

# *Confronting American Peoples*

## *A mosaic of peoples*

p.86 If the America encountered by the Spaniards and the English consisted of a multiplicity of micro-worlds, each with its own geographical and climatic characteristics, the same was no less true of the peoples that inhabited it

p.87 Although for taxonomic purposes the Spaniards would indiscriminately lump all the peoples of America together under the name of Indians – a practice that would be continued by the English colonists – they were well aware of their cultural and ethnic diversity

[affrontare popolazioni “statalizzate”]

Nothing in his years in the **Antilles** had prepared Cortés for the sophistication of the civilization he found on reaching Mexico. Here were great cities and ordered polities, which bore comparison with those of Christendom: ‘. . . these people live almost like those in Spain, and in as much harmony and order as there, and considering that they are barbarous and so far from the knowledge of God and cut off from all civilized nations, it is truly remarkable to see what they have achieved in all things.’

p. 89 The empire of the Incas was to evoke similarly admiring responses...



Although the Spanish discovery of the Aztec and Inca empires brought into question conventional European notions of barbarism by showing that peoples without the benefits of Christianity, or even of writing, could in some respects at least attain to European levels of civility, **it gradually became apparent that few if any other parts of the continent contained polities of comparable scale and sophistication**

p.90 [In] North America, ... the absence from the lands first settled by the English of cities like those which so impressed the Spaniards made it less likely that these North American peoples would break free from the European stereotype of the barbarian and the savage

p.91 Yet, ... the very fact that the Mexican 'Salvages' were 'a civilized people' was to play into the hands of the Spaniards

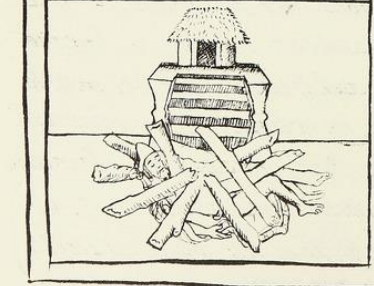
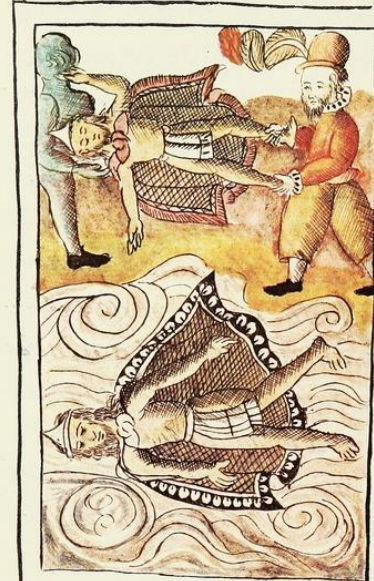
The imperial structures organized by the Mexica and the Incas, with their concentration of power at a central point, made them vulnerable to a European take-over in ways that the looser tribal groupings of ... North America were not

Seize the supreme figure of authority and the mechanisms of imperial power were thrown into disarray, as Cortés and Pizarro demonstrated



Moctezuma's death and cremation

## Libro duodecimo



*chichi'oalli: yoan oempic'in  
 in casaia, quiquinacaia, bo  
 iovaia, moquaqua cucucue  
 oioaia. Auh in Itzquauh  
 tzin conacalhuizt, acaltia  
 conarato injnacaio, injca  
 xitio njcan tlacilulco, con  
 la motlacuiltique, cercaic  
 noioac inmiollo, teixaiovi  
 tur, aiacma cavala, aiac  
 inma qujtel chioa: qujtu  
 ia. Oquj'iovi inlacati, in  
 tlaculh'calcati in Itzquauh  
 tzin, caivan ollashiovi, yoa  
 omo'itlinj in Motecuoma,  
 quex qujch' oquj'iovi in to  
 pampa in vmpa oti valla  
 que, oti oallit'iaque mix  
 qujch' cavit' mo catia in Mo  
 tecuoma: njman iei' quj  
 ch' chioa in teeparitl, yoan  
 ocoquj' amatlat qujtl' icquj  
 ch' chiu'ique: yoan quj'la  
 mama caque: auh njman  
 icquj' vi caque in quj' tlacitl  
 in teuit' valco, it'vcaio can:  
 quauh' xicalco: cenca tlama  
 vizt'it'it'it'ia inje tlac*



Battaglia o massacro di Cajamarca, 16.11.1532

Once final victory was secured – thanks in large part to the assistance of peoples who had chafed at Mexica or Inca domination – it was relatively easy to revive the old lines of command and replace one set of masters with another

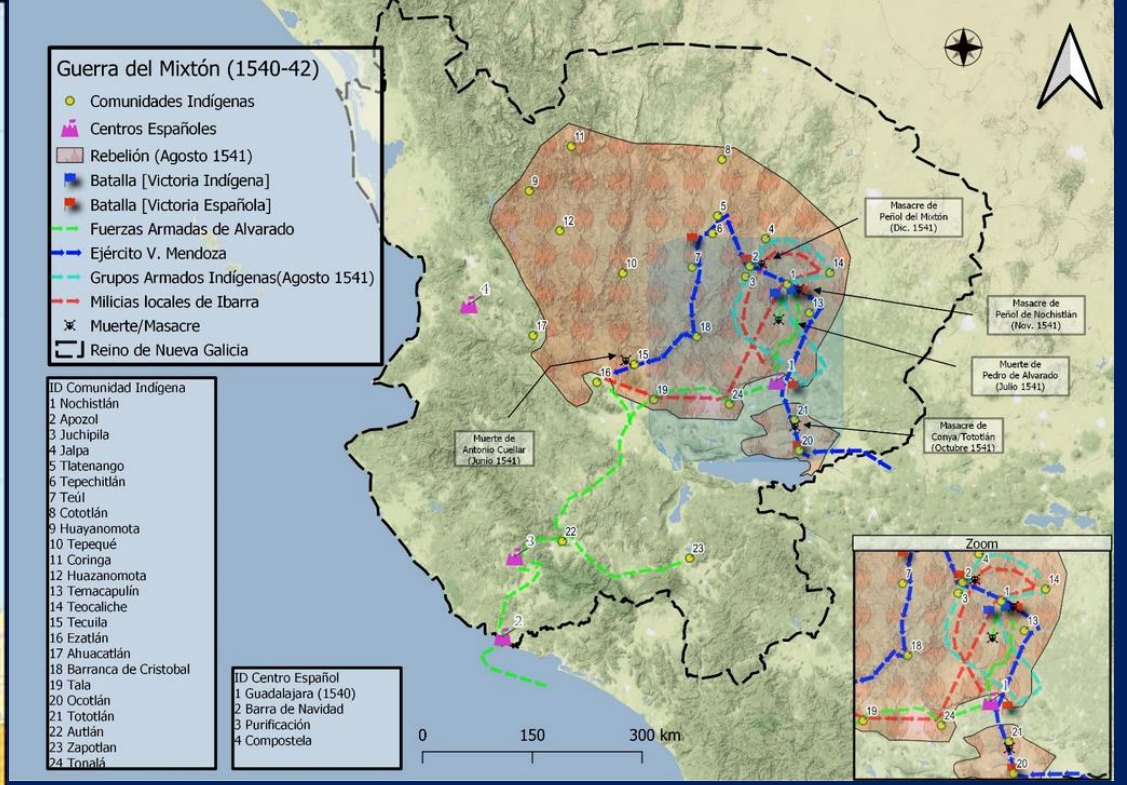
The Spaniards thus found themselves in a position of authority over vast populations, which were accustomed to paying tribute and to receiving orders from an imperial centre

[affrontare popolazioni nomadi]

Nomadic peoples, on the other hand, presented the Europeans with military problems of a very different order

So too did the relatively loose groupings of tribes without permanently fixed points of settlement, like those that faced the Spaniards in other parts of central and southern America and the English to the north

It was not difficult to play off one tribe against another, but the very fluidity of tribal relationships meant that successes were liable to be temporary, as alliances shifted and tribes regrouped



Mixtón War, 1540-42

The Chichimeca War, 1550-90

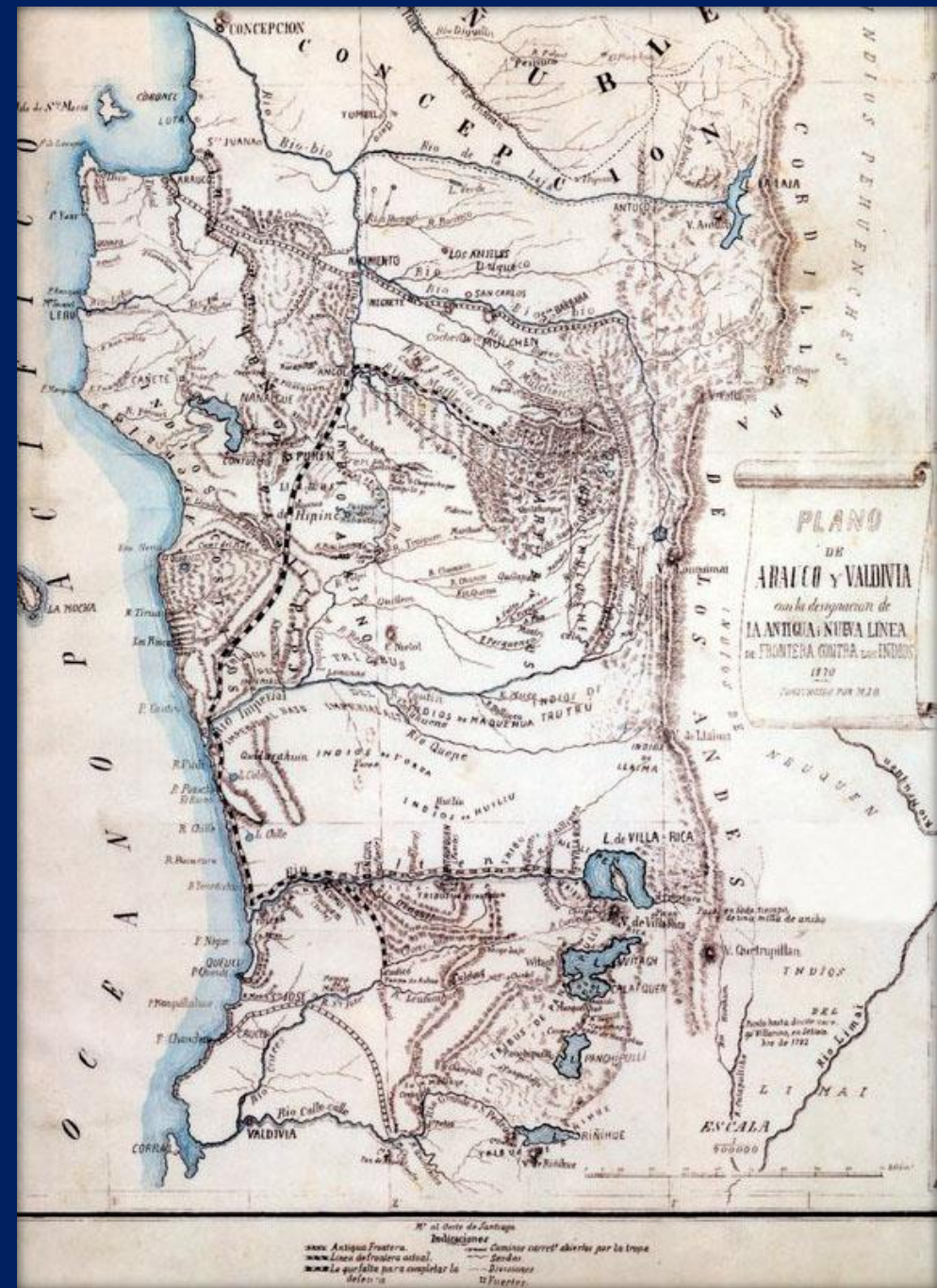


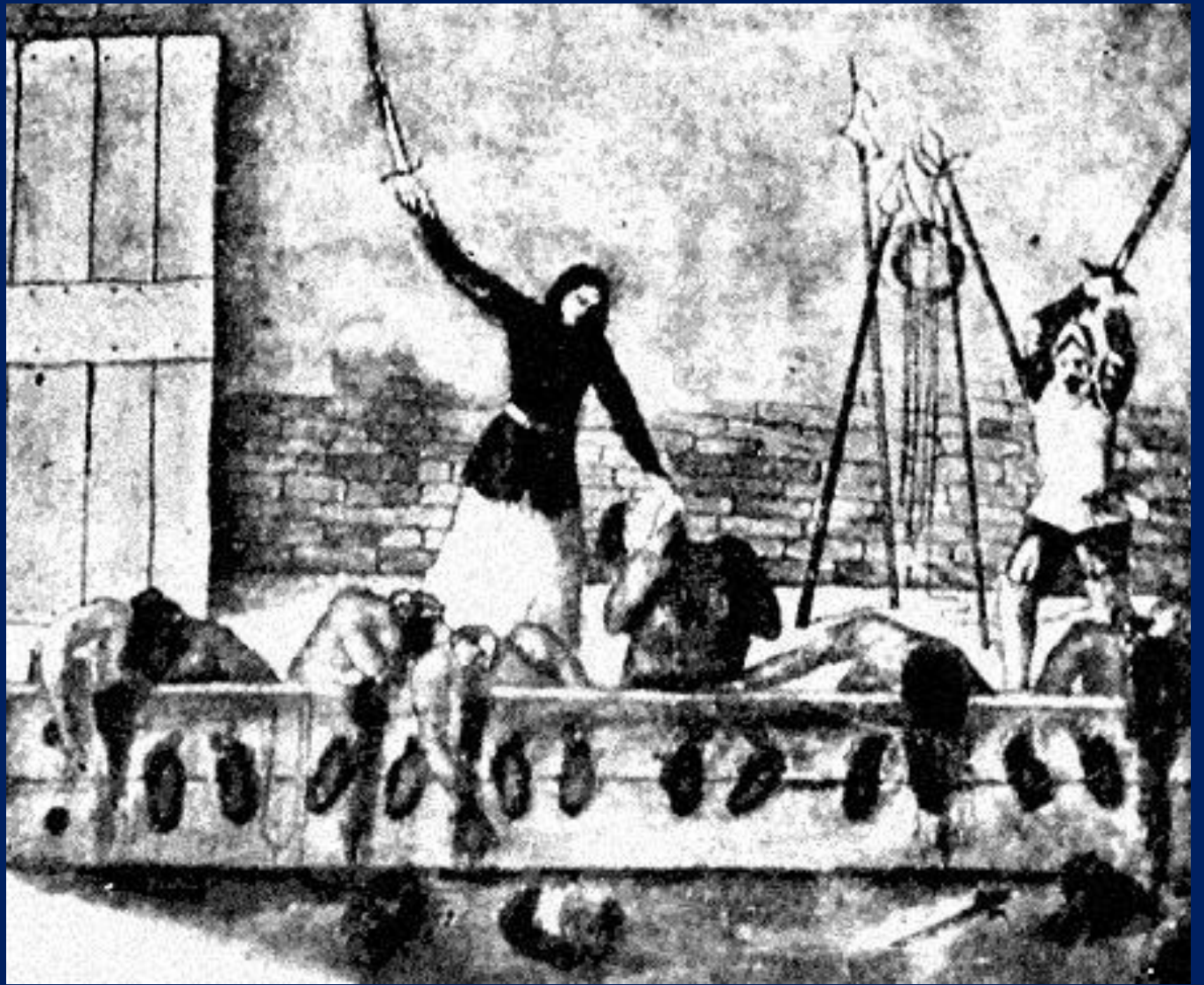
Caxcan warriors battling against the Spaniard

# Araucanian Wars, 1536-1881, against Mapuche



Attacco a Santiago,  
1541





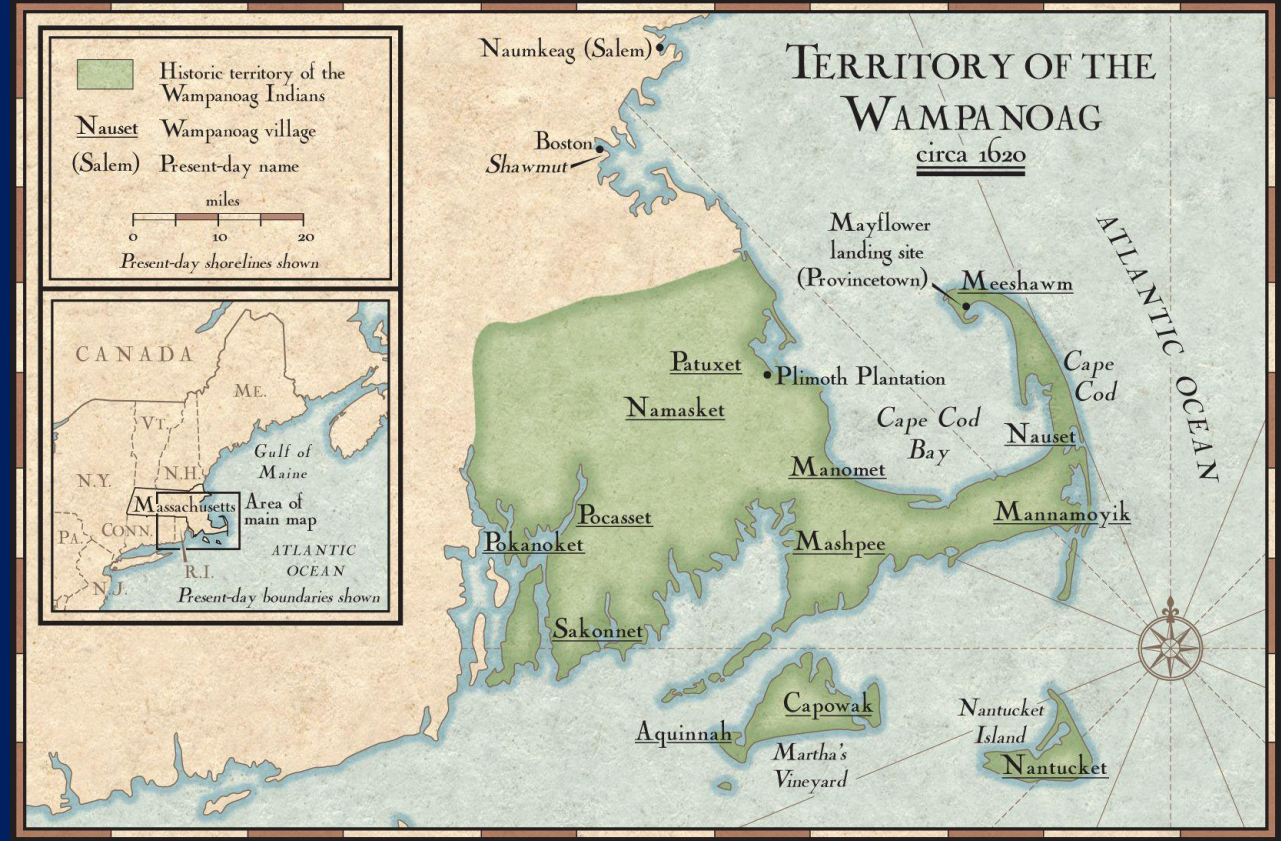
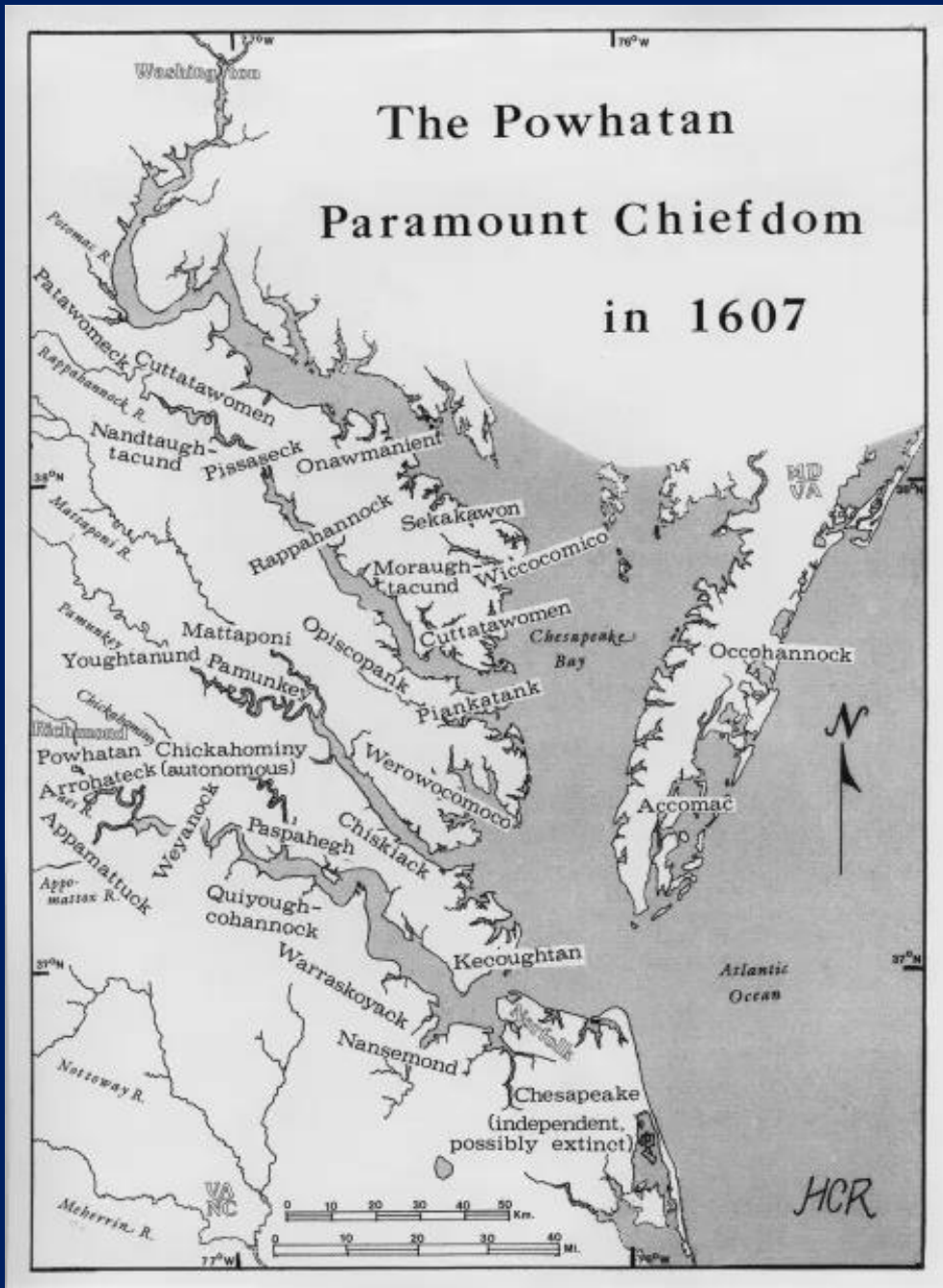
[In 1545, in recognition of her courage and valor, Valdivia rewarded Inés Suárez with an encomienda]





Gallina aracauna (mapuche)

p.95 The variety of Indian responses to the European intrusion – the rapid collapse of the organized empires of the Incas and the Aztecs, ...the prolonged resistance of the Chichimeca [Mexico] and the Araucanians [Chile], the exasperated bellicosity of the Powhatan and the Wampanoag – makes it clear that tribal traditions and culture were ... important in determining the outcome of any confrontation





First Powhatan War: 1610-1614

Second Powhatan War: 1622-1626

Third Powhatan War: 1644-1646

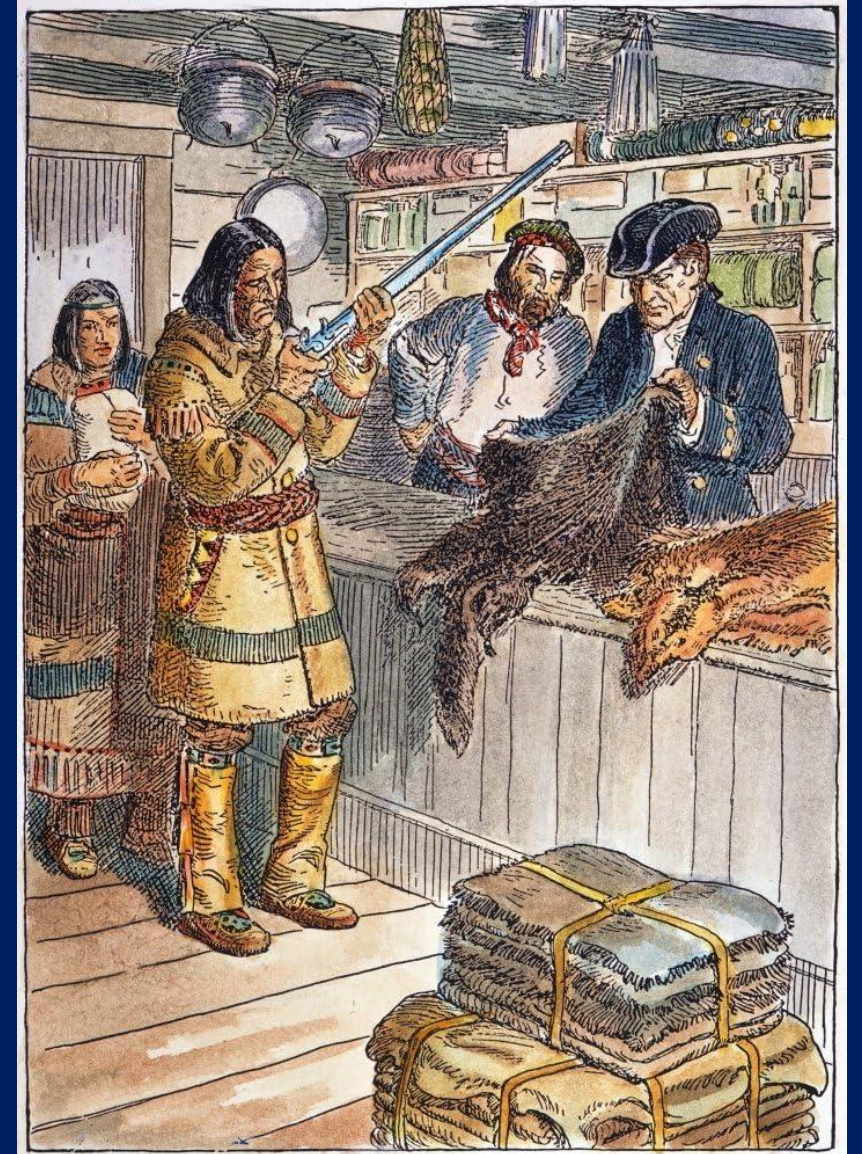


Boundary between the Virginia Colony and Tributary Indian tribes, as established by the Treaty of 1646

'The Massacre at Jamestown, Virginia, 1622.'



The indigenous peoples, at first terrified by European firearms, were soon craving for them, and there was always some settler or trader ready to oblige



Horses, too, were assimilated into the military culture of the indigenous peoples, notably the Araucanians and the Apaches, both of whom chose warfare as a way of life



(Felipe) Lautaro (Leftraru),  
ca. 1534-1557



Caracara





[malattie]

p.96 The most effective of all allies, however, in the imposition of European supremacy was not human but biological – those Old World diseases which the invaders and settlers unwittingly brought with them to the New

Estimates of the total population of the Americas on the eve of the arrival of the first Europeans have varied wildly, from under 20 million to 80 million or more. Of these 20 to 80 million, the North American population constituted between 1 and 2 million in the assessment of minimalist demographic historians, and as many as 18 million in that of the maximalists

While the totals will always be a matter of debate, there is no dispute that the arrival of the Europeans brought demographic catastrophe in its train, with losses of around 90 per cent in the century or so following the first contact

p.98 Comparable [to Mesoamerican] waves struck the peoples of the Andes, who were stricken by smallpox in the 1520s, well before Pizarro embarked on his conquest of Peru

Just as the coming of European diseases preceded European settlement in the Andes, so death stalked the Atlantic coast of North America well before the arrival of the English in any large numbers

Already in the sixteenth century sporadic contacts with Europeans had unleashed major epidemics... As the contacts multiplied, so did the sicknesses. There is evidence that the indigenous population of Virginia was in decline before the founding of Jamestown in 1607...

## *Christianity and civility*

p.100 While the Spaniards, unlike the English, had effective dominion over large numbers of Indians, the English saw their mission in America in the same terms as the Spaniards – as one of 'reducing the savage people to Christianity and civility', in Christopher Carleill's [c. 1551-1593] words of 1583

In this context to 'reduce' (in Spanish, *reducir*) meant in the vocabulary of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries not to level down, but to bring back or restore, and in particular to restore by persuasion or argument.

'To be reduced is to be convinced', according to the definition of the word in Sebastián de Covarrubias's Castilian dictionary of 1611. These were peoples who had to be converted to a knowledge and understanding of the true faith, ideally by persuasion, but, as some argued, by compulsion if necessary, for had not Christ commanded: 'compel them to come in'?

«Esci per le strade e lungo le siepi, spingili [i poveri] a entrare, perché la mia casa si riempia», Luca 15-23

## [cristianizzazione spagnola]

The Spaniards, by reason of their priority, were forced to be pioneers, evolving by trial and error a set of policies and practices that would determine the extent to which the peoples under their domination were to be 'reduced' to European norms of behavior

The novelty of the challenge, and the sheer scale of the obligation imposed on them by the Alexandrine bulls to bring these unknown peoples to the faith, forced the Spanish authorities in church and state to develop what was in effect a programme for conversion – a programme that would slide ... into widespread Hispanicization

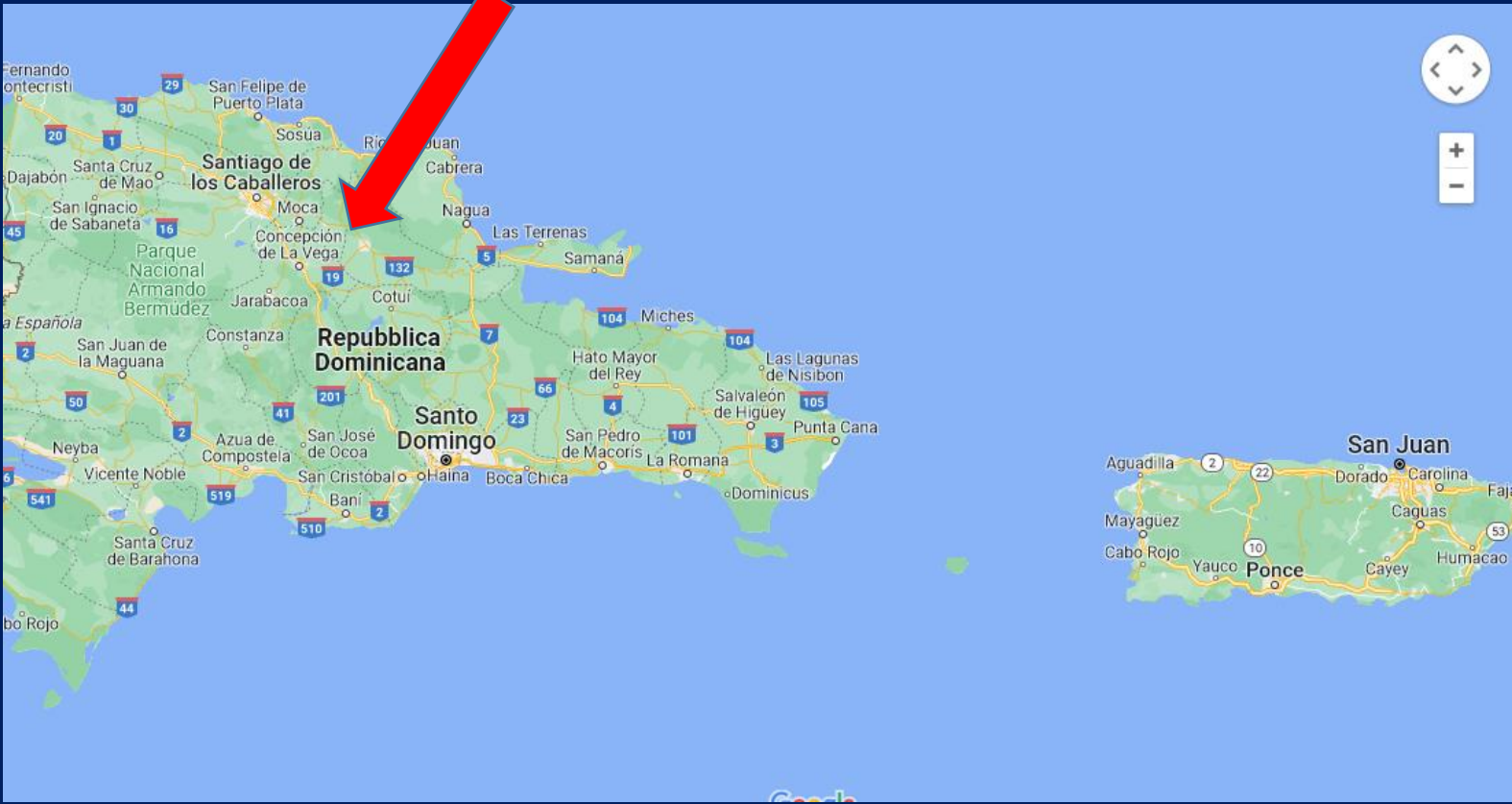
p.103 In 1486 Rome had granted the crown the Patronato of the church in the kingdom of Granada [Guerra di Granada 1482-92], thus conferring on it the right of presentation to all major ecclesiastical benefices in a realm that was still not fully liberated from Moorish control

In 1501 [pope] Alexander [VI] granted the [Spanish] crown in perpetuity all tithes collected in the Indies, in order to support the work of evangelization, and in a bull of 1508 Julius II gave Ferdinand the right ... of presenting [messa a disposizione] to all cathedrals and ecclesiastical benefices in Spain's American territories

Fernando of Aragón began organizing what was to become known as the “patronage” system in Latin America, which gave him the right to “present” bishops, set the boundaries of dioceses and parishes, send out religious and missionaries, receive Church tithes, supervise synods and councils, delegate these powers to the civil authorities, and so on.



Once its *Patronato* was recognized, the crown began to establish the first dioceses in America, in the Antilles in **1511**, and on the mainland in 1513



Prime diocesi Santo Domingo, Concepcion de la Vega e Puerto Rico. Sul continente Santa Maria l'Antigua, Panama (oggi Colombia)



Catedral de Santo Domingo, (1504) 1512

[cristianizzazione inglese]

p.101 In terms both of a programmatic approach and of a systematic effort to implement it, the English colonization of North America would show nothing comparable

p.109 Whether the English had 'fainter spirits', a 'charity more cold, or a religion more shameful' than the Spaniards are matters for debate, but they certainly had 'less means'





With the coming of the Reformation to England, the religious orders disappeared

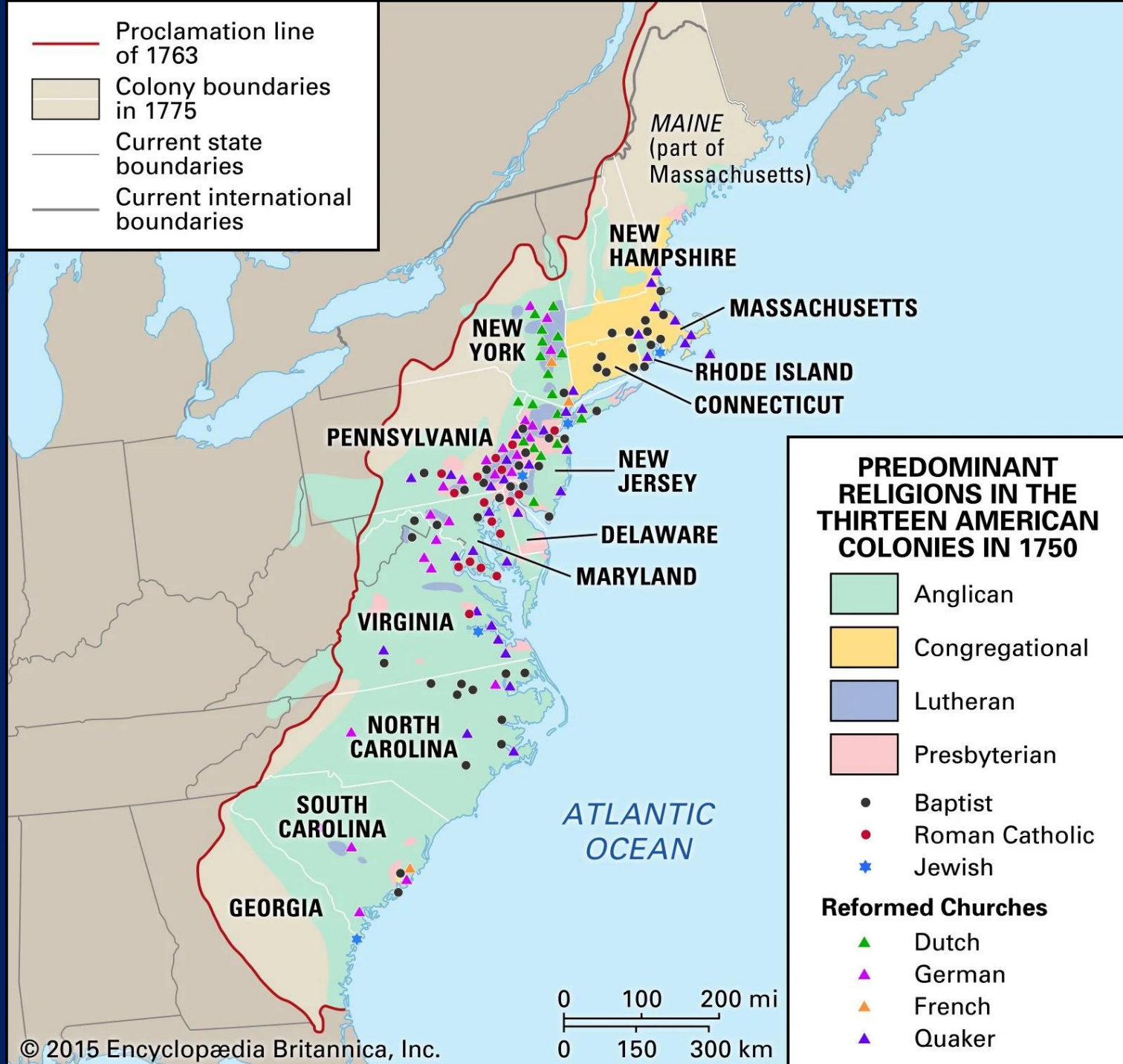
There was no cadre of militant evangelists [gesuiti] in the home country ready to take up the challenge of converting the peoples of North America to the faith

Nor was the Anglican church in the early seventeenth century in a position to devise and implement a Spanish-style programme of evangelization, enjoying full and effective support from the crown. It was still struggling to establish itself and its doctrines at home, and had neither the energy nor the resources to devote much attention to the opportunities that awaited it overseas





Institutionally, ..., the Anglican church failed to transfer its authority across the ocean, and there was to be no bishop in Virginia, or indeed in any part of British North America, before the **Revolution**


But it was not simply the organizational weaknesses of the Anglican church that hampered its missionary effort in British America. It also possessed no monopoly of religious life. Unlike Spanish America, the English settlements would become an arena for competing creeds

-  Proclamation line of 1763
-  Colony boundaries in 1775
-  Current state boundaries
-  Current international boundaries



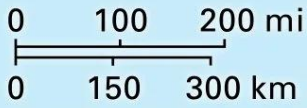
**PREDOMINANT RELIGIONS IN THE THIRTEEN AMERICAN COLONIES IN 1750**

-  Anglican
-  Congregational
-  Lutheran
-  Presbyterian

-  Baptist
-  Roman Catholic
-  Jewish

**Reformed Churches**

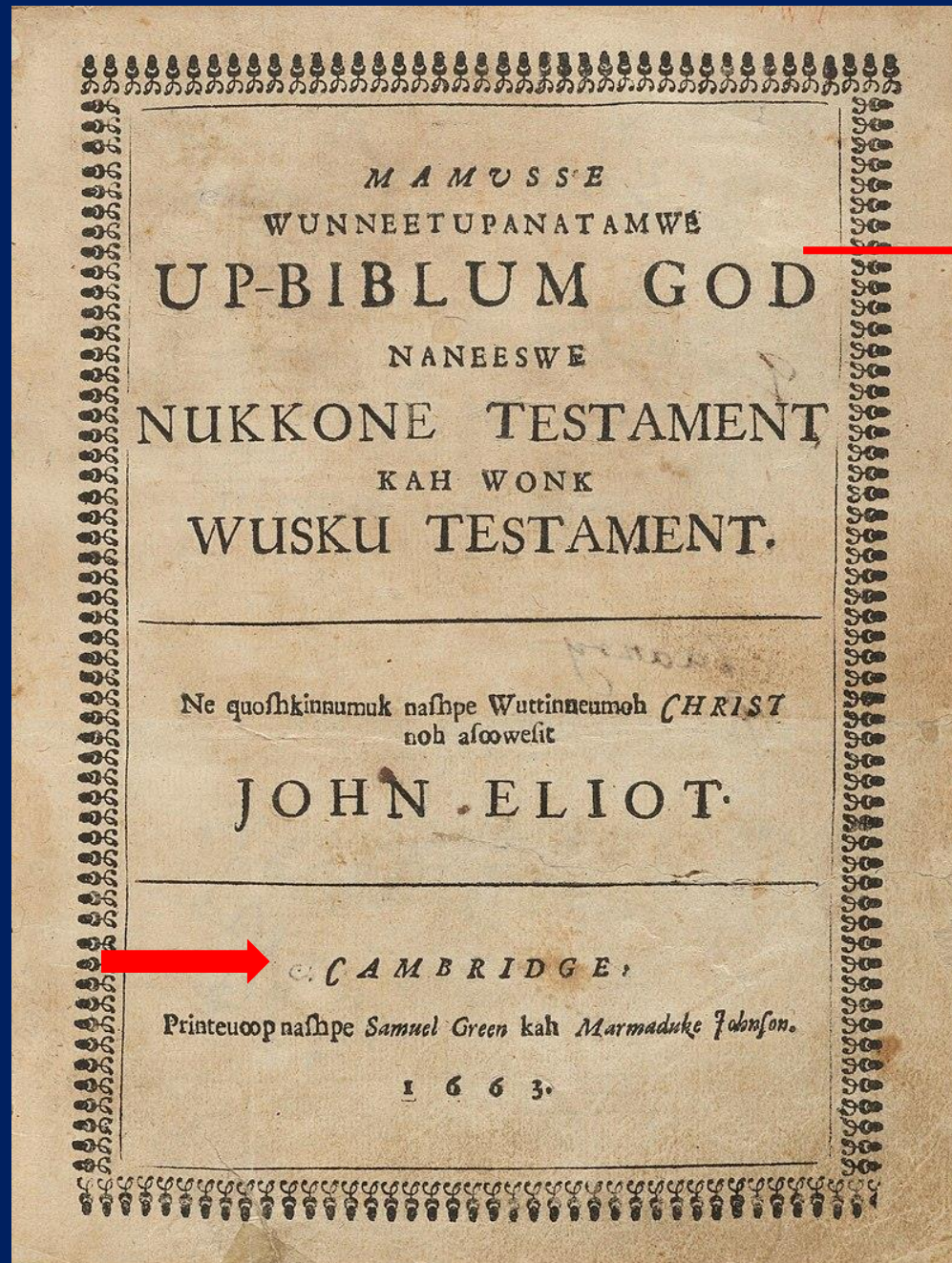
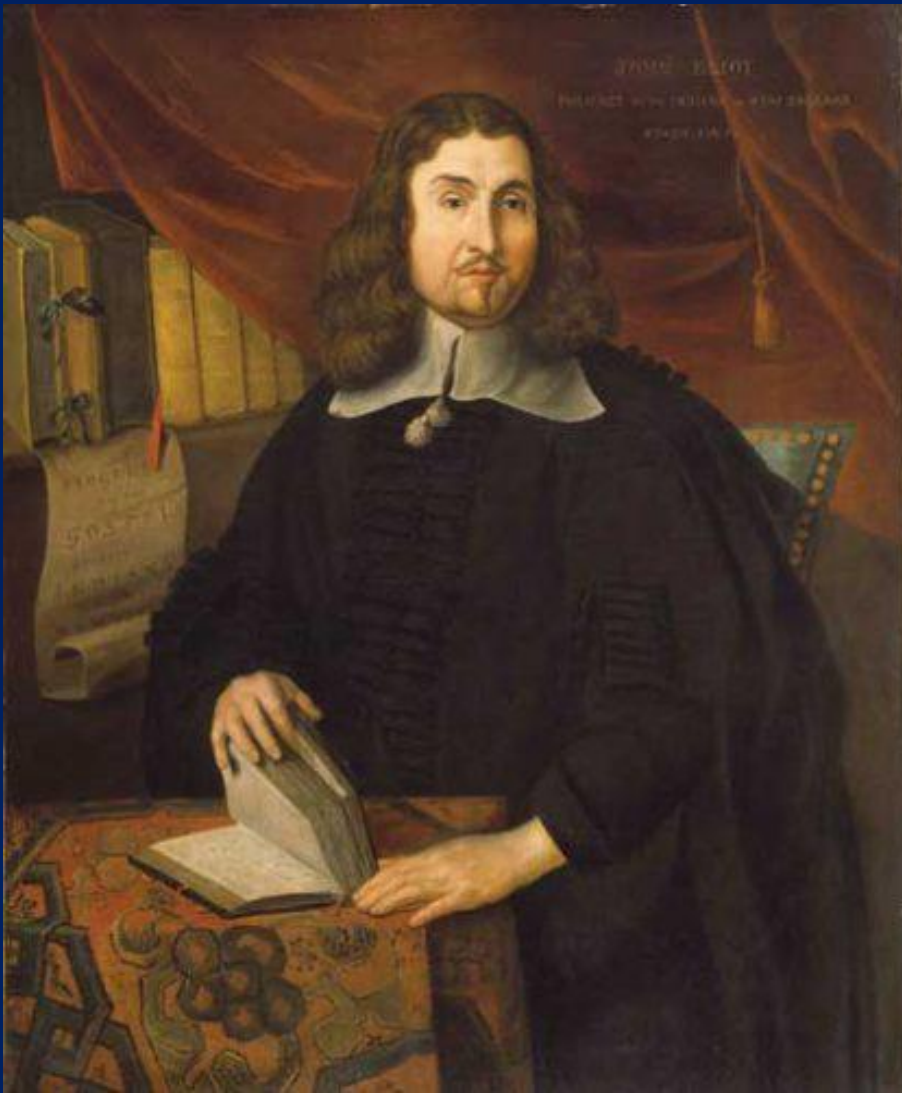
-  Dutch
-  German
-  French
-  Quaker



p.111 ...[however] the [English] missionary effort... included something that did not figure on the Spanish agenda – the translation into a native Indian tongue of the Bible, a heroic enterprise completed by Eliot in 1659 and published in 1663

The fundamental importance of the written word to Protestantism strengthened the arguments for the schooling of Indians, and considerable effort was to be devoted to the teaching of Indian children

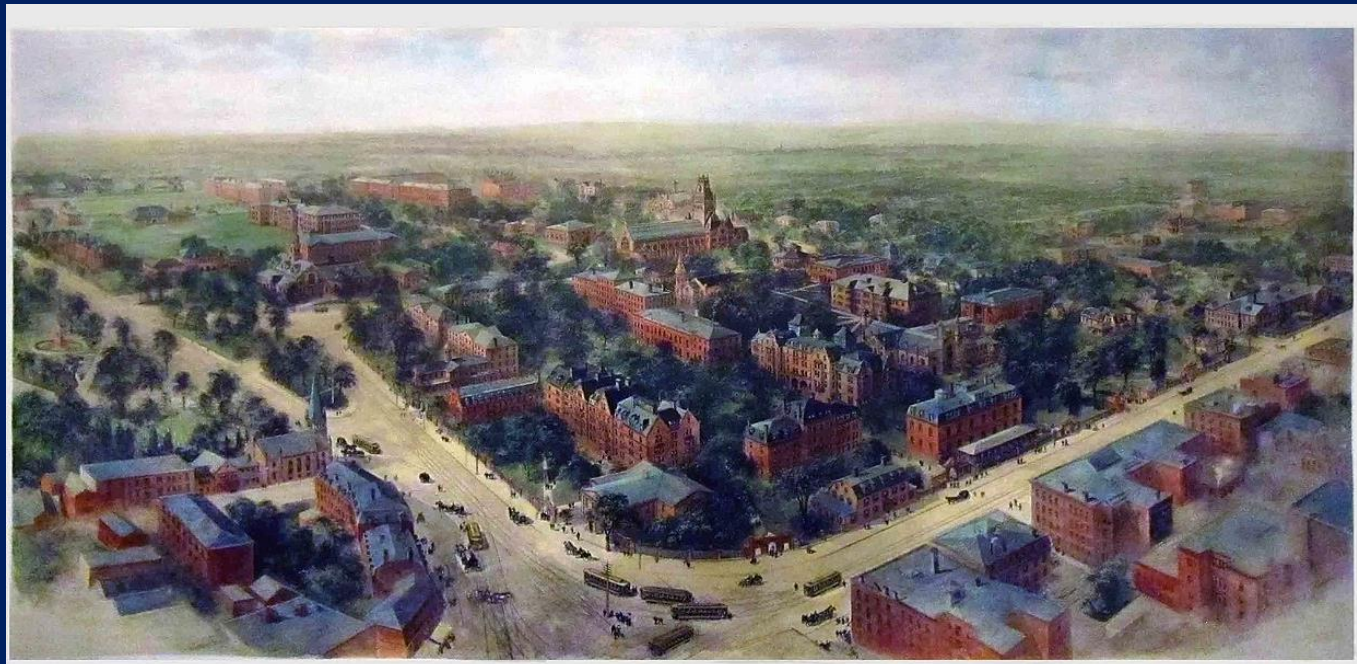
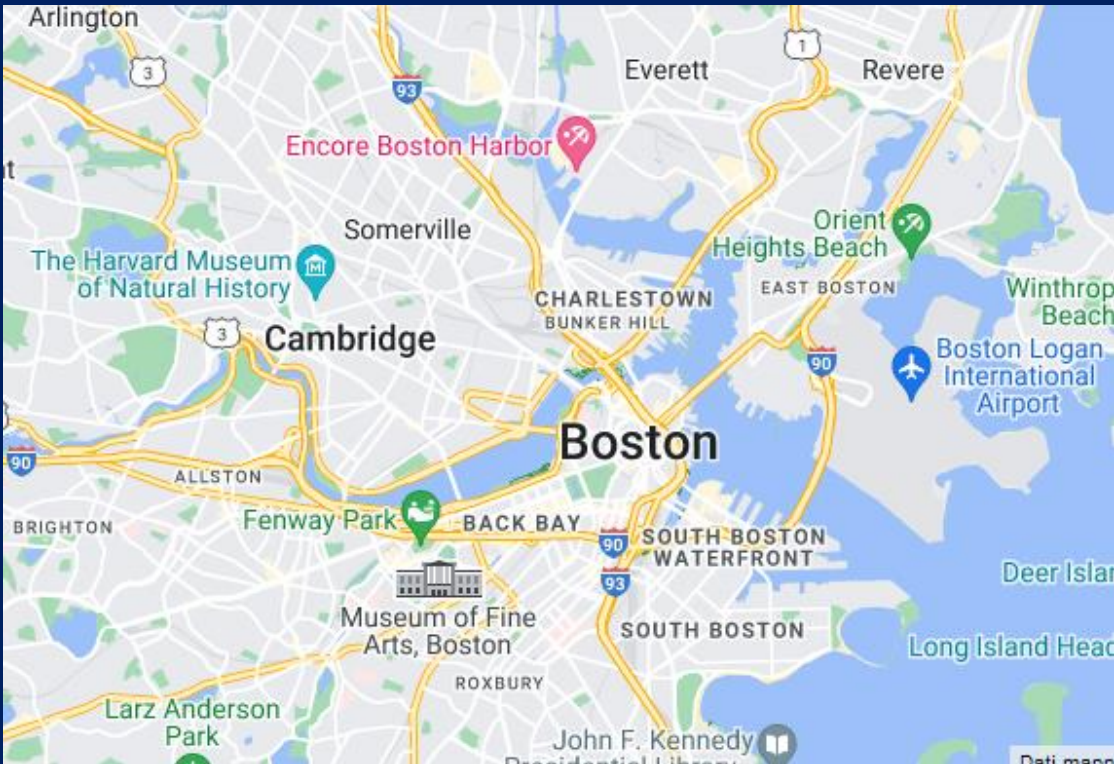
# John Eliot (ca. 1604-1690)



John 3:16

Newutche \_\_\_\_\_ GOD  
wussaúmwomantam  
muttáok, newaj maguk  
wunnukquttegheonoh onk  
howan wunnamptauont  
matta who awakompanau,  
qut who ohtau micheme  
pomantamóonk

[Dio infatti ha tanto  
amato il mondo da dare il  
suo Figlio unigenito,  
perché chiunque crede in  
lui non muoia, ma abbia la  
vita eterna]



HARVARD UNIVERSITY

p.112 Where the Spanish church turned its back on the ordination of Indian ministers, the Puritans succeeded in training a number of converts for the ministry, some of whom in turn went out to carry the gospel to unconverted tribes

Against the blanket 'conversion' of the indigenous population under Spanish rule, must be set the conversion of some 2,500 Indians – perhaps 20 per cent of the Indian population of New England – by...  
1675

p.113 Puritan theology was complex, and no doubt the complexity was all the greater for a population still being initiated into the fascinating mysteries of the written word

Moreover, as a religion without images, and one which prided itself on the simplicity of its worship in the barest of churches, it offered little in the way of the visual and ceremonial that seems to have appealed to the indigenous populations of Mexico and Peru

Only the singing of hymns and psalms tempered the rigour of the message



n.22 Anon., *Return of Corpus Christi Procession to Cuzco Cathedral* (c. 1680)

The Spanish American city as the scene of open-air religious theatre. One of a series commissioned by the bishop of Cuzco showing different stages of the procession, which took place in a period of renewed civic confidence and splendour following the city's recovery from a devastating earthquake in 1650



## *Coexistence and segregation*

p.118 Europeans who settled in America found themselves living side by side with people who neither looked, nor behaved, like themselves. Nor did they even bear much resemblance to other peoples of whom at least some of them had earlier experience

They were not, for instance, black, as Columbus noted of the first Caribbean islanders he saw: 'They were all of good stature, very handsome people, with hair which is not curly but thick and flowing like a horse's mane. They all have very wide foreheads and hands, wider than those of any race [*generación*] I have seen before; their eyes are very beautiful and not small. None of them is black, rather the colour of the Canary islanders...'

p.119 Civility, not colour, was the first test used by Europeans in their assessment of the indigenous peoples of America

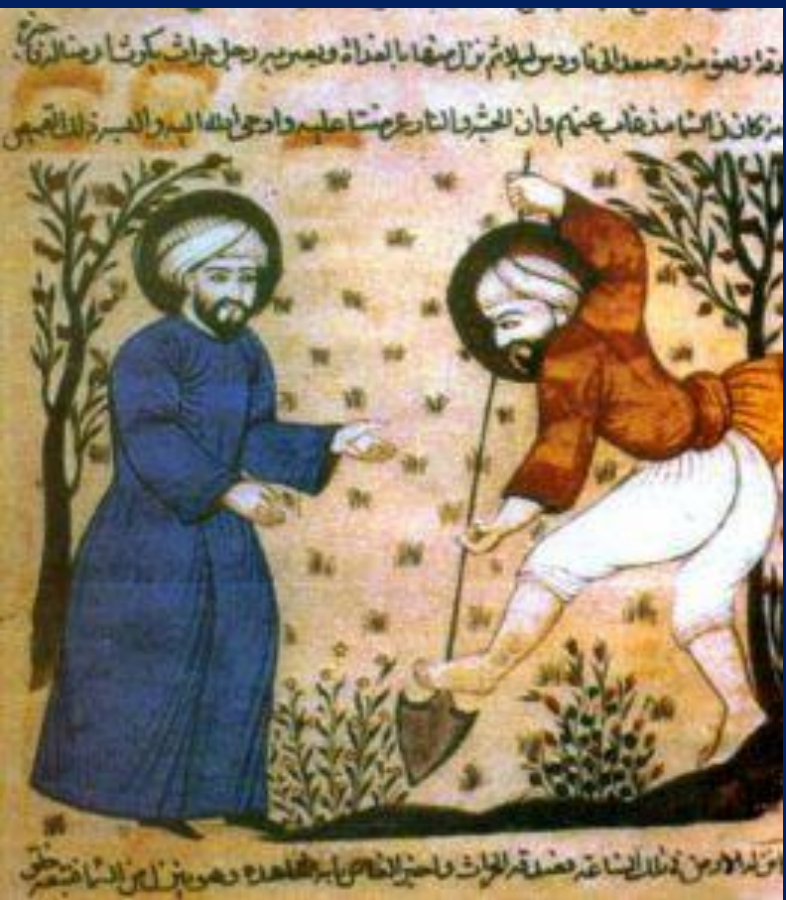
But the pattern of relationships in America was determined by past experience as well as present circumstance

## [“integrazione” spagnola e segregazione inglese 1]

The Christians of medieval Spain had for centuries lived alongside an Islamic civilization with which they enjoyed a complicated and ambiguous relationship

If they fought against the Moors, they also borrowed extensively from a society which in many respects was more refined than their own

Although religion was a decisive barrier at many points, and especially where the possibility of intermarriage was concerned, personal contacts were numerous, and increased still further as large Moorish populations were left behind in Christian territory by the southward advance of the Reconquista



p.120 The medieval English, in seeking to establish their lordship over Ireland, had no doubt of their own superiority to the strange and barbarous people among whom they were settling

Given what seemed to the English to be the vast disparity between their own culture and that of a Gaelic population whose way of life was 'against all sense and reason', they sought to protect themselves from the contaminating influence of their environment by adopting policies of segregation and exclusion

Marriage or cohabitation between the English and the Irish was forbidden by the Statutes of Kilkenny of 1366, in the belief that mixed marriages would tempt the English partner to lapse into degenerate Irish ways

In the sixteenth century the Irish remained for the English a barbarous people, whose barbarism was now compounded by their obstinate determination to cling to papist ways





Giraldus Cambrensis,  
*Topographia Hibernica*,  
1185-88

When the English crossed the Atlantic and again found themselves living among, and outnumbered by, a 'savage' people, all the old fears were revived. In the circumstances, the equation between the Indians and the Irish was easily made

In the New World of America the English came across another indigenous population which did not live in houses of brick and stone, and failed to improve its lands. 'The Natives of New England', wrote Thomas Morton, 'are accustomed to build them houses, much like the wild Irish. . .' As Hugh Peter, who returned to England from Massachusetts in 1641, was to observe five years later, 'the wild Irish and the Indian do not much differ.'



Ricostruzione villaggio irlandese

OXFORD WORLD'S CLASSICS

SYDNEY OWENSON,  
LADY MORGAN  
THE WILD IRISH GIRL



p.122 The fear of cultural degeneracy in an alien land was especially pronounced among the Puritan emigrants to New England in the 1620s and 1630s

The Indians were ... a degenerate race, who threatened to infect God's chosen people with their own degeneracy. For this reason it was essential that the New England ... should remain a nation apart

In large measure this seems to have been achieved. In New England, no marriage is known to have occurred between an English settler and an Indian woman in the period before 1676

In Virginia, where the sex ratio among the settlers was even more unbalanced, it was much the same story, although a 1691 law passed by the colonial assembly forbidding Anglo-Indian marriages suggests that such unions did in fact occur. But if so, their numbers were small...

[meticci]

p.123 In their instructions of 1503 to Nicolás de Ovando as the new governor of Hispaniola, Ferdinand and Isabella ordered him to 'try to get some Christian men to marry Indian women, and Christian women to marry Indian men, so that they can communicate with and teach each other, and the Indians can be indoctrinated in our Holy Catholic Faith, and learn how to work their lands and manage their property, and be turned into rational men and women'

This policy seems to have met with mixed success. In 1514, 64 of the 171 married Spaniards living in Santo Domingo had Indian wives. Most of these Spaniards, however, were drawn from the lowest social stratum, and the marriages may primarily reflect the shortage of Spanish women on the island

By formally sanctioning inter-ethnic marriage in 1514, the crown appears to have been reiterating its conviction that a union of Spaniards and Indians would help realize Spain's mission of bringing Christianity and civility to the peoples of the Indies

p.124 [In the] marriage, rank ...[was] rated more important than ethnicity

After taking her as his mistress, Cortés married off Montezuma's daughter, Doña Isabel, to a fellow Extremaduran, Pedro Gallego de Andrade, and, following his death, she married Juan Cano, who was clearly proud of his marriage to such a high-born wife

In arranging Isabel's marriage Cortés appears to have been pursuing a deliberate strategy for the pacification of Mexico, which led to a number of marriages between his companions and princesses of the ruling house or the daughters of Mexican caciques

Doña Isabel

La Malinche



As the first generation of mestizo children of these unions appeared, their Spanish fathers were inclined to bring them up in their own households, especially if they were **sons**

In 1531 Charles V ordered the *Audiencia* of Mexico to collect all 'the sons of Spaniards born of Indian women . . . and living with the Indians', and to give them a Spanish education

But the existence of a growing class of mestizos created difficult problems of categorization in societies that instinctively thought in terms of hierarchy. Where did the mestizos properly belong?

If they were born in wedlock there was no problem, since they were automatically regarded as creoles (Spaniards of American origin)

For those born out of marriage but accepted by one or other parental group, assimilation within that group was the normal destiny, although illegitimacy was a lasting stigma, and the lack of full assimilation could leave an abiding sense of bitterness, as the career of the most famous of all mestizos, the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, testifies

p.125 ...there were also a rapidly growing number of mestizos rejected by both groups, and therefore unable to find a secure place in a hierarchically organized, corporate society



PRIMERA PARTE DE LOS  
**COMENTARIOS**  
R E A L E S.

QUE TRATAN DEL ORIGEN DE LOS YNCAS, REYES QUE FUERON DEL PERU, DE SU IDOLATRIA, LEYES, Y GOBIERNO EN PAZ Y EN GUERRA: de sus vidas y conquistas, y de todo lo que fue aquel Imperio y su Republica, antes que los Españoles passaran a el.

*Escritos por el Inca Garcilasso de la Vega, natural del Cozco, y Capitan de su Magestad.*

DIRIGIDOS A LA SERENISSIMA PRINCESA Doña Catalina de Portugal, Duquesa de Bargarça, &c.

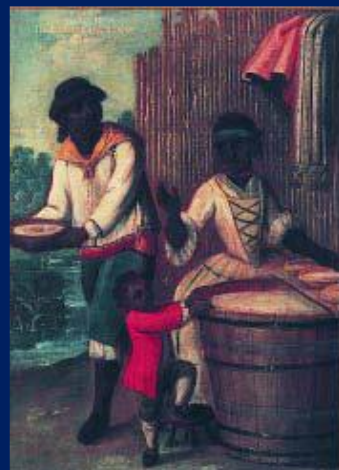


*Con licencia de la Santa Inquisicion, Ordinario, y Paço.*

EN LISBOA:  
En la officina de Pedro Crasbeeck.  
Año de M. DCIX.



Garcilaso *El Inca* de la Vega  
(1539-1616)



n.15 Andrés de Islas, *Four Racial Groups* (1774). These four works, taken from a series of sixteen casta paintings by a Mexican artist, are typical of a genre that was highly popular in the eighteenth century. They illustrate well the attempt to devise a taxonomy for the gradations of racial mixture to be found in the viceroyalty of New Spain.

Top row: 1. From a Spaniard and Indian is born a *mestizo*; 2. From a Spaniard and a mestiza is born a *castizo*. Bottom row: 3. From an Indian and a mestiza is born a *coyote*; 4. From a *lobo*, or wolf (the result of a union between an Indian man and an African woman) is born a *chino*.





Español con India.  
Mestizo.



Mestizo con Española.  
Castizo.



Castizo con Española.  
Español.



Español con Mora.  
Mulato.



Mulato con Española.  
Morisco.



Morisco con Española.  
Chino.



Chino con India.  
Salta atas.



Salta atas con Mulata.  
Lobo.



Lobo con China  
Cibaro.



Gibaro con Mulata  
Albarazado



Albarazado con Negra  
Canbufo.



Canbufo con India  
Sanbaigo.



Sanbaigo con Loba  
Calpamulato.



Calpamulato con Canbufo  
Tente en el Aire.



Tente en el Aire con Mulata  
Nóte entiendo.



Nóte entiendo con India  
Tornaatraz.

No such problem apparently affected the English settler communities. While cohabitation between English men and Indian women inevitably occurred – and in 1639, to the horror of New England colonists, between an English woman and an Indian man – it was not on anything like the scale to be found in the Spanish colonies and it is significant that the mestizos born of these unions have largely disappeared from the historical record

Unique local circumstances made Paraguay an extreme example of the more general process that accompanied the colonization of Spanish America

The Guaraní Indians needed the Spaniards as allies in their struggle to defend themselves against hostile neighbouring tribes. For their part, the Spaniards, moving inland from the newly founded port of Buenos Aires a thousand miles away, were too few in number to establish themselves without Guaraní help

An alliance based on mutual necessity was sealed by the gift of Guaraní women as wives, mistresses and servants

The continuing isolation of the settlement, and the almost total absence of Spanish women, led to the rapid creation of a unique mestizo society.

Mestizo sons succeeded their fathers as *encomenderos*, and races and cultures mingled to a degree unparalleled elsewhere on the continent



Domingo Martínez de Irala, 1509-1556

Descendencia reconocida, testamento del 13 de marzo de 1556:

1) Con la guaraní María de Mendoza, una hija del cacique Pedro de Mendoza, hubo tres hijos: Diego, Antonio y Ginebra Martínez de Irala.

2 ) Con la guaraní Juana tuvo a Marina de Irala.

3) Con la guaraní Águeda tuvieron a la mestiza Isabel de Irala que se unió en matrimonio con el conquistador Pedro de la Puente Hurtado y con quien concibiera al futuro gobernador interino Pedro Hurtado de Mendoza (1618-21).

4 ) Con la guaraní Leonor tuvo a Úrsula de Irala.

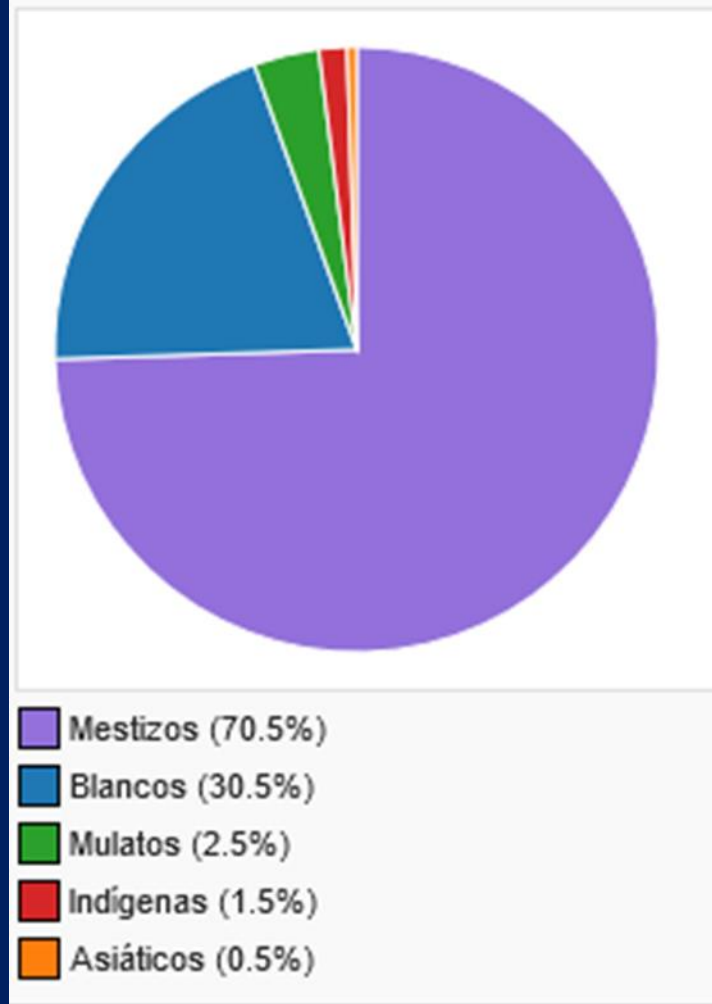
5) Con la guaraní Escolástica hubo a Martín Pérez de Irala.

6) Con la guaraní Marina concibieron a Ana de Irala.

7) Con la guaraní Beatriz tuvo a María de Irala.



José Gaspar Rodríguez  
de Francia  
(1766–1840)



[In 1814, Francia issued a decree forbidding marriages between “European men” (namely, Spaniards) and women “known as Spanish” (born in Spain or of Spanish descent). European men would only be allowed to marry indigenous, mixed-race or black Paraguayan women]

p.126 Everywhere in Spanish America, however, cohabitation took place, and the effect of it was to blur the lines of division which the Spanish authorities in church and state had originally planned to draw between the different communities

In Spanish eyes a properly ordered society was one that consisted of two parallel 'republics', each with its own rights and privileges – a 'republic of Spaniards' and a 'republic of Indians'

[But] The blending of races and cultures inherent in the process of mestizaje was ... at work from the earliest stages of conquest and settlement, undermining the bipartite society which royal officials had fondly hoped that they could create and maintain

...in a world where they [Indians] heavily outnumbered settlers who could not live without their sexual and their labour services, there was no lasting possibility of closing off the two 'republics' from each other by creating the equivalent of an Anglo-Irish 'pale'








## [integrazione linguistica]

p.127 In 1550 ... [Spanish crown] also took the first steps towards breaking down the linguistic separation between the two republics, by decreeing that the friars ... should teach the Indians Castilian, 'so that they should acquire our civility and good customs, and in this way more easily understand and be indoctrinated into the Christian religion'

Already the process of linguistic change was under way in New Spain, as Indians who moved into the cities picked up a working knowledge of Castilian, while Castilian words were simultaneously being incorporated into the Nahuatl vocabulary on a massive scale



teyueti, intexuchi macac, in  
 texuchiti, tehamaac, tehana  
 mjchili, hanapaloque, njmā  
 ie choath ynachiuhqui, aquets  
 qui, haaminquj, haaminan,  
 yaan intzamacac, njmā ie  
 swan intechixque, intzhalique.  
 auh incan maceoalpā, incan  
 notacapā, millacapā, atla  
 capan, leomjto can cococabi  
 icnotica, icnotacaioctic, intz  
 hacamacho, intz canotsalo,  
 amo cenca ontzaxioa ymuh  
 monequj, in icivi, inievelij,  
 inievelij, mjecthamantimix  
 caoa, ytlacavi, ichtlacavi,  
 hāhtlacavi, ynaca aochte  
 ipan aci, aochte ipan mapo  
 oa, aoca xuchiçolli, ha cavi  
 lli ympanti, inquipantilia,  
 ymipā mapoa. yaan aqō cā  
 mollacooalli, molchichicthi, ta  
 malcolli, haxcalcolli, ymema  
 quililo. auh intia caocnēta  
 lilo, nempanca tlalilo, vcauh  
 tia icratia, can vncā yka  
 oalo: auh ynōmō patlac, caro  
 tetzctica, yiallo chilotica mē  
 las, aocmo ontlacōa mocu  
 tinemj; adican vel mofalix,  
 itzintepitō quā quauhtī, quā

SPANISH	NAHUATL	ENGLISH
chapulin 	chapolin	grasshopper
mapache 	mapach	raccoon
tecolote 	tecolotl	owl
coyote 	coyotl	coyote
jitomate 	tomatl	tomato
aguacate 	ahuacatl	avocado
camote 	camotli	sweet potato
chocolate 	xocoatl	chocolate

Florentine Codex.  
 Text in Nahuatl  
 written in the  
 Latin alphabet

llama totomichi, que quere dezir ave pez: dize se ave: por que tiene la cabea como ave, y el pie como ave, y piea como ave: y tiene las alas largas como pez, y la cola como pez



¶ Ay vn pez en la mar que se llama vitzizilmychi: llamase ansi, porque tiene el papuylo muy delgado, como el aueculla, que se llama zinzon. que anda chupando las flores.



¶ Ay otro pez en la mar que se llama papalomjchi, que quere dezir pez como mariposa, porque es de la hechura de mariposa.



¶ Ay otro pez en la mar que se llama

tomjchi, vel mychi, achi, llama pal viac. Inje mycha vicia mychi: inje son tecon vel iuhquin tototl ihontecan icca: vel te vitzic, temmy mistic, dapanonj, flathoponja, flathoson.

¶ Vitzizilmychi: vel mychi, mycha vitzizilmychi, achi, llama ac mjaflapal, mjpallamj, mjlareloata. Auh inje vitzic, viac, vel iuhquin vitzibitenli myten: tenponatic, tenvils malo tic, ten vitzimallotl.

¶ Papalomjchi: vel capan, llama re, caacan iemychi: auh myca, mje flachioalli: vel iuhquin papalotl, patachitic, iacane. Inyuhquin papalotl, achi flapale; mjaflapal vel iuhquin papalotl y iasflapal: in iuhquitic ienemj, iuhquin papalotl colonj.

¶ Ocelomychi: no verap...

ocelo mychi: que quere dezir, como tigre: llamase ansi por que es semejante al tigre en la cabeza, y en las manchas y no tiene escamas.



¶ Ay otro pez que se llama quauhmychi, llamase ansi, porque tiene la cabeza como aguja, y el pie como oro, y amaxilla, como oro, y tiene escamas, es liso como anja, grande y largo: no tiene escamas: es de buen comer, todo es comible.



¶ Parrapho tercero de los camarones y tortugas.



¶ A los andresos de la mar llama man tecujethi o atecujethi, son chicos de comer, son comales de las lagunas, pero son mayores, y lo comestible es los lombros, y el uer

mj. Injtlac camjchim: campo mjtron tecon, injuhquocelatl: vel iuhquin inje quatecontic, inje tante teyontic, inje tentoma dac: vel iuhquin inje mocuycajlo. Auh injtlac camjchim, a latic, a lastic, alaoac.

¶ Quauh xovili: camjchi, vel athi mychan. Auh myc mycha quauh xovili: inje son tecon vel iuhquin quauhthi: ten costic, ten costic, iuhquin: teacujthatl ien: vel iuhquin axo. del ictho thanj, inje alatic: vel iuhquin icca ihontecan, icca caviac. Amasac: auh vel iuhquin inje amo omjo, vel iath maatl, vel nacais.

¶ Inje el parrapido in tech pa fladca mixquithi: achan nonj iolapipil.

¶ Tecujethi: uno, atecujethi, velic, ienat, iuhquin mico. thm: ca ver, verpol. Auh inje quatecontic, inje mja coltecan, auh inje quatecontic.

...creoles with indigenous nurses learnt in childhood the language of the conquered

In 1578 Philip II decreed that no religious should be appointed to Indian benefices without some knowledge of the language, and two years later he set up chairs of indigenous languages in the universities of Lima and Mexico City, on the grounds that 'knowledge of the general language of the Indians is essential for the explanation and teaching of Christian doctrine'

[English] Indians showed little inclination to learn the language of the intruders, and initially it was the settlers who found themselves having to learn an alien tongue, both to communicate and to convert

Indians in areas of English settlement had less inducement than those in the more urbanized world of Spanish America to learn the language of the Europeans...

p.128 Here there was no question, as there was in Spanish America, of a policy of actively promoting ... the learning of indigenous languages...The powerful impulse to Christianize that worked in favour of the toleration of linguistic diversity in Spain's American possessions simply did not exist in British America

[“integrazione” spagnola e segregazione inglese 2]

...Indians living within the confines of the British settlements tended to have the worst of every world

They remained unassimilated, but at the same time had difficulty in maintaining the degree of collective identity to be found in so many Indian communities in Spanish America

The reasons for this were partly numerical, since their numbers were relatively so much smaller than those of the indigenous population under Spanish rule

But the difference was also a reflection of the differing policies adopted in the British and Spanish colonial worlds

The Spaniards, having imposed their dominion over vast native populations, saw it as their duty to incorporate them into a society defined on the one hand by Christianity and on the other by the rights and obligations that accompanied the status of vassals of the Spanish crown

As converts and vassals the Indians were entitled to a guaranteed position within a social order that was to be modelled as closely as possible on the divine

p.129 Where the Spaniards tended to think in terms of the incorporation of the Indians into an organic and hierarchically organized society which would enable them in time to attain the supreme benefits of Christianity and civility, the English, after an uncertain start, seem to have decided that there was no middle way between anglicization and exclusion

Missionary zeal was too thinly spread, the crown too remote and uninterested, to allow the development of a policy that would achieve by gradual stages the often asserted objective of bringing the Indians within the fold

[English] settlers ... expected the Indians either to learn to behave like English men and women, or else to move away

Tudor and Stuart England, unlike Habsburg Castile, had little tolerance for semiautonomous juridical and administrative enclaves, and no experience of dealing with substantial ethnic minorities in its midst

Since so many Indians appeared resistant to assimilation, it seemed to many settlers preferable to remove them out of the way

Expulsion of the Indians had the double advantage of making space for further settlement, and removing 'thorns', or something sharper, from the settlers' sides

In part, the English response was dictated by fear

If there was a progressive hardening of attitudes towards the Indians, both in Virginia and New England, in the wake of incidents of alleged Indian 'treachery' and armed confrontation, intimidation and violent revenge looked like the only options available to the frightened setters who were still greatly outnumbered by those whose lands they had taken

Expulsion of the Indians, if it could be managed, at least seemed to offer infant settlements a degree of security

p.130 Yet, at a time when the settlers still needed the assistance of the indigenous population in keeping them fed, their reaction suggests that the English had less confidence than the Spaniards in their ability to bring the benefits of their own civilization to these benighted people

**This may be a reflection of their failures in Ireland**

... the Spanish in the early stages of colonization appear not to have had the same obsessive fear of cultural degeneration that afflicted the English on making their first contact with indigenous peoples

Even on the frontiers of [Spanish] settlement, where life remained precarious, there still seems to have been a strong confidence in the eventual triumph of Christian and Hispanic values

Friars and royal officials approached the nomadic or semisedentary tribes on the fringes of empire with a clear sense of the superiority of what they had to offer the 'barbarian' peoples

Over time, the combination of urbanized frontier settlements and missions brought peace and a measure of Hispanicization to many of the frontier regions

This was particularly true of northern Mexico, where a shift in viceregal policy in the later sixteenth century away from fire and slaughter to the more subtle weapons of diplomacy and religious persuasion succeeded in pacifying the ferocious Chichimecs



p.131 While the English displayed a similar sense of superiority, it does not seem to have been accompanied, at least in the early stages of settlement, by the same measure of confidence in the triumph of the collective values of their own society in an alien environment

Confidence was lacking both in their capacity to instil into the Indians their own cultural and religious values, and in the willingness of fellow Englishmen and women to remain true to those values when confronted with an alternative way of life

Religious differences, social differences, and the lack of unified direction may all have worked to lessen the coherence of the twin message of Christianity and civility that the English colonizing enterprise was supposed to bring to the Indians

This in turn brought failure, and as failures multiplied, exclusion rather than inclusion of the Indians became the order of the day

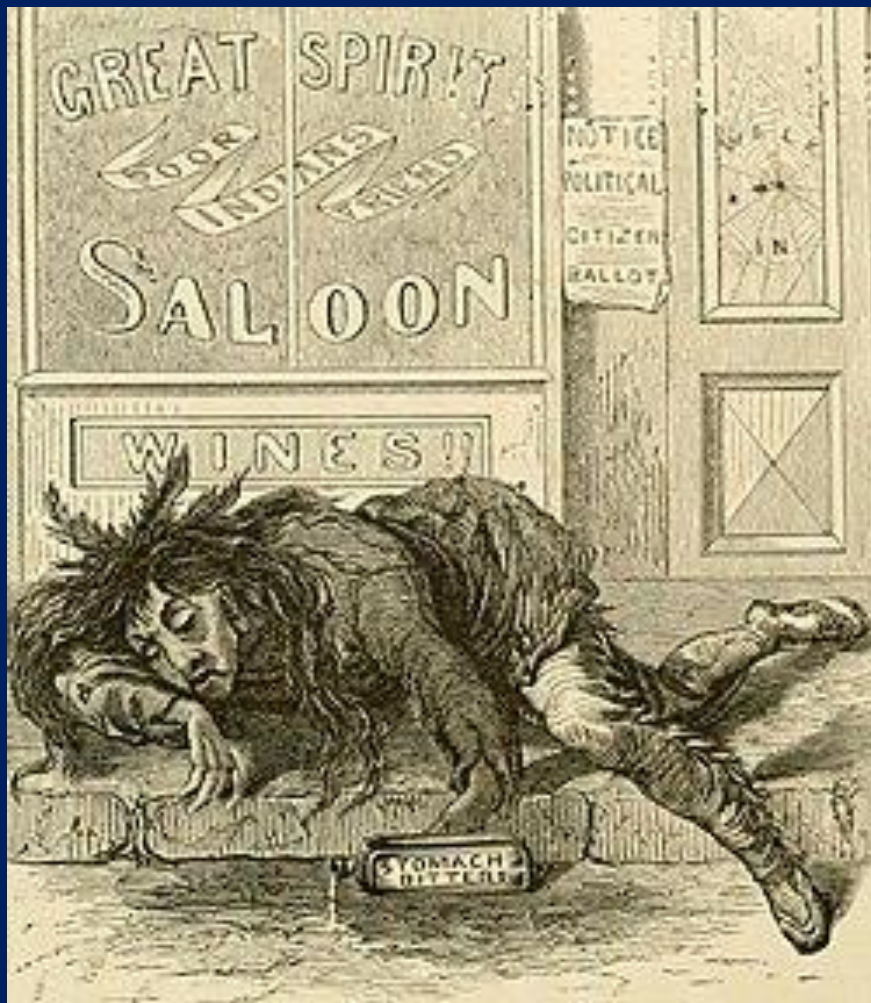


## Battle of Washita, 1868



THE BATTLE OF WASHITA—THE ATTACK ON BLACK KETTLE'S CHEYENNE CAMP, WASHITA RIVER, INDIAN TERRITORY, BY THE SEVENTH REGIMENT CAVALRY UNDER MAJOR-GENERAL GROVER A. CUSTAR, Nov. 27th.—See Page 225.





A survey of death certificates from 2006 to 2010 showed that deaths among Native Americans due to alcohol are about four times as common as in the general U.S. population