

THE JESUITS IN COLONIAL AMERICA:

1565-1767

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ALSO BY NICHOLAS P. CUSHNER,

Landed Estates in the Colonial Philippines

Lords of the Land. Sugar, Wine, and Jesuit Estates of Coastal Peru, 1699-1767

*Farm and Factory. The Jesuits and the Development of Agrarian Capitalism in Colonial Quito,
1600-1767*

Jesuit Ranches and the Agrarian Development of Colonial Argentina, 1650-1767

“...[the white man] does not understand our customs, just as we do not understand his. We say he is foolish because he does not know our ways, and perhaps he says we are foolish because we do not know his. Let him go away.”

Things Fall Apart by Chinua Achebe

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PREFACE

The outpouring of studies occasioned by the Columbus quincentenary has added immeasurably to our understanding of factors conditioning the sixteenth-century European initiative in the New World and the response of indigenous America. Ethnographic studies have played a major role in re-situating the native American as a major player on this particular historical stage. Earlier work usually made Europeans, whether Spaniards, Frenchmen, or Englishmen, the primary figures in the drama. More recent studies have attempted to redress the imbalance. However, the problem of sources and their interpretation still persists. In the present book we view indigenous American cultures through European spectacles, specifically Jesuit spectacles, thus creating the problem of accuracy. The concern is not so much with the interpretation of what the European saw, but more importantly the objective accuracy of *what* they saw. The cultural filter might well have so blurred the object as to turn it into something else. Thus, a healthy skepticism seasoned with a good dose of caution must accompany any attempt to enter the mind of a sixteenth-century European, or Indian.

The quincentenary did not produce a deeper understanding of what the agent of cultural change attempted or accomplished. Recent studies of the Indian-European encounter in North America include detailed insights about the failure or success of European missionaries who tried to change the social practices and religion of Indians groups. Nevertheless, little has been done on a comprehensive basis, which partly justifies the comparative nature of this book. How, why, and to what degree was the European successful in altering the material culture, the economic activity, social organization, sexual behavior, and religion of the Native American? If we define culture as “how people do things,” the questions to be asked are how and why the initial European-Indian encounter changed the customs, attitudes, and ideas of Indian societies. In this study I have incorporated the latest research on the culture clash in sixteenth-century America. I have also attempted to summarize the older research in order to place the central theoretical focus of the book in its proper context.

The organization of the book follows fairly standard lines. An analysis of the book's major theme falls within a rough chronological framework. The European Jesuit missionaries were initial front-line contacts with indigenous cultures throughout North and South America. These Europeans were the bridge between Native American groups and the western culture introduced to the New World. The first chapter, “Two Worlds Meet,” discusses basic questions about American Indian groups and the motivational and cultural forces working in the psyche of the European agent of change. What had the individual European Jesuit brought to America in *his* cultural baggage? What were his expectations of the American landscape, the American Indian? What did he hope to achieve? How did he expect to do it? And finally, how was he prepared for the task? An examination follows of how these agents of cultural change acted and the responses they received.

Florida was the first stage on which the clash occurred, followed by Mexico, Peru, and New France. Maryland was the last. In each the Jesuits encountered Indians. In each they attempted to change behavior and social habits. If success is measured in numbers of Indians whose customs and attitudes were refashioned, then why were the Europeans “successful” in Mexico and Peru but not in Florida or New France?

I have become indebted to many while preparing this book. The National Endowment for the Humanities allowed me to visit the Jesuit Archives in Rome and Spain in 1991, one of many visits over the past decade. The Mellon Foundation provided support

for a stay at St. Louis University in order to use the Vatican Film and Jesuit Archives material in the Pius XII Library. I first gave part of Chapter 1 at a conference at Tulane University in 1987 on the Church in Colonial America. In 1992 I spoke again on the Jesuits as cultural agents at the International Congress of Americanists in New Orleans. I was especially helped at the conference by long discussions beneath the golden arches of MacDonald's with Dan Reff of Ohio State University and Fr. Gerald McKeivitt of Santa Clara. Walter Nugent of Notre Dame University looked at the outline of the book in its earliest stages and made many helpful suggestions about its organization. Eugene Lyon of the St. Augustine Foundation looked at Chapter 2 and Gerald Fogarty of the University of Virginia had the patience to read Chapter 8. I risked losing the friendship of Dan Reff by asking him to read the entire manuscript. He did. We're still friends. Many changes in the book followed. Sensitive to my time constraints in Rome, Hugo Storni of the Jesuit Historical Institute allowed me to use the Institute library in the fall of 1996 during times when it was closed to researchers. F. J. de Cock, S.J. put at my disposal the rich holdings of the Jesuit Archives. State University of New York/UUP grants enabled me to employ expert technical assistance in producing the final manuscript from a hodgepodge of different computer programs which I used on different computers in different countries over the past ten years.

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INTRODUCTION

In the years between the founding of the Society of Jesus in 1546 and the expulsion of its members from America in 1767, the Western World experienced cataclysmic religious, social, and economic shifts. The seventeenth-century religious wars that grew out of the Protestant Reformation had subsided into uneasy alliances. Spain's claim to universal empire had been successfully challenged, so the New World was partitioned into spheres of influence under the French, English, and Spanish crowns. Mercantilism relegated America to a supplier of raw materials. The Scientific Revolution championed by Newton and Descartes attempted to explain the universe with the new tools of mathematics and the Laws of Physics. By the eighteenth century human values, scientific thought, and English constitutionalism had made major impacts in a Western World dominated for centuries by a religious-centered core of values.

On the eve of their expulsion from America in 1767, the Jesuits were not unaware of the changes taking place around them. The new approach to physics, science, and the changing political realities around them was reflected in colleges that the Jesuits directed and in the publications that they produced during the eighteenth century.

The purpose of this book is to explain how the Jesuits in America were situated both intellectually and physically on the eve of their expulsion from America. What had they attempted and achieved during their two centuries of activity in the New World? The number of mission stations they manned, the number of colleges and universities they staffed in 1767 is already well known. What the present study analyzes is the condition in which the Jesuits were leaving the various tasks they had set themselves to for over two centuries. In brief, what effect did the Jesuits have on the fabric of America's indigenous and colonizing peoples. In many instances, the questions posed in this book are unanswerable. For example, the long- and short-term effects of an educational institution are difficult if not impossible to measure. One can count the number of degrees a college bestows on students, the number of alumni in government, professional, or public service, or the scholarly production of the faculty, but an actual measurement of how classroom lectures affected values and behavior is impossible to gauge. But while questions remain unanswered, a general assessment can be made and some conclusions drawn.

Although the first Jesuits in America were Portuguese missionaries who worked with the Tupinambá of Brazil as early as 1559, Florida is the site chosen for the study of early mission activity in America. The missionary record there is full and documentation available. From the records about Florida, we can gather what the first Europeans in North America expected to encounter and achieve. And how did their experience in Florida affect their future encounters with Native Americans in Mexico, Peru, Maryland, and in the rest of North and South America?

Mission activity had a natural concomitant, cultural change. A series of violent cultural clashes occurred in sixteenth and seventeenth-century America, whose effects were more penetrating and long lasting than peoples anywhere had ever experienced. Soon after the Europeans discovered that Columbus's landfall was not the East but a landmass blocking his way to India, groups of Spaniards, Portuguese, Frenchmen, Dutchmen, and Englishmen descended on America in search of precious metals, land to till, resources to exploit, and a new world to inhabit. Trouble was, the new world was already inhabited. So for the first time in the history of the West, intensive contact between its culture and other cultures began to occur. Traits of Western culture were transferred to the Native American and *vice versa*. For the European, culture became an expression of social solidarity, a means

of separating oneself from the “uncivilized native,” and later a barometer of loyalty to the mother country.

Rather than repeat the story of the encounter between European and Native American, told and retold many times, this book examines the attitudes on both sides of the cultural fence driving the culture clash. Analyzed are the beginnings of the process of the cultural breakdown that ended in “lost authenticity.”¹ What cultural traits were lost? What survived? And why were some particular traits lost, and others left intact? What traits were modified, changed, found to be impossible to change and how did these changes impact on the lives of the conquered or the invaded? Further questions are raised and some explored insofar as the data allowed. The transferal of particular Western cultural traits carried with it a set of experiences and patterns of behavior. The triad of form, meaning, and function so effectively used by anthropologists is particularly applicable when trying to assess exactly what the Native American understood when the Jesuit missionary spoke of nation, when he spoke of king or loyalty, or when he attempted to convey the notion of God, the Virgin, Church, or sin. The “form” might well be the same for European and Native American, but the meaning and function were frequently totally different.

A related question raised by the clash of cultures is the reliability of the reporters. In the present book Jesuit missionaries are the bridge between Europe and the New World. Who were these “men on the spot?” Does the fact that they were present at a particular event entitle them to the mantle of reliability? Were they too biased to be “neutral” observers? And what did they observe, or think they were observing?² Or did these sixteenth-century observers actually possess and project a renaissance self-fashioning concept that enabled them to appreciate or at least collect a series of parts that could be admired and one day placed into a collective whole?³

In the early years of the encounter⁴ Christian missionaries sought to impose a set of cultural changes on the Indian but they did so with limited success. Only gradually did they realize that the Native American was selective in his acceptance of European cultural traits. And his motives for doing so were varied.

Chinua Achebe's novel *Things Fall Apart* (1962) confronts the enigma facing adherents of the Old Ways *vis a vis* the New. The African called the white missionary and his tiny band of local followers “the excrement of the clan,” whose crazy ideas were given no chance of survival. A new god who had a son but no wife, who was the creator of everything even the “evil forest,” whose followers allowed the outcasts to enter their church, all of this “mad logic” was allowed to survive because the village elders thought that it would soon disappear. But there was something intriguing about the stories that the new religion told. They reached deep, so deep that the people called the stories the “poetry of the new religion.” And before they could organize against it, Christianity had grown with new and powerful members. Along with the new church came government, and courts, and trials, and prison, and the white man's laws. The feeling that “there was something in it

¹ The phrase is from Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 23.

² Fabian, “Ethnographic Objectivity Revisited,” 91

³ Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 91-113; Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self Fashioning*.

⁴ Lunenfeld, *1492. Discovery, Invasion, Encounter*, 37, discusses the ambiguity and inadequacy of the word “encounter.”

after all” attracted⁵ more and more adherents. When Ajofia upbraids the missionary, Rev. James Smith, for thinking that the structures he had so meticulously created would continue in existence, the Englishman, uncompromising in his belief, cannot understand what the elder is talking about. Smith cannot fathom that his law, government, and religion could collapse under the weight of “the other’s” cultural heritage. There is a point in the dialogue when neither understands the other. The words are comprehensible but the meaning is lost. Ajofia’s anger is partly directed at himself. Smith uses an interpreter, never having learned the African’s language. Ajofia has become the bridge between the two cultures. On some level, he realizes that his world is collapsing. It is falling apart. What Ajofia understands as his culture is the unchanging, durable, configuration of symbols and behavior that Smith could never understand or change. Nevertheless, Ajofia underscores the most salient features in the radical and changing shifts that are now taking place in our understanding of the very notion of culture. The concept of culture as defined by anthropologists encompasses the beliefs and customs of peoples, all things that we learn from other people.⁶ If a major feature of culture is that it is “shared” by members of a given society, then modern anthropological research into complex societies has forced us to refine the term by asking the questions “shared by whom” and “in what ways” and “under what conditions.”⁷ Foucault⁸ points out how culture is grounded in unequal relations. And the concept of the durability of culture has been called into question⁹ as has the seemingly unassailable claim to coherence and internal consistency. Culture as an object of research no longer lies solely within the realm of the anthropologist. The field of cultural studies draws largely on literary criticism, social history, sociology as well as anthropology. In brief, the concept of culture is undergoing fragmentation, expansion, and reconstruction.¹⁰ Obierika spoke for the clan when he said “he [the white man] has put a knife on the things that held us together and we have fallen apart.”¹¹ Although Chinua Achebe wrote about nineteenth-century Biafra, the sequence of events accompanying the culture clash in America was similar. Granted that the initial encounters in

Florida, New France, and Maryland were not accompanied by the same degree of military violence that Mexico and Peru witnessed, the actions of the major players were remarkably the same. The presence of the Europeans was initially tolerated because it was not perceived as a threat; after the missionaries converted a handful of Indians, government, laws, courts, and the White Man’s culture followed shortly thereafter. Resistance to the new order of things was thereafter deemed unlawful insurrection. The linkages between imperialism, culture, and Christianity demonstrate how the agents of one supported the other. The key colonialist ideas of authority and submission were imbedded within the concepts of Spanish Catholicism, a major factor accounting for the different approaches to the Native American exhibited by the English, French, and Spanish. Cultural

⁵ Fawcett Premier Edition, 1959, 175. Confrontation between European and Native provides dramatic dialogue. See Michener’s *Hawaii*, 365-68; Hugh Thomas, *Conquest*, 277-79; Collis, *Cortés and Montezuma*, 129-32; and Lieutenant John Dunbar’s (Kevin Costner) early encounter with the Sioux in the movie *Dances With Wolves*.

⁶ Schusky and Culbert, *Understanding Culture*, 35-36.

⁷ Dirks, *Culture, Power, History*, 3.

⁸ *The Archaeology of Knowledge*.

⁹ Dirks, *Ibid*.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 4.

¹¹ *Things Fall Apart*, 161.

technologies as well as force of arms sustained the colonial empire.¹² A corollary to this, of course, is what the Native American understood when the concepts of Western Culture, including Christianity, were presented. In what way did he relate to and grasp the notions of king, loyalty, submission, and how did he understand the key ideas of faith, Church, Trinity, the Virgin Birth or other elements of the Christian belief system? By substituting the concrete for the abstract, the European was able to circumvent obstacles to appreciating his perspective. But this could be taken only so far. Greg Dening describes how Captain Cook's words were processed and understood by his South Pacific audience in a way the Englishman never intended.¹³

The Columbus quincentenary offered the occasion to examine in greater detail the European-Amerindian encounter. Most studies focused on how Europeans conceived of the Native American, on how Old World pathogens wreaked havoc on the native population, and on the train of social and economic consequences set in motion by the Columbus discoveries.¹⁴ These recent studies provide a framework of postulates around which any study of European- Indian relations must be set. For example, Dobyn's demographic analysis of the Florida Indians is essential for assessing early Spanish attempts to occupy the Florida coast, and Milanich's most recent work on the European-Florida Indian clash brings to bear the latest anthropological and historical research on the area.¹⁵ While the Caribbean and Mexico were the principal recipients of this scholarly largesse, some of the broader studies encompassing North America are useful in trying to get into the mind of the early colonists. Medieval and renaissance beliefs about the "Wild Man" of the forest enhance our understanding of European expectations. Popular European culture equated the Wild Man with the Native American. The expected encounter with vast spaces, towering mountains, and enormous rivers allowed the European to substitute freely between the real and the fantastic. The studies of Pagden¹⁶, Stannard¹⁷, Todorov¹⁸, Chiapelli, Dobyns¹⁹, and Merrell²⁰, to mention only a few, have called attention to key theoretical and practical aspects of the early European-Amerindian contact and have enabled subsequent researchers to piggy-back on their work in order to add a few more brush strokes to the early American canvas.

Through the process of European-Amerindian contact in sixteenth century America, a thread of deceptively unified themes runs clearly. *COERCION*²¹ was present, as was the *Devil* identified as the ultimate agent responsible for opposing European culture. *The Agriculturalist vs. Hunter* dichotomy also emerges as a prominent feature of the European-Amerindian encounter. These strands that run through the early encounter carried a special

¹² Cohn, *Colonialism*, 42.

¹³ Dening, *Cook and the South Pacific*, 49.

¹⁴ Altman and Butler, "The Contact of Cultures," report on the most significant studies that appeared around the time of the quincentenary.

¹⁵ Dobyns, *Their Numbers Become Thinned*; Milanich, *Florida Indians and the Invasion*.

¹⁶ *European Encounters with the New World*.

¹⁷ *American Holocaust*.

¹⁸ *The Conquest of America*.

¹⁹ *Their Numbers Become Thinned*.

²⁰ *Beyond the Covenant Chain*.

²¹ Both physical and psychological were present.

importance for the European Jesuit, but they also had a broader significance for the relationship between colonist and Indian. In Michener's *Hawaii* the Congregationalist minister, Abner Hale, is stunned when his native assistant Keoki gets married according to his traditional rites. "It puts you outside the pale of civilized ...," shouts Abner. He could not finish the sentence. And so it was for most Europeans in the Americas. Marrying or even sympathizing with a native non-Christian was tantamount to becoming an uncivilized pagan. It meant turning one's back on the culture from which one came. Such rejections occurred but not too often²². The agents of religious change viewed such occurrences as anomalies, deviations from the common caused by temporary insanity or the devil.

COERCION

The history of the conquest and colonization of America is rich with literature that describes what Europeans did in imposing their own culture and the Native American response. At one pole is the sweeping replacement of native for European forms as a metaphor for cultural change. At the other pole is the idols-behind-the-altar resistance that sees acceptance of foreign cultural traits as a cloak concealing the retention and practice of the old ways²³. In Mexico and the Andean world elements of the totally integrated pre-Hispanic past persist to form essential parts of Native American culture. The Christian saint is treated like an anthropomorphic deity, the old gods are propitiated at mountainside caves, and drunkenness has become part of the religious fiesta²⁴. Because religious beliefs and practices are the least likely to change, and when they do, they do so very slowly, the agents of religious and cultural change targeted young children. They realized that native religious instruction took place during adolescence or early youth.

In spite of the persistent efforts of Europeans on several levels, Native American groups were able to shield, protect, and interject key aspects of their cultural systems into the new culture presented to them. The overwhelming preponderance of European symbols proclaiming the destruction of the old affected segments of the native population in various ways. But enough of the old survived to give credence to the suggestion that much of it was allowed to survive²⁵.

Europeans used several techniques to influence the will of Native Americans to act in certain ways. Brute force was rarely if ever used to change habits of behavior. Only if the custom so clashed with Western *mores*, such as in the case of human sacrifice in Mexico or the continued practice of "idolatry" in Peru, and only if the Europeans exerted government control, was physical force used to bring an end to a practice. Otherwise verbal criticism from missionaries, and in some cases from civil officials, was the weapon of choice.

But the most effective weapon in the Western arsenal was the power of indirect persuasion. Reff has shown that on the frontier of Northern Mexico Jesuits pointed out to Indians that they were not touched by the diseases ravaging the native populations because

²² Axtel, *After Columbus*, 42, 47, mentions cases of English settlers opting for Indian life, but the occurrence was more frequent in the post-1865 West.

²³ Taylor, "Santiago's Horse," 154.

²⁴ Ingham, *Mary, Michael, and Lucifer*, 190.

²⁵ The European insisted upon what he believed to be essential for maintaining right order. The rest was up to the discretion of local authorities. See Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule*, 48.

the god of the Europeans was stronger²⁶. Therefore, he and his agents should be obeyed. The conquest of Mexico and Peru by the Spaniards produced an almost catatonic effect on the native populations. Their gods had abandoned them and the gods of the White Invaders had replaced them²⁷. The Indian mind was ripe for domination and persuasion. Besides, economic benefits accrued to those who joined the conquerors. Visibly accepting their ways and actively supporting their goals made one eligible for the rewards they distributed. The pull towards the new ways was often irresistible. In Peru and Mexico, the Spaniards erected social structures that paralleled pre-Hispanic society but allowed only Christians to enter the new arrangement. The French and English in North America exerted similar influences even though they did not possess direct control over Indian social structures. When the Pequot Indians along the Connecticut River resisted, Militia Captain and Puritan John Mason attacked the terrified victims and burned their wigwams, praising God “who had laughed at his enemies and the enemies of his people, ... making them as a fiery oven.”²⁸ Later, European colonists would not have to resort to warfare. They pitted one Indian group against the other by offering rivals new hunting, fishing, and household equipment that promised to make the life of the Native American much less arduous. The iron fishhook did not readily break, the iron pot lasted far longer than the bark kettle, and the bullet silenced the enemy much more efficiently than an arrow²⁹.

Coercion was not new to Western proselytization. Biblical passages and stories were partly at the source of Western cultural aggression. “Go, make disciples of all nations,”³⁰ and the parable of the king who prepares a feast to which no one comes causing him to tell his servants to “force them to come in,”³¹ gave Westerners a religious rationale to use violence in the name of God.

Europeans in America did not have to go too far back in their history to find a precedent for using force in achieving cultural uniformity. Boswell maintains that fourteenth-century Europe was the watershed dividing a period of tolerance from one of increasing bigotry³². Spain's seven-century struggle with the Muslims reinforced the notion of intolerance that culminated in Ferdinand and Isabella reversing a long tradition of tolerance by expelling the Jews and Muslims in 1492³³. A “corporate” view of society saw cultural and religious differences as a cancer that unless excised would infect the entire body.

All of Europe shared the Renaissance conviction that Western culture had reached the pinnacle of man's achievements. But its moderating ideas had little effect on those who believed in waging God's war. While Florentine artists busily mixed their paints, Spanish warriors sharpened their swords and lances for battle with the Muslims. And Capt. John Mason, who led a Puritan army against the Pequots, would probably never have admitted

²⁶ Reff, *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change*, 187.

²⁷ Thomas, *Conquest*; and Collis, *Cortés and Montezuma*, make much of this attitude.

²⁸ Cited in Nash, Jeffrey, *The American People*, 37.

²⁹ Martin, *Keepers of the Game*, argues that the fragmentation of Iroquois society was not due to their desire for Western goods but because their overhunting had created a disequilibrium with the beaver spirits.

³⁰ Matthew, 28: 19.

³¹ Luke, 15: 24.

³² *Christianity and Social Tolerance*.

³³ Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 95-99.

to being the North American equivalent. Spaniard and Puritan were certain that God was on their side. The intellectual baggage of the European Jesuit contained the truculence of the *reconquista* and the self-assuredness that renaissance culture was superior to anything the New World could offer.

In New Spain coercion was evident in the methods the Franciscan missionaries used in their mission stations. Robert Ricard's classic study refers frequently to mass baptisms and the forcible suppression of indigenous cultural practices³⁴. Patios of churches became makeshift schoolhouses where Christian doctrine was taught and acceptable manners were inculcated. Physical punishment awaited those absent from evening meetings³⁵. However, Pool's recent study of Indian-White relations in New Spain emphasizes the importance of physical geography rather than physical coercion. Violence was more likely to be manifest among those closest to military action while in remoter areas settlers and traders tended to affect a more pacific native response³⁶. Burkhart takes Nahuatl-European relations to another level, showing how language affected the emerging beliefsystem³⁷. The relationship between European and Native American was conditioned not only by the sword and musket but also by the language that the newcomer used.

The French and English were unable to use physical coercion to bring about a change of ideas and behavior. Persuasion and the threat of everlasting punishment in hell was the farthest that the agents of change would go. For those inclined to accept Western ways, isolation in one of the French-controlled "reductions," or in one of the English "Praying Towns," provided safe havens for cultural and religious converts.

THE DEVIL

Another common theme that runs through early Jesuit reports about the Native Americans is the presence of the devil and his human associates, Indian priests or shamans. Opposition to Western ideas is concretized in the person of the *hechicero* in Spanish or *jongleurs* in New France. The Jesuits who made early contact with the American Indians were convinced that the ultimate cause of native resistance to their ideas was the devil who bitterly resented the intrusion of the Christians. The figure of the devil as described by early missionaries evoked pre-Hispanic supernatural figures³⁸. For the European the devil was the major opponent in the battle for the Indian soul. Georges Baudot has shown how the use of the Nahua terms for devil and demons may have inadvertently led to the affirmation of native beliefs³⁹.

The obsession with the devil is tied to the folk Catholicism of the Europeans. Pío Baroja's work on the role of the devil in popular European Catholicism explains how the concept of the Evil One became a central feature in the Old World belief system⁴⁰. The Jesuit who had been educated to believe that forces of evil waged a continual struggle

³⁴ *La "Conquete Spirituelle" de Mexique*, 119-120.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ "Some Observations on Mission Methods," 338.

³⁷ *The Slippery Earth*.

³⁸ Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World*; Ingham, *Folk Catholicism*.

³⁹ "The Devil and His Magic Spells."

⁴⁰ Pío Baroja, "Witchcraft."

against the forces of good easily translated Native American opposition into Satan's handiwork. They were unable to imagine any other reason for the Native American's refusal to accept Christianity along with major features of European culture. Witches or *bryjos* were the servants of the devil. Thus, the *fiesta* in which individual saints were honored as protectors against the devil were important spiritual as well as social activities. European iconography placed Satan in a pivotal position whose manifestations became ubiquitous.

AGRICULTURALIST VS. HUNTER

Just as upsetting to Jesuit missionaries was the reluctance of the Native American to "settle down." Hunter and Gatherer type societies and those that spent part of their time away from village centers puzzled the Europeans. The Hurons in New France who combined both agriculture/horticulture and hunting to support themselves offered the Jesuits a major challenge since the Europeans were unable to continue an immersion-type indoctrination through the hunting season. On the other hand, the Jesuits in Juli in the Peruvian Andes were thoroughly satisfied with their agriculturalist/pastoralist parishioners. Their activities were predictable, determined by the rhythm of the agrarian cycle.

Beneath the difficulties with hunter-gatherers was the Western prejudice against anything that differed from stable agricultural life, considered to be the civilized way to live. The hunter-gatherers were considered to be primitive, backward, savage, undeveloped⁴¹. The bias towards agriculturalists was reflected in Western concepts of land ownership. The fence, whether the stone fence of New England or the natural boundary lines so often described in Latin American land documents reveals the Western inclination towards stable, inalienable, fixed property rights, determined by legal means, not to be infringed upon. On the other hand, there exist examples of Jesuits who came to appreciate the positive characteristics of hunter-gatherer life after traveling with hunter bands. Food sharing, hunting techniques, social interactions, quality cooperation, and displays of goodwill and affection caused Europeans to question the supposed primitiveness of hunter-gatherer life.

However, Jesuit missionaries in general were convinced that social stability and village life were essential for effective evangelization. Control and indoctrination were keys to success. Besides the Jesuit reductions of Paraguay, the town of Juli near Lake Titicaca and the reservations near Montreal were considered ideal places for cultural indoctrination. Separation from the pagan masses and corrupting influences of traders and merchants was considered essential for producing European-like Native Americans.

These three themes, Coercion, the Devil, and Agriculturalist vs. Hunter-Gatherer provide a framework for discussing the interaction between Jesuit and the Indian in colonial America.

Evangelization of the Native American was the major reason for the initial presence of the Jesuits in America. Educational work with Spanish colonists and Native Americans began as a secondary albeit important activity that gradually developed into the Jesuits' major urban activity. This occurred because the Jesuits arrived in America late. By the time they landed in Mexico and Peru in the latter sixteenth century, the older religious orders had already been active for almost three quarters of a century. The Jesuits had to insert themselves into an already existing framework of religious and cultural institutions that had been firmly imbedded in the New World. A gap that they were able to fill was that of urban

⁴¹ Haviland, *Cultural Anthropology*, 150; Schrire, *Past and Present in Hunter Gatherer Studies*.

education. The Jesuits had a long and successful European precedent from which to draw. Jesuit colleges in Germany, Poland, and throughout France had been created as a bulwark against the Protestant Reformation. The college in America was created without the visible trappings of Reformation-bashing, but the essence of what the Jesuits considered a proper philosophy of education was preserved. Theater, classical studies, Latin grammar, and modern literary authorities formed the kernel of the curriculum. Who was taught, and for what purpose, and most important of all, its effect, are questions that require study and research.

Through the mission outpost, the college lecture hall, and the parish pulpit, the Jesuits made their presence felt in colonial America. How they exerted their influence is the subject of the present book.

CHAPTER 1

TWO WORLDS MEET

Two decades after Columbus landed on Hispaniola, Spanish attention shifted to Mexico. Cortés's conquest of Tenochtitlán and the subsequent flood of settlers arriving through Havana provided the Old World with detailed accounts of Mexico's native peoples. Contacts between the Old and New Worlds occurred north and south of Mexico City, and along the east and western coasts of Florida. Slowly the physical map of the Americas took shape in the European mind. It was completed long before the Europeans understood the cultural profile of the inhabitants of the lands they invaded.

NATIVE AMERICA

The values, beliefs, and insights held by peoples of the Americas when the Jesuits arrived contrasted sharply with those of the Europeans. It is presumptuous to attempt to sum up the cultures of the peoples of the Americas in a few pages. The millennia that followed the original entrance of Asians into the Americas by land across the Bering Strait and by boat along the Pacific Coast witnessed multiplex culture development in North, Central, and South America⁴². Nevertheless, certain common elements were shared by native peoples allowing for variations caused by differing physical environments. One major shared attitude was their relationship to the Natural World. The natural environment, whether trees, mountains, the soil, the animals inhabiting the forests, the forest itself, all of this was endowed with a sacredness stemming from the particular spirits who dwelt in them. To disturb the balance of the environment, whether by overhunting the beaver or destroying the forest, meant that the spirit of the place or thing was disturbed and would harm the perpetrator.⁴³

Whether the Tupinambá of Brazil, the Calusa of Florida, the Hurons of New France, the Aymara of Peru, or the Sonorans of Northern Mexico, all saw a manifestation of the divine in the environment that surrounded them. Within every object dwelt a force that governed its existence. The animate and inanimate were virtually indistinguishable. Humans, animals, plants, stones, as well as dreams, emotions, and ideas were regarded as having indwelling spirits, forces pervading all objects, ultimately responsible for good and evil in the world. This belief recognizing a supernatural force in the natural world clashed with the Western notion of man as ruler of the natural world. The Book of Genesis gave humans domination over the land, seas, and animals of the universe.⁴⁴ God did not dwell in nature but ruled it as a separate supreme being and he gave to Man, his surrogate, the power to do with it whatever he wished. Western man even took this a step further declaring that key elements of the earth could be owned if acquired legitimately. Land, soil, water, forests, lakes, could be “private” property and disposed of according to the will of the owner. The Native American belief in the absolute integration of the divine within the

⁴² Fagan, *Ancient North America; The Great Journey; Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 15; Handbook of South American Indians*, Vol. 17, 330-63

⁴³ Martin, *Keepers of the Game*; Tooker, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians*; Marzal, *Estudios sobre religión campesina*.

⁴⁴ *Genesis, 1:3*.

natural world was not interpreted by the Western invaders as a form of “God's presence in all things” as medieval and early modern theologians held, but as a form of pagan animism that endowed the material world with supernatural powers it in no way possessed.

Closely linked to the Indian beliefs in the supernatural were the rites through which the group or individual achieved harmony with the spirit world. These generally revolved around animal sacrifices performed as propitiatory offerings to a particular spirit. The sacrifices were often associated with harvest, planting, hunting seasons, or to mark a special event in the life of a community or a group member. One such event in the yearly cycle of the Huron Indians was their celebration of the Day of the Dead. Jean de Brebeuf's lengthy account of Huron burial practices was mixed with empathy and revulsion. “Our savages,” he wrote, “are by no means savages in so far as their natural respect for the dead is concerned.”⁴⁵ On the day of the dead, he continued, the burial grounds were “an image of hell. The great open space was filled with fires and flames and the air filled with screaming shouts of the barbarians.”⁴⁶ Brebeuf sketched a scene of diabolical frenzy worthy of a Peter Bruegel painting. But did he understand what he saw? The only interpreter of the scene in front of him was the filter of his European mind set. The way the dead should have been remembered was in the manner of Christian Europe by silent prayers, the laying of garlands near the gravesite, or by a vigil on the eve of All Saints Day.⁴⁷ Fire, flames, and screaming smacked too much of Satan and hell.

While Europeans derived attitudes about marriage and sex from their religion, Native Americans saw no such connection. Marriage for the American was primarily a socio-economic phenomenon essential for a community's survival. If the partnership proved dysfunctional for whatever reason, it was dissolved. The prevalence of pre-marital sex and polygamy was viewed by Europeans as major obstacles to full adherence in the Christian community. At the root of the issue was the role of women in Native American society. Most

Indian societies were matriarchal, inheritance coming through the mother. This meant that a woman's role in society was not simply one of handmaiden or keeper of the house. Land ownership, clan decisions, and clan policy were often a woman's prerogative. The European was used to a society in which the male played the lead role. Thus, interpersonal relationships within kinship groups in which the woman played a major role puzzled Europeans. Marriage between cousins or between consanguineous adults while not forbidden but strongly discouraged by the Catholic Church was viewed as close to incestuous. Francisco Pizarro's kangaroo court condemned Atahualpa to death because he allegedly slept with his sister. And the Jesuit missionary, Jean de Brebeuf, was skeptical of the Hurons ever committing themselves to Christianity because of their unwillingness to stay with one wife.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ “*Nos sauvages ne point sauvages en ce qui regarde les devoirs que la nature mesme nous oblige de rendre aux morts.*” MNF III, 388.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Aries, *At the Hour of Our Death*, 154.

⁴⁸ MAF III, 388.

THE JESUIT WORLD

In sharp contrast to the values of native Americans, the Renaissance Jesuit missionary was in the middle of a movement that asserted man's control over nature, masculine superiority over the household, and a Christian religious fundamentalism that alleged certainty. These core values clashed head-on with Native America's.

The Jesuit missionary carried these values with him to the remote corners of North and South America. The Jesuits who first came to Florida in the 1560s did not imagine that a special preparation was required for the work they envisioned.⁴⁹ In true renaissance fashion, they thought that they were sufficiently equipped both intellectually and spiritually for the task that lay ahead. Since evangelization was primarily a spiritual activity, the best preparation, it was thought, was to hone the spiritual dimension of the Jesuit. Ignatian principles, a basically Tridentine theology, the recognition of the perfectibility of the American Indian, and a model of missionary behavior formed the basic intellectual and spiritual preparation for the Jesuit going to America. But it didn't take too long for Jesuit administrators to realize that theology, philosophy, and classical studies were neither the only nor best preparation for evangelizing the American Indian.

What Bernard Cohn analyzed and determined to be the “cultural techniques 20 of rule”⁵⁰ as opposed to the military and economic, are strikingly compatible with what the Jesuits perceived and developed as necessary tools for cultural and religious evangelization. Although their primary focus was on the transference of their belief system to Native American societies, western values and behavior were linked to religion as essential by-products. The writing of grammar texts, historical treatises, and the recording and critique of native religion became part of the *modus operandi* of the Jesuits in America. This was a logical consequence of the classical formation required of all who aspired to be Jesuits. This predisposition to the world of knowledge became a pillar of colonial control in America.

Respect for humanistic learning was one of Ignatius Loyola's legacies.⁵¹ The classics were studied by Jesuit aspirants not only because they were considered an appropriate preparation for Aristotelian philosophy and Thomistic theology but because they were thought to have a value in themselves. The classics blended with Juan de Molina's interpretation of Aquinas produced in the minds of Jesuit seminarians an approach to the world, a spiritual anthropology that allowed the Jesuit missionaries in America to see beyond “savage” nature to a perfectible being. A course of Jesuit study was prescribed that required a grounding in classical learning, followed by studies in philosophy and theology.

But the emphasis on studies and the intellect that Ignatius Loyola insisted on had its downside. An unchallenged mystique bordering on a superiority complex developed that set the Jesuit above the ordinary clergy and other religious orders. Studies and the ministry were accorded a primary position in the hierarchy of priorities. Manual work was considered less dignified, less noble, and far less important. The cooking, the cleaning, the repairs, all those tasks that were part of life's responsibilities were to be done by others, lay brothers, servants, or slaves, in order to free the Jesuit for more important tasks. Ignatius

⁴⁹ See Francisco Borja's remarks about qualities needed by missionaries to America, “P. Pedro Martinez,” 53.

⁵⁰ *Colonialism and Its Form of Knowledge*, 39.

⁵¹ On the training of the early Jesuits, see Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 3-22; and O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*.

Loyola was aware of how the elite of European society; and above all Spaniards, shunned manual labor. So he insisted that Jesuit novices spend some time doing housework, thought to be a humiliating task. The lesson was not learned. Instead, it was brought to an alarming but unchallenged extreme by the Jesuits in America who became institutional slaveholders par excellence. Their colleges and farms owned and used thousands of black slaves, to the outside world a visible sign of extraordinary wealth and affluence. Individual Jesuit missionaries tried to improve the living conditions of black slaves, but the institution itself was never questioned.⁵²

The social composition of the Society made any challenge of the existing social order impossible. The Society itself was monarchical in structure, its members drawn from the elite of European society.⁵³ Ignatius believed that Jesuit schools should concentrate on the potential movers and shakers of society. These were the wealthy, noble, and upper-middle class (those who attended Jesuit colleges) of society and their sons were the targets of recruitment. As a result, a self-perpetuating, homogenous organization developed that was excessively obsequious to wealth and power. On occasion distinct national groups interacted within the organization but by and large things got done within the national boundaries of provinces and by national groups acting as such. In this context it is understandable how and why Jesuits were among the majority who frequently opposed the ordination of a native clergy in America and the Orient and why the Society was an exact practitioner of *pureza de sangre* tradition.⁵⁴

The society Ignatius Loyola founded expanded to 938 members by the time he died in 1556 with almost 75% of them teaching in colleges from Portugal to Germany. Education became a principal. Although Ignatius Loyola never envisioned colleges as the major Jesuit activity, the needs of the times and the urging of Popes and bishops changed his views. Supreme authority would belong to a General Congregation that possessed full legislative power whose membership would be composed of the heads of geographic regions called provinces and clusters of provinces called assistancies, and by electors chosen from the provinces and representatives from missions. Missionaries like Francis Xavier followed the conquistadors to India, Africa, and the New World while scholars and theologians like Peter Canisius and Diego Laynez struggled to close the doors of Europe to the Protestant reformers.

Ignatius Loyola himself somewhat suspected scholarship and letters but he nevertheless required his followers to be well formed in classical learning, philosophy, and theology. The two-year novitiate for spiritual training was designed to introduce young aspirants to Jesuit life and spirituality. Ignatius Loyola's ideal recruit was one who integrated prayer, learning, and a boundless energy. Catholic Europe responded. By 1626 there were 15,544 Jesuits scattered throughout Europe, America, and the Orient. And numbers grew, attracted by the mystique of success, adventure, piety, and the desire to belong to something bigger than oneself.

While Ignatius Loyola crisscrossed Europe in search of a set of principles to give meaning to his life, Western Europe itself was in the laborious process of modernization. The medieval world's focus on religion and the church as the ultimate answer to man's

⁵² The Jesuit position on black slavery awaits its historian. See Alden, "Indian Versus Black Slavery," *The Making of an Enterprise*, 544-46.

⁵³ Cohen, "Why the Jesuits Joined."

⁵⁴ Jesuit recruits had to submit notarized statements attesting to the fact that they had neither Jewish nor Muslim ancestors. Many of these statements, called *Pureza de Sangre*, are preserved in ARSI.

problems was being replaced by a vision that placed man at the center of the world. Confidence in man's goodness and his ability for self-improvement was at the root of the movement and the recently invented printing press spread the new ideas with unimagined speed. European man's concept of the physical world and his place in it was changing. New worlds across the seas were discovered. Churchmen were interested because the gates of salvation could be opened to uncounted souls. Secular rulers could have new realms to conquer that would furnish precious metals and exotic resources. Luther and Calvin shook the foundations of the church. A massive administrative machine concerned with making money and international politics had separated itself from the body of Christendom. The church itself was divided between higher clergy, an aristocratic and aloof hierarchy, and a lower clergy composed of village priests, impoverished, ignorant, and angry. Luther's movement begun in 1519 was a logical consequence of decades of resentment. The Council of Trent, convened in 1545, was the Roman Catholic response to all of this. Ignatius Loyola saw it as another opportunity to choose between the banner of the Good King and the banner of Satan. Muslims against Christians, the devil against humanity, darkness against light. He and his followers would serve beneath the banner of the pope.

The spiritual principles that the Jesuit brought with him to America in the sixteenth century were rooted in the life and struggles of Ignatius Loyola. These were adjusted to the pronouncements of the Council of Trent (1545-1563) and transmitted to indigenous America.⁵⁵ The Council of Trent's (a city in northern Italy) doctrinal statements, its reformulation of ideas about what human nature with God's assistance or grace was or wasn't, and above all, an almost new spirit of Catholicism, at once truculent and uncompromising, had a direct effect on how the Roman Catholic agents of change perceived America and on the belief system they imparted.

The Council of Trent was convened to reform the practice and restate the theology of the Roman Church. The theology of Trent was a restatement of doctrine but the restatement was combative in tone. The issues raised by Martin Luther and the reformers were major targets of the Council. One that had important consequences for Indian America was the reformulation of the question of "Justification," or how man and the divinity did or did not cooperate in sanctification and salvation.⁵⁶ The Tridentine notion of Justification became the driving force behind the Roman Catholic European missionary's preaching.

Luther maintained that human nature had become so corrupted as a result of Adam and Eve's sin that man alone could do nothing but evil. Man's will was so enslaved that he could play no active part in his own salvation. Mankind was damned. Only a few had been chosen by God to be saved irrespective of any merits of theirs. The Council of Trent, on the other hand, maintained that Justification, or the process whereby the sinner is restored to the favor of God, virtues developed, and salvation achieved, came through Christ but was united with hope and charity and linked to morality. Baptism, Sin, while universal in its effects, was completely effective in removing the guilt of Original Sin, and thereby absolutely necessary for salvation.⁵⁷ Natural virtue, that is, a being apart from grace, could not of itself achieve the supernatural life, but the human spirit was dignified to the degree that it was perfectible. Later, Jesuit speculative theologians would carry this idea further.

⁵⁵ Jedin, *History of the Council of Trent*, is still the best treatment of the council's influence. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, contain its pronouncements.

⁵⁶ Tanner, *Decrees*, 666-79.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 685.

Luis de Molina stated that there existed a hypothetical “state of pure nature” in which man was exempt from original sin, deprived of the supernatural life, and subject to death and all other miseries of life.⁵⁸ In much of Jesuit thinking at the end of the sixteenth century there existed a “good pagan,” one who was not damned simply because of his separation from the Church. Although removed from divine favor, man retained a nature which made him a creature of dignity, worth, and potential virtue.⁵⁹

The Council of Trent's opposition to Luther's pessimistic view of human nature was carried by the Jesuits to America. Not a wholly optimistic view that believed in the natural perfectibility of man, but one believing that divine grace could intrinsically affect man's nature. The Council of Trent also reemphasized the sacramental system of Catholicism. The sacraments were seven visible signs or symbols believed to have been instituted by Christ as vehicles for obtaining divine assistance or grace. Luther denied the need for Baptism as necessary for salvation, auricular confession of sins as the traditional method for the forgiveness of sin, and the Eucharist as the actual body and blood of Christ. Trent, on the other hand, insisted on Baptism's essential role and on Confession and the Eucharist as vehicles for God's grace. These three elements of the sacramental system, baptism, penance, and the Eucharist, became the kernel of Jesuit teaching in America, the *sine qua non* of Indian reception into and participation in the active life of the Church.

Baptism was the standard rite of initiation into the Christian community. In the sixteenth century, the rite, usually performed soon after birth, invoked the power of God to cleanse the soul of sin making the individual a member of the Church. The rite left an indelible character on the soul of the person receiving the sacrament whereby the individual was required to worship as a Christian. Since popular Roman Catholic belief denied salvation to those outside the Church, “*extra ecclesiam nulla salus*,” the sacrament of Baptism was considered a required rite or ceremony.

Marriage was a sacrament that had to take place in a church, with prescribed words and rites.⁶⁰ The Council considered each of the sacraments to be unique and divinely created opportunities to acquire a remedy against the power of Satan.⁶¹

For the sixteenth-century European Jesuit, religion was not just concepts or even ethics, but a collection of rites and symbols as well. For a European still possessing an understanding of the meaning of symbols, rites were a Christian shorthand that explained the substance of his belief system. Baptism spoke to the American Indian in shorthand about his entrance into another life. What in actuality the viewer understood was another matter. The Roman Catholic Mass with its movements, gestures, and words, reenacted the master idea of Roman Christianity, the redemptive death of Christ. The bread and wine symbolized the body and blood of Christ; it was raised heavenward during the rite, changed into the actual body and blood of Christ at the part called the Consecration; the host was broken in half to symbolize Christ's death. Then the water and wine were eaten.⁶²

The Council's decrees did not equivocate or leave room for interpretation. “If anyone shall say that baptism is a matter of choice, that is, not necessary for salvation,

⁵⁸ Luis de Molina, *De gracia*, 29.

⁵⁹ Healy, “The French Jesuits,” 147.

⁶⁰ Tanner, *Decrees*, 755-56.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 703.

⁶² *Ibid.* 695-98

Anathema Sit,” stated the Canon on Baptism. Or “If anyone shall say that a real and proper sacrifice is not offered to God in the Mass and that to be offered means no more than Christ is given to us to be eaten: Let Him Be Anathema.”⁶³ Those two Latin words: *Anathema Sit*, meaning: Let him be anathema, driven out, cast away, express the aggressive and exclusive spirit of the Council of Trent.

Religion of the late medieval period had wandered far from official traditional practice. Antipapalism, the rift between popular belief and official teachings, the power of brotherhoods, and the crisis of authority were all part of the dynamic that created the aggressiveness of Trent in the sixteenth century.⁶⁴ This truculence became part of the missionary endeavor in America. The Council of Trent created a new and different version of Catholicism unlike medieval Christianity and unlike the Christianity suggested by Luther and Calvin. It ushered in a period of Spanish-led reforms (over 218 of the 270 Bishops at Trent were either Italian or Spanish). The new Catholicism was didactic and disciplinary. The Roman Inquisition came into being as well as a prohibition against books considered dangerous reading called an Index of Forbidden Books. Corrective pastoral discipline became the spearhead for order and deference to civil and ecclesiastical rulers.⁶⁵ Religious unity was equated with uniformity. These were the ingredients for a successful authoritarian state.

The textbooks used by Jesuit theology students in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reflected and reinforced the truculence of the Council of Trent.⁶⁶ What was called Fundamental Theology, *Theologia Fundamentalis*, defended prescribed theses that either supported the Tridentine view of Christianity or denied the principles of reformation theology. The church, the sacraments, grace, the nature of God, predestination, were explained through revelation or through the *magisterium* of the church, the depository of all revealed truth. It was clear, intelligible, and needed little interpretation. Whatever was questionable was studied in Speculative Theology, which began with a declaration of faith and created the boundaries outside of which the speculator was not to proceed. *Fides quaerens intellectum*, faith seeking understanding, was the phrase used to govern the inquisitive mind.

Despite the movement towards conformity of religious doctrine that the Council of Trent advocated, the Jesuits managed to defend theological and philosophical positions that made the American Indian fundamentally humane and naturally theistic.⁶⁷ This led to an ambiguity in their writings about America and its inhabitants. Descriptions of Indian cruelty, lust, gluttony, thievery, polygamy, sodomy, filth, superstition, lying, and blasphemy abounded. But in these descriptions the Indian's intrinsically valuable humanity was never denied. The Council of Trent provided doctrinal and ritual parameters for the Jesuit agent of change. It also provided a generous view of man's nature that encouraged European agents of religious change to undertake the task of conversion.

The European Jesuit brought with him to America a complex configuration of values and ideas about what the world was and what it should be. These values and ideas had been shaped and refined by his family, society, and the religious order to which he belonged.

⁶³ *Ibid*, 666, 685

⁶⁴ McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 19-21.

⁶⁵ Collinson, “*The Late Medieval Church*,” 263-66

⁶⁶ Anna Mancina, “La controversia,” explains the theology curriculum of the Jesuits.

⁶⁷ Healy, “The French Jesuits,” 152.

What he absorbed in his Jesuit seminary training and Jesuit life was more often than not surrounded by the values that were operative in the western world around him. Before the final acceptance of a value core, many no doubt had been rejected, some replaced, and others revised to take their place with the new order of values that the Society of Jesus hoped would operate in the individual. Not only the ideals that the Society of Jesus expected would operate in the individual but the Jesuit's other ideas about religion that he carried in his intellectual knapsack are keys to understanding the both sides of the cultural fence in the European-Amerindian encounter.

The Christianity that the Jesuit brought with him to America had been a negotiated form of Christianity that had animistic or pagan roots. However, by a twist of logic, "his" rites became a pure form of religion, and the "other's" were a sign of demonic intervention. At no time did the Jesuit missionary offer to the Native American a solely rationalistic, post-Tridentine version of Catholicism. It was always mixed with elements of rituals and imagery that were part and parcel of popular European Catholicism.⁶⁸

The goal of the Jesuit in early America was to create a community of believers who one day would achieve heaven and the beatific vision. Creating a Christian community was the intermediate goal, heaven the ultimate. The missionary believed that the Indian possessed the spiritual and attitudinal qualities whereby he could achieve these goals. The means to achieve the ultimate goal had to be conveyed to the Indian through instruction. On his part the Indian had to be willing to listen to, accept, and carry out what he heard. These three elements, goal, givens, and methods to achieve the goal, were encased in cultural assumptions and attitudes that the Jesuit had learned over his own lifetime from his own culture. The Indian, on the other hand, was caught between competing and rival rituals, one that he had practiced from childhood, the other brought by the invaders.⁶⁹ The European believed that the major obstacle to attaining the goals was not the inability of the Indian to accept or practice what he heard, but the tireless activity of the Devil who thwarted and deceived the Indian. Demonology, black magic, and pacts with the devil were almost an obsession with sixteenth-century Europe.⁷⁰ The Demon had to be confronted. Christian angels were more than a match for Satan's army of winged devils. The rosary could undo curses and spells. Relics of the saints protected against "bad" luck. Opening the bible to a random passage replaced casting lots. A saint's medal guaranteed protection in danger.⁷¹ This mix of Christianity and magic was not seen so much as a blending of the pagan with the Christian but as an authentic expression of true Christian belief. The European did not see his religion as a pagan-Christian blend. Their methods of opposing the Demon by substituting images, shrines, rites, and an omnipresent cult of the saints, were time honored ways of Christianizing the European frontier, a popular theology that had little foundation in the Council of Trent. In fact, the liturgy and modes of piety that the missionaries brought to America were those of the rural world of the European peasant.⁷²

Mass, considered the most powerful form of intercession with God, could only be performed by a priest. Baptism, marriage, penance also were more appropriately performed by the priest. These rites formed the core of Christian ritual and they were enunciated as

⁶⁸ Greeley, "Magic in the Age of Faith."

⁶⁹ MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes*, 87.

⁷⁰ Flint, *The Rise of Magic*.

⁷¹ Greeley, "Magic in the Age of Faith," 8-9.

⁷² Rubin, "Religious Culture."

such. But almost on equal footing was the cult of the saints. In Europe saints in the countryside were venerated within specific regions as protectors, intermediaries, and granters of favors.⁷³ The Virgin Mary occupied the most important position in regional shrines and this preeminence was transferred to America. The missionary would have argued that the shrine, the medal, the rite was a metaphor, a symbol, a hint of what God is like, not an attempt or a magical instrument to force God to do what we want. It is questionable whether the Indian or the Jesuit himself saw the statues and rites in those terms. The Spaniard and Mediterranean European preferred the concrete to the abstract. The virgins clothed, decorated, and pampered in Seville during Holy Week or in Lima, Peru on June 21, occupy an important place in the popular spectrum of theological values. Layers of devotions focusing on relics, local saints, the Virgin Mary, and on Jesus rivaled the official Catholic liturgy for preeminence.

Although most Jesuits came from sophisticated cities or as young men had been sent from their villages to city colleges, they nevertheless carried with them to America these popular religious practices that helped the Native American ease the transition from pre-Hispanic to post-Tridentine belief systems. Just as early European Christianity almost winked at homosexuality⁷⁴ so the European missionary freely substituted his rites for the Indian's, his medals for the Indian's talisman's, his prayers for the Indian's incantations. The European's tolerance ceased only when he met the *bechicero* or native priest because only he threatened and implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) challenged the authority and social status of the missionary.⁷⁵

The religious imagery and popular rituals of late medieval and sixteenth-century Spain and France reflect the kind of a religious world in which the Jesuit was situated and the kind of a world he wanted to re-create in America.

WHY THEY WENT

Soldiers, bureaucrats, farmers, merchants, and artisans sailed to America seeking very personalized goals. Only the Jesuits and other missionaries had as their primary aim to change the religion of the Native American. These were the individuals who became the front-line representatives of Western culture. In the villages, the cities, and on the frontier, they encountered, influenced, and reacted to the attitudes, values, and behavior of the New World inhabitants. Their first contacts with the Native American had been through letters sent from the Indies and America to Europe. They in turn volunteered for the overseas missions.

Letters from Jesuits asking to be sent to American missions in the sixteenth century were filled with references to Francis Xavier and desires to imitate him.⁷⁶ Xavier had been chosen by Ignatius Loyola to begin the work of converting Portuguese India. His reputation as a Holy Man and saintly proselytizer grew enormously in the sixteenth century

⁷³ Christian, *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain*, 37.

⁷⁴ Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*. Not quite wink, but almost!

⁷⁵ MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes*, 41.

⁷⁶ The *Indipetae* section of the Roman Archives of the Jesuits (ARSI) contains several thousand of these letters written by Jesuits between the end of the sixteenth century and the middle of the eighteenth. I have examined the sections for New France, Mexico, and Maryland.

due in no small part to the many letters he sent back to Rome and his Jesuit brethren.⁷⁷ These letters were copied and read in Jesuit houses throughout Europe, striking a resonant cord among the hundreds of Jesuits who wished to be sent to the missions of Asia and America.

By elevating Francis Xavier as the model missionary, the Jesuit administration endorsed the methods he used in India, his ascetic and personal life as a Jesuit, and the practice and procedures he used as a missionary. From 1542 to 1552 Francis Xavier catequized the inhabitants of the Cape Comorin coast. He organized the mission, instructed, and traveled through southern India attempting to establish other missions. His neophytes were among the poorest of Indians living under the jurisdiction of Portuguese colonial rule. However, his experience among the Cape Comorin fisherfolk bore little resemblance to what future missionaries would encounter in America. Xavier's converts were used to Holy Men seeking alms, preaching an austere way of life, promising freedom from affliction and pain. They were part of the cultural context of India. Xavier and the missionaries who worked with him had the protection of the Portuguese colonial government. Future missionaries in New France, Maryland, and China would have to work under far different circumstances with peoples who neither sympathized with nor appreciated the way of the European Holy Man. Francis Xavier's letters, however, painted a picture of physical discomfort, psychological isolation, and adventure, whose reward would be the realization that souls were going to heaven instead of to hell. His letters became the chief recruitment tool for Jesuit missionaries and a keen public relations vehicle. Only in the late seventeenth century would Jesuit letters from America replace Xavier's accounts of India in Jesuit pulpits.

Who were the European messengers of Western culture in America? The Spanish Jesuit in Florida and Mexico came out of a truculent Catholicism at war with the nonbeliever, whomever that may have been. The seventeenth-century French Jesuit may have been less truculent but he was no less unbending when it came to issues of orthodoxy. Did different national origins affect what the Jesuit said and how he said it? Or was the Jesuit poured from one mold making him speak and act in a uniform way?

Aside from some individuals who became well known because of their ethnographic studies or geographical discoveries, we know few faces and a few scattered statistics about the Jesuits who came to America as missionaries. We know some of the essential characteristics, age, status in the Society, and geographical origins. More difficult to learn are the internal forces that drove them from Europe to America.

The Jesuits who worked on the frontiers of America were volunteers. Hundreds of letters from Spanish, French, and other European Jesuits volunteering for the missions of Asia, Africa, and America are still preserved in the Jesuit Archives in Rome.

Between 1651 and 1700 Jesuits from the Province of France (the administrative unit responsible for staffing New France) sent over 268 requests to serve on the missions. A handful were allowed to go. Between 1583 and 1604 Spanish Jesuits wrote at least 412 letters requesting a mission post. This number represents 15 percent of Spanish Jesuits in the Society. In 1616 the missions of Mexico, Peru, Paraguay, and the Philippines had 929

⁷⁷ See the letter of Juan Carrasco, 8 Sept. 1584 stating that after reading the letters of Xavier, he felt a great desire to undergo similar trials.

Jesuits, most of them Spanish, about 34 percent of the total number of Spaniards in the provinces of Castile, Toledo, and Andalusia.⁷⁸

Why did they volunteer for Maryland, New Spain, Peru or New France? What mix of impulses and motives prompted the seventeenth-century Jesuit to leave the relative security of Europe for the uncertainties of an overseas post?

The letters requesting a mission post provide clues about individual motivation but they do not explain why certain Jesuits were chosen and others not. Criteria used by those doing the choosing remain mostly unknown. Jesuit spirituality placed volunteering for the missions on the highest rung of service to others. The Jesuit emphasis in the sixteenth century was international in scope. Young Jesuits were reminded in their early novitiate days of the apostolic activity that was a major characteristic of the post-reformation church and a hallmark of the Society of Jesus. This cast of mind coincided with the opening of new fields for labor in America. During the lifetime of Ignatius Loyola Jesuits were in missions of Portuguese India, Africa, and Brazil. His immediate successors added Florida, Mexico, Peru and New France.

Some clues about the criteria that Jesuit superiors used in sending men to America are revealed in the secret personnel report on prospective missionaries, called *Informaciones*, that were sent to Rome. The provincial of Aragon, Pedro de Villar, wrote in 1597 that Rafael Ferrer, who was going to Peru, was of good health, a good religious, was firm in his vocation, mortified, devout, prayerful, and was persistent in his desire for the missions. Villar added that Ferrer had no talent for governing, “*para regir no descubre talento*”⁷⁹ This comment possibly reveals a major piece of information about the individuals who were selected as front-line representatives of European Christianity in America. Provincials were reluctant to send to America potential theology professors, orators, or those showing outstanding talents. The result was what José de Acosta complained of in Peru. The Jesuit houses, he wrote, were filled with pious nitwits who roamed the Andes seeking neophytes.⁸⁰ Villar's letter reaffirms that the stolid, plodding long distance runner was preferred over the sprinter.

Another major motive that moved Jesuits to volunteer for America was adventure. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this meshed with the more apostolic motives of helping to Christianize the nonbeliever. If it could be done in an exotic spot where the risk of danger was present, it became all the more alluring.

Letters from Jesuits volunteering for the missions underplay the idea of what the missions can do for the individual Jesuit. No one ever wrote that leaving a certain college or province in Europe would improve his mental health. Emphasized was what the individual could do for a particular mission. Francisco de Lugo joined the Jesuits, he said, precisely because he wanted to go to the missions, for the *conversión de los infieles*.⁸¹ When Serafin Cazar wrote in 1583 from the Jesuit College of Valencia asking to be sent to Japan, he said that “he always wanted to go to Japan.” For Cozar, the missions were a means of perfection, *caminar a la perfección*, he wrote.⁸² Francisco Serrano volunteered for the missions

⁷⁸ Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía*, IV, 753-55.

⁷⁹ Indipetae, 758, no. 199

⁸⁰ *De procuranda salute Indorum*, see also Mateos, *Historia General*, I, 191-93

⁸¹ ARSI, Indipetae 757, no. 250. 301.

⁸² *Ibid.*,

of America in 1602. Diego de Torres from Mexico had spoken in the Jesuit house of Toledo during a recruiting trip and he emphasized “how greatly the Indians suffered from lack of priests.”⁸³ Jacques Gerard's request for the missions of New France was couched in similar terms. He wanted “to work for the salvation of the souls of the barbarian Iroquois since I hear daily that the laborers in that vineyard are few.”⁸⁴ His entire argument focused on how he was the appropriate person for the missions. Etienne de Carheil (9 July 1662) wrote no less than four letters, one rather morbidly signed with his own blood, concluding that “to pass my whole life in Canada would make me the happiest of persons!”⁸⁵ He was sent to New France and arrived in Quebec in 1666.⁸⁶

There was no age limit or status preference for America. But in the bundles of letters from the province of France, from which volunteers for Canada were drawn, only 20 of 268 requests between 1651 and 1700 asked explicitly for New France. The requests from the Spanish provinces were even less specific. “Working with the Indians” was the general request. This may have been due to the desire to appear indifferent, an Ignatian virtue much emphasized by Jesuit spiritual directors. Indifference allowed the superior to use the subject without reference to personal wishes. Abnegation of the will was the ideal sought. So letters such as Antoine Corbon's in 1658, state that the writer is willing to go to “China, Tunquin, Japan, Africa, Canada, or anyplace else.” [vel alia *quaecumque*].⁸⁷ One is tempted to think that Antoine just wanted out from wherever he was! However, a good number of requests were couched in similar terms emphasizing the indifference of the writer.

Jean de Brebeuf thought that the qualities needed for New France were those that would please the Indians.⁸⁸ Genuine affection for the Indian was ranked first. Patience, promptness, cheerfulness, silence, and the capacity to endure physical hardships were next. Nowhere in Brebeuf's hierarchy was philosophy or theology, thus underlining the general Jesuit perception that the missions were for the less intellectually endowed. The brighter were kept at home. The volunteers' letters did not consciously describe their writers' intellectual accomplishments. Most Jesuits who went to America had completed the prescribed theology and philosophy courses. What weighed with superiors in Rome was striking a balance between the stated manpower needs of a province and the individual desire to go to America or Asia. Persistence sometimes won out and counted someplace in the equation, along with solid motivation and good physical health.

Jacques Thurin's letter, printed above, is typical of letters sent to Rome from the Province of France in the seventeenth century requesting a mission assignment. Thurin had requested several times to be sent to the missions of Canada. He declared that he had felt a strong calling by God to serve in Canada since his novitiate (the first two years as a Jesuit). The feeling had increased and Thurin was certain that God wanted him to go: “*que Dieu me vent.*”⁸⁹ Thurin claimed to be in good health and at 28 years of age he felt he could be of great assistance to the fathers already working in Canada.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 301

⁸⁴ *Indipetae* 301

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Liste de missionnaires*, 19

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* Antoine was not sent to America.

⁸⁸ JR 118-120

⁸⁹ *Indipetae*, 767

Thurin was not selected to go, perhaps because he was certain that “God called him” and such certitude is difficult to come by, or because his superiors thought that other voices might have been calling him. Whatever the reason, Thurin remained in Lyon.

Jacques Gerard, a successful volunteer, took another tack. He had not yet finished his theological studies, but he had completed his classical studies in Rhetoric and Humanities, so he asked to be “put on the list” when the time came for selection. What especially moved him, he wrote, were the “barbaric customs of the Iroquois.” Daily, Gerard wrote, he heard of the scarcity of laborers in the vineyard and how the fields were being watered with the blood of martyrs.⁹⁰

Gerard does not mention the Jesuit Relations explicitly but the detailed descriptions of his brethren's adventures and deaths published in the latter seventeenth century must have had some effect on his desires to go to New France. His reference to the “*tot martyrum sanguis irrigavit*” indicates an acquaintance with Paul Ragueneau's vivid description of the destruction of the Huron mission and the deaths of Brebeuf and Lalemant in 1648.⁹¹

Gerard's letter reflects the general tenor of requests that Jesuit superiors in Rome received from French Jesuits. They were encouraged to apply for the missions as an act of generosity although no more than 15 percent of the volunteers would ever see New France or the Orient. A selected volunteer would be less likely to complain about his lot and he would bring with him a great deal more enthusiasm than one sent against his will. Although other missions received “troublemakers,” New France was not a place where the disgruntled from the home province could easily be hidden. The physical demands were heavy and a uniform community life rare. The mission provided an outlet for those who desired a different kind of apostolate, not the colleges and residences that the European Jesuits were gradually accepting as appropriately Jesuit. The missions attracted those of average intelligence. It was believed that keen enthusiasm and a willingness to endure physical hardships were a fair substitute for philosophical and theological expertise. This might have been one of the reasons why in 1670 Fr. François de Mercier complained that there was no Jesuit in New France capable of assuming the post of provincial or general superior of the mission. “No one here,” he wrote, “is fit to govern the Jesuits. Experience and talent is lacking.”⁹² On the other hand, the Jesuit who went to New France was not seeking administrative positions in an urban college and could well have shied away from anything that smacked of a sedentary or decision-making position. Volunteers were acutely aware of the difference in environment and cultures they would face. They knew that they would have to live like the Indians or even dress like the Chinese if they had to. This they accepted while they were far from their possible missions. The harsh reality was sometimes much different. The Indian languages proved insurmountable for some. Other Jesuits in New France were described as *non affectus* towards the missions, which could mean that they were unable to live the life of the itinerant missionary.

Understanding the basic characteristics of the Europeans whose major task it was to present Western ideas to Native Americans should assist in comprehending the Native American reaction. The mind set of the 16th-century Jesuit missionary was formed by the Renaissance and Reformation. Another layer was added by the visions of the American that he formed from reading books about, seeing drawings of, and listening to talks by Europeans returned from America. These latter tended to embellish their experiences,

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ These were circulated in France in the *Jesuit Relations*.

⁹² *ARSI*, Gall. 110, fols.54-56

exaggerate their accomplishments, and overstate the opportunities awaiting the Jesuit in the American missions. The initial waves of European Jesuits that came to America shared an exaggerated set of expectations that were modified only with experience.

A clear psychological profile of the Jesuits who worked in America has not yet been drawn. The diversity of personalities, ranging from the ascetic and scholarly José de Acosta of Peru and the circuit-riders of Maryland, to the overpowering and rather cold characters of Brebeuf and Jogues in New France belie generalization. But they all shared a decidedly American institutional culture in the seventeenth century, which did not equate unity with uniformity.

CHURCH AND STATE

No matter how independent the individual might be, he worked within the parameters set by sixteenth-century Church-State relations. The Jesuits in Maryland were forced to deal with an inimical State that at times hindered their primary aim. New France theoretically assisted its missions since the government was keenly aware of how its North American possessions depended on the missionary-explorer. New Spain and South America manifested a unique integration of Church-Empire building that was only duplicated in the 19th century by France and England in Southeast Asia and Africa.

The image of the New World in the Jesuit mind shaped the attitudes that evangelized it. Christopher Columbus, the prototype of the discoverer, had described the Indians as gentle people without covetousness. Columbus was convinced on his second voyage (1498-1500) that the mouth of the Orinoco River was indeed the Terrestrial Paradise, the Garden of Eden. For Columbus and thinking men of the sixteenth century, the discovery and conquest of America was an event of massive proportions. For the more ascetical and mystical, it meant that the medieval myth of a Messianic-Emperor-World Ruler, a *Dux Populi* of Christian universalism who would convert all to Christianity was about to be realized. The idea spread that the doors of the Western Sea were opening and through them would rush multitudes of missionaries to convert the gentiles, to bring on the millennium, to hasten the building of the Kingdom of God just prior to the second coming of Christ." There would be one pastor, one flock, under the universal monarchy of the Spanish Crown.

This could only occur if Church and State joined forces.

The peculiar blend of Church and State unity that developed during the centuries of the reconquest of Spain from the Muslims (1200-1492) served as a model for America. For medieval Spain, and for the rest of the Western World, the ideal society was informed by Christian principles, one that saw no contradiction in civil and religious cooperation towards a common goal, the common good, and the salvation of souls. This ideal had been formalized in Spain in the fifteenth century under an agreement between Church and State called the Royal Patronage.⁹³ As the Iberian powers moved into the Atlantic in search of new land and peoples, Papal intervention through decrees and statements gave a framework of legitimacy to Portuguese and Spanish conquests. In 1508 a separate more radical version of Royal Patronage was applied to America. The Pope granted the Spanish Crown jurisdiction in essence over the Catholic Church in America. The enterprise of building churches and establishing clerics and the infrastructure of the church in the vast domains of America required large sums of money. Church construction, transportation of

⁹³ Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom*, 12-13

missionaries and their maintenance in America was a financial burden that Rome could not easily afford. So a bargain was struck between the King of Spain and the Pope. The Spanish Crown assumed the obligation of paying all the expenses incidental to the maintenance and propagation of the Catholic faith in America and in return the Spanish crown could appoint bishops, approve which clerics went to America, oversee their movement in America and who returned to Spain. The king thus became the legal patron of the church in America, enjoying a sweeping control even greater than that enjoyed in Spain. The crown controlled the clergy, the clergy controlled the faithful, and so Catholicism was indissolubly linked with Royal Authority.⁹⁴

The missionary thus played a key role in the Spanish plan of conquest and colonization. Exploration and conquest was the task of the conquistador. Evangelization was considered a joint effort that obligated civil as well as religious authority. Both stood to gain. The crown could count on new resources in the form of gold and silver, mined by or collected from the inhabitants of its new kingdoms, and the church could satisfy its zeal to enroll new members. Just when Satan, it was argued, was tricking thousands of the faithful in Europe into following Luther and Calvin, untold numbers of souls were made available in America for the waters of baptism and entrance into the one true church. God, Gold, and Glory was the sacred triad. But which came first in the hierarchy of values? Future decades drew a very wobbly line dividing gold from God and glory. After the first fervor of extraordinary zeal in spreading the faith among the Indians of Mexico, the clergy, it is generally believed, grew somewhat complacent in their task, the edges were dulled and what had begun as genuine fervor soon changed to a self serving institutionalization of religious structures. The bureaucratic church became more interested in preserving itself in its archaic forms than in adapting itself to the needs of new flocks.

Just as in Europe, the Church in America functioned through bishoprics called dioceses. Each diocese provided priests (called secular priests because they worked in the world, the *saecula*) to serve in subdivisions called parishes. In America dioceses usually grew out of military conquest and the availability of clergy to run the parishes was minimal.

The first ministers that the Crown chose to begin the conversion of the New World were members of religious orders. Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians accompanied the earliest settlers to Santo Domingo, Mexico, and Peru, to begin the evangelization of the Indians.⁹⁵ They were better organized and more controllable. The secular clergy needed local bishops who were not yet appointed for regions still unknown. Neither Rome nor Madrid had the vaguest idea of the size of the American continent and since the religious orders were under the jurisdiction of their own superiors, they were considered more flexible for deployment. The Jesuits arrived in America several decades after the first missionaries not only because Jesuit superiors had committed missionaries to the Orient and Africa but also because the theological battles being fought in Europe against the reformation required their presence. It is not surprising that Jesuit superiors were reluctant to let their men leave for America and so it is less surprising that the first

⁹⁴ Mecham, *Church and State*, 36; Shiels, *King and Church*.

⁹⁵ Mission methods have long engaged scholars of Colonial America. The classic for Hispanic America has been Ricard, *La "Conquete Spirituelle" " du Mexique*. However, much subsequent writing has been too celebratory in tone.

Jesuits went to America because an influential friend of the Spanish king, Pedro Menéndez de Aviles, talked them into going.⁹⁶

Within the framework of the *Patronato Real*, the Jesuits constructed an organizational structure that linked Europe and America. The general area where Jesuits worked was called a *provincia*, a province headed by a superior called the Provincial. Within the province were colleges, usually located in a highly populated urban area, houses associated with parishes, and missions in rural areas sometimes far from the urban administrative center. The filing of annual reports to the central Provincial's office from all of these houses was a method of keeping in continual touch with both the temporal and spiritual state of the province. The Provincial also made regular visits to each house interviewing each Jesuit member of the province. These field reports were compiled into a compendium (called the *Carta Anua*) and sent yearly to the General Superior in Rome.

Because of the complexities of travel and the myriad controversies and requests originating from the Jesuits in America, a permanent representative called a *procurador* was established at the Court of Spain in Madrid. Another *procurador* was based in Seville whose task it was to recruit and arrange the speedy passage of Jesuits to America as well as field and fill the many requests from America for books, clothing, and even guitar strings for Indian musicians.

Jesuit letters were used not only to inform the Superior~General in Rome of what was happening in America but also as a powerful recruitment tool. Tales of religious heroism performed in an exotic location were calculated to encourage other Jesuits to volunteer for America. Financial support from laymen and governments was also behind the embellished reports printed in Europe.⁹⁷

Sixteenth-century Europe and indigenous America collided and interacted on a broad stage. The European was predisposed to change the way Indian America behaved and believed. A microcosm of this encounter occurred in Brazil in 1549 when Jesuits of the Portuguese province began to change the belief system of the Tupinambá. Initial success came to a grinding halt. Manioc beer, tribal wars, multiple marriage, and white slave raids proved to be the Jesuits' nemesis.⁹⁸ Over a decade later Florida was the scene of another European attempt to bring indigenous America into the European pale, this by the Spanish. The lessons learned in Florida would serve future agents of cultural and religious change in America.

⁹⁶ J. Brodrick's biography of Canisius and Braunsberger's eight-volume collection of Canisius's letters, *Beati Petri Canisii*, describe minutely the role of the Jesuits in the Counter Reformation during 1540-1580.

⁹⁷ For Jesuit letters as recruitment and "development" tools, see Sebes, "Jesuit Letters."

⁹⁸ Hemming, *Red Gold*; Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 71-73.

CHAPTER 2

LA FLORIDA

On November 10, 1568, the Jesuit missionary Juan Rogel reported optimistically to his superiors in Rome about the future of evangelization in Florida. “The Indians,” he wrote, “are good farmers, they don't have too many idols, and they sow and harvest abundant corn.” All of Florida, he thought, “was ready for a spiritual harvest.”⁹⁹ Two years later Antonio Sedeño, also a Jesuit missionary in Florida, also wrote to the Jesuit General in Rome, Francisco Borja. He described Florida as one long pile of sand, infertile, full of swamps and rivers, “the most miserable land ever discovered by man.” The native Americans didn't fare much better, “sensual, savage beasts who preferred going to hell with the devil than to heaven with Christians.”¹⁰⁰ Sedeño thought that the best thing the Jesuits there could do would be to leave as quickly as possible.

Much had occurred in the intervening years. The Spanish garrisons that were strung along the coast had been burned, the soldiers killed, the settlements gone. A major reorganization was underway. The Jesuits wanted no part of it.

WAVES OF CONQUERORS

Rogel and Sedeño represented the confident beginnings and the cynical conclusion of the first Jesuit missionary endeavor in North America.

Although not intending to, their negative and positive reports about the Florida peoples they encountered provided a rich ethnographical source for future researchers. Biases abounded in their writings. But these early reflections on the peoples of the Americas tell us as much about the European mindset of the sixteenth century as about the Native American of Florida.

When Juan Rogel sailed for Florida in 1566 with the first contingent of Jesuit missionaries to America, Spaniards were still exploring a continent. Gold and pearls attracted them to the warm weather zone. The fish and furs of the north were of little interest. By 1566 the Spaniards had become familiar with the contours of the Gulf coast. Inland was still a mystery. The appointed conquistador of La Florida, Pedro Menéndez de Aviles, tried to convince the Jesuits to send missionaries with him on his voyage by placing Florida a stone's throw from the Great Mogul Empire, “touching China and Tartary.”¹⁰¹ He dangled China and its hordes before the energetic Jesuits hoping they would take the bait. They did but for other reasons.

La Florida was a prize rumored to be rich but tantalizingly illusive, a vaguely defined stretch of land that today comprises the area from roughly Florida north to Virginia and west to the Mexican border. For over half a century, 1513 to 1565, a succession of Spanish attempts to explore and colonize this area met with failure. *La Florida* became known as the land with the most savage of Indians and the most inhospitable of climates.

⁹⁹ Rogel to Borja, 10 Nov. 1568, MAF 331-33.

¹⁰⁰ Sedeño to Borja, 6 Mar. 1570, MAF 423-24.

¹⁰¹ Lewis and Loomy, *The Spanish Jesuit Mission*, p. 32, citing Menéndez de Aviles.

Spain based its right to *La Florida* on a voyage of Juan Ponce de León in 1513.¹⁰² He sailed from Puerto Rico to the east coast of the Florida peninsula, named the land he found *Florida Pascua* and coasted up the Atlantic coast as far as Charlotte Harbor then back to Puerto Rico. The Roman concept of *res nullius* (“the thing of no one”) became the foundation of legal claims. Unoccupied land belonged to no one. Florida was occupied, of course, as was all of America. The image of vast unpeopled expanses was never objectively true. But even if someone did occupy the land, Christians, it was argued, had the right to preach the gospel unimpeded, and if they were hindered, they had just cause to wage war. The Spaniard never argued that the Indians did not have the right to own property. The trick was to discover the legal niceties to wrest it from those who did.

Ponce wanted to return someday to establish a colony in *La Florida* but it took seven years to muster a force of 200 colonists, 50 horses, cattle, pigs, sheep and goats, along with seeds and all the farming tools needed to begin a new life in the new world. But the Timucua Indians who occupied the land where the colonists put ashore never allowed them to settle. A series of Indian attacks forced the farmers back to Havana.

“Savage Indians and a deadly climate,” was the way the reports described Florida. The epithet stuck.

Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón led the next expedition to Florida, 500 settlers strong in 1526, landing somewhere near present day Hilton Head, South Carolina. Fever decimated the ranks. They found no gold, no food, and the land was desiccated.

Two years later Panfilo de Narváez led another attempt to settle *La Florida*, this one originating in Spain. Panfilo and 600 colonists including a few women landed near Tampa Bay, marched north plundering as they went, and then Narváez sailed a rickety craft across the Gulf of Mexico reaching one of the long, narrow islands off the coast of Texas. Narváez was blown out to sea never to be seen again but Cabeza de Vaca, his second-in-command, and a few companions completed an extraordinary journey on foot from Texas to the Pacific coast and down to Mexico City. Cabeza de Vaca kept alive the dream of Florida by calling it “the richest country of the World.”

Cabeza de Vaca expected to be rewarded for his accomplishment with the governorship of Florida but Hernando de Soto, the companion of Pizarro in Peru, had already wrested that prize from King Charles I. In 1537 Soto led 700 men from Spain in 10 vessels bound for Havana. In 1539 the colonists were in Tampa Bay along with their 200 horses and 300 pigs. Riches and the abundant Indian crops eluded them. They found no suitable place to settle and Soto himself died on May 21, 1542. The survivors returned to Mexico.

Florida seemed cursed. The soil was unsuited for farming; the blazing sun scorched man and beast and the Indians were ferocious. Even God seemed against the enterprise. When Fray Luis Cancer de Barbastro tried to put into practice the ideas of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas by attempting evangelization without accompanying soldiers, he was slain on the beach near Tampa by Timucua Indians. The Indians had suffered much over the past decades at the hands of marauding Spanish armies seeking food. Hernando de Soto's had been the most recent and Fray Luis paid the penalty.

Only the menace of a foreign presence that threatened the sea lanes on which traveled the silver-laden treasure ships from Mexico was able to prod the Spanish

¹⁰² Excellent accounts of European attempts to exploit Florida are Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements*; Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida*; Milanich *The Europeans in La Florida*; Hoffman, *A New Andalusia*.

government to take decisive steps to occupy *La Florida*. The French Huguenots challenged Spain's claim to ownership of the peninsula in 1562 by landing a company of soldiers under Renée de Laudonniere near the mouth of the St. John's River where he built Fort Caroline. By the time this happened Spain had already developed a workable policy for controlling its conquests in the New World. A mechanism had been established for governing the new kingdoms, an economic policy fixed for exploiting them, and a complex body of laws, called the *Leyes de Indias*, began taking shape defining relationships between the peoples of America and their conquerors. Above all, the joint state-church relationship had been fine tuned to the point where crown and church although ever wary of each other proceeded to jointly exploit the material and spiritual wealth of the Indies.

JESUITS IN LA FLORIDA

In the sixteenth century Great Endeavors were forwarded and financed by patrons. Personal friendship or better still, blood relationship, was the key to advancement. Ignatius Loyola was keenly aware of this order of things and his followers, as men of their times, courted the wealthy and the influential. The danger was that the less fortunate and well placed were neglected but always with the rationale that the greater good and the larger number would eventually be served. Ignatius Loyola himself firmly believed that the influential should be paid attention to first and then a sixteenth-century version of the trickle-down effect would follow. Virtue would replace evil and society would become better. This rarely happened. More often than not, the patron merely had the grantee more tightly in his debt.

One of the most socially well-placed Jesuits in the period soon after Ignatius's death was Francisco Borja. Nephew of a pope, Duke of Gandía, heir to a fortune, he left it all to become a Jesuit. But he did not leave behind an extraordinary sensitivity to the power of influence and a deference to secular authority. The person who successfully persuaded him to commit a significant number of Jesuits to the New World was an equally well-placed hidalgo, Pedro Menéndez de Aviles. He never met Borja but they symbolize the encounter between God and Mammon that haunted the Jesuits during their entire existence. Their correspondence illustrates the uncomfortable alliance that existed between representatives of the powerful and in many ways antagonistic institutions of church and state.¹⁰³ Menéndez needed Borja to further his grandiose plan for colonizing a vast portion of the New World. Borja was hesitant at first, unwilling to be used in a scheme that had obvious political goals, but still unwilling to say no to so influential a friend of the Spanish king and not unconvinced that America should not receive the benefit of Jesuit endeavors.

Pedro Menéndez de Aviles was a professional soldier who spent his adult life chasing pirates and sailing on the treasure fleets that plowed the seas between Spain and America.¹⁰⁴ Born near the sea, near Aviles, a seaport town of Asturias, Pedro was one of twenty-one brothers, which meant that his fortune would have to be made in America. In 1549 he was chosen by the Regent of Spain to pursue and punish the French freebooter, Jean Alfonse, who had made off with a dozen richly laden Spanish merchantmen. With his own fleet Menéndez entered the French port of La Rochelle and reclaimed them. For this he won the crown's attention. In 1554 he was given the coveted assignment of Captain

¹⁰³ Correspondence between Borja and Menéndez is scattered throughout letters written in 1565-1566 and published in MAF. Kenny, *The Romance*, pp. 130-37 discusses the relationship.

¹⁰⁴ Lyon, *The Enterprise*, is the best biography of Menéndez.

General of the Fleets. The newly mined treasures from Mexico and Peru were pouring into Spain and they were carried by ship from Mexico to Seville, round trip twice a year. Menéndez's duties were many. He had to arm, supply, man, and supervise the outward voyage that carried merchandise and supplies and the return that carried silver. Still, he felt himself on the fringes of the southern conquests that had ended with Pizarro's conquest of Peru in 1532-1534. North of Mexico and the lands west of Ponce de León's discoveries were still a mystery and he wanted to unlock them.

The French provided the opportunity.

Philip II chose Pedro Menéndez de Aviles to destroy the French settlement. Menéndez learned the exact location of the fort and its strengths from the captured Frenchmen. They even agreed to lead him to it. He left Santo Domingo for Florida with five ships and landed near San Agustín on August 28, 1565, 40 miles south of Ft. Caroline. Menéndez put out to sea again, lured Ribault (who arrived as relief for Laudonniere) into a chase, then swiftly landed, launched a land attack on the fort, and massacred the colony.

To Philip II destroying the French settlement meant eliminating an intruder. For Pedro Menéndez de Aviles it was a necessary first step before he could create an enormous domain that he imagined would stretch along the Gulf Coast through the interior of North America. The fabled east, he thought, would be close by, "through a strait [Chesapeake Bay] leading inland and connecting with an arm of the sea where it would be possible to navigate to the Western Sea and thence to China and the Moluccas."¹⁰⁵

The enterprise was not his alone. The cross would accompany the sword. In the contract he signed with the Spanish king on March 20, 1565, Menéndez agreed "to take . . . at least ten or twelve religious of the order which may appear best to you; persons who are of good life and example; likewise four others of the Society of Jesus, so that there may be religious instruction in the said land, and the Indians can be converted to our Holy Catholic Faith and to our obedience."¹⁰⁶

Menéndez had been introduced to the Jesuit superior of Southern Spain, Antonio Avellañeda, and through this contact Menéndez decided to persuade the Jesuits to accompany him to Florida. Philip II agreed and requested the Jesuit General in Rome, Francisco Borja, to send 24 missionaries to Florida. Borja passed his request on to Jesuit superiors in Spain but they were reluctant to part with so many men. Some argued that they were already spread too thinly throughout the world, in Japan, India, Brazil, and North Africa. And a conservative backlash occurring in Spain where an influential minority argued for a more contemplative and less active kind of Society made superiors drag their feet.¹⁰⁷ The number was reduced to three and even they were subject to interminable delays. When it became evident that Menéndez had actually organized an army for a military assault, the Jesuits refused to go with him. "I felt upset," Menéndez wrote in 1566, "that nobody of the Company was coming to Florida, nor even a learned man of religion."¹⁰⁸

But they soon followed. By June 1566, once the massacre of the French was completed, the first three Jesuits were crossing the Atlantic for La Florida.

¹⁰⁵ MAF 1-2.

¹⁰⁶ *New American World*, II, 385.

¹⁰⁷ MAF 9-10.

¹⁰⁸ MAF 91.

Pedro Martínez, Juan Rogel, and Francisco Villareal were the three chosen to go. All had had professional backgrounds before becoming Jesuits but were dissimilar in temperament and personality. They got along reasonably well. The novelty, adventure, and shared goals of the enterprise bonded them.

Martínez had been a chaplain to Spanish troops in Oran, Africa, was a decent theologian, and “kept a portfolio of notes on all subjects including extracts from cook books with many recipes for dishes for the sick and for the well”¹⁰⁹

Martínez preached and catechized and described himself as having great powers of endurance “for toil, hunger, thirst, sleeping on the ground, etc... I don't see why God has given me so much robustness,” he wrote, “unless it is to offer it to him by my service, and if he grant it, with my life.” But he cautioned his general superior in Rome about leaving his selection for the Indies to the will of his superiors in Spain, “for none of them will let go of a subject who is in good health and ready for anything.”¹¹⁰

Juan Rogel was Martínez's companion priest. Rogel had studied medicine at the University of Alcalá before joining the Jesuits and had continually petitioned for service in the missions. He was a parish priest in Toledo up until his appointment to the mission of La Florida.

Francisco Villareal accompanied the priests as the humble lay brother, whose future tasks in America would not require the priesthood. He had been a clerk in a law court and Martínez described him as “a most likable Brother and one after my own heart.”¹¹¹

None had any special preparation for America. It was assumed that their classical background, their training in philosophy and theology, and their grounding in asceticism was preparation enough. Spain's Catholicism was truculent, its culture considered superior to whatever would be encountered in the New World. What was out there would have to adjust to them, not the other way around.

On July 7, 1566, the fleet in which the three sailed landed in the Canaries. A month later it was in the Caribbean. Between Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands the missionaries transferred to a sloop for the trip to San Agustín, Florida. With them went a crew of 12, but with no chart, no pilot, and only a vague idea of San Agustín's location.

They soon were lost sailing up and down the Florida coast. Martínez, two Spanish soldiers, and six seamen went ashore in the ship's boat “to ask directions.”¹¹² A sudden squall drove the sloop out to sea and Martínez and his companions were stranded. Twelve days passed before they moved inland. They saw only isolated huts from which they foraged food. But disaster struck suddenly. On September 28, 1566, Martínez and five of his companions were killed on the beach by Indians probably near what is today Fort Georgia, Florida.

The Indians who watched Martínez and his associates land were part of the Southeastern Indian groups that occupied almost all of La *Florida* from the Atlantic to west

¹⁰⁹ Cited in Kenny, *The Romance*, p. 168.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 169.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 172.

¹¹² MAF 94-99.

of the Mississippi River.¹¹³ They had arrived in Southeastern America when the massive mastodon and sabre-toothed tiger still stalked the American continent. When the barbarians were invading Spain during the collapse of the Roman Empire, the Indians' ancestors were trading with the Maya across the Gulf of Mexico and exchanging their beads for copper from the Lake Superior region. They believed that the sun was the source of all life and sustenance. By the time the Spaniards arrived in 1565, the Atlantic coast from the Carolinas to the tip of Florida, around the Gulf of Mexico up to Tampa and all the way over to the mouth of the Mississippi was occupied by peoples who lived off the sea and the land. Sedentary agriculture and the reliance on fish and seafood enabled the Indians to enjoy a rich social and ceremonial life. Their material culture was similar since the semi-tropical climate and the staples they consumed defined their way of life. Some grew maize inland, collected it in giant storage bins and planted and harvested with elaborate ceremonies. The fish of the sea were always there. Houses were functional and adapted to the climate. The chicaskee, a roof of palmetto palms resting on poles with raised platforms for living and sleeping areas, was easily rebuilt after a violent summer storm blew it down. Houses could be stretched along a trail or clustered in a village sometimes surrounded by a palisade. The village was the focal point for social gatherings. The bark canoe was an essential implement for a coastal people. Little clothing was needed in the tropical sun but cloth was woven, pottery fashioned, and foods prepared.

Society was regulated by a rank order. A ruler governed a cluster of towns, each of which had its own chief. The village leader presided over a group of elders. Male and female roles were fixed. The hunters who trapped the deer, raccoons, and reptiles, the fishermen who netted the tuna, crawfish, turtles, and snails, the women who took care of the children, the cooks, the builders, each had their social rank.

Cementing the socio-political structure was religion. Priests whom the Spaniards called *shamans* regulated the rites of worship that were usually focused on planting, harvest, birth, and death. Three deities ruled over nature, political matters, and warfare.¹¹⁴ The sun was the most honored deity and fire was its symbol. Religion, agriculture, and social relationships were integrated to a high degree.

But not all was work. An elaborate array of games, exercises, and play filled the Indian's world. Versions of la crosse, ballplaying, and archery were carefully recorded by amazed Europeans in sixteenth-century *La Florida*.¹¹⁵

The reality of "savage" life jolted the first Jesuits only because they saw its most somber side. They were not allowed to lift the veil on the world they had invaded.

The first Indians that the Spaniards met in significant numbers were the Calusa of southwest Florida. They numbered about 10,000 souls and were clustered around the main Calusa town of 36 thatch and wood houses just south of Charlotte Harbor.¹¹⁶ Calusa

¹¹³ Indian groups in Florida at the time of the Spanish invasion are described in Milanich, *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe, 15-103*. Also valuable are Widmer, *The Evolution of the Calusa*, and Milanich, *Tachacale*.

¹¹⁴ Widmer, *The Evolution of the Calusa*, 29.

¹¹⁵ The scenes of America recorded by artists for European audiences helped to create the image of a fantasy continent peopled by strange creatures and one-eyed monsters. These early images became the foundation of bias and wild imaginings. The sketches of Jacques le Moyne de Morgues, *Brevis Narratio*, and Theodore de Bry, *Americae (1598)*, are the most notorious. Berkhofer, "White Conceptions," analyzes the relationship between images and bias.

¹¹⁶ Milanich and Fairbanks, *Florida Archaeology*, 211; Milanich, *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe*,

territory bordered the Mayaimi on the east and the Tequesta on the southeast. North of the Calusa were the villages of the Tocobaga around Tampa Bay, no friends of the Calusa. The Calusa did not practice agriculture, subsisting mainly on fish and seafood. They lacked hard stone to make implements but their artistically carved painted wood was notable.

Menéndez first came upon the Calusa in 1566 while searching along the Gulf Coast for his shipwrecked son. He realized immediately that the region was ideal for a fortress to guard the shipping lanes of the treasure fleets sailing through the Gulf of Mexico. The Indian leader of the area, Carlos, [corruption of Calus] agreed to receive missionaries and eventually accepted a Spanish garrison. To solidify the arrangement Menéndez agreed to marry Carlos's sister, Antonia, and they went through a ceremony. Menéndez must have known that the Indians did not consider marriage a permanent bond but even so the Jesuits with him looked askance at the procedure. Carlos welcomed his new brother-in-law because he expected the Spaniards to help him defeat the Tacobaga to the north who were Calus's rivals and enemies. Carlos even became the vassal of the Spaniards.

In March 1567 the Jesuits began missionary work in Calus and a fortress for Spanish soldiers was erected. Juan Rogel was the missionary and Bro. Villareal began working with the Tequesta on the eastern coast. At this time Menéndez's Florida enterprise consisted of six forts along the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts. The Jesuit missionary's task was to use these forts as focal points from which to evangelize the surrounding Indian groups.

Assigned to each fort were thirty or forty Spanish soldiers. Because they were not farmers, they refused to sow and few if any food supplies arrived from Havana. The local Indians were forced to share their meager stores, thus putting an enormous burden on an already pitifully poor subsistence economy.¹¹⁷

The arrival of the Jesuits added further stress to the food crisis. For the entire span of Jesuit activity in Florida, the characteristic feature of the Europeans' plight was their total economic dependence on either the Indians or the Spanish military. The Jesuits moved from fort to fort attempting to preach Christianity to the Indians on forays into the surrounding villages and hinterland. On occasion they returned to Havana.

MESSAGE AND RESPONSE

The arrival of the European missionaries was marked by scenes that the Spaniards described as controlled chaos. From the first hastily constructed settlement of San Agustín Menéndez de Aviles led processions of soldiers and priests to nearby Indian villages. The soldiers were followed by trumpeters blaring martial music and three or four carrying a cross. Outside a village the crossbearers would erect the cross and all would gather round it praying the litanies. By this time the cacique of the village would approach and Menéndez would explain that a representative of God was there to speak with him. The priest among the Spaniards would briefly explain Christian doctrine to the *cacique* and ask if he wanted to become a Christian. If the answer was yes, then the cross would be left standing and the Spaniards would promise to send a priest. Menéndez said that "there were many who are asking with great insistence that missionaries be sent to them."¹¹⁸

1-2.

¹¹⁷ Quinn, *North America*, p. 104.

¹¹⁸ "Relación Anónima," MAF 216.

For the Spaniards these were appropriate acts that had their origins in the belief that the papacy had dominion over the universe, all peoples had the obligation to listen to the preachers of the Christian gospel, and if they didn't, they could be justly punished. Bringing Christianity to America was part of the agreement between the Papacy and Spain that gave Spain the right to conquer America.

Apparently, what Menéndez de Aviles was doing in Florida was a modified *requirimiento*. A half-century before the reading of the unintelligible document was invariably followed by the roar of canon and the screams of Spanish soldiers. But times had changed somewhat. The intervening years witnessed bitter debates in Spain over the legitimacy of the conquest, the way it was carried out, and the obligations to the Indians.¹¹⁹ By 1565, Spaniards were not so sure of the righteousness of their cause. So Menéndez asked the Indians if they wanted to become Christian and did nothing if they refused.

To the Spaniards who were dragging a wooden cross through the Florida sands or the trumpeters blowing in the wind, the scene of hundreds of painted Indians mulling around shouting incomprehensible words was alarming. They felt isolated, overwhelmed numerically, with limited ability to communicate directly with the Indians, ignorant of the geography and physical conditions of the land. All of which made the Spaniards oversensitive to perceived threats to their lives.

The Spanish soldiers could not understand what they saw. They reported in horror the human sacrifices of a *cacique's* servants, the “enchanters” who wore horns on their heads and howled like wolves, the idols that made noises like mountain animals and the deboning of a chief at his death.¹²⁰ The macabre reports from Florida about the customs of the Indians must have had a deliberately sensationalist intent. The Spaniards, however, could only explain the wild dancing, shouting, drinking out of the enemy's skull, and lack of clothing as features of a society under the devil's control. The only criterion they had for judging such behavior was that of the West. “Bestiality,” was the characteristic description of the Indian's customs.¹²¹

Juan Rogel and his Jesuit associates brought with them the same cultural baggage as the Spanish soldiery. The only difference was that the Jesuits believed that the Indian was capable of modifying his behavior. One might be tempted to say that the European missionaries were content to modify the religious beliefs of the Indian while tolerating the rest. Such was not the case. Having long hair, dressing in short loincloths, and speaking the native language were elevated to almost equal rank as unbelief in the Christian God.¹²² The Spanish missionaries at first seemed to view short hair and Western clothing as essential corollaries to Christian belief. On the other hand Rogel stated early on that he found “no impediment to planting the faith among these people, if God enlightens their understanding and moves their wills.”¹²³ Rogel felt that the Indians' custom of polygamy was no obstacle to conversion. The paradox was apparent and frequently expressed. The

¹¹⁹ Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice*, is the classic account of Spain's official attitude towards American Indians in the sixteenth century. After 1573 King Philip II of Spain forbid the use of the word “conquest” to describe Spain's activity in America. See Lunenfeld, *Discovery*, 189, for the exact wording of what was called the *requirimiento* by which the Spaniards demanded submission of the Indians.

¹²⁰ “Customs of the Indians of Florida, 1566,” in Quinn, *New American World*, II, 539.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*; MAF 430.

¹²² MAF 284.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 288.

Jesuits witnessed acts of tender love between Indian child and parents; they observed the Indian laboring at farming, hunting, and building construction; they noticed the reverence the Indian had towards elders.¹²⁴ In the Jesuit mind these qualities and behavior could only have originated in a natural theology that disposed the Indian to good. “Thoughtful, reasonable people,” were the words used by Rogel to describe the Indians.¹²⁵ On the other hand, the incestuous unions of chiefs, widespread polygamy, and almost continual interaction with evil spirits convinced the Jesuits that the hand of Satan was at work although not in complete control.

The apparently contradictory qualities that the Spanish Jesuits observed in the Florida Indians were explicable only in their own moral and ethical terms. Whether the Indians were categorized as Juan Rogel saw them, “of good disposition,”¹²⁶ as “thoughtful, reasonable men,”¹²⁷ who presented no serious impediment to evangelization,¹²⁸ or whether they were viewed as “beasts who walk around nude, sensual, blind to their vices and sins,”¹²⁹ “with little or no desire to hear the word of God,”¹³⁰ the European could not see the Indian in his own terms.¹³¹ They practiced infanticide because they were blind to the evil of murder. When the Indians retorted that *they* killed Frenchmen, the Spaniards answered that their deaths were justified because the Frenchmen were bad Christians.¹³² The Indians worshipped idols because the devil convinced them that he was supreme. Sodomy was widespread because vice was equated with goodness. They moved frequently from one area to another planting anew because they were shiftless. Their houses were flimsy because they were too lazy to build solid structures. In Berkhofer's words, the Indian was being judged not by what he had but by what he didn't have.¹³³

The Jesuits responded to the paradox by filling what they perceived to be the deficiency. The first step was to teach the Indian about the Christian God. Menéndez de Aviles had already begun the indoctrination. In moving around San Agustín with his soldiers he encountered Indian villagers. He reported the interchange:

Spaniards: “There is only one God which Christians adore, to whom they go when they die if they are good and where they are happy and content. Those who are not Christian descend after death to the eternal fires of hell where they continually cry.”¹³⁴

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 331-32.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 135-36.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 340.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 125.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 288.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 426.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 407.

¹³¹ Dening, *Islands and Beaches*, 19-20, describes the encounter between native Hawaiian and European in which neither possesses the cultural constellations to understand the other. Much of what Dening says I have applied to Jesuit and Florida Indian.

¹³² MAF 216.

¹³³ Berkhofer, *White Conceptions*, 526.

¹³⁴ MAF 215.

The Indian response to this statement simply avoided the Spanish assertion about God and an afterlife. What lived after death? For the Spaniards the answer was the soul. For the Indian the Aristotelian concept of a spiritual *anima* contained within a material body was incomprehensible. In fact when Rogel later attempted to explain how the souls of all deceased Christians were awaiting a final resurrection when they would be united with their bodies and how the souls of those condemned to hell were suffering and how the souls of the unbaptized were waiting in a place called limbo, the Indians laughed. “They laugh at me,” wrote Rogel, “when I tell them that all souls are either in heaven or hell and they cannot die.”¹³⁵ So Instead of asking about God or the afterlife, the Indians replied:

Indians: “Why have you come here?”

Spaniards: “The Christians have a captain on earth, called the Pope, and one who is in Spain called King Felipe, and both of these sent us to tell you that there is one God and if you want to be obedient to these captains, they may rule you as Christians.”

Indians: “You killed fellow Christians, the French.”

Spaniards: “They were bad Christians.”¹³⁶

Although we cannot be positive about the sequence of the interchange, the content of the response is clear. In these early contacts the Spaniards tried to legitimize their presence. By a twist of logic, in accepting Christianity the Indian had to accept Spanish dominion. Accept the Christian God, Jesus Christ, the Pope as earthly representative of God, and the King of Spain as legitimate receiver of the Pope's domain, and the conclusion is clear. Submission to God means submission to the King of Spain. Interpreters were used to convey the message, Spaniards who knew a smattering of the Indian language or Indians who knew some Castilian. In this first interchange the Indians chose to judge the message by the messengers. If heaven is for the good, they seemed to say, and you say killing is evil, why did you kill the French? The Indians confronted Spanish behavior rather than fuzzy notions about deities and souls.

The Europeans began their proselytization by trying to explain the concept of God. This was the cornerstone of their catechism. The Indian did not object to the concept of a divine being or beings who controlled the world. Their own mythology explained how the world came into being, why they were there, and how they were to achieve a measure of happiness in it.¹³⁷ They believed sincerely in a broad range of divine beings. When Rogel asked a *cacique* about his belief in God, the Jesuit was not surprised at the Indian's answer.

Rogel: Do you believe in the unity of God, the creator of the universe.

Cacique: Yes.¹³⁸

When Rogel used the word “God,” the interpreter probably translated it by the Indian word “*Ate*.” To the Indian the *Ate* was the sun, a superpower, one who was responsible for the light, the brightness, one for whom each February the choicest stag was skinned and filled with roots and vegetables, and carried with music and song “to a very large splendid space where they set it up on a very high tree with the head and breast towards the sunrise. They then offer prayers to the sun that he would cause to grow on

¹³⁵ MAF 240.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 280.

¹³⁷ Creation myths of the Florida Indians are in Milanich and Proctor, *Tachacale*, 39-58.

¹³⁸ MAF 282-83.

their lands good things.”¹³⁹ The Divine was an integral part of the Indian world, only the Indian conceived his role in it in a manner totally different from the Christian Westerner. Three deities governed the world hierarchically. One controlled nature, the movement of the stars, the weather. Another ruled political matters, and a third governed warfare.¹⁴⁰ For the Jesuit, God was a person who took a personal interest in the daily lives of his creatures, in fact so personal was the interest that he punished those who refused to obey him and rewarded those who did. What was demanded by God the Christian missionaries knew and they wished to share that knowledge with the Indian. When the Jesuits said that they *knew* what God wanted the Indian asked how they found out.

Cacique: Where did you learn all of these things about God?

Rogel: We have them written from many years ago. The message has not changed over time.

Cacique: You cannot see your God. Our ancestors told us that *they* saw God at the time of burials. They had to fast many days to see him.

Rogel: God does not have a body. Your ancestors saw the devil. The devil tricked them by turning into different shapes.¹⁴¹

Not only was the Indian *cacique* bewildered at this interchange, but the Jesuit Rogel wrote that he himself was troubled, in “*gran duda y perplexidad*.”¹⁴² He knew the *cacique* to be a good man, one whose intentions were apparently honest. Rogel saw him kneel in front of the cross he had erected in front of the village and offer to the cross sacrifices like those he offered to his idols. Rogel did not object to this. Why then did he not accept baptism? Rogel noted that when Menéndez returned, he would ask the *cacique* to “burn his idols, dress like a Spaniard, and be instructed in the faith.”¹⁴³

For the European Christian there was one God. All other claimants were creatures of the devil. “They don't understand about the devil,” Rogel protested.¹⁴⁴ In order to give Satan his due, Rogel described in detail the seven days of creation from the Book of Genesis, the angel's rebellion and how Satan and his angels became the powers of darkness aligned forever against the powers of light. Each side was engaged in a war for the souls of the just. This the *cacique* and his people could not understand because they believed that each individual had not one but three souls. The small pupil of the eye was one, the shadow cast by the body another, and the reflection seen from a shiny surface was the third.¹⁴⁵ At death the second and third departed, the first stayed with the body and spoke with the living. “It is here,” wrote Rogel, “that the devil speaks to them.”¹⁴⁶ The other two souls entered an animal, and when the animal died, they entered a smaller animal. The Indians were so convinced of this, wrote Rogel, that “only a special act of God could

¹³⁹ Caption under the sketch of Le Moyne, engraving by De Bry, *Americae*, Part II, Plate XXXV.

¹⁴⁰ Widmer, *The Evolution of the Calusa*, 6-8.

¹⁴¹ MAF 283.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 285.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ MAF 284.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 279.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

persuade them of the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the dead, and a reward in another life.”¹⁴⁷

That the Indians laughed at the Jesuit's explanation of what happened to a soul at death indicates that they understood something of what he was saying. And they rejected it. Rogel through the interpreter first of all had to disabuse the Indians of their accepted notions of the nature of the “soul,” then convince them to accept the Aristotelian version of the Western *anima*. It didn't work. Rogel was disappointed and disheartened. If they didn't accept the Western notion of the immortality of the soul, then God had no sanctions with which to threaten the Indian, and the whole Christian construct would collapse.

On one occasion Rogel said Mass outside the village of Carlos, the chief of the Calusa. The ritual itself, with its movements to the left and right, turning away from and then to the audience, its genuflections, audible prayers, and general solemnity was not totally alien to the Indians. They too had their rites and processions accompanied by prayers, dances, and incantations. Their own priests led rites and prayed on certain occasions for the community. The *shaman* was a key figure in the Indian social and religious world.¹⁴⁸ So when the Christian *shamans* performed *their* rites, the Indians were respectful and sat in silence. They knew something important was happening. Rogel said the Confession of Faith, the Introit, the Gloria, the Prayer, and, after reading the Epistle and Gospel, he preached. Rogel spoke through an interpreter, explaining again how God was the creator of the world, how all men owe vassalage to him, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the dead, the reward that awaits those who live a good a good life the punishments of hell prepared for those who don't. Adoring idols, he concluded, was a trick of the devil, an *engaño*. Then Rogel dismissed Chief Carlos and all of his staff. As non-believers they were not permitted to witness the most solemn parts of the Mass, the Offertory, Consecration, and Communion.¹⁴⁹

The Indian leaders were ambivalent about Christianity. On the one hand, embracing the religion of the Spaniards insured military aid against a non-Christian enemy. On the other they saw Christianity as destructive of their own religious and social fabric. “These people are here to destroy our Gods. I will jump into the fire with my wife and children and my Gods rather than submit,” they said.¹⁵⁰ This rejection so absolute and so determined discouraged Rogel and the Jesuits. “This shows how far the Indians are from receiving the law of God. *Nondum venit hora ejus* [Their hour has not yet come].”¹⁵¹ However, there were occasions when individuals told the Europeans that they would have accepted the new religion were it not for the *caciques* They would have to be the first to accept Christianity, then the others would follow.¹⁵²

The *caciques* hesitated. The missionary's demand that they keep only one wife was a major stumbling block. Rogel thought he had convinced Carlos to become a Christian. Every day he taught him, his wives, vassals, and children the catechism. He taught him the Our Father and Hail Mary in Spanish. This was the language, Rogel explained, that is for

¹⁴⁷ MAF 280.

¹⁴⁸ Vecsey, *Religion in Native North America*, 187-89.

¹⁴⁹ MAF 277.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² MAF 289, 338.

speaking with God.¹⁵³ The *cacique* learned the prayers and because he seemed to accept the notions that went with them, Rogel believed that the chief would become a Christian and all his people would soon follow. But to the surprise of Rogel, Carlos one day married his sister in an elaborate ceremony. Rogel protested to no avail. The Jesuit recounted the interchange between himself and Carlos.

“I felt obliged to declare the law of God to him [Carlos], wrote Rogel.

Rogel: God gave Adam, the first man, only *one* companion, Eve.

Cacique: It is difficult for those of us raised in this custom to forsake it. You want old men, adults, to abandon their way of life and become perfect Christians and that they cannot do.

Rogel: It is the law of God for a man to have one wife.

Cacique: You should be content that the young people learn Christian Doctrine, the old folk burn their idols, reject sodomy, not kill babies, avoid painting their faces, and even cut their hair. But give up their wives? This they cannot do.¹⁵⁴

One cannot help suspect that the *cacique's* argument was in fact Rogel's, written for his brethren in Europe, an attempt to remind them that modifying long-standing customs was a tedious if not impossible task. He had heard the *cacique's* response from others. After one particularly long session with a group of Indians during which the Jesuit pointed out how God hated sins, so much so that he died for men's sins, and the Indians continued committing these sins such as infanticide and idolatry, they stopped going to instructions. They said that “their ancestors had lived according to those customs for generations and they wished to continue doing so and that I should leave them alone and they didn't want to listen to me.”¹⁵⁵ In fact they didn't return. Only when Rogel began giving those who came to catechism a ration of corn did they return. “As long as I gave them something to eat, they came to listen. If not, not.”¹⁵⁶

Did in fact the Indians even listen to the Jesuits because they received food? Possibly. By the end of 1569, 327 Spaniards lived in Santa Elena alone, enough to dislocate the existing native economy.¹⁵⁷ Rogel and his companions frequently returned to Havana for food supplies, some of which they distributed to the Indians. The severe strains on an already meager food supply resulted in Spanish soldiers raiding Indian villages looking for food. The Indians retaliated in kind.¹⁵⁸ The Spaniards in Florida were unable to exploit the land nor were sufficient supplies available in Havana. Therefore, the colonists and soldiers were left with one option: exploit the Indians even more. Starvation became a weapon that the Indian used adroitly.¹⁵⁹

The Jesuits tried to use it too. Francisco de Villareal, the Jesuit brother who worked in Tequesta, sought advice from Rogel about how much and to whom he should give his

¹⁵³ MAF 278.

¹⁵⁴ MAF 287-88.

¹⁵⁵ MAF 281.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ Lyon, “Spain’s Sixteenth-Century North American Settlement Attempts,” 278.

¹⁵⁸ MAF 321, 327.

¹⁵⁹ Quinn, *North America*, 104.

extra food. Rogel had advised Villareal to act in such a way that the Indians grow to love him. Should he demonstrate his love by giving his food to the Indians?¹⁶⁰

Villareal taught catechism in the local *cacique's* house giving instructions every morning and night for the children, the shamans and adults not taking part. He taught the four prayers, the commandments, and the creed in the Indian language. But he also used Spanish words and tried to explain their meaning.¹⁶¹ He organized processions with a cross. And what must be an historical first, Villareal put on two plays [*comedias* he called them], one on June 21, 1567, “portraying the conflict between the flesh, the world, and the devil and how they make war on mankind, and all the soldiers loved it.”¹⁶² Villareal has the distinction of staging the first theatrical performance to occur on North American soil.

Villareal was also the first to report on what became frighteningly repetitive: death by epidemic disease. There is little accuracy in the mortality figures between 1565 and 1570, the year that the Jesuits speak of a widespread plague. However, repeated references to children's death in 1568 point to the beginnings of epidemics that began on the coast and spread inland.¹⁶³ This affected Indian village size and settlement patterns. Disease also affected Indian attitudes towards the Jesuits. When a *cacique* brought his four or five month old daughter to Bro. Villareal for a cure, the Jesuit read some lines of Scripture over her and she recovered. Others brought their children to Villareal hoping he would cure them as well. One died and the *hechiceros* who prayed over the child after Villareal did said that if the Jesuit hadn't intervened, she would have lived.¹⁶⁴ Villareal asked Rogel what to do in similar cases. If he baptized dying children, and they died, he would be accused of killing them. “Should I visit the sick only when they are dying?” the Jesuit brother asked.¹⁶⁵ Villareal put his finger on a major problem, one which was to torment the Jesuits throughout America. Following the Council of Trent, the Jesuits firmly believed that Baptism was essential for salvation. But by baptizing the dying their deaths became inextricably linked with both the Jesuits and the sacrament they administered. In Florida they were accused of being Witch Doctors and Child Killers. Those receiving Baptism almost always died. Not adults who uniformly refused Baptism but children. When a killer epidemic [smallpox?] raged in Guale in 1570, Antonio Sedeño reported that the Indians there accused the Jesuits of deliberately sending their children to heaven. “They saw that the children died *after* Baptism because we baptized only *in articulo mortis*. The survivors are bitter against us.”¹⁶⁶ None of the Florida Jesuits associated disease with the presence of Europeans. Seventy years later the French Jesuits in New France would when faced with the same accusation. On the northern Mexican frontier the Jesuits turned the accusation around and used the presence of disease to prove to the Indian that Christians were protected by their God. *They* didn't die. Only pagans did.

¹⁶⁰ MAF 240.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 239.

¹⁶² *Ibid.* Before going to Florida Villareal was stationed in the Jesuit college of Córdoba and could there have seen the traditional *Moros y Cristianos* plays. For this type of theatrical presentation in Southern Spain see Ricard, “Les fêtes de “*Moros y Cristianos*.”

¹⁶³ MAF 237; Dobyns, *Their Numbers Become Thinned*, 41-49.

¹⁶⁴ MAF 237.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 239.

¹⁶⁶ MAF 423.

EUROPEANS AND INDIANS

Rogel was puzzled at the features of Calusa society that were obviously “civilized.” The ability to organize massive construction, to plan, to apply labor to complicated tasks were traits that he did not expect to find among the Indians of *La Florida*. These traits were evident from the large, intricately constructed temple mounds on which the Indians performed their religious rituals and to which they sometimes carried victims for sacrifice. In Calusa the Spanish fortress was on a height which was probably sacred ground. Rogel described an incident that illustrates the inability of either Indian or European to understand what the other was about.

“And they even tried to come up to our fort to walk around with their masks, coming from the hills where their houses were to the height on which our fort stood. Between these there was a small valley through which they used to walk with the aforementioned display and affrontery to be seen by the people. And the women worshipped them and sang praises to them. They tried to carry out devotions before these idols while I was at the door of the fort. I screamed at them commanding them not to ascend the height but they paid no attention to me. I called Capt. Francisco de Reinoso to stop them and he came out with a lance and he struck with the handle one of the Indians who was leading the procession. He sprawled on the ground with the fallen idol. The Indians became angry and came out of their huts with hatchets and boat poles. However, they did not climb up to the fort, for our soldiers were already armed and waiting for them. After this they stopped bringing their idols up to the height where our fortress was.”¹⁶⁷

Modern archaeology has confirmed what Rogel described as background for his story. Unique circular mounds, 130 of them in the Calusa area alone, rows of conical mounds, ridges, and canals associated with the mounds dot the seacoast.¹⁶⁸ Their size indicates planning, execution, worker-appointed tasks, and the necessity of large food supplies. Similar ceremonial mounds are found inland as well.¹⁶⁹

Confrontation with such visible manifestations of an advanced civilization confused Rogel and the other Jesuits in La Florida but did not reduce their feelings of cultural superiority.

By judging the Native American on the basis of what he did not have rather than by what he had tells us what the European thought an ideal society should be.¹⁷⁰

There is no solid evidence that the Jesuits thought that the Indian first had to be “civilized” (Hispanized) before becoming a Christian but acceptance of European dress and behavior seemed to help.

However, Juan Rogel went so far as to say that “their way of living is so ordered and regular that even if they become Christians, there will be absolutely no need to change anything in their lives.”¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ MAF 607-8.

¹⁶⁸ Lewis, *Tachacale*, 19-49; Goggin and Sturtevant, “The Calusa,” 195-97.

¹⁶⁹ Allen, “Big Circle Mounds,” 17-21; Goggin, “The Tekesta of Southern Florida,” 274-280.

¹⁷⁰ Berkhofer, “White Conceptions,” 526-527.

¹⁷¹ MAF 400.

The missionaries expected the Indian to reject certain cultural practices and they were surprised, even indignant, that they persisted in observing time-honored customs that the Jesuits thought contrary to God's law. This disappointment reveals a certain naiveté of the Europeans who imagined that the sheer weight of reason and logic would overwhelm the “superstitions” of the Indians. It did not. The Jesuit's theology taught that Divine Assistance or grace could not operate for an unbaptized Indian but reason could. So the Jesuits felt it their obligation to prepare the Indian's rational capacity to accept God's free gift of faith.

When Juan Rogel first wrote about the Indians to his superiors in Rome in 1568, he praised their natural qualities and abilities.

“In that Province of Guale,” he wrote, “the soldiers go two by two without a hand being laid on them by the Indians. They even feed them all the time . . . and I do not doubt that of the Indians' natural inclination and disposition, a missionary could reap great fruit if placed among them.”¹⁷²

Rogel insisted that the Indians were not cannibals.

“Do not believe that there is any place in all of Florida that up to now has been explored where the Indians eat human flesh.”¹⁷³

Most Jesuits were convinced that man's nature was capable of seeking out and finding the perceived good. Luther and Calvin posited man disposed to and inclining towards evil. Jesuit theology of the sixteenth century rejected this view of the human personality, convinced that man could attain virtue and good through his own natural efforts. In this they were greatly influenced by the writings of Luis de Molina, a Spanish Jesuit theologian who proposed what he called “a pure state of nature.”¹⁷⁴ In this purely hypothetical state man was born exempt from original sin, deprived of the supernatural life, and subject to death and all other miseries of life. When applied to the Indian of North America, it meant that he always retained as part of his nature virtues that made him a creature of dignity, worth, and moral rectitude. This contrasted sharply with what Calvin and the reformers thought about the nature of man. It aided the

Jesuits in their struggle to find virtue in the indigenous American. Jesuit humanistic training with its emphasis on Classical tradition and learning inclined the Jesuit to treat differences as shades of variation that were not necessarily the sign of inferiority. Thus, the Jesuits, by their own educational philosophy, sought in men of whatever belief or degree of civilization they possessed the goodness of which they were presumed capable.”¹⁷⁵

This was easy for Rogel to do at the beginning of his work in Florida. After two years, it was much more difficult.

In 1568 Rogel characterized one of the Indian leaders as a man “who listens and considers carefully the arguments proposed to him.”¹⁷⁶ He was a “reasonable” man. But it was difficult for Rogel to put aside the external differences that separated Spaniard and Indian. “If only he wouldn't decorate his face and body with markings, and if he would

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 331.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ Healy, “The French Jesuits,” 147.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ MAF 283.

only cut his hair, he would be on his way to becoming a Christian,” he wrote.¹⁷⁷ The Jesuit seemed to equate external differences with polygamy, idolatry, infanticide, and homosexuality, which the Indians permitted to the missionary’s horror.

The Indians of the east coast of Florida were more affable.

“In the middle of August I was ordered to live in Orista in an Indian village five leagues from St. Helen’s where the Indians constructed for me a house and church. I resided there with three young Indians who taught me the language, alone with the Indians, with no Spaniards around. Up to now all is going well and if I remain, there will be many conversions.”¹⁷⁸

Rogel did not observe any of the “abominations” he had witnessed elsewhere. On the contrary, he was pleased to observe monogamous unions. Everyone worked. The Indians even had a “municipal hall” where elders gathered to set laws and govern the village.

“And they live with great order and respect among themselves. When I lived among them, I saw nothing reprehensible, except perhaps a tendency to gamble. They’re great traders and merchants and they know how to buy and sell with the other people inland. I never saw the vice of theft and if they do anything bad it’s because the Spaniards taught them such. They do no evil to those who do good to them. I feel very secure among them.”¹⁷⁹

Rogel stated what became repeated missionary complaints about the Spaniards’s behavior and dissatisfaction over the poor example given to the Indians. The missionary drew a somewhat exaggerated portrait of a pristine human being untouched by vice. Whatever vice was present had been acquired by contact with Europeans. Eventually, the solution adapted in both North and South America was to segregate the Indian from the White Man.

Although Rogel and the Jesuits with him imagined the Indians capable of perfection, there was the lurking suspicion that the Indian was intellectually and morally inferior. The Jesuit Superior General, Francisco Borja, put it clearly in 1571 in instructions to the missionaries of Florida.

“Always consider carefully the softness of those souls and the primitive states of those minds. They will not be able to shoulder the load that can be borne here in Europe by perfectly rational people who have greater knowledge of God Our Lord.”¹⁸⁰

Did Borja mean that the Indians were incapable of rational thought or logical reasoning? Or that they were at some preliminary stage of understanding the complicated belief system called Christianity? The core of the system, belief in one God, the redemptive death of God’s son, and the establishment of a universal community of believers that adhered to laws established by the hierarchy of the community, were not potentially troublesome. However, the corollaries were. Monogamy and personal salvation were antithetical to traditional Indian beliefs. The missionary’s western logic saw sin in behavior that the Indian viewed as most natural. And while the Indian at first listened to what the

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ Cited in Zubillaga, “Métodos misionales,” 62

Jesuits had to say about God and eternal life, he really saw no compelling need to adopt a new belief system.

The detail with which the Jesuits related the accounts of Indian religious beliefs indicates a degree of fascination that bordered on admiration. The missionary had come face to face not with a primitive animism but with a complex of beliefs that were integrated with the daily life of the Indian. There was the glimmer of recognition that something greater than Satan was at work, but the Jesuit did not come out and say precisely that. European society of the sixteenth century was convinced that the devil was behind all forms of non-Christian religion.

Rogel declared:

“Great have been the efforts of the devil in the past and each day he continues to keep the Indians apart from our preaching of the truths of God. He instills in them great fears and distrust that we are going to drag them off as captives and so frequently they decide to leave us and go inland to live near the lakes . . .¹⁸¹

The Jesuits believed that the devil was actively working through the native priests they called Witch Doctors. Europe, and especially Spain and France, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed an obsession with witchcraft and satanism.¹⁸² Catholic Church documents asserted the belief in and practice of rites that objectively affected physical reality.

The witches (*brujas* in Spanish) were obviously working in league with the devil to cloud the minds of the Indians and prevent the Jesuits from preaching Christianity. The devil spoke through the dead and through the smoke and fire of Indian rituals. The Jesuits saw the native priests as the witches and wizards, and the common people as misled devil-worshippers. In sixteenth-century Spain prominent theologians accepted the reality of metamorphosis, nocturnal flight, and magic. Despite the years of philosophy and reasoned learning, these were ideas that sixteenth-century Spanish Jesuits brought to La Florida and were palpable reasons why their doctrine was not accepted. On the other hand, Jesuit theologians of the seventeenth-century caused a stir by accusing the Inquisition of forcing confessions of witchcraft through deception and malice, and pointing out that Inquisition lawyers were remunerated according to the number of convictions they obtained.¹⁸³ This might have had some resonance in America where Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were less likely to describe Indian religions as devil-worship and witchcraft.¹⁸⁴ The Jesuits had come to Florida thinking that the internal dynamism that they experienced from their own culture would compel the Indian to listen and accept Western ways. But the Florida Indians resented the white men who demanded a share of their corn and suggested that they change their belief system and some of their most cherished social habits threatening them with eternal punishment if they didn't.

A second group of Jesuit missionaries arrived from Spain in 1568 but their reports to superiors in Rome grew more discouraging. The Jesuit superior, Juan Baptista de Segura, wrote that the Indians were intransigent, the health of the Jesuit personnel failing, and the missionaries were continually being assigned to act as chaplains in the forts. But Segura did

¹⁸¹ MAF 281.

¹⁸² Baroja, “Witchcraft and Catholic Theology,”

¹⁸³ Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition*.

¹⁸⁴ MAF 85.

not entirely give up on the North American coast. He thought that the land and Indians near the Chesapeake Bay might bear more fruit.

Subsequent Jesuit letters to Rome from Havana unanimously condemned the Florida mission as a fruitless waste of time. "Florida", wrote the new superior in May 1570, "or the 300 leagues that I have seen of it is one long pile of sand. That's why there are so few Indians living here. Everyone goes nude unless they have a little piece of deerskin to cover themselves. The great variety of languages take a lifetime to learn.... For nine months of the year the Indians are hunting or scavenging for roots which makes it impossible to preach the gospel to them. They live like beasts and are given to the most heinous sins among themselves. Florida," he concluded, "is not for the Society of Jesus."¹⁸⁵

Borja agreed.

He wrote to Menéndez de Aviles in 1571 that he was withdrawing the Jesuits from Florida "because one can count on the fingers of the hand the number of converts made."¹⁸⁶ The initial shock of meeting the American Indian dispelled the myth among the Jesuits of the ennobled savage. Most Jesuit writers were hard put to discover anything noble about people who were scantily attired, skillful with a bow, and inclined to war.¹⁸⁷ Florida to them was the precinct of the devil. Most of the Jesuits who tried to convert the Indians of Florida between 1566 and 1571 portrayed them as little above the beast. The last Jesuit superior of the place, Antonio Sedeño, described them precisely that way. "They are like beasts wallowing in sin," were his words.¹⁸⁸ By the time Sedeño wrote, he already had one foot on the ship to Mexico. His parting blast only served to reconfirm the decision to abandon the inhospitable land that proved to be a mirage: from a distance attractive and full of promise, up close insubstantial.

The Jesuits were disappointed with Florida. They had been filled in Europe with the images of an America of towering mountains, golden treasures, and noble savages. Instead they found desolate beaches and a people who lived by a subsistence economy. The Indian languages were incomprehensible and their customs and religion reprehensible. Conversion was difficult and immediate success unattainable. In 1572 they abandoned Florida for richer pastures of Mexico.

The Indians could not adjust so easily. The Europeans were there to stay. The indigenous people had listened to what the Jesuits had to say. They could understand the concepts of a creator, a world shared with spiritual beings, a spiritual leader, priests, and even a ruler who was allied with the representative of God. But a place where spirit-souls existed, a redeemer, strange notions of good and bad, new ways of dressing, eating, and clothing themselves, these were unacceptable. Accepting what the Europeans suggested would destroy the social fabric of their world. They were drawn to the white men as potential allies in their inter-village squabbles, not as models of behavior. The Spaniards could not control the Indians so they let them alone, for the time being. The Jesuits thought that their message was universal, that anyone of good will would understand who God, his son, and the Church were. And how logical were the saints, mass, matrimony, and the sacraments and the peripherals of Western Civilization. What they didn't realize was that not only was their message hidden by layers of cultural assumptions but also that

¹⁸⁵ MAF 429.

¹⁸⁶ MAF 489.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 224.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 430.

the nature of the message was irrelevant to the Indian. The Jesuits were not able to vilify and destroy the native symbols of culture in order to replace them with their own. The Native American cultural system presented a bulwark against the assaults of the new and it did not even comprehend the symbols of the westerners. Because Indian society retained its political structure and economic base as unthreatened, it was able to reject the European cultural and spiritual message with impunity.

After the Jesuits left, other Christian missionaries took their place. In 1572 the principal Spanish colony in Florida was at Santa Elena. Later San Agustín became the major settlement. By 1700 the Calusa and Tacobaga Indians had been wiped out by smallpox. The Native American successfully resisted the cultural assault but lost the confrontation with European pathogens.

MODES OF INTERPRETATION

Bernard McGrane reminds us that the representation of the “Other” has occurred in three successive intellectual epochs.¹⁸⁹ Each historical period used different criteria to construct differences between subject writing and object studied. The Renaissance used a religious framework with the alien coded as “pagan,” “heathen,” or demonic. During the Enlightenment “ignorance” and “superstition” were the favorite code words. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, “primitive” and “developing” were been used. The describers of the “Other” used the frameworks much like the computer today uses a computer language (MS-DOS, for example) to interpret the electrical and magnetic waves sent its way. Without the framework the sounds and symbols remain meaningless.

When Rogel and his Jesuit associates wrote to Rome about the religious rites of the Florida Indians, they revealed aspects of a social world not immediately familiar to readers across the ocean. They were not writing fiction but conveying in symbolic language a world of reality. Because they wrote within the limitations of a renaissance framework, only part of the world was revealed.

The Jesuits ascribed the unwillingness of the Florida Indian to dress as Europeans, believe as Christians, or take only one wife, to the deceits of the Devil. This was a natural thing to do given the renaissance framework within which the belief occurred. It was believable, therefore true. However, Rogel’s encounter with the Florida Indians was not monologic. His was not the dominant voice. His reports were not those of “the voice of the privileged narrator.”¹⁹⁰ Instead, the Jesuits recorded the words of the Indian response. How accurately or how realistically is questionable. What is of significance, though, is that the recorders conveyed the words of the “other” in a manner which suggested both urbaneness and rationality, almost as if the epoch of the Enlightenment with its emphasis on rationality had projected itself backwards into the epoch of the Renaissance. But the recorders could not escape the codewords of their time. Savage, pagan, the devil, characterized the inhabitants of the alien world of America.

The Jesuits were taught that if all other motives failed, then fear was to be used to move individuals to accept Christianity. This could work only if the Indian believed that the afterlife existed as reward or punishment for deeds committed during one’s lifetime. But the Florida Indian had no such concept of the afterlife. It existed but not to reward or

¹⁸⁹ *Beyond Anthropology. Society and the Other.*

¹⁹⁰ Atkinson, *Understanding Ethnographic Texts*, 40.

punish. Hence, the European attempt to frighten the Indian into believing in Christianity went for nothing, as did his encouragement to cut long hair and dress as the Europeans.

Food distribution aimed at encouraging conversion to a European way of life was a form of coercion that also had little effect. Not only did the economic situation soon reverse itself with the Europeans finding themselves begging from the Indians but the Native Americans had many more avenues of resources supporting them than did the invaders. The Indian saw no need to accept the European form of worship, his impractical sets of clothing, his forms of interpersonal behavior. He could not be forced to do so.

The European agents of cultural change had made three very wrong assumptions about the world beyond Europe. Firstly, they imagined that all peoples were the same; that all were guided by the same set of moral springs that would impel the American to embrace the Western World's culture, of which religion was a key element. Secondly, they thought that their intelligence and logic would be sufficient to convince the Native American of the superiority of their culture. And this was the third error: the European approached the Indian believing that he would not have to adapt *his* ways to those of the Indian. He believed in the superiority and naturalness of his own culture.

The European Jesuit sent his messages to the Florida Indian in terms of a cultural frame. The Florida Indian received the message in the light of *his* cultural frame sending a response so based. The European then interpreted the response in *his* cultural frame. The loss of meaning, distortions, and misunderstanding grew.¹⁹¹ The Florida Indian was not about to put aside his traditions because an alien invader told him to do so. The European had established no social, political, or personal relationship with the Indian world. No trust developed.

¹⁹¹ Adapted from Brislin, *Understanding Culture's Influence*; Harris and Moran, *Managing Cultural Differences*.

CHAPTER 3

THE FOUR RIVERS OF SINALOA

The Florida mission was a dismal failure. The evangelization of Mexico's northern frontier was a success. Why the difference? What was present in Mexico that was absent in Florida? Was the message changed? The methods of proselytization? What dynamic permitted the hearers of the message to consent to its acceptance?

COLLEGES AND MISSIONS

By the time the Jesuits shook the Florida sand out of their sandals, Mexico had become a New Spain with an embryonic economic and political system. The Jesuit departure from Florida in 1572 coincided with the Society's entrance into New Spain. They were latecomers. The Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians had built a network that left little room for the newcomers. A debate arose within the Society of Jesus itself over what their appropriate apostolate in the New World should be. Colleges eventually won out but the Indian missions became a major characteristic of the Jesuit presence in New Spain.

On September 28, 1572, fifteen Jesuits landed in Veracruz, Mexico from Sanlúcar de Barrameda in Spain after an Atlantic crossing of fifteen weeks. They arrived in Mexico City with mattresses on their backs and a pilgrim's pouch and staff in hand. They stayed in the hospital until regular lodgings could be arranged. By 1600 there were 274 Jesuits in Mexico spread out from Oaxaca to Sinaloa.¹⁹² The intervening 28 years witnessed a gradual series of commitments defining the nature of Jesuit activity in New Spain. The emphasis of the original instructions sent by the Jesuit General, Francisco Borja, to the provincial New Spain, Pedro Sánchez, was on the erection of colleges, the teaching institutions that were so effective in stemming the Protestant tide in Central Europe.¹⁹³

Borja did not envision the Jesuits of Mexico strung out in mission-forts like in Florida. Instead, they were going to “preach and teach Christian Doctrine performing the tasks appropriate to our ministry.”¹⁹⁴ The petition of the Mexico City government and the instructions of Philip II stated clearly that the Jesuits were to instruct and convert the

¹⁹² The Jesuits in Mexico have been the object of numerous studies but no comprehensive work in English exists. Charles W. Polzer comes closest in editing a valuable collection of articles written by various scholars about the Jesuits in Northern Mexico. *The Jesuit Missions of Northern Mexico*. Félix Zubillaga, *Monumenta Mexicana*, has gathered seven fat volumes of documents on the Jesuits in Mexico that reach only to 1602. Ernest Burrus has written extensively about the Jesuit missionary explorer, Eusebio Kino. See Chapter 5, *passim* Jacobson, *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth-Century New Spain*, Peter Masten Dunne, *Pioneer Black Robes on the West Coast* and the same author's *Early Jesuit Missions in Tarabumara*, are oversympathetic accounts of the European missionaries. Two basic histories in Spanish, Gerard Decorme, *La obra de los jesuitas mexicanos durante la época colonial, 1572-1767* and Francisco Javier Alegre, *Historia de la provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Nueva España*, are based on primary material much of which is no longer available.

¹⁹³ MM I: 24-25

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 25

Indians.¹⁹⁵ Somehow these directives were lost in the shuffle and the Jesuits focused only on an urban college with a Spanish clientele.

The College of Mexico became the flagship college of the Jesuits in New Spain. One of the wealthiest men in New Spain, Alonso de Villaseca, was its major benefactor, donating real estate, cattle ranches, and cash endowments towards its development.¹⁹⁶ Four years after its foundation, thirty six Jesuits were living there, teaching 500 students in four classes of the humanities and one in rhetoric. The official Jesuit report from Mexico in 1576 described the college as “ample and comfortable, although a bit remote from social intercourse, but not too much.”¹⁹⁷ Other Jesuit colleges opened in Oaxaca, Guadalajara, Morelia, Tepotzotlán, and Patzcuaro, and residences started in Veracruz, Puebla, Zacatecas, Durango, and San Luis de la Paz. The colleges were staffed by five to ten men, the residences by two or three. The financial support of the colleges, both for resident students and Jesuits, came from the operation of large cattle ranches and farms either donated by pious laymen and the local government or purchased with endowment funds.¹⁹⁸ The Jesuits saw the colleges not only as opportunities to instruct and influence the sons of the local Spanish elite but also as vehicles for the evangelization of the area in which the college was located.

The Acts of the First Provincial Congregation held by the Jesuits in New Spain asked Philip II to order the Bishops and friars not to hinder the Jesuits from “preaching and speaking on the streetcorners and in the town squares because this is our way of evangelization.”¹⁹⁹ However, the emphasis on colleges and the concomitant massive financial support required for such an undertaking raised questions in the minds of some Jesuits about their appropriateness. The Dominicans and Augustinians had been in Mexico City for half a century. Why duplicate their work?²⁰⁰ Juan de Tovar, a Mexican-born Jesuit, was the chief spokesperson for the group of Jesuits who favored an aggressive apostolate with mission Indians as well as colleges exclusively for Indians. This group was derisively nicknamed the “*lenguas*” by their Jesuit confreres (most were Mexican-born) because they spoke Indian languages and even more importantly, were familiar with and in general sympathetic to Indian customs and attitudes. The Jesuits who taught philosophy and theology in the colleges were labeled the *padres graviores*, “the solemn fathers.” The battle line was drawn and the struggle was engaged in a series of letters that sailed back and forth between Mexico City and Jesuit headquarters in Rome.²⁰¹

The Franciscans first came up with the idea of a college exclusively for Indians, a college where the sons of the *caciques* would be exposed to the best in education that the

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, I: 1-2, 5-6.

¹⁹⁶ Félix Zubillaga, “La provincia jesuítica de Nueva España. Su fundamento económico,” 22-25.

¹⁹⁷ “Cathologus Collegiorum ac Missionum Provinciae Mexicanae, 1576,” MM I: 217.

¹⁹⁸ Zubillaga, *La provincia*, describes the general formation of Mexican college properties and estates. Herman Konrad, *A Jesuit Hacienda in Colonial Mexico: Santa Lucía, 1576-1767*, studies in detail the development and role of one large Jesuit estate in rural Mexico.

¹⁹⁹ MM I: 341-42

²⁰⁰ Alegre, *Historia*, I: 238-41

²⁰¹ Lafaye, “Une lettre inédite, 9-21

friars could offer. The college started in 1536 was called Santa Cruz de Tlaltelolco but the experiment floundered within a decade after auspicious beginnings.²⁰²

The same negative attitudes that were major factors in the failure of the Franciscan experiment in native education obstructed the Jesuit attempts at beginning a college exclusively for Indians, a college that not only would instruct the native elite in philosophy, literature, and theology, but would be a seedbed for an indigenous clergy. Like the Franciscans, the Jesuit proposal contained assumptions about native Americans that were not shared by most Spaniards in New Spain. It meant that the indigenous peoples were capable of perfection, were capable of providing spiritual leaders, and were intellectually the equals of Europeans. Less than three years after their arrival in Mexico, the Jesuits petitioned the General in Rome for permission to open a college exclusively for Indians.²⁰³ The Superior General instructed Juan de la Plaza, who was on his way to Mexico as the Visitor of New Spain, to give him an opinion about the matter.

“We also understand that in Mexico a great deal is being made about opening a college for Indian youth under the supervision of the Society, and also two colleges for Spaniards. When you arrive in New Spain, look into this and write me your detailed opinion about its appropriateness for the Society so that I can decide what is best in the Lord.”²⁰⁴

The Jesuit Superior General was favorably inclined towards opening a college in New Spain exclusively for Indian youth. “It seems to me a good idea,” he wrote in 1575, “to open colleges for Indians in order to see how the fruit develops from such a seed. But I have difficulty with allowing Jesuits to run them. I will not decide on this until Fr. Plaza returns from New Spain. Although it seems to be a fine idea, experience has taught us to go slowly.”²⁰⁵

The Jesuits in Mexico did not wish to go slowly. The Provincial Congregation which must have been one of the smallest in Jesuit history, about four capable of voting, passed a resolution stating:

“... it would be appropriate to have colleges for intelligent Indian young men, sons of the chiefs, to be instructed in proper behavior and Christian manners. They would learn to read and write and understand Christian Doctrine so that if Our Lord would see fit to move any to desire perfection, they would be worthy ministers for their people. One Indian priest would be worth a hundred Jesuits.”²⁰⁶

The Jesuits then make a statement remarkable for its content given the time and place.

²⁰² Robert Ricard, *La “conquete spirituelle” du Mexique*, 262-81

²⁰³ MM I: 204-5.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 211

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 318. The question of admitting native-born Americans to religious orders or to the secular clergy was not solely a Mexican problem. Boxer, “The Problem of the Native Clergy,” summarizes the objections of the Spanish and Portuguese to the formation of a native clergy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Because they were “descendants of infidels,” and of questionable loyalty, natives of the Far East (Japan excepted) and America were considered unfit candidates.

“If all the nations that have been converted to Christianity have had among them spiritual ministers to preach and administer the sacraments, how is it possible that these ministers do not have the aptitude for this since God has made man capable of acting as God? If these people can so govern themselves without the gift of divine grace, what can they accomplish with it?”²⁰⁷

The Jesuits again raised the question of the spiritual and intellectual capacity of the Indian in New Spain. Not only were they capable of learning how to read and write and behaving like Europeans, but they were perfectible. Therefore, by inference they were capable of becoming the spiritual leaders of their own people. Colleges for the Indian was the short-term objective that would in the long term bring about the gradual reorganization and replacement of the Spanish clergy.

The logic was unassailable, but the conclusion was unacceptable. Therefore, the argument had to be flawed.

The idea of establishing colleges for Indians in Mexico with the eventual goal of ordaining Indians to the priesthood must have raised eyebrows in Madrid and confirmed the worst suspicions about the Jesuits. The suggestion would not go far.

The Mexican Jesuits renewed their request to open colleges for Indians during the Second Provincial Congregation of 1587, but with a slight revision. Instead of having the formation of a native clergy in mind, they wanted to begin the equivalent of “trade schools” for Indians, “where they would learn the art of tanning leather, silversmithing, painting, sculpting, and other honorable trades.”²⁰⁸ Rome frowned. Insufficient manpower and an inappropriate apostolate was the reply. Also a not unstrange word crept into the answer, “too risky, *“no solo sería dar tan gran trabajo y riesgo a la Compañía. . . .”* Lafaye pinpoints the nature of the risk: risk of criticism from the Spanish population and risk of opposition from the other religious orders in Mexico who would oppose vigorously.²⁰⁹

Juan de Tovar, the Mexican-born Jesuit, was angry, and he immediately wrote to the General in Rome telling him what he thought of the decision. He thought that the Jesuits in Mexico were overly committed to the education of the sons of wealthy Spaniards, the disputations of philosophy and theology in their colleges, preaching in filled churches to Spanish audiences, and neglecting the people whom they had originally come to convert, the Indian. He deplored the fact that the Superior General in Rome had to force newly arrived Jesuits in Mexico to learn the Indian languages.²¹⁰ Too much diffidence, he went on, was paid to the friar who always seemed poised with pen in hand to write to the Council of the Indies about the latest Jesuit excess. Fear of them, he thought, had prevented the Society from accepting the ministries it should engage in.

The Jesuit General affirmed that “the primary objective of the Jesuits in coming to the Indies is to assist the Indians and so it is right that everyone be focused on this and the means be found to achieve this goal.”²¹¹ But the creation of a college exclusively for Indians was not considered appropriate to achieve this goal. Instead, Jesuits were to live in

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 319

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 661

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 651

²¹⁰ Tovar's report titled: “*Memorial del Padre de Tobar sobre ministerio entre Indios, abril de 1588,*” is in Alegre, *Historia*, I, 561-68.

²¹¹ MM I: 321.

residences in Indian territory under the authority of the closest superior and there they would learn the Indian languages, teach young Indians to read and write, and if some showed sufficient talent, they should be sent to the colleges of the secular priests in Mexico City.²¹²

The almost cosmic vision of educating a native clergy to care for the indigenous Mexican population was not to be. Colleges remained the major focus of the Society in Mexico, colleges for Spaniards. But Tobar's rebuke was not lost. The northern frontier of New Spain was dotted with newly discovered silver mines. The Spanish government in Mexico City faced an intractable and indomitable wall of Indian resistance. Jesuit enthusiasm for mission work could be channeled into the Northern Frontier to make it safe for Spanish miners and cattle ranchers. Souls would be won for Christ and in the process laborers for the mines as well.

SINALOA AND SONORA

The conversion of the Indians on the northern frontier of New Spain was the key to advancing Spanish economic interests. At least that's what Viceroy Luis de Velasco thought.²¹³

“[The Jesuits] are proceeding to convert and indoctrinate the Chichimeca Indians and this is the most important thing. To make sure their work is lasting, they've begun to select sites for churches and religious houses around which the Indians can form towns and villages, something they have not wanted to do in the past. With such organization and the stability that the religious establishments bring, I hope that the Indians will be persuaded to accept Spanish rule and they will be less a threat.”

A few years later Philip II asked the Jesuits to begin working in the northern mission, the fringe of New Spain, where “great success” could be expected.²¹⁴

What Philip Wayne Powell called “North America’s First Frontier”²¹⁵ was a complex of settlements and thrusts into Northern Mexico motivated by the discovery of rich silver mines in Zacatecas and beyond. The Indians there were determined to keep the Spaniards in check so a bloody, drawn-out conflict called the Chichimeca War lasted from 1550 to 1590. Several factors coincided to bring the Jesuits north at just this time. First was the Jesuits' own desire to serve on missions. Second was the unstable Northern Frontier. The Indians were uncontrollable. They had no fixed residences, no fixed fields for cultivation, nor did they even live in houses.²¹⁶ Even though the Franciscans were in the area, the governor of Nueva Viscaya asked the Jesuit provincial to send missionaries. “To remedy

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ MM IV: 13-15

²¹⁴ The story of the northward expansion of the Mexican frontier is told in Powell, *Soldiers, Indians, and Silver*.

²¹⁵ *Essays on Frontiers in World History*; Weber, *New Spain's Far Northern Frontier*, and *The Spanish Frontier in North America*.

²¹⁶ MM, IV:II

this,” wrote the Viceroy, “Our Lord has moved the fathers of the Society of Jesus to send four of their men, *lenguas*, experienced men to aid in this undertaking.”²¹⁷

However, the Governor of Nueva Viscaya did not send the Jesuits who arrived, Gonzalo de Tapia and Martín Pérez, to the Chichimecas, but west to Sinaloa and Sonora. There the Jesuits began a complex and controversial mission that eventually reached across the Gulf of California to Baja California and north into the present state of Arizona. The mission's first two decades (1594-1615) are a microcosm of the Indian-Jesuit interaction that lasted for almost two centuries. These were the key years during which attitudes and antagonisms formed and developed, when Christianity was presented, accepted, or rejected.

The site of the Jesuit mission was in the highlands of and on the western slope of the Sierra Madre Occidental Mountains, traversed by the Mocorito, Fuerte, Sinaloa, and Mayo Rivers that flowed down the western escarpment into the Gulf of California.²¹⁸ The region was called Sinaloa. As the Jesuit missions pushed northward into Sonora, the Yaqui River came within their scope. Numerous settlements and villages dotted the banks of these rivers and the missionaries would later describe their missions with reference to the rivers. Estimates put the population along the Mayo River at 40,000 and 30,000 along the Yaqui River at the time of first contact with the Spanish. Roughly the same estimates hold for the population along the other river banks. A few years after the Jesuits arrived, they estimated the entire population of Sinaloa to be 100,000 people.²¹⁹ However, European killer-epidemics had penetrated the native populations before actual physical contact with the Spaniards, so these estimates are questionable.²²⁰ Much of the region is broad coastal plain but the river valleys have rich alluvial deposits that sometimes were swept into the coastal plain by floodwaters. The average mountain rainfall is 700-900 mm. Flood season, from February to June, would sometimes ruin the crops and caused widespread famine. The peaks of the Sierra Madre reach 2,000-2,500 meters in places through which rivers have carved deep canyons. These were the favorite hiding places of the Indians fleeing Spanish soldiers and the demands of Spanish rule. The forests of the uplands were thick with a thorny vegetation. Oak and pine stands dotted the upper parts of the mountains.

In 1591 the Jesuits Gonzalo de Tapia and Martín Pérez began evangelizing the Indians of Sinaloa. They first resided in the settlement called the Villa de San Felipe on the Sinaloa River. Spaniards were not totally unfamiliar with Sinaloa. Francisco Vásquez de Coronado had tramped along the coast in 1545 while searching for the Seven Cities of Cibola. A settlement of 40 Spaniards sprung up on the Sinaloa River a few years later but the leader of the settlement, Diego de Alcaraz, treated the Indians heavy-handedly, so the Indians wiped out the Spanish settlement discouraging any future attempt to live along the riverbank. Only the lure of silver could bring the Spaniards back. Francisco de Ibarra led an expedition through Sinaloa in 1563 looking for signs of gold or silver. He found them.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.* 11-12.

²¹⁸ Gerhard, *The Northern Frontier*, 272-87.

²¹⁹ *Memories para la historia del Sinaloa*,” Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, Manuscripts B 113, is a 918 folio-page collection of the Annual Letters (*Cartas Anuas*) of the Jesuits in the missions of Sinaloa and Sonora covering the years 1593 to 1628. Most of what follows is based on these letters. They were edited by the provincial in Mexico City before being incorporated into the Annual Letters that the Mexican Province sent to Rome. Nevertheless, they frequently contain lengthy original accounts of events and proselytization written by missionaries in Sinaloa. Hereinafter the collection is cited as CA [*Cartas Anuas*]. The population estimate is in the Annual Letter for 1593, fol. 25.

²²⁰ The most recent and reliable population estimates are in Reff, *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change*, pp. 209-218.

The Indians decorated themselves with what looked like precious metals.²²¹ That was enough for Ibarra to plant a settlement of sixty families at Carapoa along the Fuerte River. Indeed, the settlers did find rich mines, but the hostility of the Indians drove them away. Twenty years later the Spaniards again tried to find the mines of Sinaloa. In 1583 Pedro de Montoya received authorization to found a town. He enlisted 30 Spaniards from the settlement of Culiacan and went looking for silver mines. The Zuaque Indians wiped out the band of future miners. It was then that the governor of Nueva Vizcaya in whose jurisdiction fell Sinaloa petitioned for Jesuits to evangelize the Indians. In June of 1591 Tapia and Pérez were in San Miguel de Culiacan, one river and 100 miles south of the Mocorito River on the southern edge of Sinaloa.

THE MISSION: ORGANIZATION AND METHODS

Gonzalo de Tapia and Martín Pérez apportioned villages for evangelizing, preached in the native hamlets with the help of interpreters and wrote a catechism in the local Indian language.²²² With interpreters at their side they insisted that they were not like the other Spaniards who preceded them.

“We have not come for gold or the silver that's buried in your land. We have not come to make slaves of you and take your wives and children. You see only two of us, alone, unarmed. We have come only to tell you about the creator of heaven and earth. Without knowledge of him you will be unhappy forever.”²²³

The Indians were suspicious of the missionaries. The past encounters with the Europeans were hostile. In the beginning the Indians thought that they were like the other Spaniards but they soon realized that they were not. “The Jesuits learned the language, carried no arquebus, demanded no corn or food but spoke only of *Virigeva*, the Eternal God. That first year 2,000 people were baptized.”²²⁴

The two missionaries were optimistic. They portrayed the mountain valleys of Sinaloa as the gateway to an infinity of other barbarous peoples and even to New Mexico “about which so much has been written.”

The Jesuits described the people of the towns of Barboria, Lopocho, Matapan, and Ocoroni as great farmers. There was no poverty and no beggars. They raised corn in two harvests a year, beans, cotton, and squash. Fish was abundant. They hunted wild cattle, deer and rabbits. They made a drink of fermented corn and used it to get drunk. “These people do not have a king or a lord. However, in time of war they gather around a strong leader as their captain and they all obey him. In peacetime, they do what pleases them. Each nation respects the other although there is much fighting.”²²⁵

The Jesuits were especially curious about the belief system of the Indians. At first they did not uncover any idols or even personal gods. The Indians believed that there was no heaven. Instead, the dead passed under the earth to some dark region whose ruler was

²²¹ Andres Pérez de Ribas, *My Life among the Savage Nations of New Spain*, p. 19. [originally written 1644]

²²² Shiels, *Gonzalo de Tapia*, 57-59, contains a contemporary account of the Jesuit's death.

²²³ CA 21.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

named Yori. There was no distinction between good and bad. What gave pleasure was licit. The dead were cremated although sometimes a corpse was buried alongside a tree with all of the deceased's belongings, blankets, headdresses, bow and arrows, food and a large gourd with water for the long trip into the kingdom of the dead. The deceased's dogs and cattle were slaughtered and his friends got drunk over the gravesite. Nothing belonging to the dead remained behind. Everything went with them.

The earliest reports from the Jesuits in Sinaloa were notable for the absence of criticism about Indian beliefs and customs. They were straightforward descriptions with a touch of admiration and probably a bit of embellishment about how the Indians lived. The Indians were basically honest, the Jesuits wrote. "No doors are ever locked and the corn remains untouched." Even the implications inherent in the Jesuit descriptions of interpersonal relations, courtship, marriage, homosexuality, and polygamy were passed over lightly. Having many wives, as many as one could support, eliminated adultery, the Jesuit report of 1593 stated. This changed later as the novelty of initial evangelization wore off. However, there was one exception, drunkenness. Drinking to excess was never condoned or rationalized. This response by the missionaries was partly culturally conditioned since the Spanish considered drunkenness a form of induced insanity and thereby contrary to the natural order of things. It also led to "orgies" that had some sort of religious connotation, one that remained mysterious and unresolved by the missionaries.

The Jesuits in Sinaloa evangelized their way north river-by-river. Their central base was on the Sinaloa River in the Spanish town of San Felipe y Santiago, later called Nuestra Señora de Sinaloa or simply Sinaloa. From here the first two Jesuits, Gonzalo de Tapia and Martín Pérez, began to visit neighboring Indian settlements referring to their visits as an *entrada*. The person of prime importance in the Indian settlement was the *cacique* and the Jesuits targeted him as the first potential convert. If the *cacique* received them well and accepted baptism, the villagers usually followed suite. A small church made of brushwood and reeds set on poles with a layer of earth as a roof would be erected, and here the missionary would begin to teach the fundamentals of Christianity. In the settlement of Guasabe on the Sinaloa River the Jesuits started teaching the catechism in Latin. This extraordinary occurrence took place in 1593 so the missionary must have been either Tapia or Pérez. The Annual Letter notes that the missionary quickly switched to an interpreter, "a woman who knew Mexican [Nahuatl?] because she was a slave for several years in the Spanish town of Culiacan."²²⁶ Twice daily the villagers would come to the church and recite what they had learned. They sang what was called the *doctrina* "in the evening hours which in the past were spent in superstitious dances."²²⁷ Native dances were a favorite target of the missionaries. They associated them with religious orgies and drunkenness and so attempted to replace them with simpler dance movements they introduced from the central valley of Mexico. Some of the villages had "wine" and their orgies lasted for three months! The dancing at these native celebrations lasted so long that it was explicable only if the Devil was inciting the Indian to perform beyond the level of human endurance.²²⁸ Before the Jesuits considered it safe to forbid native drinking and dancing altogether, they simply absented themselves when the dancing and drinking started. The organ, flute, violin, and trumpet classes that were held at the Jesuit College in Sinaloa for Indian youth

²²⁶ CA 85.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

²²⁸ CA 86.

had at their root the desire to replace the native celebration with the Spanish-like music and dance becoming common in colonial New Spain.

One of the earliest multi-village fiestas organized by the Jesuits occurred in 1595 after a drunken Huacabe Indian killed a Christian woman. Panic ensued. The Indians expected massive Spanish retaliation so almost everyone fled in fear to the mountains. Adding to the panic were the speeches of a local *hechicero* who encouraged the people to flee. According to the Jesuit report, the *hechicero* (witch doctor or *shaman*) was always accompanied by “a personal devil.” So his followers “scampered up into the mountains like a herd of deer.” The Jesuits were disheartened. Even though by 1595 almost 8,000 Indians had been baptized in the entire mission of Sinaloa, a wholesale bolt by entire villages could have major effects on the enterprise. The Jesuits hid their disappointment from the Christians who remained “so as not to dishearten them,” and proceeded to counter the abandonment and sadness by gathering 23 towns in Sinaloa for a massive fiesta, “even though the people spoke different languages.”²²⁹ The fiesta was held at Christmas time. On the first day the *Danza de Pastores* was featured and a series of dances by “Mexican” Indians. A long procession was held the next day with each town represented led by a cross decorated with multi-colored feathers. Mexican singers entertained, the *juego de caña* and mock battles took place. Children dressed as angels put on a pageant singing newly learned *villancicos*, alternating between Nahuatl and Ocoroni. An orchestra of flutes, trumpets, and oboes (*chirimías*) played constantly. On the last day the missionaries, now six in number, preached and Capt. Hurdaide blasted his artillery from the fortress walls.

Such gatherings, although not as large as this, were held several times a year on the occasion of major Christian feasts, e.g. Holy Week and Christmas. Repentance and confession of sins were major events of Holy Week and some missionaries encouraged flagellants to beat themselves in public as a sign of repentance. The Annual Letters reported the flagellation *a sangre* with a certain pride saying in a sense that our Christians were doing the same thing that real European Christians do! Most missionaries interpreted these external manifestations of Spanish Catholicism as visible signs of authentic Christianity.

By 1610 a fortress called Ft. Montesclaros had been constructed on the Fuerte River. Situated on a hillock, one side faced the river and the other a flat grassland where cattle were pastured. The fort's four towers looking out over the settlement was the visible symbol of Spanish presence and power in the area. The missionaries considered the fortress and its contingent of Spanish soldiers an essential ingredient for the spiritual conquest of Sinaloa. The first missionaries in the area prided themselves on having carried no weapons, on being different from the Spaniards who came searching for silver. Within a decade they changed their tune. Revolts, killings, raids, and general tension between those who accepted the new religion and those who did not convinced the Jesuits that the lascian strategy of appearing before the Native American with no visible link with Spanish military power did not work. Instead, the Jesuits thought that “a great deal of help in the conversion of these peoples has been given by the Fort of Montesclaros... with this check on the Indians the Fathers can go about their ministries more easily.”²³⁰

In the early days of the Sinaloa mission the Jesuit spent a month visiting Indian villages at the end of which he would spend two weeks back in the central residence of

²²⁹ The fiesta is described in detail in *Ibid.*, 87-88.

²³⁰ CA 429.

Sinaloa. By 1614 this schedule shifted a bit. The missionary spent two two-week periods a year in the central residence of Sinaloa *reforzándose*, regaining both physical, spiritual, and psychological strength. He made the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius (a retreat) and in general reintegrated himself into Jesuit common life. The reintegration didn't always work. By 1597 all the missionaries knew the local languages and the periodic sweeps that the missionaries conducted through areas not visited sometimes lasted more than a month. In one mission sweep in 1601 through the Valley of Culiacan the missionary visited over 20 villages "where the *cocoliztli* raged furiously."²³¹

By 1597 the Jesuits had established a solid base for mission activity in Sinaloa. Their residence in Sinaloa had 8 rooms and a few offices. An adobe church had been constructed for 1200 pesos and "not another like it is around for 100 miles." Spaniards, Mexican and Tarascan Indians worshipped in it. The total number of Indians baptized by the Jesuits since their arrival was over 8,400. But the Indians, reported the Annual Letter for 1597, were still fierce and rebellious. Even though forty more Spanish colonists had moved into Sinaloa in 1596, the land was described as sterile and undeveloped. The Jesuits agreed that one major difficulty was the inaccessibility of the Indian villages, hidden in the hills, in remote pockets that had no trails into nor way out. If these villages could be relocated or integrated into other villages, the task of the missionaries would be greatly facilitated. In 1599 Fr. Juan Baptista Velasco reported that three remote villages in the area had been moved to a more accessible location.²³² As a result, instead of hiding when summoned to *doctrina* class as they had been accustomed to doing, the Indians now attended Christian Doctrine classes regularly. "The place where they were resettled doesn't even have a tree to hide behind. The place even looks like a town, with a church and streets. People have an imperfect understanding of the faith, but they will grow with continual watering from the words of the gospel."²³³ The move to reorganize villages grew. In 1600 a major resettlement program started.

"CONQUEST, PACIFICATION, AND CONVERSION"

Fr. Alonso Santaren as the representative of the Bishop, Capt. Diego de Avila, the *Capitán Pacificador*, Hernando de Silva, the Chief Bailiff (*Alguacil*) and several soldiers, spent February to December of 1600 visiting remote settlements principally of the Acaxe group and ordering them to resettle in predetermined villages.²³⁴ The local encomendero of the Indians and the *caciques* were made to cooperate in the enterprise that was called a "*Jornada, pacificación, y conversión.*" Avila's orders were to resettle and pacify (*que junte y pacifique*) and the Jesuit was to preach the gospel. Upon entering a village, Fr. Santaren and the Spaniards would first prostrate themselves before a cross they brought with them and then the priest would announce:

"By virtue of the commission I have from the Bishop and the Superior of the Company of Jesus I take possession in the name of Holy Mother Church and of the

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 403

²³² *Ibid.*, 145

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ The account of the resettlement program is in CA 164-340. Simpson, *Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain*, pp. 30-128 examines the Civil Congregation of Indians in Central Mexico that took place almost at the same time.

Bishop of this Kingdom and I found here a Church for teaching Doctrine to the Indians who will live here and in the future dwell here.”

The Indians were then summoned from the surrounding hamlets called *rancherías* and instructed about the move. First, they were to move their houses to the new site, each family choosing their own house site and farm land; second, they were to construct a church out of wood and palm within four weeks; and third, they were told of the advantages of the move, fish in the streams, proximity to the church for learning Christian Doctrine, and for some, closeness to a place of employment (either large estates or mines) where they could work and earn a salary. After a few days a sacristan, called a *temestian* was put in charge of the church, a bell and a statue were symbolically placed in the church if one had already been built, and after the missionary instructed the townspeople, the group of Spaniards moved on to the next site, repeating the process. Although we are led to believe that the process went smoothly and the Indians consented to their relocation, several indications of active and passive opposition to the process say otherwise. Some Indian groups protested that they had no hatchets for cutting wood, so they could not construct churches. Others said that they really were not from that place but fell under the jurisdiction of another *encomendero*, so they could not move. Others simply agreed to the move but did nothing. The inhabitants of Coapa all came down to resettle but within two days scattered back into the mountains. Others said that “they did not want to attend *doctrina* classes nor to serve the Spaniards.”²³⁵

Rewards were offered to encourage the hesitant and entice the indifferent. Knives, fish, cloth, salt, and hats were distributed to the Indians who resettled. Fear of punishment was also a motivator. If no church had been built or people resettled within six weeks, the *temestian* and the cacique were publically lashed. This occurred in several places. In the town of Don Pedro, about 24 miles from San Martín no church had been built, no Indians resettled, so Juanillo and Andrés each received 5 lashes and a warning that more would be administered if the church was not built and the people moved in thirty days.²³⁶ The Indians argued that other Indians would attack them and destroy their crops if they acceded to the resettlement program, as actually sometimes happened.²³⁷

On the other hand, many groups moved without incident. Villagers chose land for *milpas* and were confirmed in them by Diego de Avila. In the town of Naspuezes Santaren gathered 250 villagers and announced that good firewood, good land, and plenty of water was available in the new site, so all the neighboring *rancherías* should gather to form a town. The *principales* and townsfolk agreed. Santaren and Avila gave the Indians who had gathered gifts of salt, knives, and cloth not only for themselves but also for those who had not come and needed convincing. *Alguaciles* and *alcaldes* were appointed by Diego de Avila. But because the Spaniards considered it inappropriate that an official should have long hair, Diego de Avila himself cut off the long locks of the new officials. Long hair was a bone of contention between Spaniard and Indian. The Europeans conducted a major campaign to have the men cut their hair. Long hair, they argued, “was only for women.”²³⁸ In one town the Spaniards took it upon themselves to cut the Indians' hair but no sooner had they

²³⁵ CA 261, 267.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 186-187.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 178.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 174.

done it than the Indians demanded hats to cover their shorn heads.²³⁹ Some Indian groups joined in the resettlement program voluntarily. On one occasion 20 Indians from the mountains appeared and asked to be part of a newly organized town.²⁴⁰ The newly organized Indian towns were legally distinct from Spanish villages. Only baptized Christians could live in them. Spaniards were forbidden from entering the towns to impress Indian laborers. Nor could *caciques* from other villages enter the newly organized towns and command the Indians to do what they ordered. A fine of 100 pesos for Spaniards and 200 lashes for Indians were the penalties for contravention of these local regulations. The relatively minor opposition that the Spaniards encountered in the *jornada* of resettlement is explicable for a number of reasons. Placing themselves on the side of the new conquerors meant that the Indians would receive food during times of famine, which almost always followed the killer epidemics that had become frequent with the arrival of the Europeans. During the epidemic itself, the European priests cared for the ill and sometimes that care resulted in cure.²⁴¹ Therefore, it was advantageous to choose the Christian priest as the more powerful *shaman*. Joining the Europeans also could mean protection from traditional enemies. The Spaniards were quick to retaliate against attacks on Christian converts.

Santaren and his band resettled at least 4,000 Indians in 1600. Some of the hamlets were so large that two or three new villages were formed out of one hamlet. To each new settlement were attached lands “granted” by the Spaniards to each family or individual. The grant was called a *merced* but there is no record of individual titles going along with the land distribution. This increased the possibility of future land litigation but also was based on traditional landholding rights and usage.

“THE UPROOTING OF IDOLATRY”

During their march through the Acaxe country, Santaren and Diego de Avila uncovered what for them was a surprising number of Indians practicing the old religion. The Jesuit and the captain felt it their duty to root out the practices that they believed allowed Satan to maintain a hold on the Indian mind. Friendly persuasion was not in their bag of motivational tricks. Physical punishment and in at least one case, execution, was the order of the day. The Spaniards offered no apology for their actions. They answered to a higher order of being. The operation of this mini-inquisition and the sustained terror it spread through a relatively minor region of New Spain's frontier is an excellent example of how Church-State worked hand in glove during the post-conquest years. It was Captain Diego de Avila's purpose to intimidate so as to control the native population. Fr. Santaren's goal was to Christianize the Indians. Avila's intimidation persuaded the Indians to accept Santaren's new belief system. Two sides of the same coin, the Spaniards felt. Jesuit records refer to this aspect of the resettlement as the “*Extirpación de Idolatría*,” the uprooting of idolatry, a first step before beginning the study of Christian Doctrine.

The Spaniards discovered stone sculptures of human heads, horned figures, anthropomorphic figures that might have represented gods or petitions of prayer. The

²³⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 183.

²⁴¹ Reff, *Disease*, p. 262, notes how simple care can have positive effects on the ill person. See CA 273, 294, and 246.

stone figures may not even have been gods, but representations of friends or ancestors.²⁴² Santaren and Diego de Avila, however, were certain that it was the cult of the devil that had to be replaced by the cult of Christ.²⁴³ On December 7, 1600, both Santaren and Diego de Avila questioned the inhabitants of Nazpeces about who had and where were hidden either idols or piles of bones that were adored by the townsfolk. With the help of three Indians Santaren dragged skulls and bones of fingers, arms, and legs out of the houses into a pile in the center of the village. One old Indian had a pile of ancestral bones in his house that he refused to part with. Then and there Santaren ordered a Spanish soldier to give the man four lashes. The idols, the Jesuits reported, were like dolls carved out of stone. To them the Indians offered corn, beans, and other foods. The pile in the village center grew and when the Spaniards thought they had collected everything, they broke the bones and idols into pieces, dumped them onto a raging fire and made the Indians watch their gods become dust.²⁴⁴ The purpose was to demonstrate how helpless the Indian gods were in the face of the Christian deity. On occasion, Santaren would preach while the fire raged and the gods were being destroyed.

Some stone figures were wrapped in cloth, having the appearance of a human figure but without eyes. One god the Indians called *Tecajuatl*. The Spaniards also learned that there was a God of the air, of the water, the fields, “and other superstitious beliefs.” One god had the head of a lion [jaguar], another an eagle. The god of the fields (*Milpas*) was given the first fruits of the harvest, and the Indians would dance around the statue and touch it.²⁴⁵

The Spaniards learned that the Indian gods possessed nature and all its manifestations. One wonders if the Jesuit ever related Indian animism to Ignatius Loyola's meditations of the Fourth Week of the Spiritual Exercises, in which he tells his Jesuit conferees that they should contemplate nature and see God in the manifestations of the natural world. If Santaren did, he never wrote about it.

The Spanish attempt to root out the old religion created internal divisions within Indian communities, thus weakening the resolve and fabric of native society. An informant from San Jerónimo, named Gaspar, made the Spaniards promise not to reveal his name “because the people would hate him and want to kill him.”²⁴⁶ The *caciques* of each village were offered rewards if they revealed where the idols were hidden. Christian Indians whether out of zeal or a desire to curry favor with the Spaniards were quick to lead Santaren and Avila to the hiding places of the gods. In the town of San Martín one Indian named Pedro Hernández came before Santaren and Diego de Avila and said that in compliance with the decree he and another Indian named Turbano along with two others who were “*gentiles bárbaros*” found idols in the remote hiding places of the *ranchería*. They were made of stone but had no distinctive features. The idols were adored like gods.²⁴⁷ The Spaniards must have made some sort of announcement upon their arrival which resulted in Christians scurrying to settle old scores or publicly demonstrate their new loyalty. This Mexican equivalent of a Salem witch hunt must have deepened the chasm

²⁴² Williams, “The Stone Sculptures,” examines the use and importance of such stone sculptures.

²⁴³ CA 192.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 193.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 294

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 273.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 294.

between Christian and pagan. The adherents of the old gods and religion must have seen that the only option left to them was flight. The mumblings of an old lady to Santaren struck no sympathetic cord in the Jesuit.

“For all the idols that you and the Captain destroyed and burned, you have angered God and you have angered our enemies the Xiximes and the Guapixuxe. They will swoop down on us and destroy us.”²⁴⁸

The native religious leaders, called *hechiceros* by the Spaniards, countered the Christian attack by saying that as soon as the Christians would find out where the gods were kept and remove them, all the people would die.²⁴⁹ According to the Jesuit account, the *hechicero* was responsible for all the revolts and obstacles put into the missionary’s path. The *hechiceros* were leagued against the missionaries guarding their secrets so carefully that not even the priests or the Captain understood what they were about. They spread the rumor that death would surely follow for anyone who accepted baptism. Only infrequently were they confronted successfully. In one town, the villagers paid a *hechicero* to make it rain. Instead, a Jesuit reported with satisfaction that Our Lord caused a dry spell to envelop the land. Only when a Christian procession was held did the rains come.²⁵⁰

The missionaries realized that the presence of the *hechicero* was a major obstacle to spreading Christianity. But they also realized that the minds and hearts of the Indian were not going to be won by a wholesale roundup and elimination of the *hechicero*. He had to be discredited and he was, mainly during the times of disease and famine when only the new *shamans* of Christianity displayed any power over sickness and the ability to supply food. One *hechicero* was executed by the Spaniards. A middle-aged man called Taxicora was venerated and almost adored. He rode a horse with spear in hand and announced to the Indians that they should not fear the Captain or his soldiers. The Jesuit Annual Letter of 1601 said that he had the reputation of speaking with the devil. He was a threat, so in 1601 “he was hung and he was kept on the gibbet to convince others he was mortal.”²⁵¹

The missionary assault on the native religion and way of life during the “*Jornada*” of 1600 illustrates that the Jesuits intended to recast the Indian mind. Resettlement, indoctrination, appointing village officials based on the new religious and cultural criteria, cutting hair, wearing European clothes, organizing fiestas, mass, confession, and work for a salary were elements of the new ways that combined the essential with the accidental but in the minds of the Spaniard were integral to what a civilized person should believe and how he should behave.

BAPTISM AND EPIDEMICS

In the plague year of 1623, Fr. Miguel Godines baptized 80 children 70 of whom died. Juan Castini baptized almost the same number and 33% fell to the killer epidemic. The writer of the Annual Letter for that year spoke of the deaths as a “premature harvest from an uncultivated field,” *una cosecha temprana que se ha echo en aquel erial*.²⁵² A curious

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 206.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 294.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 528.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 384-403.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 745.

juxtaposition of baptism and death caused an equally curious mixture of emotions in the missionaries. Christian tradition associated the sacrament of baptism with joy because the initiated entered the community of believers. The death of the old self was symbolized by washing with water and the ritual displayed a new life in Christ as flamboyantly as circumstances allowed. However, in the New World baptism was associated with death. The missionaries in New Spain faced the same dilemma that their confreres encountered in New France. Contemporary theology taught that baptism was essential for entry into heaven and if the sacrament occurred immediately before dying then the soul was guaranteed eternal life. But death on the northern frontier of New Spain was the result of killer epidemics that the Jesuits vaguely suspected came from themselves. “The illnesses that the Indians suffer came after we arrived. They were in good health before never having experienced pestilence,” confessed the Annual Letter of 1593.²⁵³ And the worst part of it, continued the letter, was that when the priest began to baptize, the people died suddenly, and many continued dying. The writer expressed the dilemma clearly: “On the one hand it is a great shame to see so many dying yet it is a consolation to see so many going to heaven.”²⁵⁴

During periods of pestilence, the missionaries went about their task of baptizing dying children not with the joy normally associated with the ritual but nevertheless believing that the baptized soul was on its way directly to eternal happiness. No chance to commit a mortal sin that could jeopardize eternal salvation. The language the Jesuits used to describe the events of baptism reflected this ambiguity. Tempered by the sorrow of death, the Jesuits described the epidemics as violent and evil, not as welcome producers of eternal life. The symptoms of the killer-epidemic were described in minute detail.

“This epidemic [1593] was so violent that the burning fever took away one's ability to reason. The victims jumped in the river to cool themselves or fled to the mountains where they became food for wolves.”²⁵⁵

“Pus covering the victim from head to foot had a terrible smell and it took only a few days for the victim to die. It was horrible to see the maggots feeding on the wounds. People fled to the mountains to escape. The villages were filled with weeping and sorrow for their dead children.”²⁵⁶

The epidemic of 1601 was devastating.

“This year there was a *cocoliztli* during which many died. Some took 14 hours to die, others two days. The old people, the women, and the young were the quickest to go. Babies had swellings on the throat and they could not speak. Others seemed to lose their minds. The epidemic lasted three or four months. Just when we thought it ended, it rose again and in less than 48 hours carried off people from the villages. The victims hardly knew what hit them and they were dead. We grieved because it came so swiftly when we were outside the villages that we could be of no assistance.”²⁵⁷

Epidemic diseases that occurred at 5-8 year intervals throughout the seventeenth century in Sinaloa were described by several names. *Garrotillo* (mumps), *sarampión* (measles),

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 45.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 41.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 42.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 353, 354.

viruelas (smallpox), and *tabardillo* (typhus) were recognized by the Jesuits. Many of the missionaries were native born so they applied local as well as European remedies. This meant frequent swathings with wet cloths, sometimes the cloth was dipped in wine, purges, bloodletting, hot towels, blessings with Holy Water, and sometimes baptism and confession.²⁵⁸ Reff points out that although this kind of care did little medically for the victim, nevertheless, statistics show that those receiving such kinds of personal care are more likely to survive an epidemic disease.²⁵⁹ When recovery occurred in Sinaloa, it was another proof of the effectiveness of the Christian god and another persuasive argument against the *hechicero* who during epidemics not only fled and refused to assist the dying but discouraged the reception of baptism. The Jesuits stayed with the sick and for the most part, because the missionary remained unscathed was thus able to confirm the power of his God.

Although the missionaries grieved at the sight of so many deaths during killer epidemics, they reasoned or rationalized its presence.

“... many babies die with the grace of baptism so that putting together the chosen grains from this place and that Our Lord is filling his granary and this is what greatly consoles us and encourages the missionaries who with so much sweat cultivate his fields.”²⁶⁰

By a twist of logic, the epidemics were made into an act of love. Our Lord, went the explanation, actually demonstrated his love of the Indian by permitting his death so soon after baptism.

“Our Lord so loves them that he takes them while they are in the state of baptismal innocence.”²⁶¹ Their deaths were a true sign of their predestination. “*Y que les daba Nuestro Señor la salud corporal pretendiéndoles dar la espiritual con el bautismo y la eterna llevándolos bautizados de esta vida.*”²⁶²

One wonders what Luis de Molina, the Spanish Jesuit who wrote so vigorously against Calvin's notion of predestination, would have thought about this “sign of predestination.” However, what made the Jesuits pause was the death of adult Christians. They could explain the child's death as the permissive will of an ultimately caring God, but the need for model Christians should have prevented the deaths of the already baptized. The death of so many Christians in the 1601-epidemic was described as a “blow.”²⁶³ It was not explained.

Only a fraction of the baptisms performed by the Jesuits in Sinaloa occurred during epidemics. In 1623 the Annual Letter from Sinaloa reported 11,290 baptisms performed the previous year, and over the past 33, 101,300.²⁶⁴ 2900 couples were married by the missionaries. The average yearly number of baptisms occurring in Sinaloa was around 3,000. The mission in Sinaloa became a *raison d'être* for the Jesuit presence in Mexico. By

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 930-32.

²⁵⁹ Reff, *Disease*, pp. 261-63.

²⁶⁰ CA 114.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 45.

²⁶² *Ibid.*

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 374-75.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 699.

1622 there were 27 Jesuits scattered on the Northern Frontier. The colleges grew in size and influence but the yearly statistics sent from Mexico City to Rome showing the number of adults and children baptized in Sinaloa, the number of couples married in the Church and, the number of confessions heard were palpable signs of pastoral care and souls saved. Why the Indians of Sinaloa and later Sonora converted to Christianity almost *en masse* is more complex.

FAIR WITH OCCASIONAL SHOWERS

Soon after Frs. Cornelio Godinez and Santiago Basilio were killed by Indians in the Tarahumara uprising of 1654, an inquiry began about the motives behind the slayings.²⁶⁵ The investigators were biased. They wanted to prove that the Indians burned churches, destroyed the priests' vestments, and murdered the Jesuits out of hatred of the faith, *in odium fidei* was the phrase used. They couldn't. The contradiction even appeared in the words used by the investigators to describe the uprising, *rebelión* and *alzamiento*, implying political motives. Godinez had been in Tarahumara country only a year. He didn't intend to stay. He was going further inland, *tierra adentro*, on the move looking for virgin territory to evangelize.

By the time Godinez arrived in Sinaloa, a half a century of missionaries had come and many had gone. From the original two, missionary numbers grew steadily to 60 in 1654 and to 94 by 1708.²⁶⁶ River names no longer defined areas of proselytization. Sinaloa and Sonora were divided into *partidos* and *receptorados* with missionaries assigned to specific towns. Each missionary received a stipend from the crown.

²⁶⁵ Report of November 14, 1654, ARSI, Mex. 17, fols. 250-71.

²⁶⁶ Catalogi Triennales, 1580-1653, ARSI, Mex. 4.

Missions in Sinaloa, 1662

<i>Missionary</i>	<i>Towns</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Stipend</i>
Gabriel Carrero	Mucurilo	180	300
Domingo de Urbino	Tamasula, Vasauva	1100	300
Pedro de Maya	Bamoa, Cubiri, Nio	562	300
Pedro Villanuño	Ocoroni, Sinaloa	160	300
Antonio de Urquiza	Oqueri	350	300
Prudencio de Meca	Cicorato, Baababurito	700	360
Gonzalo Navarro	Urea, Huytes	1000	360
Alonso Flores	Toro, Soes, Baimena	1050	360
Jacinto Cortés	Chara, Sibirioa, Maeori, El Fuerte	1360	300
Francisco Medrano	Aome, San Miguel, Mocficague	1800	300
Juan de Cuera	Santa Cruz, Etzohoa, Quirimpo	1100	300
Luis Sandoval	Naboa, Jesia, Cayaman	1000	360
Tomás Hidalgo	Raum, Potain	3500	350
Francisco Diserino	Conicari, Comayaqui, Tepaqui	1300	350
Diego de Molina	Torim, Vicam	2800	350
Antonio Tello	Bacum, Cocorim	900	350

SOURCE: ARSI, Mex. 5, fol. 104-105

As more missionaries were needed to instruct and convert more and more Indians, more money and supplies were needed by the missions. Famine relief was a major expenditure that attracted good will and potential converts. The king's stipend was insufficient so the Jesuits introduced cattle by 1620, organized farms, and engaged in commercial transactions to insure an adequate supply for themselves of clothing, chocolate, flour, tobacco, and wine. However, commercial transactions meant trouble. Local Spanish farmers accused the Jesuits of keeping Indian labor for themselves and engaging in buying and selling that was forbidden to religious institutions. Eventually, the courts decided in favor of the Society. However, when the provincial of Mexico dispatched a visitor to Sinaloa in 1664, he was not only interested in learning whether the Jesuits there actually played cards, wore their cassocks, or carried arquebuses, but whether they were making loans at 5% interest, not *whether* Jesuits had silver in their possession, but *how much* each had, and whether they were supplying Parral with cattle.²⁶⁷

The Superior General in Rome wrote several warnings about avoiding anything that smacked of business transactions. However, the Jesuits in the mission field argued for greater latitude in the acquisition of food and clothing and commerce. They were much worse off than their brethren in the colleges and they didn't hesitate to say so. Guillermo de Figueroa thought that "the missionaries live in far worse condition than those in colleges

²⁶⁷ "Instrucción secreta del P. Hernando Cabero Visitador ... 10 de noviembre 1664," ARSI, Mex. 17, fols. 301-303.

because the latter do not have to provide for themselves. The superior is there to provide everything.”²⁶⁸

The proportionately large number of Mexican-born Jesuits on the northern frontier might have had something to do with the controversy about commerce and the friction between colleges and missions. Through the seventeenth century, the proportion among Mexican-born Jesuits, foreign, and Spaniards shifted considerably.

National Origin of Sinaloa-Sonora Missionaries

Year	Total	Mexican	Foreign	Spanish
1604	8	3	1	4
1620	48	17	10	21
1638	63	32	8	23
1659	43	23	8	12
1690	76	39	17	19
1708	94	66	15	13
1740	86	48	22	16

SOURCE: ARSI. Cat. Trienn., Mex. 4, 6, 7

Mexican-born Jesuits were posted to the Northern Frontier because they were familiar with the Indian languages and they adapted more readily to regional food, clothing, and housing. They also might have been more eager to care for the indigenous Mexican. They were also more conversant with Mexican customs and mores and presumably more tolerant of the way things got done. There is no record of how Jesuits in New Spain were chosen for the frontier missions. Presumably, they were volunteers. A major criteria was facility with the Indian languages. From the late sixteenth century, language learning had been a bone of contention with the Jesuits in New Spain. Few Spaniards attempted to learn the languages because it meant that they would be destined for the missions instead of the more prestigious posts in colleges. In 1600 the catalogue of Jesuits in New Spain listed 55 Jesuits out of a total of 314 (17%) who knew Indian languages. In 1669 the Superior General in Rome ordered all Jesuits in Mexico to spend two years on the missions “with no exceptions”²⁶⁹ in order to learn the languages but nothing came of the order. This gave rise to the general feeling that the missions were for the less talented. A quick survey of the *Talenta* or Talents category applied to the Jesuits on the missions bears this out. Few were placed in the higher categories of *apta ad gubernandum* or *optimo ingenio*. Almost all were listed under average or mediocre intelligence.

Who went to the northern missions and the circumstances of his assignment affected the missionary's attitude towards the Indian.

²⁶⁸ ARSI, Mex. 17, fol. 300.

²⁶⁹ ARSI, Mex. 3, fol. 225. The third part of the *Catalogi Triennales* lists individual Jesuits, their national origins, health status, proficiency in studies, and perceived talents. Unknown is the criteria used for these judgments. Presumably the local superior had something to say about health and mental status and philosophy and theology studies were the basis for evaluation of talents. Although not altogether reliable, these assessments allow one to form some ideas about the missionaries posted to Sonora and Sinaloa.

ATTITUDES: INDIAN AND JESUIT

Decades before the Jesuits arrived in Mexico, controversy raged over the character of the American Indian. Who was he? Was he man or beast? Was he a rational being? Could his lands be expropriated? Could he be made to work and pay taxes? If he were a beast, why should he not be enslaved? Could the Indian be obliged by force to become a Christian? What type of religious instruction should he be given? Once converted, did he have a right to all the sacraments, including the priesthood? Should he be taught only grammar or Latin? Could he be left to govern himself?²⁷⁰ These questions were never fully resolved and each missionary group proceeded to evangelize according to the style and spirit that they brought with them to America.

The style and spirit of the Jesuits helped to mold their peculiar mission methodology. Between and sometimes within religious groups contradictory and conflicting ideologies rose. Sometimes the opinions held in Spain about the Indians were tempered and nuanced once the missionary arrived in America and came face to face with Indian customs and beliefs.

The Jesuits brought with them to America a high opinion of the Mexican Indian. This must have been at least partly a result of the debates in the immediate post-conquest years between Dominicans and the Spanish home government about the basic ability of the Indian.²⁷¹ The Jesuits began indirectly to form their own views of the Indian when their theologians began responding to Calvin and his follower's thinking about depraved human nature. Taking a positive view of man's nature, the influential Jesuit theologian Luis de Molina portrayed human nature as basically sound and perfectible. The first Jesuit missionary in Sinaloa, Martín Pérez, the companion of Gonzalo de Tapia, echoed Molina's view. In 1592 he spoke of the excellent nature of the Indians, their gentleness, docility and kindness: "*Gens est ingenii bonitate excellens, eaque mansuetudine ac suavitate morum.*"²⁷² This view was tempered by Tapia's death in 1594. After the killing, Jesuits relied heavily on the military might of Diego de Hurdaide to provide an iron fist of justice, retribution, and intimidation, pacification the Spaniards called it. After 1596 Jesuit missionaries were often accompanied by Indian bodyguards.

The various words used in the Annual Letters to describe the Indian demonstrate that the Jesuits perceived differences among Indian groups. The Indians of Sauceda, stated the Annual Letter of 1597, clothed themselves with a type of grass that resembled wool, "like savages do," *a manera de salvajes*.²⁷³ The fact that the writer did not call the Indians savages (*salvajes*) of course does not prove that he did not think they were. Even though it was politically correct at the time to refer to the Indian as a savage, he did not do so. However, in the same account, the writer described the missionaries going from settlement to settlement and then he corrected himself, "or rather from one wild beast's lair to another."²⁷⁴ The writer wishing to underline the difficulty and danger of the mission tried

²⁷⁰ María Paz Haro, "Religious Orders, the Indian, and the Conquest," *Encounters*, 20; and Hanke's classic, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice*.

²⁷¹ Hanke, *Aristotle and the American Indians*, examines the Dominican role in the early defense of the Indian.

²⁷² MM III: 522.

²⁷³ CA 849.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

to elicit sympathy or simply exaggerate the missionary's difficulty hoping to increase the glory he thought they deserved. While the word *salvaje* (savage) is not frequent in the Jesuit letters, *bárbaro* (barbarian) is. But the Spanish frequently used *bárbaro* as a synonym for heathen with lesser connotations of rudeness and cruelty. The words, whether *bárbaro*, *salvaje*, or *naturales*, indicate a superiority the Jesuit believed was inherent in the relationship between himself and the Indian. In Western Europe and Spain the cleric saw himself superior to the layperson. In America, this superiority was compounded by conquest and a perceived cultural superiority.

“Our principal task in Sinaloa,” stated the Annual Letter of 1615, “is to force the Indians to live within a fixed political structure because they are so wild and barbarous.”²⁷⁵ Once they were controlled, they could be evangelized. Because the Indian was sometimes enticed out of his new political world of towns and villages, taxes, labor, and churchgoing, monitored by Spanish- approved *alcaldes*, *fiscales*, and *alguaciles*, and forced to conform by soldiers and priests, he was judged weak, *pusillánimo*, was the word the Spanish used. The Indian was considered deficient because he could not long maintain a way of life imposed by the Spanish and considered by the Spanish to be the only way civilized persons should live.²⁷⁶

The Spanish Jesuits were fixated on external conformity perhaps because the persistent presence of the Spanish Inquisition in their lives had created a pattern of ritualistic observance of rules. So they demanded behavior and symbols that they felt were essential to civilized man: hair cut to the nape of the neck for men, clothes (going about naked was “*de animales*”²⁷⁷), no drunkenness, no adoring idols, but living in villages with stable authority figures, singing and dancing according to the European model, playing European musical instruments, monogamous relationships, abjuring the old religion, and living in stable agricultural communities were some of the missionary’s demands. No cultural relativists they! The college run by the Jesuits in the town of Sinaloa had as its main goal the Hispanization and Christianization of Indians who would return to their villages and act as agents of change. Among Indian groups it was common to exchange “hostages” who were reared or kept for a period of time by another group. So the Indian village of Comosipa left 11 young men in the Jesuit college as “peace hostages” “*rejenes de la paz*” where they would learn to read, write, and sing.²⁷⁸ As long as the young men remained in the college, the Indian group was friendly to and supportive of the missionaries. Not to be outshone other villages did the same. The *cacique* of Ziribotari conferred with all the other caciques and asked Capt. Hurdaide to send them the fathers, “just like the Navas and Nures peoples have.”²⁷⁹

It delighted the Jesuits to see the Indians behave like Spaniards. It affirmed their work and encouraged them to continue.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 524.

²⁷⁶ Berkhofer, “White Conceptions,” 526, on describing Indians by deficiency.

²⁷⁷ CA 174.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 666.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

“[In confession] they go into great detail about their sins just like Spaniards do.”²⁸⁰ And in the report of 1600: “It is wonderful to see the Indians in procession on Sunday and holydays with flower-decked crosses, chanting prayers as they enter the church.”²⁸¹

To the Jesuits the more the Indian appeared to be Spaniards, the more civilized they became. They distinguished two kinds of Indians. Those who were under 25 years of age were docile “like a ball of wax” who could be shaped and made into a good Christian. The other kind were composed of older Indians who were used to their drunkenness, women, freedom, wars, and murders. These, wrote Alonso de Santiago, “will never be good Christians, although many have been baptized. In general they are a treacherous and cruel people, having grown up in sin.”²⁸²

Fleeing the reorganized village life for the mountains, sometimes being pursued by Spanish soldiers and missionaries and sometimes not, full scale armed revolt such as took place among the Tarahumaras in 1626 and the Yaquis in 1740, and outbursts that spanned almost the entire period of the Jesuit presence in Sinaloa and Sonora were obviously signals of dissatisfaction and the lingering power of the indigenous religious leaders who often took advantage of the dissatisfaction to channel it into active revolt. The Jesuits saw the devil and his agents, the *bechiceros*, behind the opposition and revolts. The comments on the revolt of 1596 are typical.

“The Indians have been reduced to towns where they live in communities and are taught Christian Doctrine. They grew restless. They did not want to serve the Spaniards any more and they wished to throw off the mild yoke of the gospel. They wanted their old liberty with which they lived before as beasts with no leader neither in heaven or on earth. . . The devil incited them to revolt and they fled to the mountains and abandoned their towns and burned the churches and destroyed the statues. They even burned down their own dwellings to tell the Spaniards that they rejected this life and preferred the life of beasts in the mountains.”²⁸³

During the first decade of Jesuit proselytizing, the “old folk” were targeted as major obstacles to the spread of Christianity. They “steadfastly refuse to accept baptism, certain that death would follow.” Nevertheless, in the Annual Letter (1616) that complained about the elders' opposition, the writer noted that 1800 babies and 3332 adults had been baptized.²⁸⁴ Apparently, the younger Indian population was more convinced of the efficacy of baptism than the older. The younger won out. As the total native population decreased, ravaged by disease, famine, war, and economic dislocations, the younger segment became Hispanized (*ladinos*). In 1626 the Annual Letter reported that the Indians no longer call the *bechiceros* when they are sick. The fathers had replaced them. This might have been true of one area but certainly not all.

The Hispanization and Christianization processes continued. Fr. Juan Castini wrote in 1626:

“My Huites mission goes well. The road is now open and the church built of adobes and most of my *convento* is completed. The people of the surrounding *rancherías* have settled

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 107.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 63.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 97.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 578-79.

around the church. Good news for me is that all the surrounding peoples, the Coripas, the Achaques, the Hoisuaves and another three whose names I forget all helped to make adobes for the church. . . . I am learning the language and hopefully I can preach for a good half hour in their language.”²⁸⁵

Castini, an Italian, would spend many hours of his 24 years in Sinaloa preaching but not only to the Huites but also to the Guazapares, the Temoris, the Varohios, and the Hios. When he died in 1663, he joined a select band of Jesuits including Gonzalo de Tapia and Martín Pérez that became the models for Jesuit missionaries who would come to Sinaloa and Sonora in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Like Jogues and Brebeuf in New France, the missionary Jesuits of Mexico were able to develop an *esprit-de-corps* and a quasi cult around their martyrs and esteemed colleagues.²⁸⁶

At the risk of oversimplifying the attitudes of the hundreds of Jesuit missionaries in Sinaloa in the early years, the image that the Jesuits drew of the non-Christian Indian was one of nakedness, passion, cruelty, and incivility, a person locked in the chains of Satan's wiles. On the other hand, the Christian Indian, they thought, had emerged from paganism but only by a few steps. He was ever poised on the brink of retrogression and required constant monitoring to remain an authentic Christian. The Jesuits spoke warmly of the bonds that tied families together, whether Christian or non-Christian. Many non-baptized Indians were considered “rational” and could hold their own in discussions. However, all Indians whether Christian or pagan were distinguished from the “*gente de razón*,” the “people of reason,” the Spaniard. Once baptized, the Indian might have been the spiritual equal of the Spaniard, but never his social equal.

NEW FORMS OF OLD RITUALS

In 1623 the Jesuit report from Sinaloa proudly stated that over 101,300 souls had been baptized since they arrived. “And 70,000 more could be baptized if we had more missionaries,” the writer added.²⁸⁷ No doubt a great part of the success of the Christian missionaries was due to military conquest. The white men had even conquered the powerful Aztecs. And their priests were fearless in destroying the old gods. In Sinaloa the missionaries threw the Indian gods to the ground breaking them into pieces. The gods were silent and the white men unpunished. The old gods were dead and powerless.²⁸⁸

Daniel T. Reff recently developed one of the most solid propositions about the relative success of the Jesuit missions in Sinaloa.²⁸⁹ According to Reff, the Jesuits came onto the scene just after Indian social and economic society had been destroyed by European diseases carried north on trade routes. The Jesuits proclaimed a god who would not allow his own to suffer the consequences of disease. Baptism could cleanse the soul

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 744.

²⁸⁶ The stones on which Gonzalo de Tapia's blood fell were preserved in a box in the Jesuit college chapel in Sinaloa. His right arm with two fingers still in place was brought to the Jesuit college in Mexico City. The chapel and house that Gonzalo de Tapia constructed were preserved as a shrine. The Jesuits maintained that Tapia was killed *in odium fidei*, “out of hatred for the Catholic faith,” which would have made him eligible to be declared a martyr of the Church.

²⁸⁷ CA 699.

²⁸⁸ Wolf, *Sons of the Shaking Earth*, p. 168.

²⁸⁹ Reff, *Disease*.

and provide a protection against disease. The local *shaman* was powerless against the ravages of the *cocoliztli*, abandoning the sick and allowing his people to be punished by the Christian god who wanted their adoration. The Jesuit filled a void in Indian life by replacing the shaman as the intermediary between god and man. These were the major factors that allowed the Jesuits to convert and control in Sinaloa and Sonora.

Reff's carefully documented account of disease and the missionaries in Sinaloa and Sonora must be taken into account whenever the Jesuits on the Mexican frontier are discussed. But the social and economic motivations for conversion were not the only factors at work.

James Axtell pointed out Indian conversions in North America included a significant number moved by the attractiveness of Christianity.²⁹⁰ For many in New Spain the new religion responded to inner needs in a way that the old did not. The struggle between the adherents of the old and the new was skewed in favor of the new. The Spanish soldiers who manned the frontier garrisons guaranteed that.

Spanish weapons had conquered. The Christian missionary preached a religion that insured continued domination. The Ten Commandments, the Laws of the Church, and the Four Prayers formed the *Doctrina* that was repeated in the morning and evening in every Indian village. Respect for and obedience to authority was an essential element in the new order. Authority fused Church and State into an alliance that by a twist of logic made a revolt against the state a revolt against God. The Spanish corporate view of society made Church and State one entity although each retained separate goals.

Allowing for the psychological impact of military conquest and the decimation of Indian society by disease, other powerful factors contributed to a smooth transition to or fusion of the old and new religions. When the Christian missionary preached about a structured religious hierarchy which dictated religious truths to its members, the Indian recalled his not-too-remote past when a structured hierarchy of *shaman*, spirit world, and divine being ruled his universe. They recognized the Christian angels, saints, and even devils as the lower-region helpers that were active in their own religious world. Omens and witches were familiar to them. Catholic priests were intermediaries just as their own *shamans* had been and continued to be. Christian and Indian worshipped one major God. The Indian pantheon was similar to the Christian cult of the Saints. Recitation by rote of the *doctrina* was strikingly similar to the *shaman's* incantations. The Jesuits in Sinaloa were surprised at how quickly the Indians took to confessing their sins, unaware of a similar Indian ritual.²⁹¹ All of these similarities eased the transition to a new religion, allowing the Indian to reach back into his past and link the new with the old.

The Jesuits added other features to Indian religious life. Singing and playing musical instruments added festive notes to religious services. Processions honoring the saints were always accompanied by song and sometimes dance. The centerpiece of the *fiesta* was a religious rite performed within the framework of gaiety and celebration.

Resettlement was a feature of Jesuit evangelization that had major psychological and social consequences for the Indian. Forcible transfer was not simply moving from one site to another but the passage from the familiar to the unfamiliar. Whole villages were moved in order to facilitate instruction. Isolation from the familiar permitted easier indoctrination. The result was insecurity and increased vulnerability.

²⁹⁰ Axtell, *The European and the Indian*, pp. 73-77.

²⁹¹ See Wolf, *Sons of the Shaking Earth*, 168 ff. For other similarities.

The Jesuits directed major efforts at the *caciques* who under overall Spanish rule held political control the villages. When the *cacique* became a Christian, the members of the village soon followed. Inducements to the *cacique* were many. Preferential treatment by Spanish authorities, food supplies in time of want, a steady labor supply were some of the rewards for embracing Christianity.

However, the new religion was accompanied by violence not only on the part of Spanish soldiery but also on the part of native resisters. Indian revolts in Sonora spanned the entire Spanish colonial period.²⁹² One can infer from missionary accounts of revolts and uprisings the true cause of the dissatisfaction. Violence was directed not only at the religious agents of Christianity but also at the Spanish community at large. Cattle were killed, farms burned, wagon trains attacked in outbursts of violence. The revolt of the Tarahumaras, for example, was caused, according to the missionary, Joseph Neumann, by heavy Spanish demands, hostility to the missionaries, and the resentment of the native priests.²⁹³ The Indians attacked the entire spectrum of Spanish cultural life.

The first three decades of Jesuit evangelization on the Mexican frontier laid a foundation for an economic system of missions, mines, and agricultural labor. The frontier pushed further north as more Indians were converted to Christianity and more Indians subdued.

²⁹² Salmon, *Revolts in Northern New Spain*, esp. Chapters 1-4.

²⁹³ Luis Gonzales-R. (ed.), *Revoltes des Indiens Tarahumars (1626-1724)*, LIII-LV.

CHAPTER 4

JULÍ: UTOPIA OR THEOCRACY

The European Jesuit missionary carried with him to Peru in 1568 fixed notions about religion, God, and how a belief system linked ordinary people to the divine. In attempting to characterize Andean religion, early chroniclers tried to identify which Andean gods had been confused with the Christian hierarchy and which with the Hebrew one.²⁹⁴ By the time the Jesuits arrived, this early attempt at syncretism had been replaced by a more truculent approach. Andean gods were simply manifestations of the devil, native priests were Satan's ministers, and Huarochirí, the first Jesuit mission in the Andes, was labeled the "Cathedral of Idolatry."²⁹⁵

XULI OF THE ANDES

The first contingent of eight Jesuits arrived in Callao, the port of Lima, on March 28, 1568.²⁹⁶ By then the conquest of Peru was history, the civil wars had subsided, and royal rule was very much in evidence. The government bureaucracy was functioning, and the city of Lima, grandiosely named by Francisco Pizarro the City of Kings, was growing with each shipload of Spanish immigrants that docked in Callao. When the Jesuits arrived, the city was in the throes of one of its perennial food shortages. Lodgings were limited so the Jesuits moved in with the Dominicans until quarters of their own were arranged, as they were within a few months.

The Jesuits were supported by voluntary contributions solicited from citizens of Lima and from Spaniards living outside the city limits. Every two or three months a lay brother would be dispatched to beg alms, soliciting goods to support the eight Jesuits for a few months. He would ride in a wagon up the coast as far as Trujillo collecting wheat, cattle, pigs, and other foodstuffs. The alms missions stopped in 1581 when the Jesuits began living on fixed income.

In the immediate years after their arrival, the Jesuits placed strong emphasis on catechetical work with Indians and blacks in Lima. Each day, a group of Jesuits would leave their house walking through the streets of Lima with bell ringing and cross uplifted to attract a crowd. Nor was rural Peru neglected. In 1571 five priests and 3 brothers began evangelizing the village of Huarochirí, about 70 miles southeast of Lima, in the Andes Mountains. But the mission proved disastrous to the assigned personnel; two priests died and the health of two others was broken. Huarochirí was abandoned. The Jesuits changed the thrust of their work from rural missions and work with Indians to urban-centered education emanating from colleges.

Two reasons account for the change. For one, the Jesuits divided the Viceroyalty of Peru into four zones: the New Kingdom of Granada and Quito was one zone, Charcas another, Chile a third, and Peru, the central part of the Viceroyalty, was the fourth zone. The

²⁹⁴ Pease, *La cultura*, 216.

²⁹⁵ Spalding, *Huarochirí*, is a comprehensive account of the evolution of the village from pre-Inca through the Spanish colonial period. MacCormac, *Religion in the Andes*.

²⁹⁶ MP, I, 134.

Jesuits of Peru were left with the area from Trujillo to Arequipa, a coastal zone with a heavy concentration of Spaniards. A second reason why they concentrated on colleges was that two extremely influential members of the orders thought that they should not commit themselves so heavily to mission work. José de Acosta, the scholarly author of *De procuranda indorum salute* (1576), who was the Jesuit provincial superior in Peru from 1576 to 1581 bitterly criticized the Jesuit province as a whole for permitting so many of its men to tramp around as “holy vagabonds.” Acosta wrote that if the Jesuits were going to make a lasting contribution to the church in Peru, it would be through scholarship and schools. Otherwise, he wrote, the Jesuit province would become a province of idiots. His colleague, Diego Alvarez de Paz, agreed. In a letter of 1601 to the Jesuit Superior General in Rome, he wrote that Peru needed good administrators, learned men with academic degrees, and excellent preachers. Such men were not nurtured, he continued, by wandering through the mountains in search of Indians but in the silence of their studies.²⁹⁷

After 1600 colleges became the major Jesuit apostolate in Peru where students learned Latin, philosophy, theology, and literature. Missions to the Indians and parish work became a secondary activity of a relatively small group of Jesuits. Through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the number of Jesuits and their colleges steadily increased from 282 Jesuits with eight colleges in 1601 to 542 Jesuits with fifteen colleges in 1754.

One notable exception to the emphasis on colleges was the mission of Julí, a village on the wind-swept Andean Altiplano, the High Plateau 12,500 ft. above sea level, 15 degrees latitude south of the equator, 180 mi. southeast of Cuzco on the shores of Lake Titicaca. Here the Jesuits established what was to be their only exclusively Indian mission in the Andes. It began in 1576 and was relinquished only at their expulsion from Peru in 1767.²⁹⁸

The year the Jesuits arrived in Peru, Garcí Diez de San Miguel, a government official, wrote to Philip II asking that Jesuits be sent to Julí on Lake Titicaca.²⁹⁹ Julí had been a thriving village before the Spaniards arrived and it was still the most populous village in the province of Chucuito. Potatoes was its major crop although by the end of the sixteenth century their scarcity was being blamed on the coldness of the region rather than on the loss of the pre-Inca technology that enabled the Amayara to grow bumper potato crops. They had used raised fields called *Suka Kolas*, earth platforms about 10 and 20 ft. in width, 300 feet long. During the day the canals filled with water captured the sunlight and when the temperature dropped at night, the waters in the canals formed a mist over the fields like a warming blanket. The water was drawn up into the soil platform heating the roots of the tubers. This technology had been abandoned, possibly for lack of workers who were resettled or taken away by the Incas who ruled the region from 1438 to 1532. According to Diez de San Miguel who wrote around 1567, the people of Julí were not being properly evangelized.

The future Jesuit mission in Julí was far from Lima but it was a key crossroads town linking the flourishing silver mine of Potosí in modern Bolivia with Cuzco and the port city of Lima. Julí would be a key supplier of Indian laborers.

From June to September the hills surrounding Lake Titicaca turn a desiccated brown. No grass grows so llama and vicuña pastures are distant. Lake fish are not abundant. Firewood is scarce. In January steady rains begin to fall but die out by April. Nights are

²⁹⁷ Mateos, *Historia General*, I, 46; Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía*, IV, 545-46.

²⁹⁸ Two major studies of Julí are Nieto Vélez, “Jesuitas en el mundo andino,” and Echánove, “Origen y evolución.” Both show that Julí influenced how the Jesuits would proceed in their mission work in America for the next 190 years.

²⁹⁹ MP. I, Doc. 52.

bitterly cold. Despite the harsh living conditions the Aymara Indians in 1576 numbered about 15,000 souls.³⁰⁰ It was this large Indian population that attracted the Jesuits to the area.

In October 1576 the Jesuits of Peru gathered in Cuzco to hold their first Provincial Congregation. They decided to accept Julí as their first purely Indian ministry. Several reasons were behind the choice. For one, the government pressured them to choose some form of Indian parish ministry. After leaving Huarochirí, the Jesuits returned to Lima and began to work with the Indians in *Cercado*. They even put up a mud wall around the place to keep Spaniards out; hence, the name *Cercado*, or walled-in area. But soon the Jesuits put a novitiate there, then a school for the sons of Indian *kurakas* called the *Colegio del Príncipe*, then the Casa de Santa Cruz, a prison for recalcitrant *bechiceros*, both priests and “idol worshipers”; and then the Jesuits located in *Cercado* the house of Final Formation for Jesuit priests called the Tertianship, all by 1576. *Cercado* had ceased to be primarily a ministry to the Indians. Both the Viceroy of Peru, Francisco de Toledo, supported by Philip II, insisted that the Jesuits take up a purely Indian ministry in the Andes. And both Jesuits and Viceroy Toledo chose Julí.³⁰¹

The Spanish government considered the Indians of Julí as different. They were Crown Indians, which meant that no Spanish *encomendero* could collect taxes from them or recruit them for labor. Francisco de Toledo's regulations for the organization of towns, designed to make evangelization and tax collecting more efficient, ordered the resettlement of Indians from smaller, isolated villages into larger, more populated towns. Villages around Julí were grouped into settlements and Julí itself was to have a church, the priest's residence, municipality, and jail.³⁰² The Jesuits added their own spin to Toledo's regulations. Julí was declared an Indian town, a *pueblo de los Indios*, which meant that no Spaniard other than missionary could live there. The anonymous Jesuit chronicler who wrote about Julí in 1600 listed five reasons for keeping Spaniards, the *polilla de los indios* (the parasites of the Indians) he called them, away from the Indians: they take Indians away from their farms, steal their property, abscond with wives and daughters, cheat the Indians, sell them bad wine, rotten coca, and putrid flour for drunken orgies. The Jesuits would also prevent Indian governors from drafting Indians for labor, and they would reduce the number of Indians taken for the mines of Potosí. The mine, said the chronicler, was the killer and graveyard of Peru.³⁰³

Allowing for the self-serving nature of the chronicler's statements, they have a ring of truth to them. But in preventing other Spaniards from living in Julí, the Jesuits were accused of exploiting the native population for their own benefit.³⁰⁴ Were the white conquerors simply squabbling over the spoils of conquest?

In 1576 the Jesuits found in Julí a typical Andean village. During the reign of the Incas in the 14th century, all of the Aymara hilltop villages on the western lake shore were resettled to form the six *cabecera* sites of which Julí was the largest. The nearby raised field-complexes were abandoned.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁰ Rector of the *Doctrina* of Xuli to Juan de la Plaza, 1 Aug. 1576, MP, II, 356.

³⁰¹ José de Acosta's report of 1577, ARSI, Peru 12, fol. 21.

³⁰² Toledo's regulations are outlined in Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú*, 4, 48-208.

³⁰³ Mateos, *Historia General*, 407.

³⁰⁴ The chronicler acknowledges the rumors of exploitation. *Murmurado no poco* is the phrase he uses to describe the resentment. *Ibid.*, 407.

³⁰⁵ Stanish et al., *Archaeological Survey*, gives detailed raised-field sites near Julí. The survey also summarizes the ethno-historical research done on the region.

The houses in Julí were in an orthogonal grid pattern with thatched roofs and mud walls. The fields where the potatoes grew were within walking distance but the pasturage for the llamas and alpacas was further away. Recently discovered ridged fields indicate that the Lake Titicaca basin had sustained a population much larger than what the Jesuits found in 1576.³⁰⁶ But by the time they arrived, a massive population decline was occurring. In 1567 Garci Diez de San Miguel estimated the total Aymara population around Lake Titicaca to be 117,230 souls, down 59% from the population in pre-Spanish times. It would decline even further. By 1620 the population had fallen another 39%.³⁰⁷ Old World pathogens, population displacement, death in the Potosí mines (what the anonymous chronicler called the graveyard of Peru) and fleeing mine work in Potosí, all contributed to the decline.³⁰⁸

In an Andean society in disarray, the Jesuits set about establishing a new order of political and religious priorities.

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS STRUCTURES

The height, size, and decorative quality of the Jesuit structures in Julí stood out in a village landscape formed for the most part of one-story homes. The high Inca fortification walls and the Lupaqa burial towers had been dismantled and even the Inca buildings on the Island of the Moon were disassembled and their masonry blocks were used for the church construction in Julí.³⁰⁹ The church design was simple but the interiors were filled with statues and paintings designed in part to astound and instruct the populace. In Latin America in general, one function of Jesuit rural churches, residences, and hacienda structures was that of a “power house,” a show case, an image maker displaying concrete evidence of power, the Church Militant and Triumphant. The structures may not have been seen as such by the Jesuits themselves, but they were so interpreted by Spanish settlers and Indians.³¹⁰

In Julí the large church, the Jesuit residence, and a hospital conveyed the idea of both permanence and strength. The conquerors and their religion were there to stay. In Mexico the Spaniards constructed their Cathedral on top of the old Aztec temple, and not by chance. The symbolism was not lost on the Indians. The physical edifice illustrated the replacement of the old religion by the new. *Mutatis mutandis*, the same psychology was at work in the Andes.

The Jesuits occupied the old Dominican church in the center of Julí. The houses in Julí were small, with rectangular rooms, gabled roofs thatched with straw supported by wooden posts, with an opening for smoke and ventilation.³¹¹ Closeby the church was the hospital with two wards. In both were beds with mattresses and blankets for sick Indians. A separate room housed Spaniards. The Jesuit chronicler wrote in 1600 that hospitals in Peru were commonly

³⁰⁶ Smith, Denevan, *Antiguos Campos de Camellones*, 36-41; Stanish et al, *Archaeological Survey*, Fig. 31.

³⁰⁷ Smith, Denevan, *Ibid.*, 44; Vásquez de Espinosa, *Compendio*, 474.

³⁰⁸ Cook, *Demographic Collapse*.

³⁰⁹ Hyslop, *Inka Settlement Planning*, 287.

³¹⁰ See Cushner, *Jesuit Ranches*, 32-33, for a discussion of the function and consequences of large structures on the Latin American landscape.

³¹¹ Mason, *Ancient Civilizations of Peru*, 69-70.

called “Death Houses” and Indians never wanted to enter them. Julí, he wrote, was different. They actually asked to be admitted and they left cured!³¹²

Not so in 1604. A killer epidemic called the *tabardillo*, probably spotted fever, swept through Julí.³¹³ The Jesuit report for that year said that not one Indian home was spared. The hospital was filled to capacity so the Jesuits visited the sick in their homes and buried the dead. The Indian must have wondered why the Europeans were not affected by the illness. The hospital had medicine, preserves, and what was considered necessary to care for the sick.³¹⁴ But neither Indian nor Jesuit knew that anti-bodies were present in the European immune system that had not yet developed in the Indian. However, the obvious reason why the Jesuits did not succumb was the strength of their God and their religion, a powerful incentive to conversion used effectively in Mexico.³¹⁵

The church and the hospital represented two traditional activities of the Jesuits in the New World. The church became a focal point for Indian socio-religious activity just as the *huaca*, the plaza and the *kalanka* had been in pre-Colombian times. Modern archaeologists have identified the not-so-haphazard configuration of houses in pre-colonial Julí.³¹⁶ The plaza that was a center of commercial activity in Inca times remained so during the Spanish colonial period. The orthogonal grid pattern remained. The large main church erected before 1576 when the Dominicans were in Julí faced Lake Titicaca and in front of it was the large plaza where buying and selling vegetables, coca, llamas and vicuñas took place. The town was heavily populated since Jul had the densest Indian population in the region during the Inca period. Why is still a mystery. Perhaps because Julí was on the main Inca road, or because it was one of the seven equidistant Lupaqa towns, called the *Lupaqa cabeseras*. The Indians were used to gathering in the plaza so on Sundays and holydays a Jesuit would preach there. José de Acosta said that at fiesta time 9,000 Indians would gather in the plaza to hear sermons, watch the dancing, and listen to the music. They also came for food.

The distribution of food as alms, called a *limosna*, became a standard practice outside of the Jesuit church in Julí. In 1597 food was distributed only on Sunday but by 1599 it was distributed daily. In 1599 a total of 2,000 pesos was spent for food for the poor throughout the year. By 1603 this sum had risen to 5,000 pesos a year.³¹⁷ Each week about 150 lbs. of meat was doled out and many llamas (which the reports call (*carneros*) were distributed to the Indians going to work in the mine of Potosí.³¹⁸ Recipients of corn, potatoes, and meat were not only from Julí but those passing through, the *pasajeros*. In 1597 so many requested assistance from the Jesuits that one of the fathers was appointed to be the *limosnero*, the almsgiver, and a list of 350 Indians requesting food was compiled. The corn and *chuno* was distributed in proportion to the size of the family.³¹⁹ A large storehouse was constructed sometime before 1600 in which corn, potatoes, and some vegetables were stocked to provide Indians with food in case of severe shortages or actual famine.

³¹² Mateos, *Historia General*, 409.

³¹³ The account of the epidemic is in the Jesuit Annual Letter of 1604, ARSI, Peru 12, fol. 337.

³¹⁴ ARSI, Peru 13, fol. 112.

³¹⁵ Reff, *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change*.

³¹⁶ Hyslop, *Inka Roads*, 133-34.

³¹⁷ ARSI, Peru 12, fol. 286. This sum represents food, clothing, and specie distributed in 1603.

³¹⁸ MP, VI, 717.

³¹⁹ ARSI, Peru 12, 136-37.

The reason for the inability of the native Americans to support themselves was laid at the doorstep of the Indians themselves. “A great lack of food,” and “Indian poverty” was never explained. The disruptions of the region's economic life, the shift to a partial wage-earning economy, loss of lands, and destruction of traditional economic structures, were not mentioned in the Jesuit reports. Out of a total of around 9,000 Indians in Julí, at least 12% could not feed themselves. The ridged fields that had supported a larger Indian population had disappeared before the arrival of the Spaniards, even before the Incas arrived on the scene in the 1400s. The Aymara population that the Incas had massed at Julí entered an economic wilderness when Inca domination ceased. The food shortage helped to enhance the reputation of the Jesuit missionaries who fed the hungry. “What shines in the eyes of all and what the Indians hold dear, is the frequent and massive alms that the fathers of Julí give to the Indians,” wrote the anonymous chronicler in 1600.³²⁰

The church building was intended to replace the Indian shrine, the *huaca*, the key element in the socio-religious lives of the Aymara. Associated with the church were activities designed to demonstrate adherence to the new religion. In Julí the Jesuits ran four parishes, Santo Tomás, the largest, San Juan Bautista, San Pedro, and Nuestra Señora. On Sundays one of the priests would preach a sermon in the church. The church was also the scene of large gatherings of Indian children learning prayers and catechism. Singing lessons for the church choirs and instruction in musical instruments took place in the afternoon.³²¹ In 1579 upwards of 300 sons of *kurakas* and native nobles studied reading and writing in the church school.³²²

Just as the church structure was supposed to replace the *huaca*, so the hospital was designed to undercut the powers of the *yañca* or native priest. Illnesses were attended to in the hospital not by extricating the spirits within the body that caused them but by personal care, medicine, and special foods. The killer epidemic of 1589-1590 was especially devastating. Smallpox (*viruelas*) and measles (*serampión*) swept through Quito, the Peruvian coastal valleys, and the highlands. The government in Lima urged *encomenderos* to give Indians sugar, raisins, oil, and barley to strengthen their bodies. The sick were to be isolated in churches and hospitals. The non-feverish ill were to be fed lamb, chicken, goat, vegetables; the feverish were allowed only barley, sugar, raisins, and vegetables, but no meat. Bloodletting was to be performed three or four times daily. Those recovering could have meat, wine, cold water, and *chicha*. But they were to be kept out of drafts and away from the wind. Sores in the throat were to be swabbed with a mixture of vinegar, sugar, and barley. The clothes of the infected were burned or cleaned in boiling water.³²³

These weapons were in themselves useless against killer epidemic disease but when attached to personal care they were effective. Reff has shown that victims of epidemics in sixteenth-century Northern Mexico had significantly higher survival rates if given basic

³²⁰ Mateos. *Historia General*, 409.

³²¹ In 1603 the Annual Letter mentioned the excellent music heard in the churches of Julí. Instruction was given in two instruments. One instrument mentioned was the *vigueta de arco*, an oval-shaped instrument with five cords played with a bow. A second instrument was the *orlos*, which was similar to an oboe. ARSI, Peru 12, f. 286.

³²² MP, II, 624-25; III, 96-97; also the Annual Letter of 1597 written by Pablo José de Arriaga, ARSI, Peru 12, fols. 136-37.

³²³ *Cédula* of July 19, 1589, Lilly Library (Bloomington, IN), Latin American Manuscripts, Peru, Box 1581-1589; see the list of Peruvian epidemics spanning the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Cook, *Demographic Collapse*, 60-61.

personal care.³²⁴ The sight of the Jesuits in Juli visiting the homes of the sick and caring for the ill in the hospital helped to solidify the Indian concept of the missionary as possessor of authority over sickness. He was a person of service as well as power.

The central rite of the Roman Catholic Church was the Mass during which the celebrant priest was clothed in colorful garments and accoutrements, moved left and right and around the altar almost as if performing a ritualized dance, and he employed a mysterious, unintelligible language. The rite occurred within the church confines, within the sacred space dedicated to sacred activities. Devotions, prayers, and instruction also took place within this space. The Spanish missionaries attempted to transfer the focus of religious activity to a physical structure symbolizing the divine among humankind.

What resonated deeply among the Aymara of Juli was the formation of elite groups within the parish body. The Jesuits created in Juli *cofradías*, loosely translated as “Religious Brotherhoods.” They were sometimes called *congregaciones*. Just as the Indian could relate to a sacred space, a ritualized religious service, mystically endowed words, and an elite group of priests having close ties to the divine, so too the Aymara could resonate with the formation of groups made up of elite members of the new religion. Becoming a member of a *cofradía* was a way of separating oneself from the ordinary parishioner, a way to acquire prestige that may not have been available under the old social organization, and a means of acquiring social ranking in association with the conquerors. A great deal of rivalry existed over admission to and participation in *cofradía* activity.

The Jesuits in Juli established three *cofradías* by 1597. One *Sacramento* was called the *Nombre de Jesús*, another the *Santísimo* and a third *Nuestra Señora*. By 1604 the *Nombre de Jesús* group had 600 members and was ordinarily referred to as the *Cofradía de los Caciques*. Each group had a distinct pious function. The *Cofradía del Nombre de Jesús*, considered the most pious, emphasized frequent communion, which meant receiving communion at least once every two or three months. Each *cofradía* met monthly as a group, worshipped as a group on specific days, and walked together in religious processions with wax candle in hand.³²⁵ A *cofradía* assisted in the distribution of food on Sundays and another visited the sick in hospitals. Being a member of a *cofradía* was a distinction that grew into a mark of honor. Indians who were not members of *cofradías*, stated the Annual Letter of 1610, were not considered reputable, nor were they thought highly of.³²⁶

The *cofradía* was a European-inspired institution used by the Jesuits throughout Latin America to unify disparate groups within a parish. A secondary effect was to ease the transition from the Indian to the European religious system. They were mechanisms drawing the Indian into a colonial system possessing recognizable features that the Indian could relate to and accept.

The Jesuits used the residence of Juli as a language school. It was here that the newly-arrived priest or brother would spend several months mastering Quechua or Aymara before being permitted to minister to the Indians, whether in colleges along the coast or permanently in Juli. The grammar text used in Juli for learning Aymara was Luis Bertonio's *Vocabulario de la Lengua Aymara* [612]³²⁷ By 1600 the Jesuit superiors in Lima realized that living in colleges and dealing only with Spaniards, whether Jesuit or lay, made learning the native languages difficult.

³²⁴Reff, *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change*, 243.

³²⁵ See the account of *cofradía* activity in ARSI, Peru 12, f. 337.

³²⁶ ARSI, Peru 13, f. 112.

³²⁷ MP. II, 619; III, 97.

In Juli those learning languages were focused solely on that task. The goal was to be able to preach, hear confessions, and converse in understandable Quechua or Aymara. The writer of the anonymous report of 1600 said that “with moderate application and no great talent for languages, one can acquire a speaking knowledge of Aymara or Quechua in a few months.”³²⁸

Julí of the Andes functioned as Jesuit residence, language school, parish, and experimental mission station. The European missionaries applied a vertical approach to their activity. Social work, religious indoctrination, contact with Indians, as well as the Indians' political and economic lives were influenced wholly or in part by the missionary. However, the European agent of religious change faced a major obstacle when he tried to eradicate the traditional Andean religion from the lives of the Aymara. Try as they might, their gods just wouldn't go away.

DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA

The gauge by which the Jesuit missionaries in Julí measured whether the Indians were progressing towards the formation of a true Christian community was their knowledge, understanding, and application of the *Doctrina Christiana*. The *Doctrina* was a compendium of the Roman Catholic belief system. The tome which contained these essential tenets of the Roman Catholic Church became the most useful handbook of the European missionary.

In 1539 a printing press in Mexico turned out the first printed copy of the *Doctrina*. In 1557 Goa produced one for the Portuguese missionaries in India, and in 1584 the printing house of the Hernandez Brothers in Lima, Peru, published a *Doctrina Christiana y Catecismo para Instrucción de los Indios*.³²⁹ The *Doctrina* was a bi-lingual text, with Spanish and an indigenous language side-by-side. Aymara was the Indian language of the 1584 Lima edition.

When Fr. Pablo José de Arriaga wrote the Annual Letter from Lima in 1597, he emphasized that the “*doctrina y catechismo*” were explained every afternoon in Julí.³³⁰ Arriaga could have been referring to the book “*Doctrina y Catechismo*,” or possibly he was making the distinction between the Prayers-Articles of Faith-Commandments-Sacraments-Sins-Works of Charity section of the book and that part containing Questions and Answers, like the “old fashioned” Baltimore Catechism used for decades by American Catholics. Whichever he meant, one was not considered of less importance than the other. Each part was memorized, repeated, and recited again and again. Repetition was considered the key to learning. The Anonymous chronicler of the Jesuits in Julí even wrote that the Indians of Julí knew more intricate theological points than many European theologians. “Rare is the Indian in Julí,” continued the chronicler, “who does not know his prayers, catechism, and mysteries of the faith.”³³¹

What were these prayers and mysteries that were considered essential? Did they resonate with the Indian of Julí, and if so, why?

³²⁸ Mateos, *Historia General*, 401.

³²⁹ Toribio Medina, *La imprenta en Lima*, 3.

³³⁰ ARSI, Peru 12, fol. 136. Arriaga also uses in his letter the term *doctrina* as a place, roughly equivalent to the modern term “parish.” The word *doctrina* used as a place conveyed different meanings in the Spanish colonial missionary world. In the Philippines, for example, a *doctrina* was a remote Christian village having no resident priest.

³³¹ Mateos, *Historia General*, 406.

The *Doctrina Christiana* was divided into prayers, articles of belief, and Question and Answer. The first prayer learned by the Indian was the “Our Father,” the *Padre Nuestro*. According to the Christian priests, the Creator God was the source of all life on earth, and he possessed all the attributes of a father. He loved, cared for, and nourished what he brought into existence. Just as *Tuñupa* gave life to the dry earth by sending the rains, so the Creator God of the Europeans was the origin of all living things.³³² He dwelt where the divinities lived, in the sky. From here came the commands when to plant, when to harvest, when to begin the rituals.³³³ It was natural that the Creator God dwelt there. The Andean could understand and accept that honor and homage should be paid him. He ruled and his will was supreme. The Creator God sent the rains that provided the maize and papas, he “daily bread.” Forgiveness for failure to do his will came only from him and only he could provide the strength to overcome evil. All of the major theological elements in the “Our Father” found a comfortable acceptance in the Andean mind.

The second and third prayers taught to the Indian honored Mary who had taken a prominent place in Spanish Catholicism from the Early Middle Ages. The “Hail Mary” and *Salve Regina* placed the Virgin Mary in the position of mediator between the Creator God and Man. Andean anthropomorphism allowed their divinities to take human form so the function of an intermediary through whom God becomes human was not illogical. In these two popular prayers

Mary is invoked as the advocate, the champion, the supporter. The Spanish translation of the Latin word *advocata* was *abogada*, lawyer. The Aymara word used was *taluma* or one who fights for another. In the popular mind, Mary became a goddess with power to influence the Creator God.

Following the “Hail Mary” was the Creed, a statement of belief epitomizing the wide range of Christian dogma. For the Indians of Juli, the notion of God taking a human form, as emphasized in the Creed, dying at the hands of other humans, then rising from the dead was a magnificent story that paralleled their own notions of a god become man. All the missionary added was the idea of the necessity in believing in the “Holy Catholic Faith” which the Creed proclaimed. The Forgiveness of Transgressions through Confession was also part of the Indian's ancient belief system, as was the promise of another life in another world. The Christian Creed reinforced some very old ideas.

Next came the Articles of Faith, fourteen terse statements reiterating what was contained in the basic prayers and Creed. Seven belonged to the Divinity of God, and seven to Christ's humanity.

1. There is only one All-powerful God.
 2. The Father is God.
 3. The Son is God.
 4. The Holy Spirit is God.
 5. God is the Creator.
 6. He is the Savior.
 7. He is the glorifier.
1. Christ was conceived by the work of the Holy Spirit.

³³² Castelli, “*Tuñupa: divinidad del altiplano*,” 202.

³³³ Urton, *At the Crossroads of the Earth and the Sky*.

2. Christ was born from the virginal womb of Mary, who was a virgin before, during, and after Christ's birth.

3. Christ suffered and died to save us sinners.

4. After dying, he descended into Hell where he claimed the souls of the holy fathers who were awaiting his coming.

5. After three days Christ rose from the dead.

6. Christ rose into the heavens and sat at the right side of God the Father, All-powerful.

7. He will come again to judge the living and the dead; the good will enjoy his glory because they kept his commandments, the bad will suffer because they did not keep his commandments. Amen.

The Articles of the Faith were alternate ways of expressing concepts about God's interaction with the human race that were already contained in the prayers that the Indian had learned.

The Ten Commandments were followed by the five commandments of the Church, theoretically the logical consequence of the former. The Church Commandments enjoined the Indian to attend Mass on Sundays and on Feast Days, to go to confession once a year, to receive communion during the Easter season, and to fast at the appointed times, and to pay tithes.

The Seven Sacraments were part of the essential elements of Roman Catholic belief, essential because they were the ordinary vehicles through which God worked to sanctify the Indian. Matrimony caused the Jesuits the most problems. Polygyny among the ruling class of Indian society had been common, incest not uncommon, so the European missionaries saw their task as one of inculcating the notion that Christ instituted marriage between two adults and relations outside of marriage were forbidden, daunting tasks.³³⁴ The ideas of Confession and Communion were easily embraced because a type of Confession was already practiced and the idea of consuming God in the form of bread was a step beyond offerings of *chicha* and coca to the *wacas*. The Christian sacrament of Holy Orders was perfectly acceptable to a people used to a ranked clergy caring for the major temples in Cuzco and who were used to lesser ranked priests who made divinations, presided over sacrifices, and cured the ill.

Following the Seven Sacraments in the *Doctrina Christiana* were the "Works of Mercy," both corporal and spiritual. Visiting the sick, feeding the hungry, and giving drink to the thirsty made sense, but redeeming captives probably didn't. Clothing the naked, housing the pilgrim, and burying the dead were recommendations that required explanations.³³⁵

The confession, *La Confesión*, of having committed sin by thought, word, and deed before God, the Virgin, the Saints, and all mankind was the last of the prayers required to be learned by the neophyte. In this prayer, an acknowledgement is made that sin has both spiritual and social consequences, that not only is God offended but in some way the Christian body is affected as well. They are asked to intercede before God in behalf of the penitent.

Catechism questions and answers conclude the *Doctrina Christiana*. These summarize the beliefs contained in the *Doctrina*.

³³⁴ See the remarks of Cobo on marriage and relationships in *Inca Religion and Customs*, 204-10.

³³⁵ A number of these Works of Mercy became specific obligations assumed by *cofradías*.

“Q. Are you a Christian? A. Yes, by the mercy of God.

Q. Who is a Christian? A. A baptized person who believes what God and Holy Mother Church teaches.

Q. What is the sign of a Christian? A. The Holy Cross.

Q. Whom do Christians adore? A. Our Lord God.

Q. Who is God? A. The first cause; the beginning of all things; He who made all things, and He who has neither beginning nor end.

Q. How many Gods are there? A. Only one God.

Q. How many persons? A. Three.

Q. Who is the First Person? A. God the Father.

Q. Who is the Second? A. God the Son.

Q. Who is the Third? A. God the Holy Spirit.

Q. Are there three Gods? A. There are not three Gods. The persons are three, and only one God.

Q. Which of the three became a man? A. The Second person, the Son.

Q. How did he become a man? A. Through the work of the Holy Spirit in the womb of Holy Mary, a virgin before and after the birth.

Q. Why did he become a man? A. To free all men from their sins.

Q. What were the sins of men? A. The sins of our first parents, Adam and Eve, and the sins we commit daily.

Q. How did he free mankind? A. He died on the cross and took upon himself the sins of all mankind.

Q. After his death, what did the soul of Jesus Christ do? A. The soul and the divinity descended to Hell and took up to heaven the souls of the Holy Fathers who were awaiting his coming.

Q. Was the body of Jesus Christ buried? A. Yes.

A. Did it rise? A. Yes.

Q. When? A. On the third day after his death.

Q. Did Our Lord Jesus Christ remain on earth? A. No. After 40 days he rose up to heaven and is seated at the right hand of the father almighty.

Q. What role does he have in Heaven? A. The most advantageous of all.

Q. Will he one day judge the living and the dead? A. Yes.

Q. When? A. We do not know.

Q. Does man's soul perish with death? A. The soul does not die with the body as takes place with other animals. Only the body dies and the soul lives forever.

Q. Do good and bad come to live again? A. They do and the body is joined with the soul to be judged by Christ Our Lord.

Q. After the final resurrection of the body, will they die again? A. No.

Q. What will God give to the good as their reward? A. The glory of heaven to enjoy forever.

Q. What punishment will God give the bad? A. He will condemn them to hell to suffer pains forever.

Q. What is the Holy Church? A. The Church is made up of all Christians who believe in God, together with their head Jesus Christ who is in heaven, and his vicar on earth the Pope in Rome.

Q. In this Holy Church are there things that take away sins? A. Yes.

Q. What are they? A. Baptism and Confession if one is truly repentant and desires never to sin again.

Q. In this Holy Church is there the Communion of Saints? A. Yes.

Q. What is the Communion of Saints? A. The participation of good Christians in good works and the sacraments.

Q. Who is in the host that the priest raises up at Mass for adoration? A. Jesus Christ Our Lord God and true man as he is in heaven.

Q. Who is in the chalice? A. The true blood of Jesus Christ that he shed on the cross.

Q. What does the Christian have to do to be saved? A. The Christian has to observe the Ten Commandments of God and those of Holy Mother Church.”

The *Doctrina Christiana* was the most useful weapon in the quiver of the European missionary. Putting its contents to memory was an obligation that fell to each member of the Indian community. Its repetition proved to the Jesuits in Julí that the Christian was indeed serious about his or her new religion. Reciting Christian Doctrine, however, was the first step. The number of communions taken, the number of confessions heard, the number of baptisms and marriages performed, as well as the activity of the *cofradías* in visiting the sick and burying the dead were meticulously recorded yearly as a measure of the increased religiosity of the parishes in Julí.

The Jesuit missionaries emphasized the elements of Christianity that resonated with the Aymara. Confession, the cult of the saints, the power of God the Father, Mary the Intercessor, the mysterious rites of the sacraments, the hierarchy of the Christian priesthood, God become Man through a virgin, were marvelous stories that the Indian in some form was already acquainted with. The missionary decorated the central sites of worship with statues and iconography that the Indian could relate to. The churches in Julí were complete with transepts while the ceilings and walls were splashed with color.³³⁶ The Indian like the Spaniard preferred the concrete to the abstract. Not too much concern was given to explaining the nature of the Trinity. Instead, the Virgin Mary, the suffering Christ, and the All-Powerful father became central religious realities for the Indian. The prominent and highest position in each church was awarded to the guardian saint who watched over the parish and was honored at fiesta time. The music, dances, incense, incantations, prayers, petitions, and sacramental rites were what the missionaries selected from the *Doctrina Christiana* as religious essentials.

³³⁶ ARSI, Peru 12, fol. 337v.

“THE DEVIL HAS PERSUADED THEM . . .”

A major theme of the Jesuit missionaries who staffed Juli through the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the pervasiveness of the Devil working through native priests and practitioners of traditional Andean religion. The Jesuits threw up their hands in frustration in their first mission station in the Andes, Huarochirí, calling the place the “Cathedral of Idolatry.” It was assumed that before they could plant the seed of Christianity, they had to eradicate the traditional religious system. But what the missionaries saw happening, and this was a cause of intense frustration, was an acceptance of Christian rites and rituals as coherent with the old beliefs. “They say that Jesus Christ is God, but *Tuñupa* is God also,” reported the Jesuit provincial in 1603.³³⁷ What the Indian saw as a tolerant acceptance of the White Man's god was unacceptable to the European. The early missionaries viewed the systematic destruction of the old religion as an essential prerequisite in the process of Christianization.³³⁸

The Jesuit reports from Juli at this time distinguish between the practitioners, the priests, the fortune tellers, the herbalists, the held beliefs, the sacred places of worship, and the things worshipped of the Andean peoples around Juli. Each was assigned a proportionate share of blame for keeping the “poor Indian” in the realm of ignorance. The bits and pieces about Andean religion written by the Europeans in Juli coincide with the fuller analyses written by contemporaries.³³⁹

The Andean creation stories, divine and supernatural beings, and sacred objects, had a tantalizing affinity to the Christian pantheon of Gods, saints, and what theologians called sacramentals.

In Juli the Indians believed that initially a profound darkness existed. Out of this darkness emerged *Pucica'ka*³⁴⁰ who created the heavens and the earth. He was the Creator God, the *Dios Creador*, all-powerful, making the light, the sun, the heavens, land, mankind, and all visible things. The sun envied the moon's beauty and threw ashes at her to disfigure her. *Pucica'ka* married Iqui and without sleeping with her, she conceived and bore a son from him whose name was *Tuñapa*. At his command the hills and mountains became level. He dried rivers. The animals and beasts obeyed him. When the Indians saw some great deed or achievement, they said: “It is the work of *Tuñapa*.”³⁴¹

The Creator God was associated with Lake Titicaca from which he emerged. He disappeared and reappeared only when humanity sinned against him. The Creator God destroyed humanity turning human beings into stone. The forms of Tiawanaco were the models for a “New Humanity” which the Creator God drew from the soil.

The Creator God lived in the heavens, appeared in times of crisis as a hero, and even appeared on earth as a poor beggar. However, *Pucica'ka* left the governance of the world to the

³³⁷ Rodrigo de Cabredo in Annual Letter of 1603, ARSI, Peru 12, fol 287.

³³⁸ Borges, “La extirpación de Idolatría,” 193.

³³⁹ Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire*; Arriaga, *La extirpación*; Avendaño, *Sermones*; and Salomon (ed.) *The Huarochirí Manuscript* are contemporary sources. Rowe, *Inca Culture*, Duviols, *La lutte*, Marzal, *Estudios*, Pease, *El Dios creador andino*, and Mariscotti de Górlitz, “Pachamama,” are a few of the more recent studies.

³⁴⁰ Different regions had different names for the Creator God. Wiracocha and Pariacaca were common names of the Creator God in other accounts.

³⁴¹ This account of native religious beliefs was written by the Jesuit provincial, Rodrigo de Cabredo, in 1603. In all probability he compiled the account from reports sent to him by Jesuit missionaries in Juli. ARSI, Peru 12, fol. 287.

supernatural assistants he had created. The earth, the sun, the moon, the, *huacas* were sacred. Periodic destruction renewed the universe and a cycle of creations assured the renewal of the earth.³⁴² Although variations of the Creator God's name and actions existed, the coastal people called him Pachacamac, no variation existed about his creative activity. He was the source of all creation. He had no beginning, no end, and would exist forever.³⁴³

The Jesuit missionaries in Julí attempted to impose their own concept of a Creator God. In Christian theology, he was part of a trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but the creation of the universe was attributed to God the Father. This coincided with the Andean concept of God as creator. Further, the idea that *Pucica'ka* descended to earth fit neatly into the Christian belief system of the Second Person of the Trinity becoming a human being, born of a virgin. This apparently contradictory event mirrored the traditional Andean belief of *Pucica'ka* fathering Tuñapa without sleeping with Iqui, the woman who bore him. For this reason Bernabé Cobo, the Jesuit historian who lived in Julí for nine years, recognized that the Indians “understood that the true God and the First Cause was one and the same person whom the Indians adored, in an albeit confused manner, as the creator of all things.”³⁴⁴

Because of the convergence between Andean Creator God and the Christian God the Father, less emphasis was put upon God the Son, Jesus Christ, and even less on the Holy Spirit. Christ was relegated to the rank of saint and placed alongside the Andean supernatural beings. Christ was represented in sculpture and drawings as a human being; he was described and portrayed within the context of his human experience. He was human. José de Acosta, another missionary with long experience in the Andes, remarked that “it has always seemed horrible to me that among the thousands of Indians who call themselves Christian, very few know Jesus Christ.”³⁴⁵

The Creator God of the Andes produced supernatural assistants who ran the universe. *Inti*, the Sun, was the most powerful. According to Pease, the worship of the Sun was an Inca innovation that disappeared with their defeat by the Spaniards.³⁴⁶ Nevertheless, because he was considered to have been made by the Creator God, *Inti* was likened to Jesus Christ, the Son who according to Christian belief, “proceeded from the Father.” The parallel could not help but be drawn between the two.

Illapa was another of the Supernatural Assistants of the Creator God and this God, called *Trueno*, or thunderclap in Spanish, governed the rain, an essential element in an agriculturalist's existence. He was the third most important God in the Andean hierarchy.³⁴⁷ *Illapa* was a man formed by the stars, carrying a mace in his left hand and a sling in his right, dressed in shining clothes. When he swung around to use his sling, the thunder sounded and the lightning flashed, all this before the rain fell. *Illapa* shared the celestial pantheon with *Mama Killa*, the moon.

Among the earth Gods, *Pachamama* was supreme. She was the earth goddess, one who controlled the rites of sowing, watering, and harvesting. The Jesuit missionaries in the Andes

³⁴² Marzal, *Estudios sobre religión campesina*, 111.

³⁴³ Pease, *El Dios creador andino*, 14.

³⁴⁴ Marzal, *Estudios sobre religión campesina*, 112; Cobo, *Obras*, II, 147. Other missionaries and popular preachers of the time commented on this convergence. Marzal, *Ibid*.

³⁴⁵ *De procuranda indorum salute*, 423.

³⁴⁶ Pease, *El dios creador andino*, 54.

³⁴⁷ Cobo, *Historia*, II, 160.

were never able to replace *Pachamama* with any God or saint from the Christian pantheon. No adequate alternative existed to the universal Earth Mother. Christian theology created a dichotomy between God and creation. Although the Redemption, Christ becoming Human, was supposed to have “divinized” the earth, the Manichean view of material as evil, spiritual as good, strongly influenced Christian views of the world. The Spanish Jesuit might have seen the Andean Indian as eminently perfectible and potentially a full Son of God but he saw little divine about the soil he tilled or the streams that watered his fields. What came to mind was a similarity to Greek or Roman pantheism, not a notion of God present in all things, a notion the Jesuits themselves studied in the Fourth Week of the Spiritual Exercises of their founder, Ignatius Loyola.

By extension *huacas* were sacred as well, hills, springs, rivers, rocks, all of which *Pucica'ka* brought forth in the original creative act. Thus is explained the fierce native opposition to resettlement ordered by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in 1571. Bureaucratic organization, tax collection, and Christian indoctrination were better served by Toledo's plan, but the indigenous population saw itself torn from the sacred objects and places that gave meaning to their lives. A wide variety of sacred images formed the Indian cult system in the Andes. Bernabé Cobo refused to admit that Indian attitudes towards their images were similar to the Christian veneration of statues or relics. The Indian image possessed a sacred power in itself. “They are idols,” wrote Cobo, “venerated in themselves. The simple Indian did not pass beyond the image to seek that which the image represented.”³⁴⁸

The traditional Andean system also possessed its Devil or *demonio*. The *Zupay* became the devil in the missionary's lexicon.³⁴⁹ He had his own habitat, the *casa de diablo*, but he acted on earth as well, tempting human beings so as to carry them with him to his world. Jesuit missionaries in Juli spoke of people having had pacts with the devil, the devil speaking to individuals, or the devil being kept in special places within the home, but there was no cult as such to *zupay*. *Brujos* or *hechiceros* allied themselves with the devil only to use his power to harm others.

The Jesuit missionaries in Juli were as intolerant of the Andean divinities and *huacas* as the European Protestants were of Catholic images and statues, and for precisely the same reason: fear of idolatry. The Jesuit missionary considered the agricultural activity of the Andean farmer as a totally profane act that had little if anything to do with religious rites and symbols. The religious integration of the Andean was not understood. The result was an aggressive attempt to find and destroy any and all objects and ideas of the traditional religion, and to punish and isolate persistent practitioners and priests of the native religion.

So militant was the Bishop of La Plata in his rage against traditional Andean beliefs, that he recommended to Fr. Diego de Torres in 1582 that *hechiceros* and their followers be executed, preferably by burning at the stake.³⁵⁰ Instead of executing the Indians, the Jesuits used one of the buildings in Juli as a prison for recalcitrant *hechiceros* just as they did in *Cercado* in Lima. Isolation in prison was considered a proper remedy.³⁵¹

³⁴⁸ Cobo, *Historia*, II, 166; Marzal, *Estudios sobre religión campesina*, 117.

³⁴⁹ Duviols, *La lutte*, 37.

³⁵⁰ MP, II, 113.

³⁵¹ The Council of Lima in 1553 ordered that native priests be rounded up and locked up in one place so they couldn't infect other Indians. Vargas, *Concilios*, I, 340.

Two years after the Jesuits arrived in Julí, they reported that they were rounding up some *hechiceros* whom they characterized as *dogmatizadores* and *maestros del error*.³⁵² These native priests were first kept near the large church in the center of town but later were moved into the *Casa Blanca*, the White House, where under strict surveillance they were daily instructed in the New Religion. In 1599 the Jesuit most associated with the *Extirpación de Idolatría* movement in Peru, José de Arriaga, wrote as the Jesuit superior in Juli that there existed there only the vestiges of idolatry. One of the major reasons why idolatry was being wiped out, thought Arriaga, was because in Sunday sermons priests asked their audiences to reveal the names of those who still practiced the old religion, adoring *huacas* and visiting old shrines. They guaranteed anonymity to the betrayer. A number of informants came forward with names. In 1599 over 40 *hechiceros* were discovered this way in Julí.³⁵³ Each parish priest in Juli appointed assistants called *fiscales* one of whose major duties was to report to the priest any parish member suspected of practicing the old religion. The divisions and stress thus caused within the parish must have been extraordinary. Those who wished to associate themselves and be aligned with the Spaniards whether for temporal gain or out of sincere belief in the new religion aggressively confronted believers in the traditional faith. And the Jesuits encouraged their aggression. In 1604 the Annual Letter reported that “the bad seed of idolatry was present” in Julí.³⁵⁴ But the local Christians were battling against it. As an example of Christian opposition the report described how one elderly woman from Julí met some *hechiceros* in another town who were practicing the old rites. Not only did she reprehend them but she made them kneel before an uplifted cross and ask pardon for their offenses. The same woman encountered some drunken Indians dancing and singing “in the old fashion.” Again she reprehended them and dragged them to the parish church.³⁵⁵ Such examples abound in the Jesuit letters from Julí. They were recorded to underline the salutary effect of the new religion on the parishioners, but they also serve to indicate the social divisions in Julí created by the introduction of Christianity. *Curacas* in secret (out of fear and shame) brought their children to the Jesuit priests for instruction in the new religion.³⁵⁶ Whom did they fear? And of what were they ashamed? Apparently they feared other *curacas* and many townfolk. And it was shameful to turn one's back on the old Gods to adore the Spanish one. A particularly determined *cacique principal* threw out of his house several women when he was criticized for having more than one wife.³⁵⁷

The target of the early Christians in Julí was both *curaca* and *hechicero*. The missionaries were aware of the high degree of integration that traditional religion enjoyed in the government and society of Andean peoples. Cobo spoke about the sorcerers and diviners that always accompanied the Inca.³⁵⁸ The linkage between them represented the major social connection between traditional Andean religion and the pre-Hispanic government. The connection between *curaca* and *hechicero* was clearly evident in the sixteenth century. Luis Millones has shown how the *curaca's* role changed in the seventeenth and eighteenth

³⁵² MP, II, 356-57.

³⁵³ MP, VI, 707.

³⁵⁴ ARSI, Peru 12, fol 337v.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁶ ARSI, Peru 12, fol. 9. This letter appears to be the Annual Letter for 1570. The wording cited is “y entre ellos algunos hijos de principales que de temor y vergüenza los tenían encubiertas.”

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, fols. 9-9v.

³⁵⁸ Cobo, *Inca Religion*, 170.

centuries.³⁵⁹ However, between 1580 and 1600, when the Jesuits began evangelizing Julí, the *curaca-bechicero* link was still strong. “Each family or group has its priest,” wrote Fr. Esteban Paez in 1604, “who was called *Fala*. The principal duty of this priest is to instruct the *cacique principal* and the rest of the ayllu in the rites, rituals, and cult of the idols.”³⁶⁰ The *Fala*, according to Paez, determined which animals were to be sacrificed for which purposes, and he chose the *coca* that was also offered to the Gods. The *coca*, added the Jesuit, was “a variety of shrub that the Indians chewed. It increased their strength and they value it highly.”³⁶¹

For Esteban de Paez the *Fala* was working in league with the Devil. He was the devil's representative whom the Jesuit called the *ministro del diablo*. Paez made no attempt to see in the General Confession that the Indians of Julí made to their priests, and which he described in detail, a reflection of Christianity as Bernabe Cobo did. Instead, Paez portrayed the confession as solely for the benefit of a *curaca* who might have been missing some of his llamas or if ill and he wanted to learn whether one of the ayllu members had put a spell on him. In such a case, an Andean Trial by Combat decided the accused fate. The *curaca's bechicero* put a mark on one side of a tortilla, threw the tortilla up in the air and if it landed with the mark up, then the accused lied, and was stoned until he confessed his wrongdoing. The *bechicero* and the *curaca* ruled *in tandem* and Paez marveled at the high esteem in which the *bechiceros* were held, “as if they had descended from heaven.”³⁶²

The Devil, according to Paez, worked directly with individual Indian *bechiceros*. Some kept shrines to the Devil in their homes, or in their fields, speaking to him at will. Slowly the *bechiceros* were being weeded out, incarcerated, and “re-educated.” The process was slow because the *bechiceros* were carefully protected by the villagers. The Devil also worked directly with individual Indians principally through the stone and metal animals called *buacas* that most families possessed.

The *bechicero* was also a diviner or soothsayer.³⁶³ He was a direct threat to the authority of the European missionary. By his very existence he served to remind the Andean of his past. Thus, he was the European's primary target.

ISOLATION AND INDOCTRINATION

The Jesuit missionaries in Julí benefited from a major advantage not possessed by other European agents of religious change. They were able to isolate the Aymara of Julí, keeping them away not only from other Spaniards considered a bad influence but also from those within their own community who continued to promote the old religion.³⁶⁴ Thus set apart, the process of indoctrinating the Indian took place. A fixed weekly, monthly, and yearly schedule of instruction was set up because the missionaries could rely on a fixed Indian

³⁵⁹ Millones, “Religion and Power in the Andes.”

³⁶⁰ ARSI, Peru 12, fol. 390.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*

³⁶² *Ibid.*, fol. 390v.

³⁶³ One Indian fortune-teller in Julí was frequently visited by Spaniards. “Misión de Julí, 1611,” ARSI, Peru 13, fol. 113.

³⁶⁴ The restriction on Spaniards may have been held more in the breach. The Jesuit documents frequently refer to Spaniards living in Julí and participating in day-to-day activity.

agrarian cycle of farm-related and pastoral activity.³⁶⁵ The Indian agricultural year, whose activities were triggered by the position of the stars, as well as the altitudinal zone of the farmland, began with fertilizing, followed by turning the soil, planting, tilling, weeding, and finally harvesting. These activities required the entire Indian family's cooperative effort in fields sometimes far from Juli. Planting in upper altitudinal zones took place in August, harvesting in March-April. This fixed agrarian cycle allowed the missionaries to plan their religious activities to coincide with the agrarian cycle of the Indians, thus giving the Aymara farmer a continued sense of integrity to his works and days. Daily, weekend, and monthly religious instruction, punctuated by religious fiestas honoring the saint-protector of the town, were routinely attended and the European missionary could count on a determined number of attendees.

However, the very nature and regularity of instruction and parochial ministry cut against the Jesuit grain. The Jesuit rector of Juli in 1578, Diego Martínez, thought that there were too many Indians in the area for the Jesuits to handle. Juli was too far from Cuzco, a potential danger to the body and souls of the Jesuits there, a source of discontent, and were the Jesuits to stay alone in a parish residence, temptations abounded. "Opportunities to punish the Indians physically were present and there was danger of becoming hateful to the Indians."³⁶⁶ Martínez thought that the Jesuits should set up a thriving mission station in Juli and in four or five years leave, not remaining as parish priests.

Instead of four or five years, they stayed for over a century and a half, and in the time period constructed a model that served for other Jesuit missions in South America, especially for the Reductions of Paraguay.³⁶⁷ And like the Reductions of Paraguay, the notion of a Jesuit theocracy was attributed to Juli, where the missionaries controlled not only the religious life of the community but the political as well. The complaint of the *caciques* of Chucuito, later denied, asserted that the Jesuits controlled the *caciques* thus making Juli a theocracy.³⁶⁸ It would be truly extraordinary if they didn't. Given the fact that each of the local *caciques* were baptized Christians by 1595, had sworn fealty to the King of Spain, and viewed the Jesuits as the true crown representatives, Jesuit influence with them must have been powerful. Although civil and religious authority was distinct, it was understood by the culture and society of the time that the religious authority was superior to the civil. Evident tension existed. The *caciques* did not want Potosí mine officials to interfere with their control of the native population. Nor did the Jesuits. The *caciques* did not want *alguaciles* from Potosí to come to Juli searching for escaped mine workers. "They burned our fields and put us in jail."³⁶⁹ But the *caciques* might not have wanted the kind of control that the Jesuits exerted over them. It is clear that both missionaries and *caciques* needed each other to retain control in their distinct spheres. Cooperation between the new conquerors and the old local rulers was essential. The Spaniards needed the *caciques* to stabilize their conquests and to exact tribute and labor.³⁷⁰ Without the pro-active cooperation of the *caciques*, the Jesuits in Juli would not have been able to retain the power they held for 189 years.

³⁶⁵ Camino, *et. al.*, "Flexibilidad calendárica en la agricultura."

³⁶⁶ MP, II, 367.

³⁶⁷ Meiklejon, *La iglesia y los Lupaquas*, esp. Ch. VI, "Los jesuitas del Juli: doctrineros modelo," 191-246.

³⁶⁸ See the letter of the Indian *caciques* of Chucuito to King Philip II, Sept. 12, 1597, MP, VI, 443-451.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 449.

⁷⁷ Stern, "The Rise and Fall of Indian-White Alliances."

CHAPTER 5

THE JESUIT COLLEGE: “ELOQUENCIA LATINA”

Florida and Mexico were major foci of Jesuit mission activity. But throughout Latin America urban colleges quickly became equally important vehicles of apostolic activity. At the time of the Jesuits' expulsion in 1767, the Society of Jesus staffed over 70 colleges from Mexico to Chile.³⁷¹ Although great diversity existed among them, some were staffed by one or two lay brothers, they all had as their aim the development of an educated Spanish elite as the norms of the times dictated. The urban college that functioned in key colonial centers was also a focus of spiritual activity that did not confine itself to secular aims and rewards. The Jesuit college in colonial Latin America existed to provide an education for the sons of Spanish colonists but the human and spiritual resources accumulated by the college were put at the disposal of an urban ministry to the Indian and blacks of a college town. The college was not only an educational institution but it also served as a means of providing a spiritual and cultural dimension to the town or city in which it was located.

MODELS

Ignatius Loyola never intended the order he founded be devoted to education. The idea of founding and staffing colleges and universities with Jesuits was totally foreign to him. Instead, he chose university graduates to serve on foreign mission assignments. However, by allowing the Roman Curia to determine his new order's immediate goals, he unwittingly allowed his own ideas for the Society to become secondary to what Rome considered the greater need: educated priests to “restore” the ground that was being lost to the Protestant reformers. Little by little, the Jesuits sidestepped into education as its primary activity. The pool of university graduates desiring to become Jesuits had dwindled, so Ignatius decided to send young Jesuits to already existing colleges for their education, e.g. Salamanca or Alcalá de Henares. Jesuits studied alongside lay students. The next step was for the Jesuits, now growing numerous, to establish their own residences where courses would be taught. Lay students were allowed to attend these courses. The following step was for the lay student to be separated from the Jesuit seminarian and this was the beginnings of the Jesuit college. By 1600, 300 Jesuit colleges functioned. By 1650 over 500 operated. Classical studies, Aristotelian philosophy, and Tridentine theology formed the core of the Jesuit curriculum organized around a set of educational principles called the *Ratio Studiorum*.³⁷² The University of Paris was the model featuring a graduated order of studies, a respect for the varying capacity of the student, an insistence on class attendance, and an abundance of exercises to be completed by the student.³⁷³ Ignatius Loyola was determined to avoid the confusion he himself experienced as a student at Alcalá de Henares and the chaos that existed in Italian schools where students selected their own courses. The purpose of Jesuit education was to develop Christian gentlemen knowledgeable about the world in which they lived and able to express the tenets of their

³⁷¹ Guglieri Navarro, *Documentos de la Compañía de Jesús*, lists the Jesuit colleges in America at the time of the expulsion.

³⁷² Ganss, *St. Ignatius's Idea of a Jesuit University*; Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 54.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, 28.

religious beliefs with eloquence and grace. The means by which this was attained would be through the study of literature in the form of ancient classics, philosophy, and Thomistic theology.

THE URBAN COLLEGE

The Jesuit college was headed by a Rector who was in charge of the overall administration of the institution. This meant that the rector had to see to the continual financing of the college from private and institutional sources. Each college was a separate “corporation” so the Jesuit central office in Rome was not liable for the mistakes or shortfalls of the college. As will be explained below, the college was initially founded only when suitable funding was available from local sources and from income-producing sources.³⁷⁴ College financing was a major sticking point for Ignatius Loyola and the founders of the Society. They intended that Jesuits should live from alms collected from the faithful. However, no tuition was charged students and the maintenance of a faculty and upkeep of a physical plant required a dedicated and substantial source of funding. This was beyond the capacity of the simple alms. Uneasy compromises were made for colleges allowing them to retain dedicated sources of income. The rector of the college was in charge of obtaining and regulating these sources, but not in implementing their daily operation.

A Prefect of Studies made sure that appropriate courses were assigned, professors available, and the school year organized with days for classes, vacations, extracurricular activities, disputations arranged for theology and philosophy students, and theatre presentations given.³⁷⁵

Latin studied through the classical poets. To support their teaching of classics and literature, the professors in San Pablo College in Lima were able to consult a library of 25,000 volumes.³⁷⁶ Law, medicine, physics, and the natural sciences were gradually added to the curriculum but these were part of university studies and were not undertaken until the humanities portion of curriculum was completed.

The Jesuit educational system was based on the classic Trivium, Quadrivium, Philosophy, and Theology construct. The Trivium was made up of three basic building blocks, the study of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic. Reading, writing, and imitation of the classic writers was studied in Grammar. Vergil, Horace, or Catullus and Homer was the usual fare. Rhetoric meant translating and sometimes committing to memory the writings or speeches of Cicero, Demosthenes, and other classical authors. Logic was basically the study of the syllogism, refining the ability to argue from a premise or from a general statement to a logical conclusion. Did the conclusion follow from the premise? Was the conclusion warranted given the general statement. Logic was essential for the study of

³⁷⁴ The Fondo Gesuitico section in ARSI contains detailed documentation on the initial and ongoing finances of Jesuit colleges in America and the Philippines.

³⁷⁵ The school year varied according to location. See Saenz de Santa María, *Historia de educación jesuítica en Guatemala*; and Martin, *The Intellectual Conquest*.

³⁷⁶ Luis Martin describes how Gerónimo Ruiz de Portillo, the first rector of the college of Lima, scoured the bookstalls in Seville for volumes to bring with him on the sea voyage to Peru. The library was regularly added to by book shipments from Spain. *The Intellectual Conquest*, 9, 85-87. The *Temporalidades* sections of AHN records the volumes that were confiscated from Jesuit libraries in America at the time of the expulsion in 1767. See Martin, *ibid*, 40-41, for textbooks used for grammar and rhetoric courses in the College of Lima.

philosophy since Philosophy involved arguing to conclusions from general statements. Logic was important in order to extract the essential or key elements in an argument. To refute the pagan philosophers or reformers was a major goal of post-Tridentine theology. The Quadrivium consisted of Music, Geometry, Arithmetic, and Astronomy. Philosophy took in Natural Philosophy, Moral Philosophy, and Metaphysics, and was considered an inferior discipline to theology. In fact, philosophy was referred to as the “handmaiden” of theology. It was merely a tool to help one understand the great supernatural truths. Theology was divided into the study of Fundamental Theology which examined basic Christian beliefs and Positive Theology, by which was meant particular truths revealed through the *magisterium* of the church. Select Questions examined a variety of topics chosen by the professor.³⁷⁷ The Jesuit seminarian who studied theology or others who attended classes studied by the thesis method that was something like the Case Study method. The method consisted of a set of assertions (theses) on theological beliefs that were then subjected to a series of objections to which the appropriate response was given. Scripture courses were a type of Biblical theology. Speculative Theology was considered anything beyond revealed truths. The theology program reserved for Jesuits and seminarians also offered large doses of Hebrew, Church History, Canon Law, and Moral Theology. Such theology studies were given in what was called the *Colegio Superior* or theologate, sometimes associated with a university.³⁷⁸ Only in large colonial cities such as Mexico City or Lima did Jesuit theology students mingle with regular students. For the most part Jesuits were excluded from university education. By the time they arrived on the scene in the latter sixteenth century, Dominicans and other religious groups has assumed teaching tasks in universities. Fierce controversies flared up when the Jesuits attempted to develop universities of their own so for the most part they remained content with running colleges, which they eventually did aplenty.³⁷⁹

For the most part the Jesuit college was staffed by one or two Jesuits. Only in Lima, Mexico City, or Buenos Aires were larger numbers of Jesuits assigned to a college, and most of them were not directly involved in teaching in the college. The college was a multi-faceted institution whose members performed a wide variety of tasks.

First and foremost, the Jesuit *colegio* community was concerned with teaching. In Peru the Jesuits could only teach the humanities, Latin, Greek, literature, and Indian languages. They were not allowed to teach philosophy or theology full-time in the University of San Marcos. However, the compromise was reached requiring two years of humanities studies for anyone wishing to study in the university.³⁸⁰ This gave the Jesuits a dedicated source of students. In 1620 over 200 students were enrolled in humanities courses directed by the Jesuits in their college.³⁸¹ Two special theology chairs were also allotted to the Jesuits in the university, each called the *Cathedra de Theologia Supernumeraria*. This theology course was taught from 9 to 10 each morning on class days.

³⁷⁷ *Historia de la Teología Española*, 11, 47.

³⁷⁸ See Saenz de Santa María, *Historia de la educación jesuítica*, 207-208, for theology and philosophy texts used in the Jesuit college.

³⁷⁹ See Martin, *The Intellectual Conquest*, Saenz de Santa María, *Historia de la educación jesuítica*, and Zubillaga, “La provincia jesuítica,” for controversies in Peru, Guatemala, and Mexico.

³⁸⁰ Martin, *The Intellectual Conquest*, 25-31.

³⁸¹ *Diccionario histórico*, 1, 1002.

In the early seventeenth century 79 Jesuits lived in the College of Lima. One priest and two lay brothers taught three classes in Rhetoric and Grammar, another Jesuit taught *Artes*, which meant literature and languages, and three were assigned to teaching theology. Of the total of 26 priests, 21 Jesuit students called scholastics, and 32 lay brothers, only 7 were directly involved in teaching.³⁸² The rector was part of the college administration as was the Procurator (Business Manager) of the College who was in charge of the landed estates that supported the college. This number was relatively large. At the same time the Jesuit College of Quito had assigned only one priest to teach *Artes* and another to teach grammar. The College of Chile in Santiago assigned one father to teach *Artes* and another Latin while the College of Panama had just one priest teaching *Artes*.³⁸³

The Jesuit community associated with a college in a large urban location, e.g. Lima or Mexico City, was also involved in ministries to the Indians and in the case of Lima to the black slaves living in the city. The college was not only for “teaching” but also had a focus of apostolic activity throughout a city. Sodalities or confraternities were of special importance in establishing a Christian elite within the Spanish, Indian, and Black populations. Streetcorner preaching was one of the major activities of the Jesuits in Lima and the purpose of this was to go out to people who normally would not go to church. Each day a group of Jesuits would leave their house, walk in procession through the streets of Lima with bell ringing and cross uplifted and attract groups of Indians and blacks to whom the Jesuits would preach.³⁸⁴ Another standard feature of Jesuit evangelization was the *misiones temporales* whereby two Jesuits would visit towns in a given area to preach, catechize, and administer the sacraments to the Indians. The personnel for these activities resided in the college and although after 1600 in Peru rural missions and work with Indians became secondary to teaching, it remained a major activity.³⁸⁵

The emphasis on college teaching in Peru developed out of a major intra-Jesuit controversy involving José de Acosta who was superior of Jesuits in Lima in 1576-1581. Acosta, the scholarly author of *De Procuranda Indorum Salute* (1576), was bitterly critical of the Jesuit province of Peru as a whole for permitting so many of its men to wander around as “holy vagabonds.” Acosta wrote that if the Jesuits in Peru were going to contribute anything long-lasting to the church in Peru, it would be through scholarship and the schools. Otherwise, he sarcastically wrote, the Jesuit province would become a province of idiots. His colleague, Diego Alvarez de Paz, agreed. In a famous letter of 1601 to the Superior General in Rome, Acosta wrote that the province needed good administrators, learned men with academic degrees, and excellent preachers. Such men, he continued, are not nurtured by wandering through the mountains in search of Indians but in the silence of their studies.³⁸⁶

Acosta was dismayed at the helter-skelter missionary activity of the early Jesuits in Peru. His own bias clearly favored what he perceived to be the Jesuit ideal of learned men influencing councils and kings. What he did not realize was that most of the Jesuits who came to Peru were not driven there by a desire to write books about the ancient religion of

³⁸² MpV111172-173.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁴ Mateos, *Historia General, 191-193*. is Expenses on each trip for mules, portable altar, wine, food and assistants [slaves?] cost 1,000 pesos. “*Libro de gastos pertenecientes a las misiones,*” AGL, Compañía 42.

³⁸⁵ “*Libro de gastos pertenecientes a las misiones,*” AGL, Compañía 42.

³⁸⁶ Mateos, *Historia General, I, 46*; Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía, IV, 545-546*.

the Incas or describe the flora and fauna of the Andes. They were zealous, educated men who as Spaniards of their times believed that saving the souls of the Indians was their primary responsibility. It was the perennial conflict of activist versus intellectual. The result was a compromise.

After 1600 the colleges in Peru became the major Jesuit apostolate. Mission work was secondary. Through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the number of Jesuits and their colleges almost doubled, from 282 Jesuits with eight colleges in 1602 to 543 Jesuits with 15 colleges in 1754.

FINANCIAL FOUNDATIONS

Jesuit colleges in Latin America were supported almost totally by landed estates. The initial financing of colleges in Europe, as alluded to above, was a major concern for the Jesuit founder, Ignatius Loyola. He sought to avoid the appearance of financial abuse and ostentatious wealth that characterized the Catholic clergy in Europe. However, the Constitutions of the Society written by Loyola eventually allowed colleges but not other Jesuit residences to maintain a steady source of income. He wrote: "The Society can possess colleges with an appropriate income. A rector with appropriate talent for administration will be in charge of preserving and administering the material aspect of the college, such as the college buildings as well as the students who study therein or prospective students. The rector will also supervise those involved in college business negotiations. The rector will above all see to it that the needs of the college and individuals in it are met according to the directives of the Superior General. The rector should not use any goods of the college for his exclusive use, nor for relatives, nor give them to other Jesuit houses."³⁸⁷

The individual Jesuit in the college was likewise restricted in his use of college-owned goods. He voluntarily belonged to a community. He lived, as Ignatius Loyola put it, in a *compañía*, a well-knit community bound by a common rule with a common goal. The individual shared material goods but did not own them. They were provided by the community and so he could not dispose of them as an owner. In this way Ignatius Loyola hoped to free his companions from material concerns and dedicate themselves more conscientiously to apostolic business. But this did not mean that no one worried about a college's material life. "This was the chief concern of the business manager and rector. The problem especially in the larger colleges was not that the business manager or rector were inadequate but they fulfilled their obligations too well.

The Jesuit college with its extensive real estate, large church, and larger estates raises the question of institutional wealth, a question that the Spanish Bourbons would later raise.³⁸⁸

Jesuit colleges of Peru, Mexico, and Paraguay were not poor and their communities were adequately provided for. Individual Jesuits were not economically insecure: they knew where the clothes on their back and their next meal would come from. Does this imply that there was a touch of pharisaism in their profession of poverty? Not necessarily. The seventeenth-century Jesuit was taught and believed that his total dependence on the community for material goods and his personal frugality were his primary and only

³⁸⁷ *Constitutions, Part IV, c. 2, no. 5.*

³⁸⁸ See my discussion of this question in Cushner, *Lords of the Land*, 5-8.

economic concern. What the institution did in the economic sphere was not for him to question. Thus, the business managers and rectors who carried to America from Europe in their intellectual baggage the baroque notion of splendid churches and massive buildings were free to follow the only model they knew. This concept of massive ornate colleges attached to massive ornate churches fit neatly into the role of the Church Militant in America. In Mexico, Peru, and Paraguay churches often were constructed on the foundations of ancient Indian temples in order to emphasize the obliteration of one religion by another. Size symbolized power and control.

The initial request for opening a college came from prominent town citizens. Local Jesuits then forwarded the request to Rome and Madrid and approval came only after it was shown that a solid economic foundation was present. This usually took the form of landed estates that were transferred to the college to insure a yearly income to cover the costs of running the college.³⁸⁹ Sometimes a sum of money was donated with which landed estates were purchased. The primary donor was made the “Founder” of the college and was thus eligible to be buried in the college church, along with receiving other college privileges. In 1579 Juan Martínez Rengifo donated 1,650 hectares of land in the Chancay Valley and was named founder of the College of Lima. In 1581 Diego de Porras gave the college what was to become its chief source of income for many years, a sugar *hacienda* and mill that specialized in producing molasses. It was called San Juan del Surco and was located a few miles from Lima. At the time of donation, the *hacienda* included 12 slaves, 400 head of cattle, and 250 goats. The College of San Bernardo in Cuzco was established in 1571 with a donation of 20,000 pesos with which a sheep ranch was purchased. In Arequipa the old conquistador, Diego Hernández, left 20,000 pesos to start the College of Arequipa. The money paid for the construction of college buildings.³⁹⁰ Juan de Avendaño provided the endowment for the College of Trujillo by donating three cattle ranches and a farm that furnished a yearly income of 9,000-10,000 pesos.³⁹¹

More often than not the donations proved insufficient for the ambitious plans of the owner institutions. Through the first three quarters of the seventeenth century, a progression of urban and rural estate purchases, slave purchases, and costly construction projects combined to put most Jesuit colleges in Peru into heavy debt.

Under the heading “Debt” in the above table are combined three types of obligations. One was the *principal de censo* or mortgage principal assumed when a piece of property was purchased. For example, a cattle ranch might have had a purchase price of 30,000 pesos, with 10,000 pesos paid in cash (*de contado*) and the remaining 20,000 pesos on mortgage (*de censo*). Frequently portions of the *censo* were held by different individuals, and the purchaser was obliged to pay yearly interest to each of them. Further distinctions were made on *censo*s. A *censo redimible* was one which could be exchanged for a *censo* on another property. A *censo vitalicio* was one on which interest was paid as long as the person to whom the interest was paid lived. The *censo perpetuo* was transferable to a descendant. The *principal de censo* was considered a debt; the annual interest paid was called the *redito de censo en contra*.

³⁸⁹ Alonso de Villaseca gave part of a city block for the Jesuit college in Mexico City to begin in 1572, ARSI, FG 1467/2. Within 20 years Jesuit colleges had been established in Puebla, Pasquaro, Valladolid, Guadalajara, and Tepozotlán. Detailed documentation on the founding of colleges in Latin America and the Philippines are in ARSI/ FG. Samudio, *Las haciendas del Colegio de San Francisco Xavier*, examines the economic foundation of the Jesuit college in Merida, Venezuela; Colmenares, *Las haciendas*, 39-42, does the same for Jesuit colleges in the *Nuevo Reino de Granada*, 20 FG 1488/1/1. “FG 1488/1/9.

³⁹⁰ FG 1488/1/1.

³⁹¹ FG 1488/1/9.

The second type of obligation was called the *deuda suelta*, a miscellaneous debt upon which no interest was paid. The third was a loan upon which interest (*dano* or *interes*) was paid annually. Major sources of capital for Jesuit colleges were loans. Those to whom the Jesuits owed considerable amounts of money were governors, government officials, and well-to-do private citizens.³⁹²

Jesuit colleges increased in number in the seventeenth century and building expansion occurred, due in great part to the ease with which a college could obtain loans.

By 1635 the overall picture was bleak. Debts and *censos* kept rising but income did not keep pace as the following table shows.

Building expansion occurred, due in great part to the ease with which a college could obtain loans. By 1635 the overall picture was bleak. Debts and *censores* kept rising but income did not keep pace as the following table shows.

The financial situation faced by Jesuit colleges in Mexico was no brighter. The college in Mexico City, the largest in New Spain, increased its payment on *censos* from 328 pesos in 1600 to 21,000 pesos in 1684, and of course a proportionate rise took place in *censos* principals held against the college, from 4,000 in 1600 to 420,000 pesos in 1684. A low point was reached between 1630 and 1648. But the root of the problem in Mexico went back even further. In 1600 all colleges in Mexico with the exception of Guadalajara showed a deficit.³⁹³

A combination of questionable acquisitions and mismanagement seems to have been the causes. In 1610, the College of San Pedro y San Pablo of Mexico City used fifty percent of its income to administer its estates and in 1631 forty percent of its income was likewise used. In the latter seventeenth century college expenses included building a college infirmary (4,000 pesos), and a library (8,000 pesos), besides the fixed annual expenses of over 27,000 pesos for bread, 1,100 pesos for fruit, 500 pesos for house workers' salaries, 2,200 pesos for wine, and 3,500 pesos for clothing. By 1649 the total college debt was 237,799 pesos and the Jesuit accountant who drew up the financial report for that year scribbled ominously in the margin: "Financial ruin is imminent."³⁹⁴

The major sources of income to pay expenses for the College of San Pedro y San Pablo were a sheep ranch, a sugar *hacienda*, and rent from urban real estate. The ranch of Santa Lucía had a total of 20,127 sheep but of these 2,000 were lost each year to disease, 3,000 were disabled, and 4,000 were slaughtered annually. Estate cattle numbered 9,404 head. The sugar *hacienda* of Temoac, sixteen kilometers southeast of Cuernavaca, contributed 6,000 pesos a year to college income, but Malinalco, another sugar *hacienda* showed no profit nor did the estate of Jesus del Monte.³⁹⁵

An upward reversal which was a reflection of a general economic improvement throughout Latin America began in the 1680s. Controlled expenses, improved management

³⁹² See lists in FG 1488/2/40.

³⁹³ Zubillaga, "La provincia jesuitica," 164-167; ARSI, Mex. 4, "Catal. Triennial. 1580-1653," fol. 126. The exact words of the writer hint at a financial crisis on the horizon even at this early date. "Annui redditus quattuor decim millium aurie [pesos] Bunt; ex qua summa trecenti et viginti et octo sunt deducendi annui census qui pro summa principali quattuor millium quadrigintos [ari] contractui penditur; proet undecim millia quae commodato accepta sunt. Adque dissolvenda habenda in credita pecunia octo millia aureos unde non potest plures alere quam alit donec templi et domus aedificium perficiatur."

³⁹⁴ "La ruina amenaza," were his exact words. FG 1467/7.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

of college estates, and sound financial practices helped Jesuit colleges improve their financial position. The pattern of slump, recovery, and prosperity was experienced by Jesuit colleges in Peru as well.

The Jesuit provincial of Peru, Antonio Vásquez, thought that high prices and poor *hacienda* returns and not superfluous construction caused the enormous province-wide debt in the seventeenth century.³⁹⁶ The causes of the debt, he thought, were a combination of 1) church construction, 2) *censos* interest, 3) purchase and upkeep of slaves, 4) travel costs of representatives returning to Europe, plus 5) the high cost of clothing.³⁹⁷

Vasquez's report omitted a major cause of the financial crisis: Jesuit mismanagement. When he visited the College of Potosí in 1646, he found that the rector there took care of unpaid bills by stuffing them into a desk drawer.³⁹⁸ A 1647 financial report on the College of San Pablo, Lima, showed that the college owed 71,409 pesos (a small fortune) to four individuals but no records existed about the origin of the debts, when they had been contracted, or to whom they were owed.³⁹⁹

The local government also intruded to upset the colleges' finances. In 1641 the Cabildo of Lima decreed that a tax of four *reales* on each *arroba* of sugar produced, and two *reales* for each head of sheep would be levied on all *haciendas* to pay for the construction of a fortress in Callao. The Jesuit colleges pleaded exemption on the grounds that their *haciendas* in Chancay and Surco had been donated for the express purpose of supporting students and faculty of the colleges.⁴⁰⁰ Alonso Mejía pointed out that the *haciendas* were barely able to do their job of supporting these institutions. Chancay and Surco, he wrote, produced on the average 8,000 *arrobos* of sugar and molasses annually. The sixteen slaves that usually died in one year had to be replaced at great cost. In addition, the estates supported five Spanish majordomos, two priests, six brothers, carpenters, and salaried laborers leaving little surplus money at the end of a year. The cabildo accepted the arguments but nevertheless cajoled the college of Lima to “lend” the city 98,000 pesos in construction materials, principally limestone, for the fort's walls. Surprisingly, the city repaid the “loan” 30 years later.⁴⁰¹

A brief but more detailed look at the finances of the College of San Pablo, Lima, shows us why debts were contracted. San Pablo had the dubious distinction of leading all Jesuit colleges in Latin America by a wide margin in the amount of *censos* it accumulated and in the amount of money it owed to private individuals. By 1647 the college owed more than half a million pesos. Its obligations increased over the first half of the seventeenth century. *Censos* rose from 27,031 in 1603 to 530,686 in 1647.⁴⁰²

Censos and debts were manageable during the first decade of the century. Income from the sugar *haciendas* of Chancay, San Juan del Surco, the vineyards of Ica and Nazca, the

³⁹⁶ Relación del Estado Temporal. . .del Peru, 1635,” FG 1488/2/19; “Cat. 7rienn., 1624-1654,” ARSI Peru, fol. 413.

³⁹⁷ Relación del Estado Temporal. . .del Peru, 1635,” FG 1488/2/19.

³⁹⁸ “Razon del estado que tiene en to temporal el Colegio de la Compania de Jesus de Potosi, 1647,” FG 1451/3/40.

³⁹⁹ “Relacion del estado temporal del Colegio de San Pablo . . . 1601-1647,” FG 1452/28/33.

⁴⁰⁰ CP, X1, p. 505.

⁴⁰¹ CP, X11, pp. 53-54.

⁴⁰² Relación del Estado Temporal del Colegio de San Pablo . . .1601-1647,” FG 1452/28/33.

farm of San Bernardo, as well as leases held on houses and *censos en favor* (those paid to the college) covered the ordinary expenses of the Jesuits and students living in the college and also left a bit for debt service. At this time, in the early 1600s, each Jesuit cost about 320 pesos a year to maintain, which in a college of 96 Jesuits meant fixed expenses of at least 30,720 pesos annually. In 1618 building materials for the college cost 32,000 pesos and from this time on large expenditures were made every five years or so. In 1626, 48,800 pesos were spent for the purchase of a flour mill, a lime deposit, slaves to work the deposit, and materials to construct the brick factory. Bricks and limestone were intended for church construction that started in 1622. In 1630 the college purchased a much larger brickmaking operation called La Calera for 98,700 pesos, of which 57,000 pesos were assumed. Four years later the college purchased 40 slaves for 21,300 pesos for the Chancay *hacienda*. In 1637 another 38,700 *de censo* was spent for La Calera and 58 more slaves for Chancay were bought for 28,900 pesos. Miscellaneous debts of La Calera totaling 42,535 pesos were added to the debit column in 1638, as were 4,073 pesos for 12 slaves. In the same year 12,000 pesos were spent on church construction.⁴⁰³ In 1647 six houses costing 40,000 pesos, a farm for 5,000 pesos, and a Bill of Credit to the central Jesuit office for clothing material and “other debts” totaled 118,581 pesos.

In summary, the single largest expenditures between 1601 and 1647 were 152,050 for the flour mill, the lime, and brick factory; 56,273 pesos for slaves; and 40,000 pesos for real estate; 71,409 pesos could not be accounted for. During the same period the college sold two pieces of property, Chabalina, a vineyard in Ica, for 6,000 pesos and the *hacienda* of Villa which had not yet started producing sugar. Both were sold to the Jesuit province for 70,000 pesos in 1632, and these sales helped produce a rather meager debt service, a *desempeno*, of 104,613 pesos during this period of almost 50 years.

Increase in the interest rates on *censos* during this period also strained repayment resources. From 1601 to 1618, the interest rate on *censos* was 14,000 maravedis on a thousand pesos or about 5 percent. From 1618 to 1648 the rate fell to 2 percent. Interest varied throughout the century depending on the type of property mortgaged. Sugar haciendas, vineyards, and urban real estate had different rates of interest. For example, of the total 114,792 pesos in *censos* on the Jesuit hacienda of Huaura in 1699, 5 percent interest was paid on 50,000 pesos, 4.5 percent on 59,592 pesos, 4 percent on 4,200 pesos, and 3 percent on 1,000 pesos.⁴⁰⁴

JESUIT THEATRE

The Jesuits in Latin America had as their goal the building of the Church in America. Even the political geography reminded them of the newness of their endeavor. It was a *New World*, a *New Andalucia*, a *New Spain*, a *New Granada* that Spaniards were founding. So too the Church in America was starting from a *tabula rasa*. The core values and rituals would be universally respected but the cultural layers surrounding them would assume a decidedly American flavor. The mindset that the Jesuit acquired in America would be quite different from that of their brethren in Europe. European Jesuits were busy *restoring* a weakened ecclesiastical institution to preeminence, recovering what had been lost and making sure it would not be lost again. After the Council of Trent they assumed a defensive mode whereas America demonstrated an aggressively optimistic manner. The

⁴⁰³ The total cost of the church was 800,000 to a million pesos. Vargas Ugarte, *La Iglesia de San Pedro*, 21.

⁴⁰⁴ These figures are from the Account Book of Huaura, AGL, CCompania 86.

Jesuits in America were part of a concerted effort to build a new Church among neophytes as new to Christianity as the longshoremen to whom St. Paul had preached a millennium and a half before.

Although the entirety of Spanish activity in America was a new endeavor, the Spaniards recreated features of the Old Country that possessed universal value. But the colleges that sprang up in America were not quite duplicates of those found in Spain or Italy. They had distinctively local attributes that were in great part dictated by physical and cultural surroundings. Among the key features uniquely found in American colleges was the presence of the sons of the native Indian elite. Jesuits in Mexico and Peru were of the opinion that native born Indians had every right to attend their colleges. However, the Jesuit Superior General in Rome thought otherwise and eventually the native born Indian was excluded or made to attend schools that were “separate but equal.”⁴⁰⁵

One feature of European colleges that was wholeheartedly embraced was the theatre. Jesuit theatre in Europe, especially in Central Europe, and to a lesser extent Italy and Spain, offered an excellent vehicle for achieving what Jesuit pedagogues strove to inculcate in their students: *Eloquencia Latina*.⁴⁰⁶ It taught the student to appear advantageously in front of an audience, how to convince, how to move. It helped to instill a sense of self-confidence in a young boy and also gave him the principles for acquiring the personal self control and discipline that future leaders needed.⁴⁰⁷ It helped the student acquire a resonant voice, as well as learn the importance of gestures when delivering a talk. It also helped do away with the fear of public speaking. In short, the Jesuits in Europe saw the theatre as an excellent and novel way of instilling aspects of leadership and personal qualities they thought their students should acquire. The medieval precedent for the play, the Mystery Play, was present, and wandering players were increasingly performing in European capital cities, but the Jesuits in Italy, Spain, and Central Europe raised the art form to a position that made it a respected form of popular culture radicated in a local college. Not only did theatre instruct and develop students but it reached out to the public thus serving a didactic purpose as well as a public relations opportunity by offering a local community a form of free entertainment.

This raised ecclesiastical eyebrows because it was a radical departure from the way the monastic orders traditionally portrayed religious beliefs. Most, but not all of Jesuit theatre was religious in content. This was because the secular theatre adequately covered the themes usually associated with the theatre, love, death, humor, murder, greed, and interpersonal relationships. It would have been considered inappropriate for the Jesuit theatre to concentrate on love, for example, rather than on the characteristics that they as religious were attempting to inculcate in their students.

Jesuit theatre in Latin America was by no means an absolute innovation. Indigenous groups had a long tradition of symbolic portrayal of religious and secular events.⁴⁰⁸ What

⁴⁰⁵ See the controversies in Martin, *The Intellectual Conquest*, 36-38; and Chapter 3, of this book

⁴⁰⁶ Scaduto, “[I] Teatro Gesuitico,” Soriano, “El teatro de colegio en Espana,” Skelly, “El teatro en la América Hispana durante el siglo XVI,” Szilas, “Schule, Bildung, Theater,” and Griffen, *Jesuit School Drama. A Checklist of Critical Literature*, are basic. An excellent overview is McCabe, *An Introduction to the Jesuit Theatre*. A recent study of the theatre in Latin America is Arango L., *El teatro religioso colonial en la América Hispana*

⁴⁰⁷ McCabe, *An Introduction*, 11-18.

⁴⁰⁸ Arango L., *El teatro religioso*, 25-27; Juan de Tobar, the Mexican Jesuit, writes a detailed description of what he calls the indigenous theatre that took place in a patio, a “*pequeno teatro*” thirty feet square honoring indigenous gods. Tobar, *Tratado de Ritos*, 110; Ricard, *La “Conquete spirituelle” du Mexique*, 234-248, describes

the Spaniards brought into the picture was the European tradition of liturgical dramas that were presented around the time of religious festivals. These early presentations had a didactic nature to them, designed solely for instruction, as a substitute or as a supplement to catechetical instruction that Indians received. These early presentations were called *Autos*, or Acts that had a religious connotation to them. They were usually associated with teaching some aspect of the sacraments.

Garcilaso de la Vega mentions that the Jesuits in Peru presented comedies for the Aymara Indians.⁴⁰⁹ The theme was the enmity between the Blessed Virgin and the Devil. This type of presentation was in line with the didactic Franciscan theatre of Mexico. Bernabé Cobo describes another kind of presentation that the Jesuits in the College of Lima put on in 1599. In addition to music and song, the Jesuits put on stage old skeletons and mummies from the indigenous *huacas* in order to help portray what would happen on the Last Judgment Day. The packed house gasped at this audacious display of realism.⁴¹⁰

Up until 1604 the plays of Calderón and Lope de Vega were acted on the Jesuit stage in San Pablo. The actors were students, the plays amateur productions, and the audiences were first and foremost the college community, but also the city populace. The presentations at the college became enormously popular, probably because there were few other kinds of theatrical presentations available.⁴¹¹

Few texts of these college plays have survived. One has, carefully preserved in the National Library of Lima, Peru.⁴¹² *Santa María Egipciaca* was probably written by Fr. Vicente Palomino who was the author of several other texts and plays. Examining the text of the play enables us to draw a little more closely to what the Jesuits in Latin America intended with their emphasis on theatre. The play is symbolic of the Jesuit philosophy of education in that it encompasses the *totus homo*. Its aim is to enhance the intellectual and spiritual life of the actors and the audience, keeping in mind that the college existed not only for students but also for the local community. The college was basically an urban phenomenon in the Roman tradition in the sense that it was firmly believed that only in the city did the most important intellectual, educational, and artistic activities take place.

The religious ideas current in seventeenth-century Peru are essential towards understanding the importance of *Santa María Egipciaca*. The post-Tridentine church sincerely believed in the ability of the individual to turn away from evil and accept the grace of God. Why the person had originally rejected God was laid at the doorstep of human frailty. It really didn't matter. What mattered was the return in the manner of the Prodigal Son. The intercession of Mary also remained a major belief in the post-Tridentine church. The ability of the Virgin Mary to intercede before God the Father was denied by the reformers in order to re-establish Jesus Christ as the only true intercessor. Spanish Christianity steadfastly held to the role of Mary as Mother of God and as an all-powerful intercessor with special divine influence. There are many reasons for the steadfastness of this belief. As early as the third century AD the church in Europe placed Mary in a

the "*Le Theatre Édifiant*" that the Franciscan missionaries in Mexico used so effectively in the sixteenth century.

⁴⁰⁹ *Comentarios Reales*, Bk.2, Cap. 28.

⁴¹⁰ *Cobo, Historia, Libro 14, Cap. 18*; Martin, *The Intellectual Conquest*, 47

⁴¹¹ By the end of the eighteenth century, Lima was active with professional acting companies. Leonard, "*El teatro en Lima, 1790-1793*;" also Arango L., *El teatro religioso*, 75-85.

⁴¹² "Decuria de Santa María Egipciaca," edited in Vargas Ugarte, *De Nuestro Antiguo Teatro*, 27-39.

prominent position, a position that only increased over time, such that by the thirteenth century few of the great cathedrals had divine patrons other than the Virgin Mary.⁴¹³ Every great church had a Lady Chapel. Few churches in Spain and Italy placed Christ in a prominent sanctuary location. Mary or a saint usually held this distinction. When questioned by the sixteenth-century reformers, it was argued that “tradition” had placed Mary and the saints as intercessors before God the Father right along with Jesus Christ. The reaction to the reformers was to assign Mary an even greater and quasi-essential role in the divine hierarchy.

In the play *Santa María Egipciaca* the heroine is named *María* and the Virgin Mary is the major intercessor for her before Christ. She appears to the protagonist very briefly but her role is central in the development of the play. The Virgin Mary is given an active part in Egipciaca's turn away from sin and her acceptance of Christ.

The play has six characters, the protagonist, *Santa María Egipciaca*, *Alejandro* and *Chaparro*, two characters representing the dark side of society but injecting some comic relief into the action, a good angel, and *Luzbel*, a bad angel. What the text calls “*Música*” actually plays the role of a Greek chorus, cautioning the actors, commenting on that action, and advising the audience about the morality of the play's actions.

The action takes place in May on the Feast Day of the Holy Cross. The chorus encourages all to hurry to the fiesta, even the shepherds and shepherdesses of the valley. *Chaparro* warns *Alejandro* about what awaits him. The *dama del infierno* will be there to destroy him.

“¿Tienes los ojos cerrados o
que demonios te han hecho?
¿No ves que estás destruido y
de más a más debiendo
muchos miles, que ha tragado
essa dama del infierno? y
aunque mude mas galanes
que un Duque vestidos nuevos,
estás echando la baba,
¿todo aquesto no es muy cierto?”⁴¹⁴

Chaparro hesitates but *Alejandro* encourages him to go along. The Chorus reminds the audience that Christ has already redeemed souls. *Luzbel* enters and doubts whether *Egipciaca*, an old worn out whore, (*la ramera*), can entrap youth any more. But *Luzbel* decides to use the old sinner as a hook to catch a big fish for hell.

“Esa Egipciaca, ramera es,
de quien esto profiero, cuya
extremada belleza, en

⁴¹³“Blessed Virgin,” *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1, 192; see the very literary description of Mary in French cathedrals in Henry Adams, *Mont Saint Michel*, 87-102.

⁴¹⁴ “Decuria,” 28.

Palestina es anzuelo que me
ofrece grande pesca de
almas para el inferno.”⁴¹⁵

So all go to the fiesta and Egipciaca makes her first appearance in the play. No doubt a young male student played the female part of Egipciaca since no women were allowed to appear on a Jesuit stage.⁴¹⁶

Egipciaca finds herself alone on stage. The usual crowd of military men with their plumed hats and black capes, the students, the clerics, the friars from the conventos, the nobles and rural farmers and all the possible clients that she as a prostitute can have, all have gone to the fiesta. She decides to go too and she hopes to catch ten or twelve lovers.

“Hermosa es la variedad de hombres galanes, compuestos unos a lo militar, con plumas, otros de vestido negro, unos de capotes ricos, otros de espadín, en cuerpo. Colegiales, monigotes, Frayles de todos conventos, hombres nobles y plebeyos. Yo juzgo están en la fiesta, porque aquí a nadie veo, pues alcanzar no e podido a los que engañar pretendo; boyme a entrar por el concurso, porque yo solo intento sacar diez o doce amantes.”⁴¹⁷

María sees the church, wishes to enter it, but some inner force prevents her from doing so. The Chorus tells us why.

“Pecadora atrevida. limpia tu alma, si quieres que Dios las puertas te abra; pues tus culpas te cierran las de su gracia.”⁴¹⁸

At this point in the play the Virgin Mary appears, although she is not listed in the characters of the play. Egipciaca sees her and calls her the “*Divina Aurora Celeste*,” the protector of sinful souls, the door to heaven for her afflicted slave. Then the Crucified Christ appears, also not mentioned in the play's characters. The Chorus tells María to approach him who is the key to salvation. She does so and prays.

“No sois, dueño mío,
como otros amantes
que nunca perdonan
si injuria les hazen;
pues de Vos no dudo
que por perdonarme,
estáis rebentando
por quinientas partes.
En pies, pecho y manos
he visto señales

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁴¹⁶ For males playing female roles in Jesuit productions see McCabe, *An Introduction to the Jesuit Theatre*, 178-180.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 29-30.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 32.

de que deseáis
nuestras amistades;
ea, hermoso dueño,
ea, rico amante,
libradme un destello
que mi pecho abraze.
Galán de mi alma,
mi Dios, perdonadme,
a que de tus pies a
un desierto baje,
a hazer penitencia
de mis culpas graves,
por toda mi vida;
sin perder instante
que mis ojos sean
copiosos raudales.⁴¹⁹

The biblical references to the repentance story of Mary Magdalene and to Christ as the shepherd seeking the lost sheep are evident. María, however, speaks the sensual language of the prostitute. Christ now becomes her *dueño*, her *amante*, the *galan de mi vida*. She also turns to her new lover out of her own free will. No one forces her to repent. No one makes her change her way of life. María wanted to enter the church but she could not until she herself cleansed her soul through repentance. She speaks about her *voluntad* being that of Christ's. This element of Free Will is a major Jesuit contribution to their theatre and it is emphasized in the play.⁴²⁰ God is present. His assistance is offered through grace, but the individual must freely accept it. The individual can reject or accept God's grace. Human action is essential if man's destiny is to be fixed. Thus, human freedom remains intact. Man's liberty is secured. This important theological point, the effectivity of grace while preserving Free Will, so hotly debated in the seventeenth century, was not lost on the audience.

Once it is clear that María chooses to accept God's grace, the good angel comes to her side to help her along the path to righteousness. She tells María that Christ has sent her to guide her steps. “Y me ordena que te guie, y a ti que sigas mis pasos hasta donde es su gusto que vivas, desagraviando con singular nueva vida su respeto soberano.”⁴²¹

The Chorus tells the audience to weep, to repent of its sins and dispose itself to receive his rewards. María bids farewell to the world of her past, to its hypocrisy, its pomps,

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁴²⁰ McCabe, *An Introduction to the Jesuit Theatre*, 144, discusses the specific Jesuit contributions to their theatre.

⁴²¹ “Decuria,” 32.

its delights, its pride. She no longer needs the world as a friend; she no longer follows its footsteps.

Luzbel drives off Chaparro. Egipciaca is still fearful of God's wrath but the good angel assures her that God wishes to reward her good works.

The angel says: "Contigo seré María, hasta llevarte a los cielos."⁴²²

Both Alejandro and Chaparro also turn to God and ask for grace to live a good life. Alejandro hears celestial music and he is told by the good angel that Egipciaca has caused it by turning to God. The angel urges Alejandro to imitate her virtues, flee the risks of offending God who although good and holy is also rigorous and severe. Both Alejandro and Chaparro ask for God's grace.

"Dádnos vuestra gracia
porque seamos buenos."⁴²³

The play ends with all, actors and audience, asking God to pardon their sins.

"TODOS. Pidiendo disculpa
de nuestros defectos."⁴²⁴

There is no room in the Jesuit scheme of things for fate. Nothing happens by chance. The individual chooses and upon that decision rests his fate. Evil is present to pull one away from good but evil succeeds only if the individual allows it to. Man's ability to conquer evil remains a major characteristic of the individual. Man is not a helpless creature beneath the weight of nature's massivity. This blend of renaissance individualism and Tridentine theology was a major contribution of the Jesuits. The audience may or may not have realized the theological import of what they were viewing. A staged spectacle, an elaborate performance with props, costumes, songs, music, and sometimes dance, overwhelmed but never eliminated the didactic element in Jesuit theatre.

Actors, stagehands, audience, and community looked upon the theatre as entertainment with a purpose.

The Jesuit theatre was a microcosm of what the Jesuits themselves wanted to inculcate in their students. They wished their students to be articulate, committed believers, learned in all forms of secular knowledge but with the realization that they were on a journey towards a more permanent homeland. How they behaved and lived in this life would determine the nature of the reward or punishment in the next.

MEASURING THE EFFECT

How can one measure the effect of Jesuit colleges in Latin America through the 175-plus years of their existence? When the Jesuits were expelled from America in 1767, they were running over 70 colleges that covered the area from Mexico to Chile. They administered large colleges in Mexico City and small ones like in Salta, near Córdoba.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, 36.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*

Jesuit Colleges in Latin America in 1767

Mexico	Perú	Tucumán/ Paraguay	Chile	Quito	Nueva Granada	Cuba	Santo Domingo
Mexico City	Lima	Cordoba	Chiloe	Popoyan	Caracas	La Habana	Santo Domingo
Oaxaca	Arequipa	Buenos Aires	Santiago (2)	Pasto	Santa Fe		
Patzcuaro	Cuzco	Corrientes	Concepción	Latacunga	Merida		
Guadalajara	Trujillo	Salta		Ambato	Loja		
Merida	Callao	La Rioja		Cuenca	Cartagena		
Panama	Huamanga	Tarifa		Ibarra	Maracaibo		
Puebla	Potosi	Santiago del Estero		Riobamba	Mompos		
Valladolid	Cercado	Esteca		Guayaquil	Ocana		
Tepozotlan	Pasto	Tucuman			Tunja		
Antequera	La Plata	Catamarca			Antioquia		
Merida (Yucatan)	Pisco	Asuncion					
Guatemala	La Paz	Santa Fe					
Durango	Oruro	Mendoza					
Leon		San Luis					
Celaya							
San Luis							
Parras							
Veracruz							
Michoacan							
Zacatecas							

SOURCES: FG; Guglieri Navarro, *Documentos*.

One immediately thinks that the influence of Jesuit colleges on intellectual, cultural, and social currents was greater in the large colonial centers. But that may not have been the case. Cities such as Mexico City, Lima, or Buenos Aires had within them a wide range of religious and social currents that affected the social life of the city. The Jesuits were one of several religious orders maneuvering for prominence and leverage. The greater impact might well have occurred in places like Ambato or Mendoza where they were unchallenged and provided the only cultural events and academic opportunities for the local populace. What the larger centers did provide, however, was the opportunity to influence social policy and affect religious currents within a region. One can examine the Jesuit scholarly production of books, broadsides, and sermons to assess the attempt to influence those who made decisions and set Indian and social policy. Policy making was not as highly centralized in Madrid as one might think. The traditional and time honored attitude reflected in the ancient phrase "*Obedezco pero no cumpla*" was alive and well in colonial America and governors used it frequently. A large ocean separated Madrid from America and an even larger expanse separated the local capitol from the town. This gave ample

scope for local circumstances to override centralized directives. It also gave local religious orders a strength and influence far beyond what they enjoyed in Spain.⁴²⁵

Jesuit influence in Indian affairs was far more evident in the methods they used to convert and maintain the indigenous population in Christianity than in theoretical works that influenced mission methods. The Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay were a continuation of Franciscan methods and in direct descent from the Jesuit Julí in Andean Peru. José de Acosta who was in the College of Lima produced one of the most influential studies of Indians that appeared during the entire colonial period. His *De Procuranda Indorum Salute* and his *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* were two major publications of great influence and both were written while Acosta was part of the college community in Lima.

Few Jesuit scholars in America attained the respect that José de Acosta did. Few had the time or opportunity to write as he did. Guillermo Furlong has written extensively about Jesuit writers in Paraguay and Tucumán but the most notable of these had to wait until after 1767 for their writings to be published and known.⁴²⁶

Outstanding scholarship is one way of measuring the Jesuit impact. The influence of their students is another. But influence on what? On society as a whole? on the government? on social values? on politics? We know in general how many students graduated with degrees, how many clerics were educated in theology and philosophy in the Jesuit universities of Córdoba or Guatemala, but in what way did they influence society and how did their education in Jesuit schools influence their attitudes and behavior? Did the Jesuits have any effect on them at all? The Jesuits as teachers and counselors attracted a considerable number of young men who had studied in their colleges into the Society of Jesus, especially in Mexico and Peru. This means that Jesuit classroom teachers must have been saying and doing something that young men wanted to imitate. The Jesuit teacher in a college did not see himself solely as a religious sharing information about secular subjects. He had the goal of instilling a set of Christian values into his students while at the same time developing critical judgment. However, a delicate balance existed between obedience to church authority and exercising critical judgment and sometimes the balance was tilted. But the desire to imitate and live the kind of a life that students saw Jesuits living reflects what must have been a strong attraction, and it stemmed from the classroom. Christian humanism attracted because it did not deny the beauty of the human. And above all, Jesuit classroom teachers were exponents of Christian humanism. Unfortunately, we do not know what went on in the Jesuit classroom, nor in any other classroom for that matter. We have some hints from literary figures but the classroom or lecture hall was almost considered “forbidden space” to outsiders. The teacher was and still is jealous of controlling the interaction between himself and the student within that space. Words were spoken and ideas floated but how and why the listener became affected by them, if at all, remains something of a mystery.

It is difficult to quantify the impact of an educational institution on society. It is almost “self-evident” that Jesuit colleges did exert an impact on colonial society. Over the period from 1600 to 1767 the larger institutions, Mexico, Peru, Tucumán, and smaller colleges educated no less than 500,000 students. But the numbers of books produced by a

⁴²⁵ See Burrus, “Mexican Jesuit Authors,” and Martin, “The Intellectual Conquest,” for Jesuit scholarly production. To my knowledge, no examination of Jesuit sermons has been attempted. Alden, *The Making of An Enterprise*, uses the sermons and writings of Antonio Vieira in his study of the Jesuits in the Portuguese Empire.

⁴²⁶ Furlong, *Los Jesuitas y la cultura rioplatense*, and the bibliography listed in the same author's *Manuel Quirini S.J. y sus Informes al Rey*.

faculty, the number of graduates receiving degrees, the place of those graduates in the larger society are descriptive and do not really reach the heart of the matter. Numbers can be added up and totaled. Ideas can't be, and by far the question of impact involves ideas.

CHAPTER 6

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Colonial art and architecture has been the subject of several excellent studies.⁴²⁷ Styles, forms, models, architects, and artists, and materials have been examined in reasonable detail. Less attention has been paid to the specific iconography and architecture of Jesuit churches and buildings at least until Fernando Arellano's work in 1991.⁴²⁸ When the first missionaries arrived in Mexico in the sixteenth century, they brought with them European models of churches and iconography. Convents and monasteries were constructed just as in Spain but early on new features were added not found in the Old Country and necessitated by the new evangelization. The open air atrium accommodating hundreds of Indian worshippers and used for instruction was one distinct contribution to early American religious architecture.⁴²⁹ Some early Mexican churches had a fortress-like look because they served the same purpose as the Norman churches in eleventh-century France, protecting villagers from armed assaults. They were usually built in the Romanesque, gothic, or renaissance style of Europe with a single nave.⁴³⁰ The church was the only stone construction in the vicinity able to withstand a protracted attack of arrows and weaponry. The plateresque style in Latin America appeared after the discovery of the great silver mines of Guanajuato, Mexico, and Potosi. Carved ornaments with delicate tracing was characteristic of this style. By the seventeenth century the baroque style had made its entrance into the capital cities of Latin America. The standard interior design of the Latin cross was preserved with the nave bisected by a transept, thus separating the sanctuary from the section of the church reserved for the faithful. Marriages and baptisms were recorded in a *cuadrante* or register room. The church cloister was usually associated with the *convento* or priest's house. It was spacious with gardens, flowers, and greenery.

What follows is not a history of Jesuit architecture. Not found here are the technical aspects of the buildings with the dates of when they were constructed, which artists and architects were responsible for which works, with an accurate dating of when various parts of the churches were built. What is present in this chapter, however, is a sense of what the Jesuit colonial churches and their iconography tried to say to the multitudes that saw them. Architecture and art is an expression of energy. It speaks in a language of form whose meaning must be deciphered.

HOUSES OF GOD

Jesuit churches were almost always associated with their colleges. The Society of Jesus did not staff parishes in a city because that was the prerogative of the secular clergy, but alongside their colleges was almost always a church distinctively constructed. The church in Santiago de Guatemala, for example, is almost a replica of rural fiesta art. The façade is extraordinarily busy. Twelve saintly figures peer out from their niches, scallop-like

⁴²⁷ Kubler, *Art and Architecture*, Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo*, are classic studies. Wethey, *Colonial Architecture*, Vargas, *Arte Colonial*, and Arellano, *El Arte Jesuítico*, are more recent.

⁴²⁸ Javellana, *Wood and Stone*, has examined Jesuit art and colonial churches in the tropical Philippines.

⁴²⁹ McAndrew, *The Open Air Churches*.

⁴³⁰ See examples in Ricard, *La "conquete spirituelle,"* 120, passim.

designs fill three quarters of the facade, four bell towers stretch above the three entrances and three colored glass windows are above each door. The center window, which is above the main church entrance, is filled with pieces of transparent bone. Topping the entire facade and looking down over those entering the church and those in the courtyard, because the church faces not a street but the college courtyard, is a monstrance. One usually associates the Sacred Species with a monstrance, used to bless the faithful at benediction services and in Corpus Christi processions, but in this monstrance is the Jesuit symbol IHS which is found on much of Jesuit iconography. In the single niche below the monstrance is a crucifix of the dying Christ.

As most Jesuit churches, this one in Santiago de Guatemala, later called Guatemala City, was built over several decades and not in one hurried period of time. Funds dribbled in each year from college-owned estates and real estate, funds that had to be shared by other demands associated with operating an urban institution. The Society in Mexico from which Guatemala was governed assigned a Jesuit full-time to church construction, Fr. Ignacio Lopez de Azpeitia. The province catalogue described him as: “*Praest Fabricae*,” or as we would say today “Construction Manager.” This was the third Jesuit church in the city. The first proved inadequate, the second was destroyed in an earthquake, and this third one was built near the Plaza Mayor, the center of the city.⁴³¹

The church was physically attached to the college precincts to enable easy access of students and Jesuit faculty. It is unclear whether others had unlimited access to the church or whether it was considered a “college” chapel. The interior, according to the outline given below, had a free open space with nave and sanctuary but no transept. A sanctuary where the altar was located was set apart from the rest of the nave. The plans we now possess do not elaborate on the details of the interior. Only the facade is drawn in detail. And it is a unique example of colonial art. It conveys the feeling of a family shrine not overwhelming one with its size. It appears flat and wide, almost as if hugging the ground, no doubt deliberately so constructed in order to protect against earthquakes.

Although San Lucas has fourteen statues looking down from the facade, their number does not compare with the 300 cherubim and saints on the facade of the Jesuit church at Tepozotlán, Mexico. This was once was the church of the Jesuit Novitiate house in Mexico and it has been called the most beautiful baroque church in Latin America.⁴³²

The number of statues looking down from the facade is calculated to impress the viewer with the magnitude and plenitude of the Communion of Saints. They are all there, each with an assigned task waiting for the faithful to call upon him or her to invoke power, protection, and assistance. Just as in early Europe the rosary replaced the talisman, or the statue replaced the household god, or the Mass replaced pagan rites, so too in Mexico, and it also occurred elsewhere in Latin America, the saints replaced the powers that ruled the daily lives of the Indian. Now the Native American had the Christian saint to pray to. No matter that the Indian prayed to both, refusing to cast aside centuries of belief in a local god. The faithful, both Spanish and Indian, were reminded of this reality by the plethora of saints visible in their niches.

A major question rises in what the European imagined the Indian thought about all these figures. For the Spaniard, the baroque was beautiful, and the swirling columns and elaborate decoration and cherubim heads were a direct response to the stark emptiness of the Protestant reformer's place of worship. The baroque in Europe was a response. In

⁴³¹ Saenz de Santa María, *Historia de la educación*, 155.

⁴³² Arellano, *El Arte jesuítico*, 196

Latin America where the Protestant Reformation meant very little, the elaborate facade was simply another design. The Indian saw the church at Tepozotlán as an icon to the new belief system. Whether it was “beautiful” did not matter. His notion of beauty was different from the European's. The baroque in Latin America was a projection of the European's universalist sense. But even the baroque church at Tepozotlán combines American and European features. It is not totally European. The Indian craftsmen who molded the statuary, designs, and the icons that still grace the facade and interior left Indian features on the saints, Indian symbols both within the church and on the exterior.

The facade is carved in stone, in a Churrigueresque style. The stone changes color depending on the shadows that fall on it during the daytime. Jesuit iconography, St. Francis Xavier, the Society's symbol IHS, and St. Ignatius Loyola dominate. St. Francis Xavier who was revered within the Society as the missionary par excellence was the patron of the church because the Jesuits were originally entrusted with the town of Tepozotlán in 1591 to act as missionaries for the Otomi Indians and to educate the sons of the Indian leaders. The bell towers have the traditionally Mexican *estípetes*, pilasters that look like inverted pyramids.

The construction of the church began in 1671 and was completed around 1740. The church dome throws light on the five gilded altarpieces. The magnificent craftsmanship of the altarpieces is a tribute to the Indians who brought their ancient talents to bear on behalf of the new religion. St. Francis Xavier has a place of honor in the sanctuary to the left of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe who is in the center. To her right is the founder of the Jesuits, St. Ignatius Loyola. Along the nave walls are St. Joseph and the Virgen de la Luz. Two of Miguel Cabrera's paintings are in the lower choir, *El Patrocinio de Jesucristo a las Almas de Purgatorio* and the *El Patrocinio de la Virgen María a la Compañía de Jesús*.

A small interior room decorated in a baroque style is used to change the gowns of the Virgin, an indication of the degree to which Spanish realism had been integrated into and accepted by the indigenous population. The statue, whether the *Virgen de Guadalupe* or San Francisco Javier, is considered more than just a representation of the individual. No one would say that the statue is the person represented, but neither would a Spaniard or Mexican admit that it is simply a little plaster object with lifelike features. The dressing room is an example of how the concrete is preferred to the abstract in Hispanic culture.

The cloister with its gardens, fountain, and graceful arches, the kitchens near the patio, and the smaller *Capilla Domestica* with its brightly decorated mirrors, relics, and paintings, were used exclusively by the Jesuits, intended primarily for the Novices seeking admission to the Society of Jesus in the Mexican Province.

Spaniards and Indians viewed the churches differently. But on some level the effect was the same. The Spaniards were reassured that the rites and rituals into which they had been born were observed in the New World. The American born European was likewise reassured in his cultural heritage. But as alluded to above the churches were neither Spanish nor Indian. They were American. The blend of European fundamentals with Native American designs and shapes produced a third quantity that was distinctively American. No church complex in Spain ever looked like the Sanctuary of Nuestra Señora de Ocotlan in Tlaxcala. Nor did any approach the gilded facade of Santa María Tonantzintla, Puebla, or have tiled domes like the ones on the church of Carmen in Mexico City. So although the European and American born Spaniard was reassured by familiar religious surroundings, the surroundings bore a distinctly American flavor. For the Indian, the church structure and its related buildings was a symbol of power, a “powerhouse” as all large structures, whether civil, religious, or private, are intended to be. The Indian was never excluded from the Spaniard's church like the Black slave in the North American south was excluded from

the white man's place of worship. The Indian was not a slave but he was on the lower end of the social pyramid. Nevertheless, he partook of the festivities, rituals, and processions that the Spanish priests introduced into the calendar. The religious fiesta was by no means simply an opportunity to revel. The saint whose feastday was celebrated was considered truly the appointed guardian of the city or town whose presence and protection had to be assured, primarily against the wiles of the Devil. There was a social as well as deeply religious motivation operating beneath the dancing and drinking of the yearly fiesta. Therefore, the Indian saw the physical attributes of the church, the statues standing in protection of him, the patron saint watching his every move, the Virgin or Christ observing all, the decorated facade, the church interior whose walls were hung with colored pictures and paintings and murals, the thick church walls and the atrium, all of these were the tangible manifestation of God's presence working through the priests that ministered to them. The massive church also meant power, influence, and domination. In Mexico City the great Christian churches were frequently constructed on top of the ruins of the Aztec temples to demonstrate once for all the obliteration of the old religion. In the rural areas of America, it was not so easy and Christian missionaries came to a gentle accommodation with the old native rites. Some Christian priests even permitted the old rites to be practiced within the shadow of the church walls, but the priests would never admit that.

The silver mines of Guanajuato and Tasco as well as the great haciendas and ranches were the primary sources of the funds that built ornate churches and paid craftsmen to decorate them. While Mexican colonial churches tried to outdo each other in ornateness and size, further south, in the Andes, the religious orders constructed a number of extraordinary religious sites and shrines employing native craftsmen to decorate and create the iconography. The Jesuit church in Quito is a prime example of massive baroque construction in an urban, Andean setting.

The Jesuits arrived in Quito from Peru in 1586 but it was several years before serious church construction was begun. Popularly referred to as *La Compañía*, the Jesuit church has a long construction history, from 1605 to 1765, intimately connected with the college complex and associated buildings.⁴³³ Property adjacent to the college was purchased for a church in 1605 for 6,500 pesos, and by 1613 a suitable edifice was opened for public worship. In 1636 the Italian Jesuit architect, Marcos Guerrero, arrived in Quito to direct construction of a more elaborate church. Interior and exterior refinements were added and by 1666 the interior of the church was completed as was the general architecture of the square block that held the Jesuit church, residence, college, and university. Guerrero supervised construction of the college building, the library, and the church, and also much of the sculpture. The famous facade was not begun until 1722 nor completed until 1765. The cost of construction materials and labor was high.⁴³⁴ The cost of the Jesuit church in Lima was about a million pesos and Quito's could not have been too much less. When added to the costs of building the college, university, library, lecture halls, theatre, cloisters, living quarters, dining room, and general offices, the sum was almost two million pesos. The piece de I resistance was the gold leaf plating of the church's interior. To plate just one of the side altar tabernacles cost 6,000 pesos. How much the main altar *retablo* cost, or the other side altars can only be guessed. The *cofradías* bore much of the financial burden for the side altars.

⁴³³ Ceballos García, *Arte colonial de Ecuador*, 79-83

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, 96; economic reports of the college are in *ARSI*, Quito 11

A long-time resident of the Jesuit house in Quito in the eighteenth century characterized the residence as truly regal, with magnificent paintings, gardens, cloisters, spacious living quarters, and dining room decorated with the most lovely paintings.⁴³⁵

The facade of *La Compañía* is truly remarkable both for the exquisiteness of detail and the form of the design. The number of statues, eight, looking down from their niches is not overwhelming. And four of these are looking towards the center portal. The five swirling pillars pull the onlooker's gaze upwards. On the topmost part of the facade is an inscription to Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuits, and atop this is the monstrance. Although not immediately apparent, the church is similar to the Gesù in Rome, the grand baroque Jesuit church whose interior is encrusted in gold topped by a fantastically painted ceiling that flows down over the pillars to become almost three-dimensional, merging with painted stucco figures in a swirling composition glorifying the Jesuit saints. However, the facade of *Il Gesù* is nothing like the *La Compañía's*. No swirling columns greet the visitor. No cherubim heads and bodies are suspended. No square pillars are lavishly decorated. No Jesuit symbols are in evidence. One has to enter *Il Gesù* to see these. *La Compañía* announces them beforehand and tells you what to expect inside.

The interior is cavernous. Vaulted ceilings move on to a windowed dome throwing light on the sanctuary. The entire church is gilded and decorated with finely worked designs. Six side altars are exquisitely done in gold and silver. The retablo dedicated to San Francisco Javier is exceptionally elaborate. The saint's statue is flanked within the niche by five angels, with other angels along the *retablo's* border. To the left of the statue is a carving depicting the saint's death on the Island of Sancian as he was on the point of entering China. On the other side of the statue another carving depicts the saint baptizing a dark-skinned person, probably an Indian. The entire side altar and retablo is gold painted.

The side altars are matched by the magnificent pulpit that is topped by a statue of St. Paul preaching to the gentiles. Other saints, including St. Ignatius Loyola, are in niches around the circumference of the pulpit. The colors are lively but not glaring. Blue, red, amber, and gold predominate, all coordinated to produce a pleasant effect. However, gold is the dominant color.

For the European and the Native American gold was a precious metal, the most precious available. Therefore, a church gilded in gold represented to both Spaniard and Indian a degree of unsurpassed affluence. Driving the penchant for more ultrabaroque decorative churches was a sense of competition among the religious orders. The stated motive for the expense of decoration was that the building was for God and God should not be spared any expense. However, working alongside this motive was the fact that the religious order nearby had to be outdone. The history of the religious orders in Latin America is dotted with rivalry, competition, and resentment. The Jesuits came in for their fair share of criticism and were able to dispense it with equal vigor. Of course the basis of the rivalry was the mystique that the Jesuits brought with them from Europe to America. They were the Catholic Church's answer to the problems that Trent tried to correct. They had the reputation of having the most intelligent members, the best trained, and the most successful. The rivalry and competition might have been played out over minutiae: who walked first in processions, the right to grant degrees at a local college or university, the administration of certain churches. But in reality the cause was deeper, the past and present resentment of the Jesuits for their perceived superiority and for what they had accomplished. The reason for the extraordinarily decorated Jesuit churches in the Andes

⁴³⁵ Recio, "Compendiosa relación de la cristiandad de Quito," 261, 264

and in the major cities of America was in part but not wholly due to a desire to outshine the rival religious order. The churches, therefore, sent a message not so much to Indians but to the European world: superiority in the material and in the intellectual as well. The Jesuits also felt that great churches meant more prestige for Christianity vis-à-vis the indigenous American. This was not always the case. The Indians retained their own shrines far from the cities and in many cases still worshipped their own gods even while devoutly attending mass on Sunday or holydays.

In Andean Peru a slightly less degree of affluence is evident in the colonial churches. However, Cuzco was an exception. This was the ancient capital of the Incas, the city at which Francisco Pizarro's men stared in disbelief. The palaces of Atahualpa's rival, Huayna Capac, the Temple to the Sun, even the houses of the common folk were unlike anything that the poor Spaniards in Pizarro's army had ever seen, so imposing were they. The chroniclers of the conquest of Cuzco compared Cuzco to Santiago de Compostella or to Seville, so grand was it. When the dust of conquest settled, the religious orders went about building their own monuments to their own gods. The Jesuits who arrived in Cuzco in 1593 constructed a massive church on the foundations of the old palace of Huayna Capac. Deliberately? Convenience? A message that the old had been destroyed for good?

The two wide bell towers of *La Compañía* appear slightly out of proportion with the main portal since together they are wider than the entire facade. They seem like anchors holding the church into the ground and they may well have served exactly that purpose. Earthquakes are frequent so this may have been a colonial form of earthquake-proofing. The squat, hugging-the-ground, appearance was designed to insure survival.

The relative simplicity of *La Compañía's* exterior contrasts sharply with the interior. Here, especially in the sacristy, the wall paintings and the dome recall the dome of the Jesuit church in Quito. The four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, are joined by the traditional Martyrdom of St. Stephen and the Resurrection of Christ. Little Indian flavor here! Only the archangels above the horn of plenty in the dome are Peruvian-style angels. The polychrome and wooden statues near the sacristy doors are more local.

Comparing the Cuzco sacristy with the sacristy of the Jesuit church in Lima, San Pedro, one is struck by the latter's greater number of paintings and the greater wealth of detail.

The hugging-the-earth motif is also exemplified in the Jesuit church complex in Arequipa in southern Peru. The city lies at the foot of the big cones of the maritime cordillera in the Chili River Valley at an altitude of 2,400 meters. Its wealth during colonial times was based mainly on sugar and wine production in the Pisco, Nazca, and Ica valleys to the north. The Jesuit church has an elaborately decorated facade with an equally handsome cloister and attached buildings. The architecture of the complex is unique. The white limestone exudes a sense of purity and almost subtropical warmth. But the flatness of the entire complex reflects a reasonable concern with the frequency of earthquakes. Not a spot remains empty on the facade, almost as if every square meter had to be filled in with an elaborate design. This kind of design, bunches of grapes are prominent, reflect the native folk-art retablos of Indians dancing and people in general engaged in a wide variety of fiesta activities. The scene is busy yet it remains pleasant to behold.

The wildly carved seventeenth-century facade is an introduction to the decorative motifs within. St. Ignatius Loyola is the centerpiece of the main altar, featured in a gold-leafed cedar carving along with Jesus and Mary. St. Ignatius also has a side chapel whose walls are exuberantly painted with birds, warriors, the four gospel writers, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, tropical fruits, and flowers.

On the walls of the chapel are paintings of Ignatius, the Virgin and Christ Child, Christ bound to a pillar, and the Risen Christ all done in the 18th-century Cuzco style. The figures in the paintings all have gentle, almost childlike expressions on their faces. The pillars of the Jesuit cloister are all decorated. Grapes, papaya, and pineapples are motifs repeated on each pillar.

Here as well, the squatness of the construction reminds us of the closeness of the snowcapped volcano, El Misti, just north of Arequipa. An earthquake is always a possibility.

The church and entire complex is certainly less ornate and less affluent than the Jesuit churches in Cuzco or Quito. The decorative motifs give us a clue as to why. The audience that the structures played to were Indian as well as Spanish. Arequipa was remote from Lima, semi-isolated by the dry coastal desert, almost tropical in its whiteness. Much of the construction materials for houses came from the white rock, the *sillar*, found at the base of El Misti. The Jesuit complex abounds in it. The whiteness of Arequipa contrasts sharply with the grey fog, the *grua*, of Lima. No wonder, then, that the Jesuit church is filled with the bright colors of the tropics carefully and painstakingly worked by native artists.

THE GREAT ESTATES

Jesuit colleges were supported by large-scale ranching and farming operations.⁴³⁶ The ranches themselves frequently had significant structures including church or chapel. The ranches and farms in Andean Cuzco varied as to size and importance. Many of the ranches were not simple economic entities but they affected the social and religious life of the surrounding area. The hacienda was a complement to the colonial city in that it achieved the same goals as the city but in a rural setting.⁴³⁷ In Andean Peru the hacienda was linked closely to a town or village primarily because the village frequently supplied labor for farm and ranch work. However, the Cuzco hacienda buildings, if one can judge by extant maps and sketches, were not as dramatically large in size as those in Argentina or Mexico.⁴³⁸ In Argentina, for example, the Jesuits left behind several complexes of magnificent hacienda and farm structures. They are architecturally interesting as well and help to define the rural landscape of colonial Latin America.

Santa Catalina estate, a little northwest of Córdoba, along with nearby Jesús María, Caroya, and Altagracia, became the nucleus of the college of Córdoba's landholdings and provided the lion's share of the college's yearly income. After the Jesuits' departure from Latin America in 1767, many of the estate buildings fell into disrepair, but some survived and were purchased by other rural landowners. Santa Catalina's main structures survived and they reveal more than just the shell of rural economic enterprise. They tell us a great deal about what the Jesuits attempted to do in rural Córdoba, their goals, and how they attempted to do it.

The estate of Santa Catalina was dominated by a large, expansive church connected to which was the major residence looking out onto a large patio. The Jesuit superior of the group lived here, the religious instructor, the *estanciero* and usually a Jesuit lay brother. Large

⁴³⁶ Cushner, *Lords of the Land, Farm and Factory*; and *Jesuit Ranches*, examine the great estates run by the Jesuits in America.

⁴³⁷ See Macera's discussion of this in *Mapas coloniales de haciendas cuzqueñas*, XI, XII.

⁴³⁸ The maps in *ibid.* have sketches of the main hacienda building as well as associated structures.

orchards were enclosed by a stone and adobe wall serving not only as a boundary marker but also to keep out wild animals and insure privacy. A *tajamar* or man-made reservoir supplied water for the apparatus of a small textile mill. The slave population was housed in the *ranchería* that still stands today (2000). The ranges spread out around the cluster of hacienda structures.

The average annual slave population on Santa Catalina during the eighteenth century was about 321, a large number given the cost of purchase and maintenance. Almost all were used for the mixed ranching and farming operations of the estate. A strong emphasis was also placed on raising mules for the annual fair in Salta.⁴³⁹

Construction materials on rural estates reflected utility and convenience. Jesuit buildings in Tucumán used stone, adobe, and lime, and lumber. The corrector floor of the one-story slave *ranchería* was made of well-spaced rectangular stone. The pillars and even their bases were made of brick. Possibly because the *ranchería* building was only one story, a stronger base was not needed. Facilities for construction materials were Jesuit-owned and near Córdoba. Santa Catalina was a large, imposing complex of structures that stood out on Tucumán's rural landscape. The church especially stood out, in height, size, and quality of decorative arts. Two Italian Jesuits, Andrés Blanqui and Juan Bautista Primoli, were primarily responsible for most Jesuit construction in the area. A protruding portal stands between the two-towered facade of the Santa Catalina church. The central pediment is characterized by graceful, undulating lines, echoed in the belfries above. There is an emphasis on rounded shapes--in the finials, balustrade, the decoration on the belfries, and on the windows in the towers.⁴⁴⁰

Off the church, connected but to its rear, is an enormous patio, a major construction feature reflecting a Spanish Andalusian influence. "Make me a patio, and if there is space left, some rooms," went the sixteenth-century Spanish saying. The patio was surrounded by cloisterlike correctors common to the great religious monasteries of Europe. The high arches and long correctors give the place a quality of majesty and affluence, contrasting sharply with the naked brick vaulting and square pillars of the nearby slave quarters. The latter seems like a medieval dungeon which of course it was.

The Jesuit rural constructions in Tucumán lacked the decorative detail and embellishments found on Mexican and Peruvian structures. But their great size conveyed a feeling of power. And that was a major point. The large rural house was in reality a "powerhouse," a showcase, an image-maker displaying concrete evidence of wealth and power. This was the church militant and triumphant. Local Jesuit provincials tried to moderate the tendency towards massive structures and in 1710 an official visitor, Antonio Garriga, actually put a stop to all construction, "in order to avoid the excesses introduced in these times of overly large buildings and other signs of excess wealth that should be foreign to our profession of religious poverty."⁴⁴¹

Jesuits may well have been divided about the extravagance of construction. Those in favor cited the Jesuit General Oliva who promoted all types of artistic expression, especially in construction. Oliva made the distinction between Jesuit residences that should

439 "Libro de Officio del P. Procurador, " in Archivum Provinciae Argentinensis (San Miguel), passim.

440 Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo*, 193.

441 "Preceptos, 1?10, BS

reflect holy poverty and Jesuit churches that should “try to reach up to the sublimity of God's eternal omnipotence with such appurtenances of glory as we can achieve.”⁴⁴²

The architecturally significant Jesuit rural structures used local artists working through European forms. Thus there developed a blend of Native American art and Spanish forms. This was true of all Jesuit architecture. The result was unique. It was neither Indian nor Spanish but a blend of baroque and American. In the rural world it demonstrated through large churches alongside agricultural and ranching enterprises that the human side of ranching and farming contained a spiritual dimension. The church, the cloister, the refectory for eating, the rooms for storage, and associated farm and ranch buildings were a reflection of the Kingdom of God on earth. Both secular and religious functions were integrated demonstrating what an ideal society on earth.

“PALACES IN THE DESERT”

The Jesuit structures of Peru and Quito are equally matched by the structures that the Jesuits raised in the Paraguay reductions. Not all of the thirty missions that dotted the banks of the Paraná and Uruguay rivers were lavishly constructed, but several were endowed with magnificent churches and buildings, the ruins of which are today (2000) major tourist attractions.

San Ignacio Miní is perhaps the most widely known for the splendor of its architecture. Only the shell and ruins of what was a magnificent complex of mission buildings exist today. The mission church itself was a massive structure with two high pillars on each side of the entrance. Two human-sized angels guarded the entranceway from above the pillars. A smaller entrance with only one pillar on each side was to the right of the main portal.⁴⁴³ Within the church native guaraní craftsmen filled the side altars and the main *retablos* with well-carved statues of saints and the trinity.

The entire mission complex was a didactic exercise designed to instruct the Indian neophyte in the Christian belief system.⁴⁴⁴ The plethora of statues and religious architectural symbols in the mission complex, many of which are today preserved in the *Museo Histórico* of Buenos Aires, were more akin in purpose to the stained-glass windows of the medieval cathedral than to the gilded decorations of Lima and Quito churches. The gold leafed decorations were aimed more to impress than to teach. But for this very reason, the building construction of the Jesuits came under serious criticism from their own central administration in Rome, prodded by local unease. From 1645 on, a steady stream of cautionary letters was written, warning against ostentatious construction especially in the missions of Paraguay. In 1714, the Jesuit General Michaelangelo Tamburini, wrote to Juan de Zea, the provincial of Paraguay, describing the missions of the Paraná as “palaces in the desert.” “Of what use,” he wrote, “was patio of 300 square feet, a dining room 50 yards

⁴⁴² Mitchell, *The Jesuits*, 135, 139.

⁴⁴³ See the sketches of San Ignacio in *Museo Histórico Provincial*, reprinted in *Historia del Río de la Plata*, 180-192.

⁴⁴⁴ The two best works on the reductions and their goals are Furlong, *Misiones y sus pueblos*, and Hernandez, *Misiones del Paraguay*.

long with a gold-leafed ceiling, or a forty-foot terreplein, other than to demonstrate a great lack of poverty.”⁴⁴⁵

Tamburini's remarks were inaccurate on two counts. The Paraná River missions were surely not in a desert. The beauty of the landscape, the temperate climate, and the fertility of the soil are legendary. But for the European, America was an empty desert! Secondly, massive construction had its cost, but it was a cost borne by the “institution.” It did not reflect the individual poverty that the missionaries experienced. Each missionary lived on about 290 pesos a year which accounted for food, clothing, shelter, and travel.⁴⁴⁶ In all fairness to the Jesuit superior, however, Tamburini was referring to the appearance of extravagant wealth. The massive stone edifice of church and rectory and associated ranch and farming structures with outlying fields and grazing land was property only owned by the rich and powerful. The Jesuit was surrounded by the symbols of wealth, and sometimes the symbols of excess wealth, therefore, he was considered wealthy. The distinction made between institutional and individual wealth fell on deaf ears and could not dispel the obvious, that the Jesuit belonged to an institution that owned vast amounts of land and that possessed political and economic influence.⁴⁴⁷

By extension, the large, elaborately decorated Jesuit churches in Mexico, Quito, and Peru were liable to the same criticism. To say that they were simply extravagances that should not have existed amidst the poverty of the Indians is simplistic in that it ignores the more profound cultural and psychological explanations. The closest parallel I can put forth, and it is a personal one, is from the Holy Week observances and processions in Seville. One evening during Holy Week I was watching the Jesús del Gran Poder statue pass. I can't remember what street it was on. The 27 men beneath the statue holding it up were groaning, struggling, obviously straining at the task. But they were being urged on by the bystanders, shouting encouragement to the men and telling the statue to lighten up its burden so that the men beneath could survive. A Scandinavian couple behind me were shocked at the scene. The “superstitious activity” and shouting were incomprehensible to them. I said nothing but listened to their remarks obviously directed at me. I smiled to myself. They understood not a of wit what they were watching. They got no further than the physical scene in front of them. The meaning of what they were observing was totally lost. On some level, this scene is repeated when attempting to explain the massive churches and baroque decoration of Jesuit and other churches in seventeenth and eighteenth century Latin America. They have a value in themselves as period pieces of artistic expression. Native craftsmen blended American motifs with European forms to produce a unique piece of art. But the meaning of what the object was conveying is frequently overlooked and not understood. Until we understand the meaning embedded in the facade and interior of the Jesuit church and its iconography, that is, understand what the facade was trying to say to the onlookers, our understanding, just as the Scandinavian's, remains very partial.

⁴⁴⁵ (Collection of letters from the General in Rome) APA, no pressmark.

⁴⁴⁶ Cushner, *Lords of the Land*, 177-178, and the sources cited therein.

⁴⁴⁷ See *ibid.*, 176-180 for a discussion of the wealth of the Jesuits.

CHAPTER 7

THE BEAVER AND THE FLEUR DE LIS

In New France where Jesuit missionaries followed fast on the heels of *habitants* and trappers, a large number of Huron Indians became Christians. What made them forsake ancient traditions? Conversion to Christianity was muddled by accompanying commercial advantages with the French. In a most revealing manner, colonial Christianity was compromised by trading relationships, alliances with Europeans, and tribal rivalries, each playing off the other to the eventual detriment of the Native American.

THE LAND BETWEEN THE LAKES

Between the northwest rim of Lake Ontario and the southeastern edge of Lake Huron (now called Georgian Bay) lies a 70-mile strip of fertile, gentle rolling hills. Stands of maple, elm, and birch rise peacefully between lakes and ponds that dot the area. In the summertime the temperature reaches 85-90 degrees F. In July the humidity rolls off the lakes and the bay and the abundance of lush green foliage is reminiscent of sub-tropical Brazil. The winters are bitter cold. Winds whip down unimpeded from Hudson's Bay. The temperature plunges below zero in February and 71 inches of snow falls each year. A four-hundred square-mile piece of this land was home for 30,000 Hurons in the early seventeenth century and it was here that many of the Jesuits who volunteered for the missions of New France were posted. The Hurons were stable agriculturalists, members of the Iroquoian-speaking peoples, trading allies with the French, and ideal targets for conversion to Christianity.

From 1634 to 1650 Jesuit missionaries worked to convert the Hurons. By 1648 almost ten percent of them had become Christian. Two major obstacles worked against the Jesuits. One was disease. Influenza, smallpox, and measles periodically swept through the land and the Indians suspected that somehow the French were responsible. They were correct. Whereas the European's immune system resisted these viruses, the Indian's could not. They became killer-epidemics. Between 1636 and 1640 the Huron population fell from 30,000 to 15,000.⁴⁴⁸ In 1640 the Jesuits baptized 1200 dying children, which only served to confirm the Hurons' worst suspicions. And this was the Jesuits' second obstacle. Ironically, doing what they had come to the New World to do, convert to Christianity, drove a wedge between themselves and the Indians. The Jesuit rushed to the dying because he believed that only with baptism would the soul go to heaven. In the Indian mind the Blackrobe became the harbinger of death.⁴⁴⁹ Baptism killed. Where the Jesuit went, death followed. Thereby, the Jesuit became an evil shaman, tolerated only because he was a key link with the French who provided the trading goods the Hurons so sorely wanted.

⁴⁴⁸ Trigger, *Children of Aataensic*, II, 609. Campeau, *Catastrophe demographique sur les Grands Lacs et les premiers habitants du Quebec*. Indian population is also discussed in Dobyns, "Commentary on Native American Demography," *Ethnohistory*, 31/3 31 (1989), 299-307; Starna, "Mohawk Iroquois Population. A Revision," *Ethnohistory*, 27 (1980), 371-382; and Crosby, "Virgin Soil Epidemics as a Factor in the Aboriginal Depopulation of America," 299. The Indian population throughout the Americas suffered drastic declines from contact with European diseases. See Noble David Cook, *Demographic Collapse*, and Borah and Cook, *Essays in Population History: Mexico and the Caribbean*.

⁴⁴⁹ See Lalemant's comments in JR, 19:91-93.

Disease, death, and a new religion the Indians did not need were what the French Blackrobes had to offer.

In 1650 the rival Mohawks, Onondagas, and Senecas destroyed the Huron villages and drove the French missionaries back to Quebec. The attempt to make stable agriculturalists out of partial hunters and gatherers had failed.

The Jesuits eventually became convinced that assimilation (trying to make Frenchmen out of Indians) was impractical. Allowing the Indians to remain Indians, what is called today indigenization, was a more reasonable approach to Christianization. But the realization was gradual. In between was a series of stops and starts demonstrating hesitancy and doubt. Eventually, the easy acquisition of liquor and the perceived licentiousness of French frontier life convinced the Jesuits of the correctness of this view.

Time and again the Jesuits complained about the devastating effects of liquor on the Indians of New France.⁴⁵⁰ It not only wreaked havoc among the native Americans but it prevented the missionaries from converting them. Because the sale of brandy was closely intertwined with the fur trade, no effective measures were ever taken to interdict the sale of alcohol.

The Indian did not have anything like alcohol in his pre-European food system so its introduction by the French was novel and destructive. The French soldier and trapper who returned from the wilderness and guzzled liquor until he dropped was probably the model that Indians followed. The Indian eat-all feast provided another model for drinking liquor. However, drink-all bouts with brandy ended in fighting, fury, and sometimes murder. The Indian brandy feasts were often paid for with hides and furs not yet acquired, leading to a vicious cycle of drunkenness and debt and more debt to get out of debt.⁴⁵¹ Family members suffered physical violence, many families actually broke up, and liquor became an excuse for committing acts of violence.⁴⁵² The most valued experience for the Indian was the dream when the spirits would instruct the individual about proper behavior.⁴⁵³ Liquor facilitated dreaming. For the Jesuits, liquor was the major obstacle to conversion.⁴⁵⁴ What made it all the more galling was that the Christian French were the brandy suppliers and although the home government paid lip service to stamping out the trade, it never really had its heart in stopping it. The liquor trade continued because on it, argued the French fur traders, depended the trade in beaver furs.

The situation was similar to that faced by the Jesuits in Paraguay at almost the same time, only the product the Spanish traders wanted was not beaver furs but *Yerba Mate*, what came to be called Jesuit Tea. The Guaraní Indians of the Upper Paraná River grew the leaves which when soaked in boiling water produced the universally accepted beverage in Latin America, *mate*. The Spanish middlemen in Buenos Aires bought the tea at a pitifully

⁴⁵⁰ For numerous references to Jesuit objections to the liquor trade, see Dailey, "The Role of Alcohol Among North American Indian Tribes as Reported in the Jesuit Relations,"

^{45-59.} See also Nolan, "The Liquor Problem and the Jesuit Mission in New France," 91-141; and Levy and Kunitz, *Indian Drinking. Navajo Practices and Anglo-American Theories*.

⁴⁵¹ JR 6: 253; 46: 103.

⁴⁵² Dailey, "The Role of Alcohol," 54.

⁴⁵³ Wallace, "Dreams and the Wishes of the Soul. A Type of Psychoanalytic Theory Among the Seventeenth Century Iroquois," 234-248.

⁴⁵⁴ See Lafiteau's Memorial, JR 67: 39-47.

low price from the Indians. The Jesuits stepped in and not only began to act as brokers for the Indians but set up storage houses in the city and in other key locations, thus successfully driving the Spanish middleman out of the tea business.⁴⁵⁵ The Jesuit response in Paraguay to colonial exploitation was to isolate the Indian in self-sufficient towns called reductions. This achieved several purposes. It kept the Indians away from what the missionaries considered the harmful influences of liquor and sexual promiscuousness; the Indians were taught crafts, animal husbandry and agrarian techniques that would allow them to remain economically self-sufficient,⁴⁵⁶ and most important of all, the stable Indian community permitted the missionary to indoctrinate on a regularly scheduled basis. The key points in the mission village in South America were isolation and indoctrination. And in turn the Jesuits exposed themselves to the charge that *they* were exploiting the Indians and reaping the financial rewards of the *mate* trade.

Government support and resources were available to the Jesuits and the economic and cultural climate (for want of a better phrase) almost guaranteed success in the reductions. In New France, on the other hand, the Jesuit missionaries faced the same problem of liquor and perceived corrosive influence, but they were marginally successful in establishing mission towns. Those that were developed did not last long and were not nearly as controlled or effective as the Jesuit reductions of Paraguay.

The Jesuit mission town of St. Joseph de Sillery, about ten miles west of Quebec on the St. Lawrence River, was established for the same reasons that the Jesuits of Paraguay established the reductions: to isolate and indoctrinate⁴⁵⁷.

In 1638 the Jesuit superior, Paul LeJeune, moved two Christian Indian families onto land that he had acquired from the Duc de Sillery family. Other Montagnais moved onto the periphery of the village. LeJeune was hopeful that the Indians would “become sedentary and . . . believe in God.”⁴⁵⁸ A smallpox epidemic scattered the inhabitants in 1639 but by 1640 the village had a hospital and a Jesuit residence. Four one-room houses were constructed for the Indian families and a chapel was erected. Agricultural lands were cleared on the outskirts of the village but the Jesuits were hard put to convince the Indians to abandon their traditional hunting traditions. Disease, fire, Iroquois attacks, and cultural tradition combined to empty the village of the 120 Christian Indians that lived there in 1646. By the 1660s, the

Jesuits in Sillery were caring for the French settlers of the village, the Indians having long abandoned the site.

Notre Dame de Loretto was more successful. Situated on the Jesuit lands of St. Michael about 10 miles south of Montreal, the mission village held over 300 Iroquois and Huron Christians between 1669 and 1674.⁴⁵⁹ Thirteen cabins formed a quadrangle with a chapel in the center. In one year, 27 Iroquois were baptized. The Onondaga Iroquois were persuaded to leave their own lands and live as Christians “to escape the drunkenness and

⁴⁵⁵ Cushner, *Jesuit Ranches and the Agrarian Development of Colonial Argentina, 1650-1767*, pp. 80-82, 153-154.

⁴⁵⁶ Each mission village or *reducción* had common land but private plots were worked as well.

⁴⁵⁷ Ronda, “The Sillery Experiment: A Jesuit-Indian Village in New France, 1637-1663,” 1-18.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁴⁵⁹ Morissonneau, “Huron of Lorette,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 15, 389-393.

disorder” of their own villages.⁴⁶⁰ No drinking was permitted in the villages and no Frenchmen were allowed to settle in their environs.

La Prairie de Madelain, about 100 miles east of Sillery was the other mission village the Jesuits erected.

All three tried to create an environment reminiscent of a European town. Church, civil government in Indian hands, a school, sedentary agriculture, and monogamous families, all under the watchful eyes of the French missionary, were the major features of the villages. But the seed did not germinate. The Jesuits hoped that the example of sedentary agricultural life would act as catalyst among the Indians and persuade large numbers to join what they believed to be the better and more civilized way of life. Too many factors militated against the Indian accepting the new religion as long as it was covered in a European cloak.

The monogamy and revised courtship practices demanded by the missionaries was opposed and eventually ended in uproar and confusion.

Christian males denounced non-Christian females and demanded that they be imprisoned by the French. Public flogging of young women by village officials became a common sight.⁴⁶¹ The traditionalists bitterly opposed the Christians and in the end the old life style and customs prevailed. Many Indians were not persuaded that sedentary agriculture was for them and they looked upon the mission village as a convenient base camp for the winter hunt.

Sillery and the mission villages failed to be successful agents of Western Civilization. “We are well as we are,” was the response that summed up the general feeling of the Montagnais, Huron, and Iroquois.⁴⁶² The initial encounter between European and Indian and the following century of contact was insufficient by itself to persuade the Indian to accept the new culture. The Jesuit missionaries on their part, at least those near Quebec and Montreal, were unwilling to modify their theological message. Not only was the message wrapped in layers of culture-bound elements (e.g. the Jesuits insisted that the Indians cut their long hair) but the proximity to the administrative centers of Quebec and Montreal made the missionary more sensitive to the criticism of adapting too easily to Indian ways. The Chinese Rites controversy in which the Jesuits were embroiled in the seventeenth century further reduced their zeal to fully accept Indian ways. Cultural relativism was not in the Jesuit quiver. Cautious adaptation was.

THE BEAVER, THE CROSS, AND THE FLEUR DE LIS

Unlike the Spanish Jesuits in Florida, the French Jesuits in North America were not considered essential to the political and economic aims of their government. France did not need a pliant, obedient Christian native population as a work force, only one willing to trade. French interest in North America was not imperial in the ordinary sense of the word. France had no designs on Indian lands or native labor. The French were interested in commerce. This meant trading for beaver furs, pelts, and hides, with beaver by far the most

⁴⁶⁰ JR, 61: 169. Detailed description of the construction of the Loretto mission village is in JR, 60:27-75.

⁴⁶¹ Ronda, “The Sillery Experiment,” 13.

⁴⁶² Ronda, “We Are Well as We Are: An Indian Critique of Seventeenth Century Christian Missions.”

important commodity.⁴⁶³ Beaver fur made the smoothest and most stylish hats in Europe, commanding high prices.

The French in New France erected their apparatus of government around trading companies that took furs from the Indians in return for iron tools, kettles, fishhooks, liquor, and guns. The Stone Age clashed with the most modern of the Western world's technologies. The pull for the Indians was irresistible.⁴⁶⁴ Life became easier for the Indian by using an iron instead of birch bark kettle. Bullets were more lethal than arrows; iron fish hooks more durable than bone. Liquor allowed the Indian to meet his dreams and his gods in a matter of minutes.

While a handful of Frenchmen traded for beaver, the Jesuits tried to win more adherents to Catholicism. In the age of conquest and colonization, state and church were partners in a great enterprise.⁴⁶⁵ In the realm of the spiritual mission of the church in New France, the Jesuits had sole authority for over 25 years. Priests did what they could to assure that the state achieve its secular goals while at the same time demanding that the state support the spiritual (and sometimes physical) conquest of the Indians. There was no contradiction in pointing out to the state that by helping the church achieve its mission, the state benefited as well. The Jesuits were good salesmen.

The first Jesuits in New France were Pierre Biard and Ennemond Masse who landed in Port Royal on June 12, 1611. Gilbert du Thet, a laybrother, followed. In the spring of 1613 George Quintin arrived. Mt. Desert Island in present day Nova Scotia was the scene of the French Jesuits' first attempts at New World evangelization but the Indian language was difficult so they made little progress. Besides, the English colony in Virginia would have no truck with the French. Samuel Argall led a force of 29 fighting men from Virginia in 1613 and scattered the settlement. Masse was set adrift in a boat and Biard and Quentin were taken to Virginia.

Samuel de Champlain persisted.⁴⁶⁶ In 1615 he and some Recollect Fathers settled inland along the St. Lawrence. Ten years later at the Recollects's invitation, the Jesuits returned. Masse, who somehow got back to France in his boat, Charles Lalemant, and Jean de Brebeuf were in the contingent along with Anne de Noue and Francois Charton. Their task was to work in the trading stations along the St. Lawrence at Three Rivers, Quebec, and Tadoussac. As French immigration grew and the desire to convert the Indians increased, the Jesuits refined their goals and their methods.

In 1629 an English force took a French supply ship and starved Quebec into surrender. By 1632 the French reoccupied the settlement and the Jesuits returned. It was precisely the triangular claims of politics, church, and economics that caused and confusion

⁴⁶³ Eccles, "The Fur Trade in the Colonial Northeast," *Ibid.*, 324. Also the same author's *The Canadian Frontier 1534-1760*, 110-120.

⁴⁶⁴ Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game*, argues that the Indians were motivated by less materialistic motives.

⁴⁶⁵ Bonvillain, "Missionary Role in French Colonial Expansion: An Examination of the Jesuit Relations," 1-13, puts too much credence in Jesuit rhetoric about the political benefits of missions. Anti-Jesuit feeling at court prompted Jesuits in Paris to overemphasize the great service the missions were accomplishing for French expansion. This was secondary to their primary goals.

⁴⁶⁶ Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier*, p. 79. See also Trudel, *The Beginnings of New France*, for the early missions.

in assessing the role and effects of the Jesuits in New France.⁴⁶⁷ The missionaries could evangelize only if peace reigned in the Indian world. By introducing Old World goods into Indian economies, the Europeans made certain it did not. The balance of power was severely disturbed. The Mohawks raged against the Huron because they did not have enough furs to trade with the Dutch; the Algonkins battled the Mohawks who searched out more furs in the Algonkin territory; the Jesuits who were allied with the French threw their weight on one side, then pulled back to the other, encouraged treaties only to see them broken, acted as peacemakers, middlemen, agents, all in an attempt to smooth the way for proselytization. To the Indians the Jesuits were foreign sorcerers who brought disease and destruction tolerated only because the flow of European goods might be interrupted if they were harmed; to the French fur traders, the Jesuits were meddling men who prevented them from trading liquor for furs; to the French government they were haughty and independent. At the foundation of it all was the seventeenth-century version of European colonialism which conquered or traded with New World cultures but never considered them anything close to equals.

Of all of the frontiers that the Society of Jesus faced in the New World, none was more politically charged than New France.

MESSAGE AND RESPONSE

How did the Indians of New France respond to the Christian messengers? Their social and religious systems were every bit as complex as those of the Florida and Mexican Indians. However, the European influences were different. Competing colonial interests pulled the Indians of New France in different directions. The French missionaries took up residence not only as representatives of the European God but also as unofficial colonial agents. Thus, Christianity was filtered through what the Indians saw as a quasi-political screen.

The Jesuits who came to New France did not arrive under the protective shadow of colonial troops (soldiers came later). They realized that they had to make major adjustments in order to convey their message. They had to speak the Indian languages and they had to understand Indian ways. This meant that each had to experience another novitiate, an apprenticeship that would allow the Jesuit to penetrate if only for a time the veil that separated European from Indian. In the beginning, these apprenticeships took the form of Jesuits living alone with Indians over a period of time. Not instructing or criticizing but learning. In 1633 the future superior of the Jesuits, Paul LeJeune, spent a winter with the Montagnais Indians. The experience turned out to be a microcosm of Jesuit-Indian relations in New France. Conflict, struggle for power, opposing world views, misunderstanding, cultural chasms separating two worlds, are all present.

Paul LeJeune's world had turned upside down. Less than two years before, the Jesuit priest's voice echoed in the cavernous church of Dieppe, France, where hundreds of the faithful listened to him in silence. On October 18, 1633, he stood silently by the water's edge at the foot of the French settlement of Quebec watching three Montagnais Indians carefully load the two canoes that would carry him and his hunting party to a remote part

⁴⁶⁷ Trigger, *The Children of Aataensik*; Hunt, *The Wars of the Iroquois*, and Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast*, illustrate the contradictions and conflicts that the Jesuits involved themselves in during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Politics, economics, and evangelization crisscrossed and impacted on each other.

of the North American wilderness. They would all search for food.⁴⁶⁸ Le Jeune did not feel the satisfaction of accomplishment. He would be a burden to the Indians in the coming months even though Mestigoit, the hunter and leader of the small group, had invited him. LeJeune's two fellow Jesuits, Anne de Noue and Gilbert Burel, tried to dissuade him from going. He was their superior, they said. They relied on him for guidance, so he should stay with them in Quebec. Even the governor of the French settlement, Samuel de Champlain, warned him of the dangers of committing himself to so dangerous an expedition. It would be a struggle for survival not a journey to the next village. LeJeune told his brethren that he wanted to learn the Indian language and that this was the best way to do it. But he knew it was not the language he sought. He had been learning that for the past year. What he really wanted to learn was how these Indians, "*nos sauvages*" he called them, survived in so harsh an environment. He wanted to get inside their minds, to be able to think as they thought and sort out the values that moved them. If he were going to convert them to Christianity, he had to be able to enter their door in order to lead them out through his.

LeJeune watched the sacks of biscuits, ears of corn, the flour, the prunes, parsnips, and wine being placed onto the two rafts that would transport them down the St. Lawrence River. The birch bark canoes were the last to be loaded. They were fragile. A chunk of floating ice could rip the thin bark and cause disaster. He felt inadequate and humbled. The skills of philosophy and theology, of oratory and learning that were considered so important in his French Jesuit world were useless here. The Indians laughed at him because he didn't know how to paddle a canoe.

At last all was ready.

Twenty Indians, men, women, and children, and the sole Frenchman, the Jesuit priest, Paul LeJeune, settled in their places. The rafts' sails caught a gust of river wind and the tiny fleet swept into the rapid current of the St. Lawrence River heading east. The massive rock on which the tiny settlement was perched moved further and further away.

Every winter the Indians hunted. In November and December, when the snows were light, the beaver, porcupine, and rabbits were stalked. When the heavy snows prevented the large game from running, the elk and moose were the prey. In bands of twenty to forty, the Indians fanned out in a ten-mile radius careful not to intrude or poach on another group's hunting ground. Mestigoit, the most skilled hunter of his lodge, invited LeJeune to go with them. LeJeune knew why he wanted to go. He was not sure of the Indians' motive in inviting him.

The Indians brought along their shaman, Carigonan, whose skills at forecasting the weather, bringing good luck in the hunt, and warding off sickness were essential. Did they think that two shamans were better than one? There might have been another reason. When an Indian got drunk on the wine LeJeune brought, he blurted out that they had allowed the priest to come only because they thought he would give them food upon their return to Quebec. "*in vino veritas*," was LeJeune's comment to himself. After that, he harbored no illusions about why they asked him to join them.

⁴⁶⁸ LeJeune's trip is carefully edited in Campeau, S.J., ed., *Monumenta Novae Franciae. II. Etablissement Quebec* (1616-1634), 667-728 (hereinafter cited as MNF). Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*, pp. 110-28, discusses the trip at length. Guy Lafleche, *Le missionnaire, l'apostat, le sorcier*, uses LeJeune's trip as a microcosm of Jesuit missionary experience in Canada. The English translation of LeJeune's account is in Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations* (hereinafter cited as JR).

The tiny fleet glided past the Island of Orleans. Towards late afternoon it put ashore on one of the river islands. The rituals of setting up the bark lean-to and preparing the evening meal began, ones that would be repeated daily for the next six months. In several other respects, that first evening portended what would follow.

Carigonan, the Indian shaman, realized that LeJeune was a rival, one who tried mightily to discredit his powers before his own people. LeJeune believed that if he could discredit the shamans, then Christianity would have easier access. The Indian priest held a status and power in Indian society equal to LeJeune's in his. The Christian priest held the keys of the kingdom, the power to deny or allow entrance into eternal life, the power as sole intermediary between God and man. So too Carigonan. He interpreted dreams, drove the evil spirits away with incantations, healed the sick, and attracted prey for the hunters. Carigonan and LeJeune engaged in a battle over minds and hearts.

Before that first evening's meal, Carigonan and LeJeune clashed. The shaman's brother got drunk on the wine that LeJeune had brought. He threatened to kill the Frenchman and was stopped only when Mestigoit, LeJeune's host, threw a kettle of hot water into his face.

Other Indians protected LeJeune.

"As the night was coming on rapidly," LeJeune wrote in his journal, "I retired into the woods to escape being annoyed by this drunkard. While I was saying my prayers near a tree, the women who managed the lodge of my host came to see me; and gathering together leaves of fallen trees, said to me, 'Lie down there and make no noise,' then having thrown me a piece of bark as a cover, she went away. This was my first resting place beneath the moon whose rays covered me."⁴⁶⁹

The hunting band island hopped for the following two weeks, at night using the sails from the rafts as a roof for the lean-to. When no game was caught for a meal, pieces of LeJeune's biscuits were divided among the twenty.

On October 27 some snow fell. The crisp October air gave way to November's chill.

LeJeune, like his Jesuit brethren in Florida, saw nothing but the devil in Carigonan. For him he was a sorcerer [*sorcier*] or a trickster [*jongleur*] who was deliberately tricking the ignorant savages for his own benefit. But LeJeune was puzzled because after careful and continual observation, he could not see him speaking with the devil. He even began to doubt Carigonan's devilish qualities. The pagan priest was sick and even asked the Christian priest for assistance. So when he rejoined the group, there was "nothing but feasting in our cabins. We had only a little food left, but these barbarians ate it with as much calmness and confidence as if the game they were to hunt was shut up in a stable."⁴⁷⁰

There were other hunting bands in the area so Mestigoit decided to turn north. No sooner had they done so when hunters coming from that direction dissuaded them. The hunting was not good in the north, they said.

They turned south again.

On November 12, the band pushed the rafts and canoes ashore on an island and headed inland into what is today upper New York State.

⁴⁶⁹ JR, 7:77.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 93.

“Now,” wrote LeJeune, “we were going to invade the Kingdom of the wild beasts, a country far broader in extent than all France.”⁴⁷¹

The hunting group had grown to 45, three lodges in all, of 19, 16, and ten members. LeJeune was amazed at the generosity of his hosts. They divided their food, no matter how little they had, with all comers. On several occasions the Jesuit was the object of their generosity. They gave him mittens to keep his hands warm, bark with which to cover himself, food, and encouragement. “Harden yourself, resist hunger, you will sometimes be two, three, or four days without food. Take courage. When the snows come, we shall eat,” Mestigoit told him.⁴⁷²

One day LeJeune expressed amazement at their wisdom and love for each other. Another he berated them for their incivility.

LeJeune used Aristotle to categorize the Indians.

According to the Greek philosopher, LeJeune wrote, the world had gone through three stages. The first was when people were content with being alive, the second stage united the agreeable with the necessary, and the third and highest stage allowed people to contemplate natural objects and reflect on beauty and goodness. LeJeune placed the Indians in the first stage of the world. “They eat so as not to die. . . politeness and grace has no place here.”⁴⁷³

On the other hand, the Jesuit was fascinated with the complexities of their language, the way they cared for each other, their houses and clothes, the indigenous medicines, everything that a modern ethnologist would delight in recounting.

The hunting band pushed into the deep forest.

The women went ahead carrying the supplies. When the snow was deep, “they make sledges of wood which splits and which can be peeled off like leaves in very thin, long strips. These sledges are very narrow because they have to be dragged among masses of trees closely crowded in some places, but to make up for this the sledges are very long.”⁴⁷⁴

LeJeune measured one sledge. It was about nine feet long.

“They fasten their baggage on these sledges and with a cord which they pass over their chests, they drag these wheelless chariots over the snow.”⁴⁷⁵

When there was something to eat, the day started with breakfast. The young ones went ahead, each carrying a load.

“We did nothing but go up and go down. Frequently we had to bend halfway over to pass under partly fallen trees and step over others lying on the ground whose branches sometimes knocked us over. If it happened to thaw, Oh God what suffering! It seemed to me I was walking over a road of glass which broke under my feet at every step. The frozen

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, 113.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

snow would collapse and break into blocks into which we sank often up to our knees or waists.”⁴⁷⁶

When the hunting party reached the predetermined place for a camp, the men cleared away the snow and the women set up the bark lean-tos. LeJeune waited until the work was finished. He shivered for hours and “I was so frozen that fire alone could thaw me.” The Indians were surprised at how quickly the cold affected the white man. At first they did not believe that he was freezing. “Give us your hands,” they said, “that we may see if you tell the truth.” And “finding them frozen they were touched with compassion and they gave me their warm mittens and took my cold ones.”⁴⁷⁷

The shaman and LeJeune battled again.

One evening before a meal of beaver stew, the shaman grew furious, tore at the poles that held up the lean-to, rolled his eyes around his head like a man out of his senses and screamed at the crowd to hide their weapons, for he was about to kill the priest. He cried, laughed, sang, howled like a wolf, screeched like an owl “and every moment I was expecting him to throw himself on me.” LeJeune outwardly paid no heed. “I continued in my usual way to read, write, and say my little prayers, and when my hour for retiring came, I lay down and rested as peacefully through his orgies as I would have done in a profound silence. I was already accustomed to go to sleep in the midst of his cries and the sound of his drum, as a child is to the songs of its nurse.”⁴⁷⁸

The shaman went through the same trance the next night. LeJeune approached him this time, found his forehead without fever, and was convinced that his behavior was feigned for “he thus drew upon himself the compassion of all our people who in our dearth were giving him the best they had.”⁴⁷⁹

After several days when no more beaver or porcupines were found, the band moved on. The heavy snows began but the bad weather did not slow down the hunting party.

Each evening the shaman beat his drum and in LeJeune's words “howled as usual.” He was ill and the Jesuit recognized a sick man. He conversed with him and told him that beating his drum would only deafen him. LeJeune proposed an agreement. Stop beating the drum for ten days, the Jesuit said, and I will pray to my God for you. If you are cured, call together everyone and burn your drum and ritual paraphernalia and renounce your gods. The shaman would agree only if the Jesuit's God cured him first. No agreement was made.

The hunting was poor.

“Our savages having no food for a feast here made a banquet of smoking tobacco. Each inviting the others to the cabin, they passed around a little earthen plate containing tobacco, and everyone took a pipefull, which he reduced to smoke, returning his hand to the dish if he wanted to smoke any more. The fondness they have for this herb is beyond all belief. They go to sleep with their reed pipes in their mouths. They sometimes get up in

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 111.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁴⁷⁸ For a discussion of the shaman's role in Indian society see the items listed in Vecsey, ed., *Religion in Native North America*, pp. 187-189; also the many references in Hultkrantz, *Conceptions of the Soul Among North American Indians*.

⁴⁷⁹ JR, 7:121.

the night to smoke. They often stop in their journeys for the same purpose and it is the first thing they do when they reenter their cabins.”⁴⁸⁰

By the end of the December the lack of game frightened even the Indians.

On Christmas Eve the band had one porcupine to share among the twenty now in the group. The others had left for another hunting ground. On Christmas Day LeJeune gathered all the Indians in a circle and made them repeat prayers to his god, prayers to help them in the hunt for food. Even the shaman knelt in prayer to the foreigner's God.

That afternoon beaver and porcupine were caught and the tracks of a moose were found. In two days the moose was killed with bow and arrow and an “eat-all” feast was celebrated. LeJeune could never understand why the Indians stuffed themselves so.

But within a week, the specter of starvation re-appeared. The band ran into other hunters, gaunt and weak from lack of food.

On January 10, another moose was slain “at which there was general rejoicing.” The celebrating was cut short by the arrival of four emaciated Indians. “They looked most hideous, the men especially more so than the women, one of whom had given birth to a child ten days before in the snow, and in the famine had passed several days without eating.”⁴⁸¹ LeJeune was amazed at the love that the Indians showed for them. These new guests were not even asked why they had crossed boundaries. They were received not with words but with deeds, without exterior ceremony and not without charity. They gave them large pieces of the moose which had just been killed without saying another word but *mitisoukou*, 'eat.'“

February and March passed without hunger. The woods were thick with moose and other game that was easily trapped by the hunters. LeJeune fell sick and did not recover his health until he returned to Quebec. The shaman said that his god was punishing him and LeJeune countered that it was just bad food and weakness that afflicted him.

The hunt was almost over.

“On the thirteenth of the same month [March] we made our eighteenth stop near a river, whose waters seemed to me sweet as sugar after the dirt of the melted snow that we drank at other stops out of a greasy and smoky kettle. I began here to experience the discomfort of sleeping upon the ground, which was cold in winter and damp in Spring. My right side upon which I lay became so numb from cold that it scarcely had any sense of feeling...”⁴⁸²

LeJeune, Mestigoit, and Sasousinat, the Montaignais Indian whom the Jesuit referred to in his journal as the renegade (he had been baptized but reverted to his old religion) traveled together slowly, behind the others as they made their way to their final rendezvous by the Riviere du Loup.

The Indians thought that LeJeune was dying so Mestigoit and Sasousinat decided to bring him back to Quebec immediately.

LeJeune's baptism of fire had concluded.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 137.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 174-177.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*, 185.

At three in the morning on April 9, he arrived at Jesuit residence of Notre Dame des Anges.

LeJeune's hunting trip with the Montagnais was a microcosm of the Jesuit experience in New France. The environment, whether winter's snows or cold, or summer's heat and humidity, was an all-pervasive enemy. Finding a decent comfort level was a continual struggle. European clothes were inadequate to repel the howling winter's wind and in summertime the black flies bit through the Jesuit's thin cassocks. The New World possessed extreme climatic features not present in the Old.

In addition, the native peoples were intransigent, unmoved by the ideas of the new religion. Satan, it seemed, worked through the native shamans, actively seeking to prevent the Jesuits from touching hearts and minds. The Indian shaman correctly saw LeJeune as one who threatened his social existence within Indian society. If the Jesuits were successful in undermining the peoples' belief in their own religion and in their native clerics, the entire fabric of Indian society would collapse. The Old World with its religion and clerics and ways of life faced the New with its own version.

Future Jesuits would make the same kind of a trip that LeJeune made. Jean de Brebeuf spent time with the Montagnais. Pierre Marquette learned the language and was initiated to the New World by living several months at Sillery. It was a form of initiation, another novitiate that the Jesuits felt was needed to make a transition to a world of different values and attitudes.

On his own trip LeJeune learned about the people he had come to America to convert, about the cultural and physical obstacles that stood in his way, and probably most important of all, he learned a great deal about himself.

The belief system of his hosts became clearer.⁴⁸³ LeJeune had pestered his fellow hunters to reveal the concepts about creation and spirits that gave their lives meaning.

They believed that Atachocam had created the world. It was then destroyed by a flood and Messou had restored it. Messou went hunting one day with lynxes instead of dogs. But the lynxes went into a great lake and were held there. Messou looked for them. A bird told him that he had seen them in the lake and he followed them into the lake but the lake overflowed and covered the whole earth. Messou sent a raven in search of a little piece of ground with which to rebuild the earth but he could not find a piece of dry land. He next sent an otter but the otter could not find land. A muskrat did and brought back a little piece of dirt and Messou used this to rebuild the entire earth.

Every animal, man and beast, had his brother somewhere in the forest. The brother was many times larger, a prototype. If anyone saw the brother of the beaver in a dream, he would have a good hunt.

Nipinoukhe created the Spring and Summer. Pipounoukhe produced the winter. The Indians were not sure whether they were men or animals but they knew that they were living and they could be heard in the woods. The world was their dwelling place, one half for Nipinoukhe and the other half for Pipounoukhe. When their period of stay in one part of the world was over, they went to the other. Nipinoukhe brought with him the heat, the birds, the grass. He restored life and beauty to the world. Piminoukhe laid waste everything and destroyed it with the snow. This passing from one side of the world to the

⁴⁸³ What follows is based primarily on Elizabeth Tooker, ed., *Native North American Spirituality of the Eastern Woodlands*, and the same author's *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians, 1615-1649*.

other was called Achitescatoueth, meaning that they passed reciprocally to each other's places.

The spirit world was inhabited by *khichikou*, which meant light or air. They could tell the future and were consulted frequently. Only the shaman had the power to control them. They could tell the priests where the elk were, how successful the hunt would be, when the enemy would strike. The Indian placated the *khichikou* by tossing grease into the fire with the words, "Make us find something to eat."

The wife of the *manitou*, [the devil], caused evil in the world. Her husband was the origin of evil but she was the destroying she-devil. She caused diseases. She killed men, fed upon their flesh, gnawing them from the inside. Her gorgeous robe was made of the hair of the men and women she had killed. She sometimes appeared like a fire, a roaring flame, but her language could not be understood.

All living creatures, animals, and humans had souls. All souls were immortal and they ate and drank. That was why food was placed in the grave with the dead. There was an afterlife. These souls traveled very far away, to a large village where the sun set. The souls went on foot, fording river and stream. It was a hard journey and the Indians were afraid to make it. On the journey the souls hunted for the souls of beaver, porcupine, and moose, "using the soul of the snowshoe to walk upon the soul of the snow."

Prayer invoked the spirits. In famine and sickness continual song and the beating of drums and reciting loud prayers echoed in their cabins.

A sneeze meant sickness. It was met with the reply, "I shall be very glad to see the spring."

The moon, the sun, the thunder, and the world all found meaning within the Indian's idea of life.

Paul LeJeune realized that he faced complex layers of beliefs that were interwoven with behavior. It was "dust in their eyes" that had to be removed in order to see "the beautiful light of truth."

The harsh reality of life among the Indians was far from the romantic visions LeJeune imagined years before when he listened to the veteran Canadian missionary, Fr. Ennemond Masse, speak about America. The Indian physical world was almost beyond the limits of the genteel French Jesuits who had been raised in the most delicate of middle-class surroundings, making the most simple physical hardship a Herculean task. For men who considered physical work beneath their dignity, schooled on the idea that others should do the menial tasks to free them for more important duties, the crude lifestyle of the North American frontier was an obstacle in itself. But after spending six months with the Indians on a hunting trip, life in the tiny Jesuit residence of Notre Dame des Anges with some of the niceties of Old France must have seemed luxurious. The extremes of heat and cold, the lack of appropriate housing, the dietary changes, the strange illnesses, and the absence of those things that were considered essential to a civilized society created in Paul LeJeune's mind a place that was an enemy, to be fought against and conquered. The place itself was an antagonist.

The problems of evangelization were just as difficult. After his journey with the Montagnais, LeJeune was convinced that the only lasting success the Jesuits would have with the Indians would be among those nations that were sedentary, who had fixed agricultural lands, who would not pick up and leave, making the missionary go with them. Stability was a perceived requirement for achieving success.

Learning the Indian language was equally important. LeJeune was annoyed by his inability to make himself understood and he grew impatient with himself for not being able to comprehend what they said about him. He kept a little book in which he wrote down new words he heard and he pestered Mestigoit and the others for translations of phrases. He would later insist that all Jesuits new to the missions had to spend time learning the language.

LeJeune's prolonged stay with the Indians gave him a deep appreciation for their kindness to each other and to him, their capacity to survive in a harsh and hostile environment, and their willingness to tolerate his presence. But he could not accept what he considered their gluttony, their brutality, their stoicism, many of their social customs, and their reliance on the shaman. Try as he might, he could not penetrate their religious secrets. He learned bits and pieces, what they chose to reveal. Unknown to him were their most secret beliefs about dreams and their role in the Indian world, the power of the spirits, the integration of spirit and material universe. LeJeune sensed the presence of an impenetrable wall between him and his hosts. It would take more than preaching to penetrate it.

The initial reaction of the French Jesuits in New France was similar to that of their Spanish counterparts in Florida half a century before. As Europeans with clear ideas of what an ideal society should be like, their task of re-creating one in hostile environments seemed unattainable. However, the Spanish had no available and convenient economic hinterland from which to draw European resources. Although wheat farming was attempted in Florida, it came to nought. In New France, the trading posts of Quebec, Tadoussac, and Three Rivers grew in size and became convenient staging and supply posts for the missions. A New France was more quickly created on the St. Lawrence than a New Spain in the Caribbean. Florida had been quickly abandoned for the readily accessible and attractive territory of Mexico. Not only did the Jesuits of New France lack the option to move their mission to one with more promise, it is unlikely they would have done it anyway.

LEGACIES

In a significant and controversial book on the Indians of the Northeast Calvin Martin tests a theory about the Indian's attraction for European tools and material goods.⁴⁸⁴ Instead of a materialist explanation for why the Iroquois became enamoured of the guns and iron kettles of the Europeans, Martin posits a theory that supposes a clash between the Indian and the spirit world of the beaver. A unique relationship between the hunter and the animal had been disturbed. In developing his argument, the author states that Jesuit missionaries in Huronia and among the Mohawks contributed to the decimation of the beaver population by encouraging large-scale, periodic hunting.⁴⁸⁵ Martin's creative and important approach to Indian studies will remain standard fare for years to come. His assertion about the Jesuits, however, raises further questions. Just how deeply did the

⁴⁸⁴ Martin, *Keepers of the Game*.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3, states that the Jesuits "encouraged" the fur trade. On p. 101, the Jesuits "however reluctantly, appear in general to have promoted the trade," as if this were a shameful deed. It would have been surprising if they didn't encourage the fur trade since it was the major link between France and potential Indian converts. On the other hand, the Jesuits had good reason to oppose the trade (which they never did) because it promoted contact with the liquor distributors, provided the Indians with European models of vice, and took them away from their villages for protracted periods of time.

Jesuits affect Indian life and culture and how long-lasting were the changes? What was their legacy in New France as agents of Christianity?

The Indian and European borrowed and learned from each other.⁴⁸⁶ Some artifacts became permanent cultural possessions. Most ironic and lethal, of course, was the exchange of tobacco for liquor. Both Indian and white thought that he was getting the better of the deal. Appropriate dress for the North American frontier, new foods, and a few Indian words that remained part of North American French are readily identifiable Indian contributions. Liquor, guns, metal cooking equipment, and hunting tools became essential to Indian life. Where the Jesuits hoped to make their greatest impact and contribution was in the area of religion and behavior. Only relics of the attempt remain. The Jesuit mission of Ste. Marie-des-Hurons in Midland, Ontario, was resurrected as a tourist attraction, as was Auriesville, New York, site of a Jesuit mission to the Mohawks. Remnants of an Indian Christian community still survive near Montreal. These are important reminders of a remote past but are now either government or church attempts to benefit financially from cultural or religious curiosity.

By far the greatest beneficiary of the attempt to Christianize the Iroquois peoples of the Northeast was the Jesuits themselves. The missions and the martyrs of New France provided for the Society of Jesus a way to go back to a past, a historical memory emphasizing heroes and great deeds. But historical memory always plays tricks with the mind so all the missionaries of New France became institutional heroes.

Around several swirled the mystique of martyrdom, permitting the Jesuits to develop a mythology within which a part of their collective past was explained. These institutional heroes or saints became organizing principles giving direction to the religious organization. A movement needs its martyr, and the Jesuit martyrs of New France and their colleagues in the task of Christianizing the frontier became the collective public heroes for the relatively new Society of Jesus. The myth provided a model for behavior in certain situations, a script that the Jesuit would follow in his religious life. The exchange between Jesuit and Indian proved more substantial and long lasting for the Europeans.

⁴⁸⁶ Axtell, *The European and the Indians*, pp. 245-315, discusses the impact of Europeans on Indian culture and viceversa.

CHAPTER 8

MARYLAND: "A FINE POOR MAN'S COUNTRY"

The French government was lukewarm over the support of the religious conversion of Indians. More interested were they in commerce than in dominating Indians and occupying their lands. But the British government was openly hostile to Roman Catholics in America and *a fortiori* to Jesuit missionaries. The Jesuits in Maryland faced two adversaries: the native American as object of conversion was the religious rival, while a hostile government was a political antagonist. In Latin America the Spanish government actively supported missionary work. Because circumstances differed in these three areas, Latin America, new France, and Maryland, the Jesuits in each had to deal with different issues. Unlike Latin America, the Jesuits in Maryland were not affected by the Bourbon expulsion in 1767. Only in 1773 was their status as missionaries drastically changed.

ST. MARY'S CITY, 1634

When the Jesuit, Francis Parker, wrote to his provincial superior, Edward Knott, on July 26, 1640, asking to be sent to the recently opened mission in Maryland, he expressed the doubt that he "would not fare well in controversy with heretics having yett read but little in that kynde."⁴⁸⁷ His reasons for going to Maryland were varied. He saw no hope in trying to convert his English relatives to Catholicism. Instead, he would imitate earlier Jesuits and seek conversions elsewhere.

"I will not rehearse my motives because I have almost infinite, amongst others, this is none of the smallest, that herein I shall soe neerly resemble glorious St. Xaverius, to whom above all other saynts I have ever since my conversion bine most especially devoted."⁴⁸⁸

Parker could not return to England because he was considered a traitor. The Reformation in England that began with Henry VIII's break with Rome in 1546 eventually split into two major camps, the traditionalist Church of England that recognized the king as the country's spiritual leader and the dissenters who were guided by John Calvin's purist theology. Both camps considered Roman Catholics to be devil-worshippers, followers of the anti-Christ, the Pope. Politics fueled the fires of intolerance. Spain was England's enemy; Spain was Catholic, therefore, a Catholic was by definition an enemy of the crown, hence a traitor. Queen Mary's persecution of the Protestants and the madcap Catholic plan in 1605 to blow up the king and parliament gave added weight to the charges of treason. Therefore, it is not surprising that a Massachusetts statute of 1647 threatened death to Catholic priests.

Francis Parker was part of the fourth generation of English Jesuits which was growing accustomed to spend most of their lives outside of England. To return was a death-defying act. Englishmen began entering the Society of Jesus in the time of Ignatius Loyola. 155 English and Welsh candidates joined the Jesuits between 1555 and 1585.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁷ Parker's letter is printed in Curran, *American Jesuit Spirituality*, p. 56. Letters from other English Jesuits volunteering for missions are on pp. 57-61.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁹ Thomas H. Clancy, "The First Generation of English Jesuits," AHSI, 146.

Most who entered had studied in Oxford or Cambridge and they joined the Society for a variety of reasons. Security, whether spiritual or temporal, and spiritual desires, predominated. The median age of entering candidates was 25. From such a pool volunteers for the Maryland Mission were drawn.

The mission had unique origins, far from Maryland's shores. George Calvert, the First Lord Baltimore, had been Privy Councilor and Secretary of State to James I. He received a permit from the king to begin a plantation in Newfoundland.⁴⁹⁰ In 1628 he transported there a boatload of settlers. To the surprise and chagrin of the local clergy, they were mostly Roman Catholics, complete with their own priest. Lord Baltimore had hoped that his Catholic settlers would be able not only to live side by side with Protestants and Anglicans, but even share a place of worship where both the Mass and services would be offered at different times. Lord Baltimore was ahead of his times. Both Catholics and Protestants objected. Lord Baltimore ended up battling French marauders and his own intolerant countrymen who were not quite ready for his version of religious freedom. Other reasons worked against the success of his Newfoundland plantation. The land was cold, there was little food and, "his house had been a hospital all winter."⁴⁹¹ Lord Baltimore tried to move his Catholic settlers to Virginia but the governor there would not allow them to land. Maryland, north of Virginia, named after Charles I's Queen Consort, Henrietta Maria, was the alternative. Lord Baltimore received another permit to begin a settlement in Maryland. He probably did not realize it, but he was contributing to ending the arrangement that had guided European monarchs since the time of the Reformation, namely that the religion of the king would be the religion of the people: *cujus regio ejus religio*. His were the first steps towards recognizing the individual right to profess politically unacceptable religious beliefs. Lord Baltimore died in 1632 but his son, Cecil, continued to advance the principles that were the foundation of the Newfoundland experiment.

Lord Baltimore's charter for his Maryland settlement published on June 20, 1632, contained several clauses that would buttress an authoritarian and aristocratic regime.⁴⁹² Maryland was a royal gift, a fiefdom that resembled land grants made by Spanish kings to the conquistadors. The Lord Proprietor answered only to the crown. He received rents, taxes, and fees, appointed all officials necessary to enforce the law and exercised final judicial and political authority. He was given the liberty to erect, found, and act as patron of all churches and chapels; he was exempt from all Laws of Mortmain. And all of these powers belonged as an inheritance to the lords Baltimore for all time. By the time Lord Baltimore received the Maryland charter, he had already become a Roman Catholic making the royal concessions all the more interesting, and alarming in some quarters.

Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, asked the Jesuits to accompany the settlers to Maryland. Why is not clearly known. Perhaps he admired the Jesuits' reputation as missionaries or their dislike for the episcopal jurisdictional claims in London.⁴⁹³ Whatever the reason, Calvert thought he recognized an ally. The Jesuit provincial in England, Richard

⁴⁹⁰ Layhey, "The Role of Religion in Lord Baltimore's Colonial Enterprise," demonstrates the religious linkages between Baltimore's attempts to found a colony on Newfoundland and his Maryland enterprise.

⁴⁹¹ William Hand Browne, ed. *Archives of Maryland* (72 vols. to date; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society), 3: 16.

⁴⁹² Quinn, "Introduction: Prelude to Maryland," p. 23, In David B. Quinn, ed. *Early Maryland*.

⁴⁹³ John Bossy, "Reluctant Colonists: The English Catholics Confront the Atlantic," p. 162, in *Ibid*. Bossy also suggests that investment for the Maryland enterprise was largely supplied by the Jesuits. "It was, in short, not just a Catholic venture, but a specifically Jesuit one."

Blount, passed the request on to the Jesuit General in Rome, Mutius Vitelleschi, who expressed great misgivings about the project.⁴⁹⁴ Vitelleschi's major misgiving was that England might be trespassing on Spanish claimed territory and the Spanish government would be harshly critical of Jesuit participation. Nevertheless, Vitelleschi allowed Blount to use his judgment if he thought the plan a good one. However, he cautioned the English provincial about the type of men he should send to America.

... in the choice of those whom you think of sending forth on that new expedition, you [must] not only make much account of their inclination and desire, since, if people are unwilling or are not so well disposed for a long voyage like that, no great good can be expected from them, but also that you scrutinize most diligently their virtue, prudence, and zeal, especially in the case of those who are to lay the foundations of the mission; that they be such as the others who come afterwards may look up to walking in their footsteps and following their example as a rule and model of action.⁴⁹⁵

The Jesuits who eventually accompanied Leonard Calvert to Maryland were Fathers Andrew White and John Altham and Brother Thomas Gervase. From the very beginning it was clear that the relationship of these Jesuits to the colonizing group was quite different from the role of other Jesuit missionaries who went to America with French or Spanish colonists. They would not receive any recompense or support for their labors from the proprietor of the colony but were to work the land like other colonists and be totally self-supporting.⁴⁹⁶ Calvert's Condition of Plantation awarded 2,000 acres of land for every five men brought to the colony, so the Jesuits who brought with them 30 men as indentured servants stood to receive 12,000 acres. In some sense this was similar to land grants awarded religious orders in other parts of America. Without laborers to work the land, large grants were of little value. So the beneficiary had to hire laborers or purchase slaves. In early colonial English America, indentured servants played major roles in the labor market and the Jesuits had a ready supply.

But the difference was considerable. The Jesuits received no more land than any other lay colonist who transported men to America. They were not considered economic or commercial rivals and so the resentment that built up against the Jesuits in Spanish and French America was not immediately or universally present in Maryland. In Maryland a *de facto* separation between Church and State would exist which eventually developed into the American Catholic tradition of religious liberty.⁴⁹⁷ Catholics would be a minority in colonial Maryland and the Governor, Leonard Calvert, was instructed by his brother, Cecil, that they “suffer no scandall nor offence to be given to any of the Protestants, whereby any just complaint may heereafter be made, by them, in Virginea or in England.”⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁴ Vitelleschi's letter is reprinted in Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal I*, 246-247.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 247-248.

⁴⁹⁶ “Conditions Propounded by Lord Baltimore,” Clayton Coleman Hall, ed., *Narratives*, pp. 91-101.

⁴⁹⁷ Fogarty, *The Maryland Jesuits, 1634-1833*, p.10.

⁴⁹⁸ “Instructions to the Colonists,” Hall, *Narratives*, p. 16.

On March 25, 1634, the Jesuits and the 200 colonists on the *Ark* and the *Dove* landed on St. Clement's Island at the mouth of the Potomac River.⁴⁹⁹ Before making a permanent settlement Calvert and a small group sailed upriver at least 80 miles, made contact with the two tayacs or regional headmen of the area, and the Jesuits had the opportunity to engage in their first attempts at evangelization. Calvert decided to stay downriver, closer to the anchorage near the sea. According to Fr. White, the land was good, the air wholesome, and the river afforded a safe harbor for ships of any burden. Fresh water and wood was plentiful, “and the place so naturally fortified, as with little difficultie, it will be defended from any enemy.⁵⁰⁰ The Yoacomacoes who lived there sold Calvert about thirty miles of land in exchange for axes, knives, and some cloth, agreeing to share the town with the Englishmen. The Indians even agreed to leave at the end of harvest season. White pointed out that the Indians were anxious to have the Englishmen nearby in case the Susquehannocks began raiding.⁵⁰¹ On March 27, 1634, Governor Leonard Calvert took possession of the town and named it St. Mary's. Cattle, hogs, and poultry were brought in from Virginia; a water mill for grinding corn was built, and “within the space of six months, was laid the foundation of the colonie in Maryland.⁵⁰² So much corn was available that the *Dove* sailed to Massachusetts in July with 1000 bushels and returned with salt-fish, the beginnings of a lucrative inter-colonial trade.

JESUITS AND INDIANS

One of the attractions for Jesuits who volunteered for the Maryland Mission was the opportunity to convert the Indians. Although the English Jesuits were few in number and limited in resources, they were enthusiastic about converting the Indians. Fr. White identified conversion of the Indians as Lord Baltimore's primary reason for organizing a colony in America⁵⁰³ and he fully intended that the Jesuits who would accompany the colonists and those to follow would have this as their primary task. White himself established a mission at Kattamaquindi, the capital of the Piscataways and baptized their chief, his wife and their son. White became sufficiently proficient in the Piscatoway language to write a catechism and translate some prayers. Poulton, the superior, converted the chief of the Anacostans, and Roger Rigby lived with the Patuxent and learned their language. Most Jesuits, however, used interpreters in the early years of contact.

The tribes living within Baltimore's grant were members of the Algonquin family.⁵⁰⁴ Farming, fishing, and hunting furnished food. They lived in hamlets. Less than 1500 lived on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake, where they formed the Choptank, Nanticoke,

⁴⁹⁹ The classic account of the colonists' voyage is “A Briefe Relation of the Voyage unto Maryland, by Father Andrew White, 1634,” Hall, *Narratives*, pp. 29-45.

A more recent excellent general history that treats thoroughly the colonial beginnings is Brugger, *Maryland, A Middle Temperament, 1634-*. Beitzell, *The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's County, Maryland*, is a mine of information on the Jesuit missionaries in colonial Maryland.

⁵⁰⁰ Hall, *Narratives*, p. 73.

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁵⁰² “A Relation of Maryland,” *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁵⁰⁴ Feest, “Nanticoke and Neighboring Tribes,” 240-252, Bruce Trigger, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 15 Northeast*.

Pocomoke, and Asseateague tribes. Villages on the western shore were occupied by Patuxant and Mattapanients. On the Potomac River there were clusters of Canoy subtribes: the Chopticos, Potapacos, Piscataway, Yaocomaco, Pamonkeys, Mattowomans, and Anacostanks. The western shore counted about 1500 Indians. The Susquehannocks lived about 40-50 miles up the river that the Marylanders named after them. Baltimore's colony arrived as the Susquehannocks were in the midst of conducting raiding forays into the Chesapeake region.

Despite fairly extensive contact during the first five or six years in Maryland, Jesuit descriptions of the people or the places they encountered are almost non-existent. In sharp contrast to the French and Spanish propensity for letter writing, describing in detail the flora and fauna of America, the Maryland Jesuits seemed almost reluctant to put their ideas and impressions on paper. One wonders why.

The irregularity of communication with Europe is one reason. Unlike Spanish America and New France that dispatched regularly scheduled packet-boats to Spain and France soon after arrival in America, Maryland did not have nor did it need regular communication with England. Lord Baltimore in London had his sources of information about his plantation's progress, but no government entity required regular reports. Nor were the Jesuits in the frame of mind to commit to paper what was still technically illegal business and extra-legal activity. Their caution about what they did and with whom they did it was reflected in the paucity of the written record. The French Jesuits encouraged their missionaries to write lengthy accounts, some pious, some political, which were then edited and used for recruitment and public relations purposes in Europe.⁵⁰⁵ The religious and political atmosphere in England made such a use of correspondence from America impossible. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Jesuits played a lethal cat and mouse game with the government and the generally accepted rule of behavior was to make as little noise as possible lest the cat awaken. This remained the accepted norm of behavior long after the need for total silence was necessary. As a result, we have little from the Jesuits in Maryland that describes in detail what they were about and the people with whom they worked.⁵⁰⁶ The little they did write was frequently worded in a readily identifiable code. Parishioners were "customers;" rectories were "houses"; priests were "gentlemen" and they even had to use aliases (e.g. Fr. Thomas Copley was "Philip Fisher" and John Altham used the name "John Gravener"). Even more curious is the lack of any complaint about the situation. No doubt it was stated verbally, but never was it committed to paper where possibly it could be used as evidence of disloyalty. A paralyzing culture of fear enveloped the Jesuits.

Fr. White's first report from Maryland to his superiors in Rome stated explicitly that the purpose of the expedition was "not only to work among the colonists, but also to devote themselves to procuring the conversion and salvation of the barbarians."⁵⁰⁷ The Jesuit report from Maryland in 1638 stated that "the rulers of this colony have not yet allowed us to dwell among the savages" because of the prevalence of disease and because

⁵⁰⁵ Joseph P. Donnelly, S.J., *Thwaites' Jesuit Relations*, pp. 1-26, explains that the Jesuit Relations from New France were not official reports to Rome but primarily intended for public consumption.

⁵⁰⁶ A major collection of Jesuit correspondence and records is now located in the Special Collections division of the Georgetown University Library, Washington, D.C. Letterbooks, farm ledgers, bills of lading, and some personal correspondence constitutes most of this collection. It was originally housed in the Jesuit Province Archives in Baltimore, so it is catalogued as Maryland Province Archives.

⁵⁰⁷ Hall, *Narratives*, p. 118.

of perceived hostility.⁵⁰⁸ The phrase leads one to believe that they wanted to live in Indian villages and within a year the Jesuits actually succeeded in doing so. In 1639, White was living in the village of Maquacomen, the *tayac* of the Patuxants, whom he converted. Altham lived on Kent Island in the Chesapeake Bay, sixty miles north of St. Mary's. Ferdinand Poulton and a lay brother lived on the plantation of Mattapany, which had been given to the Jesuits by the *tayac* of the Patuxents.

White had little success with Maquacomen and was soon living with the Piscataways. Kittamuquund, their *tayac*, insisted that the priest live in his lodge and his wife cooked bread and meats for the Jesuit. The need for English support against his tribesmen was one reason for his affection for White. Another was the Jesuit's appearance in a dream along with Leonard Calvert and a beautiful god. Also increasing the priest's prestige was his healing powers. When Kittamuquund fell ill, the Indian shamans could not do what White did, cure him. White bled him and gave him a mixture of "a certain powder of known efficacy mixed with holy water." The *tayac* recovered, immediately accepted baptism along with his wife and two daughters and was forever grateful to the priest.⁵⁰⁹ The illnesses at this time that struck Indian and white alike were not the killer epidemics of smallpox and influenza. These came later. They were the "Maryland Fevers" for which the Chesapeake was noted, probably malaria. One Jesuit ascribed them to the "hot and sultry summers and the treacherous climate." Another thought that "the fresh water marches whither the salt water could not penetrate" was the culprit.⁵¹⁰

The Jesuits had to be satisfied with what they called "excursions" into Indian country searching for converts. The Chesapeake Bay region was characterized by waterways and inlets that effectively prevented a gradual land penetration of Indian territory. Instead, the missionary first identified a target community and then set out in a pinnace with interpreter, man-servant, and supplies.

"We take with us a little chest of bread, butter, cheese, corn, cut and dried before it is ripe, beans and a little flour - another chest also for carrying bottles, one of which contains wine for religious purposes, six others for holy water for the purpose of baptism; a box with the sacred vessel, and a slab as an altar for the sacred function; and another casket full of trifles, which we give the Indians to conciliate their affection - such as little bells, combs, knives, fish-hooks, needles, thread and other things of this kind."⁵¹¹

A translator always accompanied the Jesuits on their excursions and this obviously troubled the missionaries. They were never quite comfortable with the fact that the concepts of their religion had to be transmitted without them knowing exactly what was being transmitted. The Annual Letter of 1642 lamented the fact that only Fr. Rigby had succeeded in making progress with the Indian language and that "none of us can yet converse with the Indians without an interpreter."⁵¹² Rigby eventually wrote a catechism in Piscataway and White also wrote one, now lost. However, it seems that the Jesuits in Maryland set no special store in learning the Indian languages before attempting

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁵¹⁰ Rutman and Rutman, "Of Agues and Fevers: Malaria in the Early Chesapeake," 31-60; Smith, "Mortality and Family in the Colonial Chesapeake," 403-37.

⁵¹¹ "From the Annual Letter of 1640," Hall, *Narratives*, p. 137.

⁵¹² *Ibid.*

evangelization, possible because they did not have the luxury of so much time to do so. The mission stations needed immediate staffing and

the Catholic settlers' immediate attention. In addition, the events of 1645 on crystallized the Jesuit mission in Maryland as one that served almost exclusively the white Roman Catholic settlers of Maryland.

POLITICS AND RELIGION

The rise of Puritan influence in England was eventually felt in America. Maryland had never been a Catholic colony in the sense that it had been founded for and peopled by Roman Catholics. Members of the Church of England and dissenters had always been in the majority and the three groups lived side by side with reasonable but varying degrees of tolerance.

In 1645 the tolerance ended. Richard Ingle, a self-proclaimed champion of the Puritans, ransacked the Jesuit farm buildings and residence in St. Mary's, took two Jesuits captive with him to London, and drove three other Jesuit priests into Virginia where they remained in hiding until their deaths.

Ingle had been a familiar figure in St. Mary's, a merchant-trader who supplied the innkeepers and the gentlemen-farmers with whiskey and English manufactured goods. In 1644 he arrived in St. Mary's on his ship appropriately named *Reformation* with a more noble mission: to excoriate King Charles I and acclaim the virtues of the Parliament. He was arrested and returned to England where he set about obtaining Letters of Marque from Parliament to be used against those who had seized his ship in Maryland and against the city that was the hotbed of Papists and the enemy of Parliament.⁵¹³ He was empowered to take all ships and cargo owned by interests opposed by Parliament. With the assistance of Governor Claiborne of Virginia Ingle returned to Maryland and launched an attack against St. Mary's. He and his men

burned down the Jesuit farmhouse of St. Inigoe's and the priest's residence, pillaging as many Catholic homes as he could find. Tobacco crops were seized, livestock driven off and servants urged to revolt. Ingle tried to arrest the governor, Leonard Calvert, but he escaped to Virginia. The Jesuits were not so fortunate.⁵¹⁴ Frs. Copley and White were put into chains and sent to London. Roger Rigby, Bernard Hartwell, and John Cooper escaped to Virginia where they died. The Jesuit Indian mission in Maryland ended.

Ingle was no mere freebooter, his attack no aberration. It was borne out of a traditional suspicion and a smoldering anger against Roman Catholics that needed little to push it to the surface. Lord Baltimore's original instructions to the Catholics who traveled to Maryland displayed a circumspection towards Puritans and Anglicans bordering on a nervous fear that in fact had a basis in reality. In 1606 an "Act for the Better Repressing of Popish Recusants" had levied a fine of L20 each month on all over the age of sixteen who refused to attend the services of the Church of England or in lieu of a fine, to suffer forfeiture of two thirds of their lands.⁵¹⁵ Anyone discovering Mass being said or relief being given to a Jesuit priest was to receive a reward of one-third of any fine imposed or

⁵¹³ AM 3: 165-66. A detailed description of Ingle's raid is in Booth, *Seeds of Anger*, pp. 43-47.

⁵¹⁴ AM 3:166-169.

⁵¹⁵ 29 Ives, *The Ark and the Dove*, pp. 16-17.

one-third of any property forfeited. No Catholic who refused to conform to the new laws could seek redress in court. He could not hold public office nor be an officer in the army nor could he practice law or medicine. Any Catholic not married in the Church of England could not own property, his or his wife's. Catholic children sent to foreign catholic schools forfeited their inheritance to their Protestant next of kin. Anyone could enter a Catholic home under pretext of enforcing the penal law. Conformity followed the Catholic even to his grave. He could only be buried in ground of the established church. At times the enforcement of the penal laws relaxed but they were always there hovering like gray ghosts. Catholics had no church to attend and could only worship in secret. All the more curious that by the time of Ingle's raid in Maryland, the Jesuit province of England had 338 members, perhaps spurred on by the execution of 16 of its members as traitors.

The cloud of fear, suspicion, and hatred that characterized relations between Catholic and Protestant moved over the Atlantic and settled on Maryland. The almost feudal relationship between the proprietor and the colonists fanned the fires of discontent. The Baltimores' reign was authoritarian, the model one of royal absolutism that did not sit well in a changing political and religious atmosphere. The governor's council was composed mainly of Catholics.⁵¹⁶ A thin line divided Catholic domination and political absolutism. And it was bitterly resented. Ingle's attack on the Jesuits and on Catholic property met with nods of approval.

One unforeseen and unintended result of Ingle's raid has been a clearer picture of the physical environment that the Jesuits created around them in the Maryland mission. Thomas Copley sued Ingle in London for the return of Jesuit property. He never received compensation but the list of goods that the Jesuits claimed to have been pillaged or destroyed by Ingle's men reveals how their houses and farms were furnished.⁵¹⁷

The Jesuits returned to Maryland in 1648 but by the time they got back, the Indians whom they had evangelized had been driven off in a series of clashes with white settlers. Numbers were still small, only Copley and Fitzherbert returned immediately, so the Jesuits became gentlemen-farmers working exclusively among the white immigrant colonists.⁵¹⁸

In the midst of Cromwell's ascendancy, the Maryland Legislature passed an extraordinary set of laws that directly contradicted the Puritan concept of how the ideal state should relate to religion. The Puritans held the very traditional belief that the state and the Christian Bible should be institutionalized shining as a beacon to all who had not accepted the truth, in brief, a quasi-theocracy where the ministers of government were also ministers of the word, or close to it. Much of the contemporary world followed the same idea. The old Roman Empire, the Islamic World, and the Christian West had held to the idea that religion and politics were distinct but not separate. The Maryland Legislature moved in a much different direction. Church and State would exist side by side, each with its own set of laws and chain of authority. What has been commonly termed the Toleration Act was approved in 1649. These laws allowed all Christians, Jews and other believers were excluded, to practice publicly their religion whatever that might be. "No person," the law said, "shall be in any waies troubled, molested or discountenanced for or in respect of

⁵¹⁶ 30. Jordan, "Maryland's Privy Council, 1637-1715," p. 69, in Land, Carr, and Papenfuse, eds., *Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland*.

⁵¹⁷ AM 10: 12.

⁵¹⁸ Fogarty, *The Maryland Jesuits*, p. 14.

his or her religion nor in the free exercise thereof within this province.”⁵¹⁹ Even the use of inflammatory words like heretic, popish priest, Jesuitical Papist, Lutheran, Calvinist, or Roundhead was punished with a fine of ten shillings. Within five years the act was repealed by the Puritans. By a twist of logic, the right to toleration became the right to be intolerant. Nevertheless, The Toleration Act was important because it demonstrated a general tendency that eventually came to dominate feelings towards religion in Maryland.

After Cromwell's rise in 1655, a ten-man Puritan council ruled Maryland. The Toleration Act was repealed, a pamphlet war broke out between Lord Baltimore's followers and the Puritans destroyed the Proprietor's forces in a naval battle on the Severn River. But by 1657 in one of those sudden reversals of form dictated by economic necessity, Cromwell helped restore Baltimore's proprietorship, the Toleration Act was dusted off and put in place, and the violence and divisiveness ebbed.⁵²⁰

The Catholic population in Maryland at mid-seventeenth century was around 2300 out of a total of 25,000 settlers. Jesuit-operated schools opened; the one in St. Mary's began in 1649, Newtown in 1653, and Bohemia Manor, St. Thomas Manor, and St. Inigoes later.⁵²¹ The school in Newtown was for “eyther Protestants or Catholikes.” Chapels were erected in Port Tobacco and Newtown. It is evident that the Jesuits took advantage of the lack of Protestant ministers and schoolmasters. They preached their own version of Christianity wherever they could and they frequently paid the consequences. In 1658 Fr. Francis Fitzherbert was summoned before the Provincial Court in Calvert County and accused of “treason and sedition” because at a general muster of townfolk he did “endeavour to seduce and draw from their religion the inhabitants there met together.” He also “rebelliously and mutionously sayd that if Thomas Gerard Esq. (of the council) did not come and bring his wife and children to his church, he would come and force them to his church...”⁵²² The court decided that Fitzherbert's argument, that “he shall not be molested for or in respect of the free exercise of his religion,” carried enough weight to warrant the case's dismissal. The court accepted preaching and teaching as part of the free exercise of religion. Fitzherbert was either a reckless firebrand or he felt reasonably comfortable in preaching to a crowd at the musters and at St. Clement's across the river from Newtown. Probably the latter. The Jesuit was turned in not for preaching but because his preaching “caused several inhabitants of this province to refuse to appear at musters that they shall thereby be incapable of defending the peace.” The objection was not against Roman Catholic preaching but against its perceived result, with which the judges did not agree. Years later when the Penal Laws were resurrected, the accusations would not be so indirect.

Between 1650 and 1688 the farm of St. Thomas Manor served as the Jesuit administrative center where the superior of the mission resided. The nine or ten Jesuits in Maryland preached to their congregations (and to Anglicans when they got the chance),

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1: 246.

⁵²⁰ Brugger, *Maryland*, pp. 21-22.

⁵²¹ Fr. George Hunter's Day book records that, in 1764, 16 students paid 12 shillings per month for schooling and, in 1765, 15 paid the same for a school year that ran from June to the following June. Five more students were added for terms of three and four months bringing the total to 20 students. The school was probably Newtown. Hunter's day book is in MPA 174 (B).

⁵²² AM 41: 144.

organized a network of Roman Catholic families, said Mass, and tended their farms.⁵²³ But as far as most Catholics were concerned it was a period of disquiet and apprehension. The house of Baltimore had regained its proprietary rights from Oliver Cromwell's government, thus allowing power shifts to occur from economic and social ranking. Catholic landowners and tobacco farmers were among the most prosperous settlers. In 1681, William Calvert, a Roman Catholic, commanded the footsoldiers of the St. Mary's County Militia. Vincent Lowe and Henry Darnall also Catholics commanded the foot and horse of Talbot County, Charles County, and parts of Calvert County.⁵²⁴ But although Catholics were prominent in the colony, they were suspect, and continually accused of conspiring with the French and Indians to massacre the Protestant population. A preoccupation with the Indians on the fringes of the Maryland frontier intensified. The Susquehannocks and the Senecas were pitted against the Virginians and Marylanders.⁵²⁵ Rumor spread that Catholics conspired with the Senecas to massacre the Protestants and ally themselves with the Catholic French in Upper New York.⁵²⁶ In 1676 John Yeo, a Church of England Minister, pleaded for more ministers for Maryland to confute "the soe many profest enemies as the Popish priests and Jesuits who are encouraged and provided for."⁵²⁷ Yeo was concerned about the numbers of Anglicans who were converting to Catholicism. In 1681, Capt. Josias Fendall testified in a deposition that Catholics and Indians were out to kill all Protestants.⁵²⁸ But he was hard put to explain how or when this massacre would happen.

The religious politics of the home government again upset the delicate balance among Catholics, Anglicans, and dissenters in Maryland in 1688. The Glorious Revolution drove the Catholic James II from the throne, William and Mary began to rule, and the Penal Laws against Catholics were restored.

Catholic attorneys were disbarred by an oath prescribed in 1692. The Test Oath in 1699 barred all Catholics from official positions in Maryland. In 1704 an act was passed "To Prevent the Growth of Popery" that declared the practice of Catholicism a penal offense.⁵²⁹ Priests could not say Mass, nor could a Catholic teach in or keep a school. In December of the same year, legislation was passed allowing Catholics to attend religious services only in a private home. Thus began the custom of building chapels connected to houses where Catholics gathered to celebrate their rituals. They were called Mass-houses. Taxes were imposed on Catholics entering Maryland. In 1717 the duty was doubled from 20 to 40 shillings per "Irish Papist." Despite the proliferation of laws against them, the Catholic population kept increasing. By 1759 their numbers had risen to 4700.⁵³⁰ "In the neighborhood," stated Thomas Greaves, "there are two Catholic families for one Protestant one." Greaves, a carpenter who worked for the Jesuits, reported that the

⁵²³ The published annual reports that the Jesuits sent to Rome paint a general picture of their activities in Maryland from 1634 to 1681. Hall, *Narratives*, pp. 118-144.

⁵²⁴ AM 5: 309-310.

⁵²⁵ AM 15: VIII-X.

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*, 389-391.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, 5: 130-131.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, 15: 388-391.

⁵²⁹ AM 46: 531.

⁵³⁰ RC POPULATION

“papists said that they would wash their hands in the blood of Protestants and that Catholic priests would soon preach in Chaptico Church.⁵³¹ More serious, Greaves thought, was that “the Jesuits were back country with the French, they had a public chapel and were building a Popish Chapel in St. Mary's County.” Schoolmasters were papists and taught Protestant children publicly. If Greaves was correct, and he probably was, it says little for the government's enforcement of the Penal Laws.

But the laws were in fact always there and the Jesuits were frequently reminded of them. In 1745, the Jesuits Livers, Molyneux, and Herne were summoned before Governor Thomas Bladen. The governor made a long, rambling speech about how dangerous it was for blacks or royal subjects to congregate under pretense of attending Divine Worship. He then made the extraordinary suggestion that the Jesuits conduct services without congregations.

“As nothing can give greater alarms to His Majesty's well affected subjects than frequent meetings of people and negroes under pretence of Divine Worship, I cannot discharge my duty if I do not acquaint you it is expected your religious duties be complied with (as they surely may) without concourse of people as may give suspicion of something else being designed than a bare exercise of religion.⁵³²

The governor did not forbid Catholic services. He did not even scold the Jesuits for organizing them. He suggested the illogical almost as if to be able to report to the home government, if he ever had to, that he had shaken his finger at the Papist Jesuits.

Governor Sharpe's spirited defense of Roman Catholics in 1756 might have allayed some minds. He inquired and scrutinized “into the conduct of the people of the Romish faith” and came up with the conclusion that none of them had “misbehaved” or had given just cause of “offence.”⁵³³ But the anti-Catholic and anti-Jesuit feeling increased if anything. Although the law was not enforced, Jesuits were forbidden from owning land. Catholics again were accused of supporting the Indians against the English settlers.⁵³⁴ The Lower House of the Maryland Assembly, bitterly anti-Catholic, was for using the oaths of William and Mary's time as a test of loyalty. To which the Upper House (always pro-Catholic) responded that “if the example of the Mother Country in the Article of Religion were to be imitated in the British Colonies in North America, what an infinite confusion there would be!”⁵³⁵ In the midst of the Maryland Assembly's anti-Catholic tirades, the Catholic community organized, worshipped, and prospered. The Lower Assembly might not have reflected the feelings of the majority. More and more Catholics married Protestants and Anglicans. The dynamics of farming, the tobacco trade, commerce, and nature itself drew Catholics and Protestants into business and personal relationships. The commercial and business imperative especially helped the formation of a pluralist society.

The Jesuits themselves gave no hint of the antagonistic conditions under which they worked. A young Jesuit, John Lewis, wrote a 144-line iambic pentameter about his trip from the Patapsco to Annapolis in 1730 in which he imagined himself in some ethereal Garden of Eden where the moon, stars, animals, flora and fauna existed harmoniously

⁵³¹ AM 50: 201-202.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, 28: 355.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, 52: 387-388.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, 55: 509-512.

⁵³⁵ AM 55: 512.

without the harmful intrusion of man. The land unfolded before him stretching towards the Blue Mountains to the west. He wrote:

Now looking round I view the outstretched land,
O'er which the sight exerts a wide command,
The fertile vallies, and the naked hills,
The cattle feeding near the crystal rills;
The lawns wide op'ning to the sunny ray,
And [mazz] thickets yet excludes the day.
A while the eye is pleased these scenes to trace,
Then hurrying o'er the intermediate space,
Far distant Mountains drest in blue appear,
And all their woods are lost in empty air.⁵³⁶

The Turner-like landscape put into poetry by the Jesuit says something about his frame of mind. He pre-dated the Lake Country Romantics by over a century, and the fact that Lewis could so have turned his attention to the beauty of his surroundings without even alluding to the persistent persecution of his brethren is remarkable. Perhaps it was something with which he had learned to cope, a part of the environment with which he had to interact. His fellow Jesuit, Joseph Mosley, who worked in Charles, Talbot, and St. Mary's counties from 1758 to 1787 seems to have felt the same. In his letters to his sister spanning most of his time in Maryland, he alluded only once to religious intolerance and that only indirectly.⁵³⁷ Mosley had a parish with 1500 souls. "I am daily on horseback," he wrote, "visiting the sick, comforting the infirm, strengthening the pusillanimous, etc. And I enjoy my health as yet as well, as if I were breathing my own native air."⁵³⁸

The people of Maryland seemed poor to him. Maryland for him was "a fine poor man's county." Grain was abundant, food plentiful, but there was no bread, only a kind of "mush", a hasty-pudding made of Indian corn. The forests were vast, the horses magnificent, the work tiring, but Mosley considered himself "as content as a King, and never shall desire a change if I can keep my health and be of service."⁵³⁹ He said nothing about religion, cautiously referring to his fellow Jesuits as "Gentlemen", writing p.t. for priest, and calling parishioners "clients." His only complaint was that indentured servants had to take the oath on landing, "a law invented to prevent the importation of Catholic servants."⁵⁴⁰ Aside from this one comment, one would not know from Mosley's letters that the Penal Laws existed. In his final letter to his sister, written in 1772, Mosley complained of failing health. After a long ride to Philadelphia, he was seized with violent fits. "If I can't ride," he wrote, "I shall be here an unprofitable servant." But he gave

⁵³⁶ Lewis's poem is in MPA 2 W 16.

⁵³⁷ Mosley's letters have been edited by Devitt, "Letters of Father Joseph Mosley, 1757-1786," 54.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 54.

himself a longer life trajectory. He asked his sister to send him “a pair or two of men's buck-skin gloves.”⁵⁴¹

Mosley and Lewis may not have been representative of the entire Jesuit community in Maryland. But throughout the eighteenth century there were only fifteen or twenty Jesuits active at any one time. The Penal Laws seemed more a nuisance than a hindrance to their labors.

FARMS AND MANORS

On the eve of the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773 the Jesuit mission in Maryland was thriving. Their churches and communities went as far north as Philadelphia.

Jesuit Farms in 1765

Farm	Jesuits	Acres	Slaves	Annual Income
St. Inigoes	1	2,000	20	£ 90
Newtown	3	1,550	29	88
Portobacco	3	4,400	38	188
White Marsh	2	2,100	65	180
Deer Creek	1	127	7	24
Queenstown	1	200	7	18
Bohemia	1	1,500	26	108
Total	12	11,877	192	696

Source: “Missiones in Marylandia 23 Julii 1765,” MPA 57 (1).

There were 20 Jesuits in Maryland and over 10,000 Catholics. The economic base of the Jesuit mission was a complex of farms that yielded tobacco for sale, livestock, and farm products.

The Jesuits as an institution ranked alongside the small number of merchant-planters who dominated the Maryland economy in the middle of the eighteenth century. These merchant-planters lived in two-story brick manor houses surrounded by other estate buildings supporting associated farm activities. In 1733 the 2.3 percent of the landowners in Talbot County, Maryland, who owned slaves and land worked anywhere from 1,000 to 20,000 acres each, and much of it was leased to tenants.⁵⁴² Each of the Jesuit farms had its manor house but contemporary descriptions do not paint a portrait of lavish accoutrements. When Joseph Mosely set up the mission of St. Joseph's in Tuckahoe, Talbot County, in 1764, one of the major criteria for a site for the manor house was distance from Roman Catholic homes. When he found the appropriate location, (his five congregations were 10, 20, 24, 22, and 22 miles away) he purchased a piece of land that already had three buildings on it, “a miserable dwelling house, a much worse for some negroes, and a house to cure tobacco.”⁵⁴³ He described his manor house as “nothing but a

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁵⁴² Clemens, “Economy and Society on Maryland's Eastern Shore, 1689-1733,” p. 164, *Land, ed., Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland*.

⁵⁴³ “Letters of Father Joseph Mosley,” *Woodstock Letters*, 49.

few boards riven from oak trees, not sawed plank, and these nailed together to keep out the coldest air; not one brick or stone about it, no plastering and no chimney; the bricks I was obliged to buy and cart above five mile.”⁵⁴⁴ Mosley brought four male and four female slaves from the Jesuit estate of White Marsh to help in cutting down the woods and opening the plantation. The estate apparently had fallen into disrepair under the prior owner, a Parson John Miller whom Mosley paid £260 10 shillings for the land.⁵⁴⁵ Inside the main house (a “sort of a house” he called it) Mosley put a table, a desk, some chairs, paper and ink, and candles. Within a few months Mosley had hogs, sheep, cows, turkeys, geese, and other fowl. The speed with which the Jesuit had set up an apparently thriving farm with slaves, cattle, and buildings might have been at the root of the bitter resentment voiced by Protestants against the Jesuits in eighteenth-century Maryland. The “Jesuits,” complained the Freeholders of Calvert County, “accumulate great wealth, the best estates,” and “extensive possessions.”⁵⁴⁶

Mosley was able to purchase Miller's farm because he drew the £260 from the General Fund that the Jesuits called the *Arca Seminarii*. Each Jesuit estate in Maryland was assessed an annual prorated sum that totaled £200. Major purchases were made from this General Fund.⁵⁴⁷ Every residence kept at its own expense a “public meeting place of Divine Worship,” that is, a chapel. Farm house, clothing for workers and slaves, building reparations, everything except bread and meat, was supplied by farm income.⁵⁴⁸ Those residences that did not have sufficient income to pay their way were supported by those that did.

Land purchases were serious matters and could not be undertaken without the advice and consent of the Jesuit superior. When James Green sold Fr. George Hunter three acres called the Strife (each tract had a name) “on the Patuxant north of Isaac's part of Jacob's Hope” for 20 shillings, a complex process of approvals had to be undergone. The Maryland Jesuits' internal regulations stressed not purchasing land without permission from the Provincial, contracting debts and obligations *ex justitia*, and any sort of house construction without leave.⁵⁴⁹ Intermediaries were frequently used by the Jesuits for land purchases. On April 22, 1754, John Lewis, the Jesuit stationed at Bohemia Manor, paid Peter Lowber £42 15s 4d “for a tract of land purchased by Mr. Poulton [Fr. Thomas Poulton, the Jesuit Superior] of J. Cain and *uxor* [wife] lying in Kent upon Delaware in Motherkill Hundred called Addition to Cavilridge layed out for 100 & twenty acres. see the papers.. capital & interest thereof from the year 1745, 19th of October.”⁵⁵⁰ Lowber was the intermediary in the purchase.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁵ Mosley's Day Book which is titled “Day Book. Bohemia Manor 1764. St. Joseph's Talbot County,” MPA 174 B, records the purchase made on March 17, 1765. In December of 1764 a Mr. Doyne had visited Mosley and offered him 1,000 acres of his land called Tinnasarah for 10 shillings an acre. Apparently he knew that the Jesuit was in the market for a farm.

⁵⁴⁶ AM 50: 422.

⁵⁴⁷ “Regulations of 1751,” MPA 57 (1).

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁰ “Bohemia [Manor] Day and Ledger Book, 1735-1761,” MPA 49 (1), fol. 94.

The existence of a General Fund that must have grown considerable over time enabled the institution to finance a variety of activities and expand its missionary work into Pennsylvania. It also permitted the institution to make purchases when prices were depressed and allowed the individual Jesuit farmer to absorb temporary losses. Crops could be kept off the market until prices improved. Unfortunately we do not have a series of Jesuit production and sales records that would enable one to determine how and to what benefit the Jesuits used the central financing at their disposal. It might have worked somewhat like the Jesuit farm complexes in Peru and Brazil.⁵⁵¹ However, one gets the sense from examining the extant farm records that the Maryland Jesuits did not have nearly as much time, money or personnel invested in the estates as did their brethren in Mexico or South America possibly because the stakes were much higher in Mexico and South America. Major physical plants such as large colleges and universities and the construction of massive churches depended financially on the Jesuit sugar estates of coastal Peru. The Jesuits in Maryland did not have nearly as much riding on the farms they owned. However, the General Fund in Maryland permitted the individual missionary-farmer to dedicate a generous part of his resources to capital improvements and better living conditions on his own farm.

By the eighteenth century the Jesuits were making land purchases on their own. When they first arrived in Maryland, they didn't have to. Because Thomas Copley made arrangements for a number of Jesuits and indentured servants in 1633, he requested 28,500 acres of land from Lord Baltimore according to the formula laid down by the proprietor. He didn't get it. But he did receive 2,000 acres at a place the Jesuits called St. Inigoes, 1,000 acres on St. George's Island, 400 acres of townland in St. Mary's, and about 2,000 acres at Portobacco.⁵⁵² These original grants were added to and other purchases made over the years. Another source of Jesuit lands was inheritances from pious Roman Catholics who willed their lands to the Jesuits. Donations of this kind were very popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, assuring the donor a place in the prayers of the priests and a reward in the afterlife.⁵⁵³

A considerable part of each Jesuit farm was leased. Between 1735 and 1740 John Jackson paid 3500 to 4000 bales of tobacco as rent to the Jesuit owners of Bohemia Manor for a tract of land. For a tract on the same farm Darby Donlevy paid 3000 bales yearly from 1736 to 1740 and 2000 from 1741 to 1745. He rented another tract for which he paid ten pounds yearly.⁵⁵⁴

Tobacco was the major product of the Jesuit farms. When Ingle raided the Jesuit farm of St. Inigoes in 1645, he made off with 20,000 lbs. of tobacco, besides corn, cattle, and beaver skins. The local superior contracted with shippers who sent the produce from Jesuit farms to England for sale. Lading receipts also indicate that in the 1750s and 1760s

⁵⁵¹ Jesuit land investment, estates, and the role of their landholdings in the rural economy are examined in Cushner, *Lords of the Land*.

⁵⁵² "Mr. Wm. Hunter's Tytle to St. Inago's. . ."MPA, 100 T 1, is a thorough 18th. century account of the origins of Jesuit property in Maryland.

⁵⁵³ A monumental study on Western attitudes towards death and the ease with which Christian faithful thought that donating property and money to the Church was a good activity is Aries, *At the Hour of Our Death*, esp. pp. 437-87.

⁵⁵⁴ "Bohemia [Manor] Day and Ledger Book, 1735-1761," MPA 49 (1).

the Jesuits had an agent in London who received direct shipments from the Jesuit superior in Maryland.⁵⁵⁵

The large farms of St. Thomas Manor and St. Inigoes included a building for the resident Jesuits, gardens or orchard near the house, mill, stables, barns, and surrounding tobacco, corn, or wheat fields. A Jesuit managed the farm but each farm had an overseer. Indentured servants and slaves were quartered near the blacksmith's shop and storehouses. Hogs, cattle, and sheep were part of the farm's associated activities. Fr. Joseph Mosley's Day Book carefully records cattle slaughtered and hogs killed. "We killed six hogs," "We killed a cow," "Hung up to be smoked 32 gammons & 56 shoulders 7 midlings," "We had the first lamb," was written in January and February of 1765.⁵⁵⁶ The meat was for the Jesuits, their servants and slaves.

Besides some tobacco Bohemia Manor produced a large amount of wheat annually. In 1750 of the 339 bushels harvested, only 16 went to the house. 31 went to "the landing" for shipment elsewhere, 9 went to "Lilly," and the rest was sold to four individuals for £60.⁵⁵⁷ Corn was also a major product. However, in 1755 only 46 barrels were harvested (St. Inigoes harvested 140). Fr. Lewis noted at the bottom of that year's account that "it was an exceeding dry year from March till September."⁵⁵⁸

The Jesuits observed the rhythm of the agricultural seasons. Their crops were diversified with associated stocks of cattle and swine. In April the corn was planted. In May the tobacco was planted. In August tobacco was cut and housed. In November the corn was gathered. In February the tobacco was stripped. Each activity involved a specific number of tasks that the Jesuit-manager supervised.

Income from the farms varied annually. Figure 5.1 shows an annual average income per farm of L99 but the disparity between Portobacco (£188) and Queenstown (£18) was considerable. The smaller farms and smaller income producing units were begun not with profit in mind but for their geographical proximity to Roman Catholic families. More productive units supplied what the smaller needed.

The income shown in Table 1 is net income after expenses were deducted from the gross. In 1750, gross income at Bohemia Manor was £260, mainly from the sale of wheat and corn.⁵⁵⁹ Seventeen percent of this income was spent on labor services (both slave and free), 23% on capital improvements, 42% on house and farm expenses, and 9% on the resident priests' expenses. Labor related expenses included food and clothing for the farm slaves and salaries to periodic workers. Capital expenses were improvements to the farm that generated additional income. For example, a mill was built in 1749-1750 for £70. Neighboring farmers used it for a fee. House maintenance and farm expenses meant anything from buying a cow (for £4, 19s 5d) to replacing some clapboards on the barn (£1

⁵⁵⁵ Records of tobacco sales and distribution from Jesuit farms are in MPA 46 (5).

⁵⁵⁶ "Day Book. Bohemia Manor 1764," MPA 174 B.

⁵⁵⁷ "Bohemia [Manor] Day and Ledger Book, 1735-1761," fol. 73.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 103.

⁵⁵⁹ By this time wheat and corn had become the major products of Bohemia Manor. Around 1710 the decline of tobacco prices in the Chesapeake region caused farms to diversify their crops. However, tobacco was grown on the other Jesuit farms, especially Portobacco. See Main, "Maryland and the Chesapeake Economy, 1670-1720," in Land, ed., *Law, Society, and Politics*; also the same author's *Tobacco Colony*.

6s).⁵⁶⁰ Bohemia Manor, as did all the other Jesuit farms, had fixed expenses that were paid yearly, or semi-annually. "Public Dues" of £7 18s 11d were paid to the local sheriff each year. Charitable donations increased after 1740. The Bohemia Manor ledger records alms to "a poor woman," and poor man, an Irish gentleman, etc., which might indicate an increase in mendicancy in the Chesapeake area or that the Jesuits were simply easy touches. The Jesuits purchased barrels of wine, which was used for Mass but also could have been for personal consumption.

As far as one can make out from the ledger of one large farm, the Jesuit missionaries had adequate food supplies from their own farms and purchased other needed goods and services. The large Jesuit farms of the Chesapeake were not self-sufficient estates like those of the Jesuits in Mexico or Peru. Houses were made of brick or clapboard. When the Jesuits needed new living quarters on St. Thomas Manor they contracted with a local carpenter "to build a dwelling house with 2 rooms below 2 above with a gable and 2 chimneys of brick and have it with a lease for 21 years at the rate of 10 sterling and 16 hundred per year of tobacco..."⁵⁶¹ Diet included bread, lamb, corn, pork, vegetables, cheese, wine, liquor, coffee, and tea.⁵⁶² They traveled by horse. Frs. Lewis and Poulton each had a wig for formal occasions. Poulton's cost 15s but a Mr. Fitzpatrick charged Fr. Lewis £2 10s for his. Newspapers were delivered regularly to Bohemia Manor from Annapolis. Fr. Mosely's remark: "I can now almost live with some comfort, as I begin to have things grow about me," could have been echoed by the other Jesuits in the Maryland mission in 1770.⁵⁶³

The religious and political confusion of the times made the Jesuits fear for the retention of the farms they had so carefully nurtured, the economic base for their missionary work in Maryland. The Penal Laws that forbid Roman Catholic priests from owning property were easily skirted but their very existence made the Jesuits cautious. Despite their vow of poverty circumstances demanded that property ownership rest nominally with individual Jesuits. In times of emergency land was sometimes deeded to fellow Roman Catholics. However, in normal times the lands were bequeathed to the Jesuit superior at the time of the owner's death. When Fr. George Hunter, the Jesuit superior, died, he left in his will to Fr. James Walton of Newtown in St. Mary's County all 12 tracts of land that the Jesuits owned.⁵⁶⁴ The extant Jesuit wills left estates and personal belongings "to my well beloved friend," whoever the Jesuit superior might be. An internal Jesuit regulation circulated in 1759 required that wills be made out in favor of only one person, "the better to preserve from danger our lands and settlements."⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶⁰ "Bohemia [Manor] Day and Ledger Book, 1735-1761," MPA 49 (1).

⁵⁶¹ "St. Thomas Manor," MPA 46 (4).

⁵⁶² Fr. Mosley mentions the kind of foods he had grown accustomed to; the purchases made by Jesuit farm managers and recorded in the farm books are the basis for this list.

⁵⁶³ "Letters of Father Joseph Mosley, 1757-1786," *The Woodstock Letters*, XXV (1906), 51.

⁵⁶⁴ MPA 25 (9).

⁵⁶⁵ MPA 57 (1).

LABOR: SLAVE AND SALARIED

When Fr. George Hunter made his spiritual retreat in 1749, he kept a personal journal in which he recorded his thoughts. He wrote about the black slaves working in Maryland.

“Charity to negroes is due from all particularly their masters. As they are members of Jesus Christ, redeemed by his precious blood, they are to be dealt with in a charitable, Christian, paternal manner, which is at the same time a great means to bring them to do their duty to God, and therefore to gain their souls.”⁵⁶⁶

Neither Hunter nor any other Jesuit of the time criticized the institution of slavery. They were for protecting the slave but the institution as well. Within eighty years this would change and the Jesuits would sell all of the slaves they owned not because they were convinced that slavery was a structurally evil institution but because pressure was brought to bear on them by Jesuit headquarters in Rome and by Northern abolitionists.⁵⁶⁷ In the eighteenth century the Jesuits went along with the justification that had been around for centuries, since the time of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, the Dominican missionary who argued that it was wrong to enslave the Indian but not the black man. Why?: better that the black man die in America as a Christian slave and go to heaven than die in Africa as a pagan and go to hell. The same reasoning was behind the statement of the General Assembly of Maryland that declared in 1692 that God was displeased if slaves were not brought from Africa to Maryland where they could be instructed in the Christian faith and baptized.⁵⁶⁸ Just three years later the same Assembly decried the “evil consequences of the gathering of Negroes on the Sabbath [who] conspire to gain freedom leading to insurrection.” A fine of 200 lbs. of tobacco was levied against slave owners who dared let their slaves travel unaccompanied to church on Sundays. And the Assembly went on to permit anyone to “shoot to kill” any slave who “runs out into the woods and there remain.”⁵⁶⁹ Maryland was more serious about its slave laws than its Penal Laws.

Around 1700 labor in the Chesapeake region shifted from a reliance on the indentured servant to the black slave. Over 100,000 blacks were brought in between 1700 and 1777.⁵⁷⁰ During the same period the white population increased from 13,000 to 250,000. But only affluent white farmers could afford black slaves who ranged in price from £29 to 50. The Jesuit reliance on the black slave as the major stable source of farm labor dated from roughly the first decade of the eighteenth century.

Slaves entered Maryland primarily through the slavemarkets at Annapolis and Baltimore. The Jesuits purchased them from other slaveowners. In 1727, Fr. Thomas Attwood bought twelve male slaves for about £24 each. The sale was duly recorded.

Maryland October 2, 1727

Know all men by these presents that George Attwood of Ann Arundel County Gentleman for and in consideration of the sum of three hundred pounds of lawful money

⁵⁶⁶ “Fr. George Hunter in Spiritual Retreat at Portobacco December 20, AD 1749,” MPA 57 (1).

⁵⁶⁷ “William to George Fenwick, Boston, September 1, 1838,” MPA Box 212, File M.

⁵⁶⁸ AM 13: 505-506.

⁵⁶⁹ AM 38: 49.

⁵⁷⁰ More than 10,000 were imported into Maryland. Donald W. Wax, “Black Immigrants. The Slave Trade in Colonial Maryland,” 33-35.

of Great Brittain to me in hand payd and for divers other good causes and valuable considerations me hereunto moveing have bargained, sold, given, granted, and by these presents do bargain, sell, give, and grant unto Thomas Attwood of the City and County of Worcester Doctor twelve able working negro slaves to have and to hold the negro slaves unto the said Thomas and his assigns forever without any letter, hindrance, or molestation of the said George. . . . Second Day of October Anno Domini 1727.

George Attwood

Witness Peter Attwood Francis Smith⁵⁷¹

The total number of slaves on Jesuit farms in Maryland in 1765 (see Figure 5.1) was 192. At an average cost of £45 per male slave, their total value of about £8,000 represented the largest single estate investment of the Jesuits in Maryland. Since the average farm in the Chesapeake area in the eighteenth century held 1-8 slaves, the Jesuit institutional holdings ranked among the highest of the merchant-planters of the period.⁵⁷²

The extant Jesuit farm books record individual slave purchases but no purchases of large numbers. Both male and female adults were purchased and marriages encouraged. When Joseph Mosley set up the farm of St. Joseph's in 1764 eight black slaves from the White Marsh farm were sent to help out. Only three adults, one female age 55, and two males both age 28 came with five related children, ages 12, 9, 6, 4, and 2.⁵⁷³ Frank fathered the first child at St. Joseph's, but the next year, on November 11 "about 20 minutes after the o'clock in the morning," Frank died. He was 29 years old. On December 15 Nelly who was 18 arrived from White Marsh. She was sold in 1769. David, 24 years old, who had been a slave of Fr. Neale at Deer Creek arrived at St. Joseph's in January 1767 but in April of the same year he was returned to Fr. Neale in Baltimore. Jerry who came to St. Joseph's on November 14, 1767, married Ginny in 1771. He was 23, she was 18. There is no indication of why slaves were sent away to other farms. Labor needs, discipline, unruliness, all could have been factors.

Between 1730 and 1765 seven slave families on the Jesuit estate of White Marsh had a total of 41 children, 23 females and 20 males. At least three families were third generation on White Marsh. Killer epidemics, crib death, and natural causes are the only causes of death mentioned in the Jesuit reports of deaths among slaves. Family size seemed relatively large. Phillis had nine children, Nanny Cooper eight, and John and Nell had six children.⁵⁷⁴ The Jesuits kept families together on White Marsh and they probably did the same on the other farms. Even when the Jesuits sold all their slaves in 1838, the families stayed together, at least until they reached the slave market in New Orleans.

Slaves of advanced age, usually over 70, or mothers of many children were considered not capable of work. In 1764 only two mothers at White Marsh were listed as "Far Advanced in Age and Mothers of Many Children." But that number fluctuated each year. Five men and women were over 70 and listed as "Past Service." 22 children were too young to work. The others at White Marsh worked in the field or learned a trade such as carpentry, shoemaking, or cooking. Priscilla was listed as a spinster "because a cripple."

⁵⁷¹ MPA,

⁵⁷² Clemens, "Economy and society," 164-165.

⁵⁷³ "Day Book. Bohemia Manor 1764," MPA 174 B.

⁵⁷⁴ "White Marsh," MPA 29 (2).

The Jesuit slaves on St. Thomas Manor between 1752 and 1778 had roughly the same demographic characteristics. Of the eight identifiable families, three had 6-8 children. The rest had 2 or three.⁵⁷⁵ Of the 38 slaves who labored on St. Thomas Manor in 1765, 21 were “working hands,” the rest children or aged. Of these 21, 3 were used in domestic labor, 18 in the fields.

Diet for the black slaves on Bohemia Manor farm included rum, codfish, mackerel, corn, pork, and beef. Quantities of these foods were purchased but one cannot figure out how frequently they appeared as fare. In November of 1753 £3 18s was spent on “11 pr. negro shoes, shoemaker Francis McHabe.” Britches, shirts, “ruggs for negros,” “9 suits of negro clothes” made by Neal Gallagher occur regularly. Soon after Fr. Joseph Mosley set up the farm of St. Joseph's, he purchased clothing material for the slaves sent over from White Marsh.

May 1st

Thomshirts 2.7 yds. trousers 2.5 yds

Frankshirts 2.7 yds.

Nannyshifts 2.7 yds. Peticoast 3 yds.

Lucyshifts 8 yds. Peticoat 3 yds.

Davyshirts 2.5 yds.

Nancyshifts 2.4 yds. Peticoats 1 yd.

Paulshirts 2.3 yds.

Hennyshifts 2.2 yds.⁵⁷⁶

Shirts, trousers, and shifts were made of “linnen” but they were probably a coarse grogram.

Slaves at White Marsh lived in two story wooden structures. In the lower quarters of one of the structures lived Nanny, her five children, and two grandchildren. Either the daughter was an unmarried mother or two families shared tight living quarters, probably the latter since there is no reason to think that each couple received single-family houses at marriage.

Movement was restricted but the fact that White Marsh had six horses “belonging to negroes” indicates a certain degree of mobility.⁵⁷⁷

Between 1765 and 1838 the slave population of the Jesuit farms increased from 192 to 272 whether by natural increase or purchase is unknown. Most of these had been baptized Catholic. Their sale became a necessity “because of the large party in the US who favored emancipation.”⁵⁷⁸ All of the women sold were under 50 years of age and above 20. Children were from 1 to 7. On November 29, 1838, Henry Johnson of New Orleans received the first shipment of 84 slaves for which the Jesuits received \$29,163. There is nothing in the Jesuit correspondence on the sale to indicate that anyone suggested just freeing them. But before they were put into Mr. Johnson's hands, Nace, Regis, Peter,

⁵⁷⁵ “Slaves of St. Thomas Manor, 1752-1778,” MPA Box 4-5.

⁵⁷⁶ “Day Book. Bohemia Manor 1764,” MPA 174 B.

⁵⁷⁷ MPA 29 (2).

⁵⁷⁸ See above, note 81.

Michael, Alexius, Ginny and her child, Zeke, Gabe, Henry, Len, Joseph, Arnold, Charles, Isaac, Nancy, Dick, Sally and her son William, Betsy, Richard, Mary, and Garvis all ran away.⁵⁷⁹

Besides slave labor, Jesuit estates in Maryland employed contract labor through the eighteenth century. When a salary was agreed upon for specific tasks, the laborer signed an agreement. The salary was received in tobacco, pounds sterling, or in kind and it was distributed either at the end of or throughout the contract period. Such labor was usually skilled but “general farm work” was a frequent category in the farm books. The following were agreements between workers and the Jesuit manager of Bohemia Manor.

Thomas Murray, Miller. April 1, 1748. Agreed with Thomas Murray that in consideration of his giving full attendance and care of the mill as well in grinding, rolling and picking the vines he is to be allowed the 3rd part of the profitts excepting the share in the bran for which he is allowed the maintenance of one's horse or creature to ride, his maintenance and lodging and washing, and when there is no other work in the mill, to work at other plantation work in consideration of which extraordinary work in case he is sick another is to attend the mill in his place and he to have his ad [?] share as if well. Thomas Pullen Thomas Murry.⁵⁸⁰

John Crosbe. agreed with the above John to let him live at Davey's house and have ground for a garden and to pay one month's work yearly in our [] garden with 2 or 3 days at harvest he is only to keep one cow and neither hog nor horse.. March the 13 1748⁵⁸¹

John Waters. NB. John Waters mason and bricklayer came and began to work the day after the Ascension viz. May 29 1747 at the rate of 6 shillings Maryland currency or 5 Pensilvania per day at my choice. June the 20 to this day inclusive Waters had worked 15 days. viz at the chapel and about the house 7, at the cellar to the vaulting and one room window high 8 days more. NB it is agreed with him that for all this work already done and to be done in vaulting the cellar and raising the brick rooms with the portion and chimneys he is to have in all 14 pd Maryland currency.⁵⁸²

The agreement stated the name of the person hired, the task for which he was hired, and the salary. Only one female was listed under agreement with Bohemia Manor and this was for use of land rather than for labor. In 1749 Martha Shea received a plow, a plowhorse, and land in exchange for half of her corn and wheat crop.⁵⁸³

Jesuit hired labor was usually skilled but several general farmhands and additional help at harvest and plowing times were taken on. Since the general hands were paid £12 per year (in 1748) it is clear why slave labor was preferred as the stable farm labor on Jesuit estates. It was more economical to purchase one slave for £30 hopefully retained for a worklife of at least 20 years than to pay a laborer £12 a year.

⁵⁷⁹ “List of Slaves, 1838,” MPA 112.

⁵⁸⁰ “Bohemia [Manor] Day and Ledger Book, 1735-1761,” MPA 49 (1), fol. 44.

⁵⁸¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 20.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*, fol. 40.

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.*, fol. 70.

In a century and a half the Jesuits constructed a solid economic base for their missionary activity by taking advantage of the headright system, pious bequests, and adroit land purchases.

Hired Labor on Bohemia Manor

Year	Laborer	Salary	Task
1744	Stephen Driscoll	L 10 per yr. Penn.*	millworker
1745	John Waters	6s Md.# or 5 Penn. per day	carpenter, construction
1746	Archibald Cammel	30s Penn. per month	general
1748	Thomas Murray	1/3 of mill profit	millwork
1748	John Crosbe	land, garden, house use, 1 cow	harvesting
1748	Thomas Ashton	L12 per year	plow, reap
1749	Brian Farrel	12s	clean well
1755	Neal Gallagher	£20, lodging, food and shoes for 12 mos.	tailoring

TSOURCE: Bohemia Manor Ledger, MPA

* Pennsylvania currency

Maryland currency

“PEOPLE OF THE ROMISH FAITH”

The Jesuits in Maryland saw themselves as religious ministers performing an essential task of keeping the Roman Catholic community within a unique and authentically Christian belief system.⁵⁸⁴ The community viewed itself as a besieged minority, successors to the persecuted English Catholics, keeping alive the flame of the one true faith. This attitude was fanned by the addition of Irish Catholic immigrants who had experienced the fervor of Oliver Cromwell. But it must have diminished somewhat with the arrival of German and Dutch Catholics. The Jesuits created sub-organizations within the community that further consolidated the Roman Catholic community. Schools allowed Catholics to educate their children according to the principles of their faith while providing opportunities for interaction between Catholics. When a certain educational level was reached, Catholic youth were sent abroad for further education in a Roman Catholic setting.⁵⁸⁵ The Jesuits formed Church groups such as the Perpetual Adoration Society, Adoration of the Sacred Heart, and Our Lady's Sodality (there were 50 members in 1767) that met regularly in chapels. A lending library for the parishioners circulated books that provided spiritual reading for the faithful with an occasional secular tome thrown in. In December of 1765 Mosley listed in his day book the “Books Lent Out” and to whom lent.⁵⁸⁶

The Shortest Way to End Disputes (Thomas Browning in Talbot)

⁵⁸⁴ Graham, “Meetinghouse and Chapel,” 246.

⁵⁸⁵ Roman Catholics in England and Maryland frequently sent their children to St. Omer's in Belgium for an education they could not otherwise obtain. Durkin, “Catholic Training for Maryland Catholics,” 70-82.

⁵⁸⁶ “Day Book. Bohemia Manor 1764,” MPA 174 B.

Horice [sic] (Mr. Tuite)
A Controvertist Book (John Hooper)
The Six Sundays of St. Aloysius (Mr. Fitzsimons)
Instruction for the Jubily
Erasmus (Mr. Tuite)
Catholic Sermons 2 Tomes
The Catholic Xam (Benjamin Sexton)
The Catholic Plea (John Gardiner)
Pious Sentiments (Benjamin Young)
A Method of Conversing With God (William Young)
The Catechism of the Council of Trent (John Sullivan in Chester)
The History of the Variations, Tome 2 (John Sullivan in Chester)

It is not surprising that the explanation and defense of the Roman Catholic version of Christianity was uppermost in the minds of the Jesuits who put together the library. Therefore, the books tell us something about the type of Catholicism that the Jesuits in Maryland transmitted to their community. It is summed up in the *Catechism of the Council of Trent*, which made no compromise or concession to the reformers of the sixteenth century. They were roundly condemned as destroyers of the seamless robe of Christianity whose only choice was to return to the fold of the one true church. The Tridentine version of Catholicism which saw the non-Catholic world as enemy was confirmed in Maryland by the government-approved harassment of church members. This simply strengthened the Roman Catholic's belief in his own uniqueness helping the community to coalesce even further.

The rituals which the community attended recognizing the life cycles of birth, Christening, marriage, and death offered key opportunities to socialize and bond with one another. The chapels were social centers in the true sense of the word. Mosley and the other Jesuits who spent hours on horseback riding between sites for religious services and meetings were consciously aware of what they were doing to extend and reinforce their community.

The Jesuits in Maryland did not extend a frontier. They followed it. They were not like the Benedictines on the frontier of Western Europe in the Dark Ages pushing back the forests, cultivating farmland that became pockets of Christianity in the wilderness. Jesuit farms and related activities functioned for the institution with no grand cosmic design of civilizing a frontier. Their agrarian activities were more participatory than innovative. The Jesuits sowed, harvested, and managed like any other estate owner. In Maryland they had no new language to learn. Work with the Indians ended soon after 1645. They had no exotic foods, clothing, or housing to adapt to. They did not live in primitive conditions. On the contrary, the Jesuits re-created a lifestyle reminiscent of rural England.⁵⁸⁷ They had farms, servants, and slaves. They spent hours managing their lands, drawing up accounts, and making purchases. They viewed this as essential to their primary role, tolerated in order to accomplish their primary task in Maryland. However, they thereby had become in the middle of the eighteenth century country gentlemen who also served as religious ministers.

⁵⁸⁷ Little should be made out of the Jesuit provincial's admonition about "keeping manservants, cardplaying, and treating with secular people." Parker to Mansell, 4 May 1713, MPA 3 (8), fol. 14. Nor should much importance be given to his remarks about offering hard liquor to visitors because of cost and scandal. MPA 57 (1). The great distances between Jesuit residences, isolation, and loneliness made the

CHAPTER 9

1767: RETROSPECTIVE

In his insightful study of the first European encounters with other civilizations, Helder Macedo discusses how Europeans “recognized the unknown.” They projected their own feelings, fears, ideas, phantoms, superstitions, and in short, their own imaginary, onto the things and people they encountered.⁵⁸⁸ The Jesuit missionaries in Florida, Sonora, Julí, and New France, were able to “understand” what they experienced of Indian culture only by projecting their own pre-conceived notions of what they were seeing or experiencing. Thus, they succeeded in recognizing the unknown.

Throughout the 200 year history of the Jesuits in America, missionaries, educators, and administrators ministered to both Spaniard and Indian in a variety of ways. Prior to the Jesuits’ arrival, the Indian experienced varying degrees of spiritual and emotional satisfaction from his traditional religion. Thus proselytization was either aggressive or benign. The Jesuits did not offer indigenous America different versions of their belief system but they emphasized different aspects of Christianity.

Both Indians and Jesuits brought to their encounter sets of dynamics that impacted on the acceptance of Christianity. On each of the frontiers examined in this book the Indians had experienced varying degrees of spiritual security and emotional satisfaction from their traditional religions. What then was Christianity's appeal? Was its association with the conquistadors the major factor in the Christianization of Mexico? Aggressive, truculent proselytization? Massed, forced baptisms soon gave way to more traditional means of evangelization. To what degree were conversions to Christianity free from social and physical coercion? Did the Indians of Sinaloa, New France, and La Florida *bear* the same thing when Jesuit missionaries spoke about God, creation, or heaven and hell? The Jesuit agents of Christianity on the American frontier did not offer indigenous America different versions of their belief system but emphasized different aspects of Christianity.

Unlike the spread of early Christianity that appealed mainly to the common people and the poor, the Jesuits in the New World targeted the elite classes first, expecting all others to follow. They could do this because the military conquest (in Mexico) and presence (in New France) gave missionaries free rein up and down the social hierarchy. On the other hand, the Jesuits in India were only successful with the poorest of the poor along the Cape Comorin Coast. The Upper Classes were inaccessible. However, the same was not true of China, where Matthew Ricci enthralled the *literati* with his maps, mathematics, and astronomical observations. Chinese converts came from the educated classes.⁵⁸⁹ Nor was it true of Japan where many sixteenth-century converts to Christianity were not “rice” Christians who benefited from Jesuit largesse, but intellectually convinced, upper class Japanese.⁵⁹⁰

To cultivate an economic foundation for their evangelization of America and to insure government support, the Jesuits launched a massive public relations campaign originating with the missionaries themselves. The goal was to make the educated and the

individual hungry for human companionship. The provincial admonition was given more out of sense of duty than seriousness.

⁵⁸⁸ “Recognizing the Unknown,” 8.

⁵⁸⁹ Gallagher, *China in the Sixteenth Century*.

⁵⁹⁰ Boxer, *The Christian Century*, 77-78.

rulers of Europe aware of the political, economic, and religious importance of the Wider World. Books, sermons, pamphlets, and speakers circulated throughout Europe, describing the peoples and cultures of America and Asia. Jesuit-authored books about China struck the most resounding cord.⁵⁹¹ Europe became fascinated with Chinese education, government, language, art, and religion. The writers were obviously empathetic towards the Chinese and this affected the European attitude towards China.

While Jesuit writers described almost a near parity between European and Chinese religion, such was never the case with Jesuit interpretations of America. America in the minds of Europeans was a land of Wild Men, vast spaces, and massive mountains.⁵⁹² The environment was portrayed as hostile, dangerous. DeBry's sixteenth-century sketches made its inhabitants just as threatening. No Jesuit sketches appearing in their books on China approach in gouliness the portrayals of the Florida Indians, the Aztecs, or the Incas. Cannibalism, maiming, excessive cruelty, and diabolical religious rituals became the accepted version of indigenous America. The widely read *Jesuit Relations* with their periodic portrayals of cultured, educated, European missionaries struggling against the forces of nature and Satan in the snow-bound north confirmed Europe's worst suspicions about the Indians of the Americas.

The *Jesuit Relations* were a major source of information about the land and peoples of New France. They were widely circulated and translated into several languages.⁵⁹³ In a typical *Relation*, for example that of 1636, one is hard put to find empathy and flexibility towards the Indians of New France.⁵⁹⁴ Instead, a description of the Indian's major vices is predominant. "Liars, ill-tempered, gluttons, and lazy," are their major characteristics. These vices were said to be genetic, passed on from one generation to the next. Although the land was described as fertile, the general environment was depicted as threatening, a danger to life, inhibiting activities and disruptive of psychic and social activities.

The *Relations* portrayed the Jesuits as preferring short-term adjustments to long-term adaptation. This was the case even though the individual Jesuit accepted a mission assignment with the understanding that his post was to be his new home with ordinarily no possibility of returning to his native land. The commitment to place was designed to insure a commitment to the work of the mission but in fact there was a return of Jesuits to France for a variety of reasons. Most, however, remained until death.

Stories about the conversion and baptism of Indians occupies 40% of the *Relation* of 1636. Forty percent describes political events and Jesuit activity along the St. Lawrence. Ten percent is given to "Remarkable Events" in New France, which meant descriptions of Indian behavior and customs.

The *Relation* makes no attempt to reconcile the status of the Indian with Christianity, no suggestion of an Indian-Christian synthesis. Quite the opposite. No evident attempt was made to "understand" Indian religious beliefs in the way that Ricci studied Confucianism. Only Jean de Brebeuf's lengthy account of Huron burial practices written with respect and empathy approaches a sympathetic portrayal of the Indian. "Our savages are by no means

⁵⁹¹ Mungello, *Curious Land*, 36-42, analyzes the European fascination with China.

⁵⁹² Dudley, *The Wild Man Within*, describes how the image of the Wild Man influenced ideas about indigenous America.

⁵⁹³ Donnelly, Thwaites' Jesuit Relations, 33-41.

⁵⁹⁴ MNF 182-404

savages in so far as their natural respect for the dead is concerned,” he wrote.⁵⁹⁵ The Jesuit was sorry that 15 or 20 Christians were buried alongside the “*infidèles*,” but “we say a *De profundis* for their souls along with the firm hope that if God continues to bless this land, this feast of the dead will no longer be or will only be for Christians who perform holy ceremonies rather than foolish or useless ones.” Brebeuf was adamant in opposing the burial of Christians in Huron burial grounds. On the Indian day of the dead, the burial grounds were “an image of hell. The great open space was filled with fires and flames and the air filled with screaming shouts of the barbarians.”

Even within Brebeuf's admiring description of Huron burial practices a picture of diabolical frenzy emerges. Flames and screams created an image of the damned worthy of a Peter Bruegel painting. Brebeuf concluded the 1636-*Relation* doubting whether the Indian would ever be capable of living the Christian ideal. “I have great apprehension,” he wrote, “about the time I will have to tell them about their customs and to teach them to rein in the flesh and live within the integrity of marriage....I fear that they will grow uneasy when I ask them to put on Christ, to bear his livery, and live as good Christians.” Brebeuf was echoing a doubt that would continue in Jesuit *Relations* about the inability of the Indian to be a good Christian. Ten years later the *Relation* spoke of the battle between Jesus Christ and Satan over control of a land that the Devil had ruled for so long. The source of the evil was their freedom, reported the *Relation*, their having many wives and leaving them when they wanted to. The missionary demand for monogamy was an obstacle to conversion. Brebeuf could have added the integrated nature of Indian religion and the difficulty of learning the Indian languages to his list of reasons why relatively few Indians became Christians. Brebeuf's remarks contrast sharply with writings of other Jesuits who worked with the Native Americans in Central and South America. Urquijo has written about how each writer had a particular objective in writing, thus accounting for both condemnations and praises.⁵⁹⁶

Jesuit accounts of Sinaloa were equally unflattering to the Indians. Pérez de Ribas's classic statement about life among the Indians of seventeenth-century Sinaloa exalts the labors of the European Jesuits while diminishing the civility of the native groups along the northwest coast of Mexico.⁵⁹⁷ He paints a picture of starving, naked “savages,” bound by tribal affinity, scraping an existence from the inhospitable landscape. According to Reff, the picture is probably accurate since the Jesuits encountered in the 1590s the mere remnants of a European-disease ravished people that had enjoyed a much higher degree of well-being just prior to the arrival of the missionaries.⁵⁹⁸ Pérez de Ribas's account matches what the Jesuit Annual Letters from Mexico had to say about the Indians. While Pérez goes into detail about Indian social habits, housing, hunting, clothes, religion, population decline, and government (very little on language), the Annual Letters from Mexico with a more cosmopolitan audience in mind focus on the exotic in Indian religion.

The attraction to Christianity in Northwest Mexico was based more on economic and social reasons than a response to Christian spiritual principles. For example, the Yaquis invited the Jesuit missionaries to their villages in 1610 because they wanted to participate in the advantages of new crops, plows, and cattle ranching that the Jesuits were introducing and

⁵⁹⁵ “Nos sauvages ne point sauvages en ce qui regarde les devoirs que la nature mesme nous oblige de rendre aux morts.” MNF III, 388

⁵⁹⁶ Urquijo, “El Indio en los escritos de los jesuitas;” Axtell, *The European and the Indian*, 69-81, talks about genuine and nominal conversions among the Indians of North America.

⁵⁹⁷ Pérez de Ribas, *My Life Among the Savages*.

⁵⁹⁸ Reff, *Disease, Depopulation and Culture Change*.

distributing to new converts.⁵⁹⁹ New converts in the mountains of Sinaloa were “granted” land for cultivation and access to food in times of famine. The Jesuits were instrumental in finding work for Indians in neighboring silver mines thus increasing their authority and power. Their own cattle ranches in Sinaloa employed Indian laborers.⁶⁰⁰ Among a people ravaged by European killer diseases (half of the Indian population perished in the first decades of Jesuit missionary activity) disrupting the normal rhythms of food cultivation and gathering, survival through missionary charity was a major incentive for becoming a Christian. In the early days of the mission in Sinaloa new male Indian converts received coats, jackets (for *caciques*), hat, shoes, and a belt; women received dresses and a petticoat “that their fidelity might be rewarded and others might see how good it was to become a Christian.”⁶⁰¹ The Jesuits in Sinaloa did not have to compel the Indians to become Christians. The material and economic benefits were evident.

As far as the Indians were concerned, accepting Christianity did not necessarily mean a total abandonment of the old religion. Although the Jesuits argued that *their* gods had abandoned them, (“see how the Indians were ravaged by disease and the Europeans were not touched!”) the counter argument “If you want your children to die, then have them baptized,”⁶⁰² seemed to have little effect, possibly because the Indians never intended to completely abandon their old gods. Syncretism was a law of religious life among the Indians of Mexico as long as the missionary was not immediately present. Given the dispersion of Indian villages and hamlets on the frontier, the nature of their religion tended towards syncretism. The vigilance of the Jesuit missionary depending on informants who either wished to ingratiate themselves or were convinced of the correctness of warning about the continued activity of the *shamans* kept the Christian church within acceptable limits of worship.⁶⁰³

The writings of the Jesuits on the Indians of the Central Valley of Mexico seem much more tolerant of differences. Jesuits in the college of Mexico analyzed Indian medicine, geography, language, history, clothes, and customs.⁶⁰⁴

Jesuit missionary methods in seventeenth-century Maryland did not bank on military or social pressure. The existence of a catechism written by Fr. Andrew White and the recently-found copy of the Ten Commandments written in the Piscataway language illustrate the initial importance that the Jesuits attached to evangelizing the Indians of the Chesapeake.⁶⁰⁵ The Indians welcomed the missionaries as forerunners of potential trading relationships with Maryland settlers, which would have meant protection from the incursions of northern tribes.⁶⁰⁶ However, other motivating factors were at work. In the short time that the Jesuits evangelized the Piscataways and other Indian groups around the Chesapeake they managed

⁵⁹⁹ Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, 58.

⁶⁰⁰ DuHart, *Missionaries, Miners and Indians*.

⁶⁰¹ Dunne, *Pioneer Black Robes*, 191.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*, 180.

⁶⁰³ An interesting question is how ancient gods were adored alongside the new deities. See Murphy, *Working the Spirits*, 220-249.

⁶⁰⁴ Burrus, “Mexican Jesuit Authors; and Olsen de Serrano Redondet, “Los jesuitas y las letras.”

⁶⁰⁵ The original catechism of White is lost; a copy of the Ten Commandments is in the rare book section of the Georgetown University Library.

⁶⁰⁶ Axtell, “The Jesuit Missions in Maryland,” 2.

to convert 130 Indians. Bona fide Christians or in name only? The Indians may well have been drawn to the missionaries with the hope of future trading relations but at the same time the spiritual claims of the Jesuits, their rites of baptism, mass, and formal prayers appealed to the Indians. The Jesuit report of 1639 spoke of the “hope of the Indian harvest.”⁶⁰⁷ By 1642 over 130 had been baptized.

The Jesuits chose Port Tobacco as a fixed residence because it gave them relatively easy access to the surrounding Indian villages. The stories related by the Jesuits in their reports from Maryland dwelt on the Indians' astonishment at apparent cures. Were the Jesuits considered to be shamans more powerful than the one's the Indians already had? The Jesuit reports do not reveal the immediate Indian reply to the Christian message. The conversion of the entire village of Port Tobacco may well have been the reaction of obedient subjects to their ruler's conversion. Since the Jesuits worked for the most part through interpreters, their reading of the Indians' understanding of the new religion probably was faulty.

However, after 1650 local and international politics intervened and the religious conflicts that divided England helped to prevent the Jesuits from further proselytization of the Indians of Maryland.

The initial Jesuit description of potential Indian converts in Maryland was unflattering. “Whoever shall contemplate in thought the whole earth,” said the author of the 1639 report from Maryland, “will perhaps nowhere find men more abject in appearance than these Indians.”⁶⁰⁸ He went on to say that they were inclined to vice, ignorance, barbarism, unrestrained, and wanderers. But they had souls. And to partially balance the portrait, the writer said that they were docile, patient, godfearing and worshipped few idols. There was hope of conversions.

One event that strongly impressed the Jesuits was Chief Maquacomen's adoption of European dress. He “exchanged the skins with which he was heretofore clothed for a garment made in our fashion.”⁶⁰⁹ In New France, Mexico, and in Maryland the gesture of adopting European dress was not merely symbolic. It represented what missionaries considered essential in the process of conversion to Christianity. The Indian should adopt Western law, ritual, and accept as a model the feudal structures of Christianity. Adopting western dress was an external sign of acceptance. What today would be called inculturation, the process whereby the evangelized culture reexpresses the Christian message in its own terms, was hardly considered. Instead, the missionaries believed that the structures they were imposing on America possessed a worldwide, universal significance that by their very nature would compel. They didn't. They simply represented an alien worldview intrinsically linked to colonialism.

Although the Jesuit missionary experience in North and South America was dissimilar, the common themes that run through both continents indicate that the missionaries brought similar attitudes with them to the New World. Although conversion and baptism were never physically forced on Indians, the threat of an eternal fire engulfing forever those who refused to become Christian was a less than subtle form of coercion. By developing a system that rewarded those who became Christian, coercion was raised a psychological notch thereby encouraging the non-Christian to join the ranks of the

⁶⁰⁷ Hall, *Narratives*, 130

⁶⁰⁸ Hall, *Narratives*, 129.

⁶⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

believers. In Julí, as in other mission sites, those who were not members of *cofradías* felt marginalized. *A fortiori*, those who were not Christian were ostracized.

Repetitious indoctrination that was the hallmark of Roman Catholic instruction could only be experienced by a sedentary agricultural group and not by those who hunted and gathered for sustenance. The missionaries tried to create stable, agricultural communities when they did not exist by convincing governments to allow them to run communities like Julí where no lay Spaniards could live or like the French Jesuit community of Sillery that attempted to erect a European-like Huron village in New France. For the Jesuits, instruction, isolation, and monitoring were easier if small Indian settlements were relocated and combined with others. Better still--if the Indian community did not abandon its site in order to hunt. Stable agricultural settlements meant that the European missionaries could plan, instruct, and develop religious structures that would remain for the long-term. Numerous conversions, a steady flow of baptisms, confessions, Christian marriages, and adoption of Christian beliefs and rituals were assured only if the Indian could be instructed regularly.

Sometimes the relocation was forced, sometimes not. Indians were sometimes more moved by economic motives than cultural ones. For example, the Mojos Indians of the Upper Amazon voluntarily moved from scattered settlements into European-like villages in order to allow the Jesuit missionaries to act as their protectors in order to trade with Spanish towns.” The same motives operated in the Reductions of Paraguay. Yerba Mate grown by the Indians was assured transportation and distribution if the Guaraní clustered in Christian villages. The European missionaries used a variety of motives to create stable agrarian settlements.

The Devil was considered the universal obstacle to conversion. Whether working through the Indian priests of Florida, New France, or New Spain, or through the *huacas* of the Andes, the Devil was the convenient reason why the Native American clung to old beliefs. In the absence of other explanations that came much later, the Devil was credited with preventing the Indian from enjoying the benefits of Christianity and an eternity in heaven. The Devil was believed to be proactive in his battle with the European Christians. Not only did the Devil encourage the Native American to reject the new belief system but he also was held responsible for the hardships that the missionaries encountered.

The Western concept of the Devil as Evil Personified only gradually took hold of the Native American mind. Deities had always been conceived of as incorporating good and evil. Hence, the missionary was hard put at the outset of his evangelizing to separate the dualistic properties of each. This may have been the reason behind the Indian's persistent adoration of ancient gods. He could not reject them without doing violence to his cultural world.

Spanish missionaries saw the Devil behind the Indian reluctance to wholeheartedly embrace the new religion. Popular religion in sixteenth century Spain clearly saw the Devil everywhere. The Jesuit who had been schooled in the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius was especially inclined to do so. He saw himself struggling with the evil spirits marshaled beneath the banner of Lucifer which St. Ignatius described in the Second Week of the Spiritual Exercises. The movements in Peru and Mexico against autochthonous religion were not haphazard reactions to native religious forms but a conscious cultural response against the perceived core of the indigenous belief system.

A major tool that the Jesuits required for their task of evangelization was a thorough familiarization with the language and customs of the people they evangelized. Some form of language school was set up in each major mission area. The reason for learning the language was the need to communicate to potential converts. But the Jesuits did not stop at

learning the language. A renaissance-like curiosity was evident in their discussion of non-mission related objects. This was an attitude they inherited from the renaissance when the cult of the individual, extravagant daring, and indifference to pain and fatigue was raised to a virtue. The Jesuits did not gather and organize data scientifically but they absorbed it in an unsystematic, undisciplined, and spontaneous manner. Their reports and diaries are filled with descriptions of lakes and rivers, animals and people, bugs and flowers. The information was amassed rather than selected and arranged. It was spontaneous and omniverous.⁶¹⁰ du Ru's journal of his voyage up the Mississippi River describes alligators and Indians, villages and trees, flora and fauna with equal zest. He even wrote an ode to the Mississippi River.⁶¹¹ There was no purpose to his descriptions, no set audience he was trying to impress. But it is clear that he was conscious of taking part in a great deed of exploration, an accomplishment never before achieved.

The themes that run through the Jesuit effort in America, whether in the lecture halls or mission stations, are in a sense still functioning, albeit in different shapes and forms in the rural world. Coercion, whether economic or social, the preeminence of the spirit world, the post World War II peasant population shifts to the urban areas, the drive for education that has engulfed not only the elites but the masses as well, all these are reformulations of old themes. The design has become more intricate but the basic fabric remains the same.

On the eve of the expulsion from Latin America in 1767, the Jesuits could look back on a series of major accomplishments. Their mission stations served the indigenous population in the Paraguay reductions, in the Andes, in the Amazon, in the *llanos* of Colombia, in the growing urban areas, and on the rural farms and ranches that they administered. The number of conversions made, baptisms administered, and marriages performed were all recorded by those who measured success by numbers, and each year a tally was sent from America to the central Jesuit office in Rome. The number of Indian villages and communities that remained within the Christian fold over long periods of time is even a better measure of success. Every village in the Andes had its patron saint, its fiesta. The townsfolk may have artfully blended the old religion with the new but they were wise enough to keep the latter pretty much on the margin. The Jesuits could also count the number of colleges and universities they administered and lectured in. The elite and future priests were often Jesuit alumni. However, the greatest accomplishment may have gone unrecorded and virtually unknown. The intricately carved pulpits in Jesuit churches were not just decorative devices but living platforms from which the Jesuit preached. A better life, love, abnegation, penance, faith, the virtues, what they within the limits of their own understanding thought a good Christian should be and how they should act. But how did his preaching affect the thousands of listeners who heard him for over two hundred years?

On the other side of the coin are the activities about which the Jesuits should not have been too proud. Their own superiors questioned what they called an overconcern with material things. Their very success as farmers, ranchers, and traders roused the enmity of the lay businessperson. The Jesuit was an astute businessman who knew when to purchase property, when to buy crops, when to sell, when to keep his goods off the market. And above all the Jesuits had the ability to absorb short term down markets, something the ordinary farmer could not do. Belonging to a far-flung network of economic and spiritual power meant access to political influence as well. The nature of the Spanish imperial system allowed the Church prerogatives and influence that few laypersons possessed. Taking all of these together, the increased institutional wealth, the influence

⁶¹⁰ Parry, *The Age of Reconnaissance*.

⁶¹¹ DuRu, 23

within the ranks of the political elite, and the economic position within the colonial economy, the warning signs should not have been too hard to miss. Nor were they. The storm brewing on the other side of the ocean finally caught up with the American Jesuits in 1767. But the results of 1767 are a subject vast enough for another volume.

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The primary sources for much of what has been written in this book are found in the central Jesuit archive in Rome, Italy, and to a lesser extent in local Jesuit and national archives in America. The Jesuit records in Rome are in the Curia Generalis, 5 Borgo Santo Spirito, Rome 00100 Italy, and are open to any responsible scholar. The archive has well lit reading rooms and provides microfilm and copy service. The *Novae Franciae, Angliae, and Mexicanae* province records contain material on personnel, economic matters, and specific and general reports to the Superior General in Rome. Letters to these provinces from Rome are in the *Epistolae Generalis* section. The catalogues, especially the *Catalogus Rerum* and the Catalogus Tertius, are valuable for economic reports and assessments of individual missionaries. The *Indipetae* sections has the letters, carefully preserved, written to the General requesting mission posts. Microfilm copies of many of these materials are in the Pius XII Library of St. Louis University. Georgetown University Library has the old Maryland Province records now in the process of being catalogued.

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