 1951b:104; AGI/S Quito 223:1754;
PC/M Tomo 132:f.179-183; ACJ/Q #360; Jouanen 1943:395;
Tovar 1966; Osma 1908:47, 53, 56; Barrenechea 1945:130;
Schuller 1911:342-364, Uriarte I 1952:277.

APPENDIX J - LOCALLY PRODUCED HANDICRAFTS IN THE MAINAS MISSIONS
18TH CENTURY

<u>LOCALITY</u>	<u>HANDICRAFTS</u>
Andoas, Santo Tomas de	large and small bags made from palms of different colors
Cahuapanas, La Limpia Concepcion de	weave and dye fabric
Jeberos, La Limpia Concepcion de N.S. de	make <u>serbetanas</u> (suitcases) to keep household goods when travelling. Used in almost all mission villages.
Laguna, Santiago de la	weave, particularly the Panos Indians are known for their weaving
Napeanos, San Pablo de	weave hammocks
Omaguas, San Joaquin de los	paint <u>mantas</u> , and wood <u>vasos</u> ; canoe makers (canoes sold for 80 patacones each); produce a type of meat that they sell in all the villages.
Pebas, San Ignacio de	fish and hunt; make profits by selling to the rest of the mission villages because of their great ability.
Pinches, San Joseph de	weave fabric from <u>cachibanco</u> ; make sleeping mats
Roamainas	weave fabric from <u>cachibanco</u>
Urarines, San Xavier de	weave cloth from palm; weave hammocks
Yameos	blowguns, lances, shields
Yurimaguas, N.S. de los Niebes de los	women paint gourds
Lower Marañón	poison for munitions
Upper Marañón	weave and paint <u>mantas</u> and clothes (mantas sold for 4 pesos each)
Río Napo	weave hammocks (hammocks sold for 1 peso each)

Sources: Bayle 1951b:104; Osma 1908:47, 53, 56; Barrenechea 1945:130; Schuller 1911:342-364; Uriarte I 1952:277; Jouanen 1943:395.

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1640 Relación de la Mision de Mainas por los Padres Gaspar Cujia y Lucas de la Cueva. Borja.
- ACJ/Q Legajo III, #201
1640 Instrucción del P. Provincial Gaspar Sobrino a los Padres Ignacio Navarro y Juan de Ribera que van a evangelizar a los Paeses. Quito.
- ACJ/Q Legajo III, #203
1641 Cedula Real a la Audiencia de Quito sobre pacificación y población del río de las Amazonas por medio de conquistadores. Madrid.
- ACJ/Q Legajo III, #204
1641 Carta del Gobernador de Mainas al P. Gaspar Sobrino pidiendole que no saque de las Misiones al P. Gaspar Cujia. Loja.
- ACJ/Q Legajo III, #214
1642 Traslado de la Real Cedula alcanzado por los Padres Franciscanos para entrar a las Misiones del Amazonas.
- ACJ/Q Legajo III, #218
1643 Carta del P. Lucas de la Cueva al P. Sebastian Hazanero; sobre asuntos de la Mision.
- ACJ/Q Legajo III, #219
1643 Carta del P. Gaspar de Cujia al P. Sebastian Hazanero; dale cuenta de la Mision Mainas. Borja.
- ACJ/Q Legajo III, #220
1643 Pregon de la Real Cedula sobre la conquista del Río Amazonas por encomenderos.
- ACJ/Q Legajo III, #234
1645 Instrucción del P. Rodrigo Barnuevo al P. Andres de Artieda, visitador de las Misiones del Marañón.
- ACJ/Q Legajo III, #278
1650 Decreto auto etc. sobre la doctrina de San Francisco de Borja de lo cual pide un traslado el P. Cujia.
- ACJ/Q Legajo IV, #281
1650-53 Cuentas varias de las Misiones por el P. Bartolome Perez. Borja.

ACJ/Q Legajo IV, #306

1656 Informe que el P. Santa Cruz da a D. Martin de la Riva Herrera sobre la expedición contra los Jivaros. Borja.

ACJ/Q Legajo IV, #341

1665 Carta del P. Lucas de la Cueva al P. Sebastian Cedeno dandole noticia de la Mision de Archidona. Oas.

ACJ/Q Legajo IV, #348

1667 Carta del P. Juan Lorenzo Lucero al P. Gaspar Vivas. Dale noticias del P. Tomas Majano; como le quisieron matar, etc. Napo.

ACJ/Q Legajo IV, #350

1667 Carta del P. Lorenzo Lucero al P. Vivas. Dale cuenta del estado de varios pueblos de la mision. Napo.

ACJ/Q Legajo IV, #355

1667 Carta del P. Tomas Majano al P. Rector de Quito. Sublevación de los Cocamas; sufrimientos de los misioneros. Jeberos.

ACJ/Q Legajo IV, #360

1668 Carta del P. Ignacio Jaime Jimenez al P. Rector de Quito Juan Martinez Rubio. Da cuenta de su pueblo de los Santos Angeles de Roamainas. Coronados,

ACJ/Q Legajo IV, #361

1668 Carta del P. Ignacio Jaime Jimenez al P. Lucero. Asuntos varios y trabajos de misioneros. Coronados.

ACJ/Q Legajo IV, #660

1698-1700 Provisión Real para que el Gobernador de Mainas visite cada ano todos los pueblos y castigue los delitos. Quito.

ACJ/Q Legajo VIII, #724

1703 Provisión Real para que los indios sacados de Mainas sean restituidos a sus tierras.

ACJ/Q Legajo VIII, #767

1706-62 Cuaderno de ordenes para los misioneros del Marañón, de los Padres Caverro, Sierra, Andrade, Zarate, Brentano, Grebmer e Iriarte. (Listed in catalogue to the archive but the document was not there when I visited.)

AGI/S Quito 10:1620

1620 Letter from Don Vaca de Vega to the King about the conquest of Mainas.

AGI/S Quito 110:1751

1751 Request to the King for more missionaries to be sent to Mainas.

AGI/S Quito 114:1667

1667 Letter from P. Lucas de la Cueva to the King requesting financial assistance.

AGI/S Quito 131:1720

1720 Report from Governor Iturbide to the King about the Mainas missions.

AGI/S Quito 158:1733

1733 Letter from P. Juan Magnin to the Padre Superior describing conditions in Mainas. Quito.

AGI/S Quito 158:1735

1735 Report from P. Nieto Polo to the King about the Mainas missions and the Portuguese threat. Quito.

AGI/S Quito 158:1736

1736 Report from P. Nicholas Schindler to P. Zarate about the Mainas missions and the Portuguese threat. Santiago de la Laguna.

AGI/S Quito 190:1735

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AGI/S Quito 191:1745

1745 Informe a Vuestro Magestad con Autos y en Virtud de poder del Reverendo Obispo de la Diocesis de Quito, El Estado de las Misiones de Su Distrito. El Doctor Don Diego de Riofrio y Peralta.

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- AHN/M Papeles de Jesuitas Legajo 251, #3C
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 1661 Informe de las misiones del Marañón. Quito.
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