# Indigenous Societies, Missions, and the Colonial System in Northern New Spain

William L. Merrill

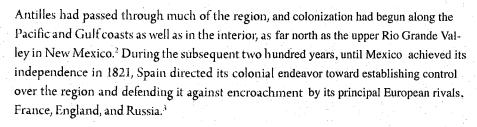
uring the second half of the eighteenth century, the Spanish crown organized all of northern New Spain into a vast military zone known as the General Command of the Interior Provinces. This extraordinary measure was part of a broader strategy intended to destroy the military capacity of Apaches and the members of other Indigenous societies who, through devastating attacks on settlements and travelers, threatened the survival of the colonial enterprise there. At the same time, it reflected a more general and undeniable reality: despite over two centuries of efforts, Spain had failed to establish dominion over the majority of Indigenous people in the region.

The Interior Provinces covered more than three million square kilometers, encompassing the modern Mexican states of Baja California Norte and Sur, Sonora, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, Durango, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Tamaulipas and, across the international boundary, California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. Comparable in size to all of western Europe, this vast area was a land of contrasts, between subtropical lowlands and high sierras, deserts and well-watered river valleys, spectacular canyons and seemingly boundless grassland plains.

The physiographic diversity of the region was paralleled by and reflected in the cultural diversity of its Native residents. At the time of European contact in the sixteenth century, they spoke more than a hundred distinct languages, the differences among them comparable to those among English, Spanish, Russian, and Japanese. Organized into numerous politically independent societies, the majority were mobile hunter-gatherers who regularly shifted their residences to exploit the wild plants and animals available in different places at different times of the year. There also were a number of societies whose members relied on agriculture supplemented by the collection of wild resources for their subsistence. Some of these agriculturalists lived in large towns, others in small, dispersed settlements, or rancherías.

Spanish exploration of northern New Spain began in 1519, when an expedition dispatched by Francisco de Garay, governor of the island of Jamaica, charted the coast of Texas and Tamaulipas. By 1600, Spanish explorers departing from Central Mexico or the

Conchos River Bacabureachi, Chihuahua



Spain's realization of its imperial ambitions was premised on the subjection of Indigenous people and their integration into the colonial system. The responsibility for achieving these objectives was assigned primarily to Catholic missionaries, on the assumption that conversion to Christianity and the assimilation of European cultural values and practices would transform the members of New World societies into loyal and economically productive subjects of the Spanish crown. In northernNew Spain as elsewhere, Indigenous responses to the mission program ranged from violentrejection to apparently enthusiastic acceptance, but they seldom if ever represented reactions to the mission pregram alone. Instead, they were part of more general responses to the conditions created by the colonial system as a whole, a system to which the mission programwas inextricably linked.

The responses and counter-responses of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people to one another produced a dynamic that, by the conclusion of the colonial period, had profoundly affected both. The history of this dialectical process in northern New Spain and the evolving sociocultural contexts within which it occurred are the focus of this essay.<sup>5</sup>

# Cultural and Linguistic Diversity in Northern New Spain Languages

The most compelling expression of the diversity of the Indigenous residents of colonial northern New Spain is the number of different languages that they spoke. A sample of the Indigenous languages that have been identified from the region is presented in Table 1.6 This table includes only distinct, mutually unintelligible languages, for which linguistic data actually exist. Excluded are the mutually intelligible dialects of these languages, which in some cases were numerous, as well as scores of other languages that are mentioned in the historical record but were never documented. Languages spoken by the members of societies who lived just beyond the frontiers of northern New Spain but had limited direct contact with Spanish colonial society also do not appear in the table.

Of the eighty-two languages listed in Table 1, sixty-five have been linked to other languages and organized with them into twelve different language families. Four of these language families—Caddoan, Otomanguean, Wintuan, and Yukian—were each represented by only one language within the boundaries of the Spanish colonial system in northern New Spain, but they were related to other languages beyond these boundaries. Comparable connections have not been established for the remainings eventeen languages in the table, which are classified as isolates.<sup>8</sup>

ATHAPASCAN	KIOWA-TANOAN	Luiseño
Chiricahua	Jemez	Mayo Yaqui
Jicarilla	Northern Tiwa	Mountain Pima
Lipan	Pecos	Northern Tepehuan
Mescalero	Piro Santa	Ópata
Navajo	Southern Tiwa	Serrano
Western Apache	Tewa	Southern Tepehuan
		Tubar
CADDOAN	OTOMANGUEAN	Upper Pima
Caddo	Pame	Ute :
CHUMASHAN	UTIAN	WINTUAN
Barbareño	Awaswas	Patwin
Ineseño	Chalon	The Market Control
Island Chumash	Chochenyo	YUKIAN
Obispeño	Coast Miwok	Wappo
Purisimeño	Karkin	
Ventureño	Lake Miwok	ISOLATES
三国 医人名英格兰	Mutsun	Adai
COCHIMI-YUMAN	Plains Miwok	Aranama
Cochimi	Ramaytush	Atakapa .
Сосора	Rumsen	Coahuilteco
lpai-Kumeyaay-Tipai	Saclan Miwok,	Cotoname
Kiliwa	Tamyen	Esselen
Paipai		Guaicura
Quechan	UTO-AZTECAN	Karankawa
	Cahuilla	Maratino
COMECRUDAN	Comanche	Naolan
Comecrudo	Cupeño	Quinigua
Garza	Eudeve	Salinan
Mamulique	Gabrielino-Fernandeño	Šeri
	Guarijio Homi	Solano
KERESAN	Hopi	Tonkawa
Eastern Keresan	Jova Kitanemuk	Yokuts
Western Keresan	Mianemuk	Zuni

Table 1. The Indigenous Languages of Colonial Northern New Spain. Language families are capitalized.

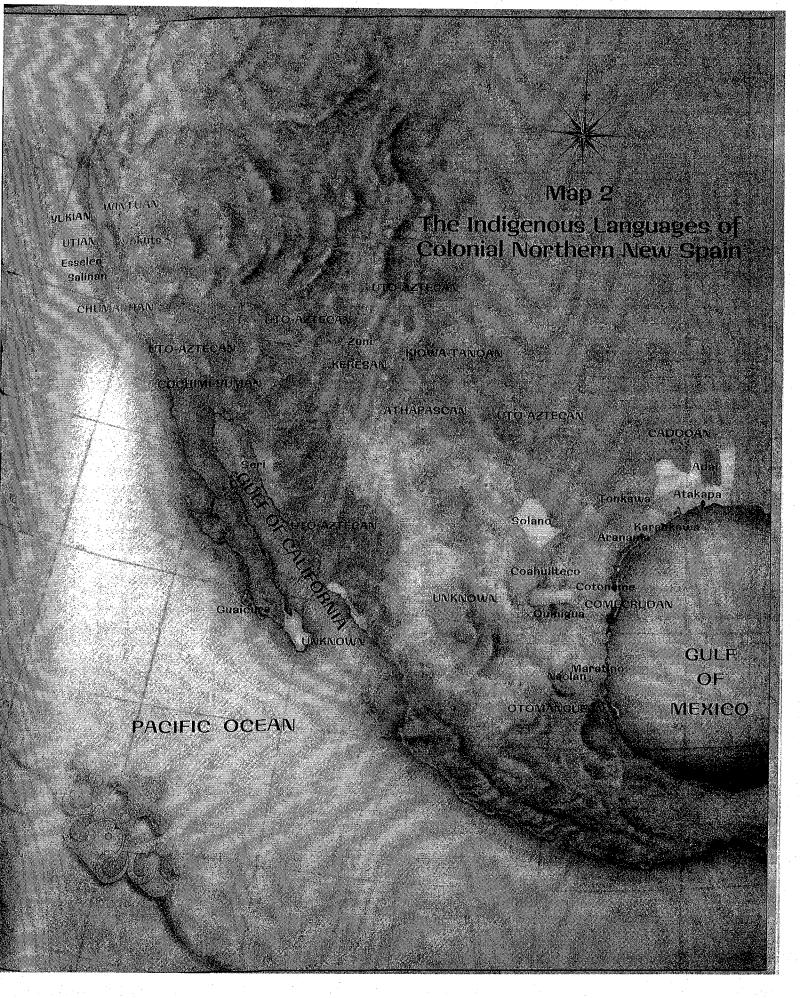
Table 1 and Map 2 show the distribution of these language families and isolates across the nine Interior Provinces. By way of comparison, almost all the languages spoken in Europe during the Spanish colonial period belonged to a single language family, Indo-European. The few exceptions include Estonian, Finnish, Hungarian, and Sami, all members of the Uralic language family, and Basque, an isolate indigenous to Europe. Variants of Arabic, Hebrew, and Turkic languages also were spoken in certain areas.

Although the linguistic diversity of northern New Spain far exceeded that of Europe, it did not preclude extensive interaction among the members of the Indigenous societies there. Multilingualism was common and in some areas certain languages may have served as *linguae francae*, spoken as shared second languages by the speakers of serveral different languages. This role has been proposed for the Pima language what is today the southwestern United States and northwestern Mexico and for Coahuilteco in northeast ern Mexico and southeastern Texas. The Indigenous residents of the latter area also created a sign language that may have been the forerunner of the well-known sign language that emerged in the Plains region of North America after European contact.

PROVINCE	LANGUAGE FAMILIES	ISOLATES	UNDOCUMENTED LANGUAGES
Alta California	Chumashan, Cochimi-Yuman, Utian, Uto-Azte- can, Wintuan, Yukian	Esselen, Salinan, Yokuts	Few
Baja California	Cochimí-Yuman	Guaicura	Few
Coahuila	Unknown	Coahuilteco, Solano	Manv
Nueva Vizcaya	Athapascan, Uto-Aztecan		Many
Nuevo León	Comecrudan, Otomanguean	Quinigua	Many
Nuevo México	Athapascan, Keresan, Kiowa-Tanoan, Uto-Aztecan	Zuni	Few
Nuevo Santander	Comecrudan, Otomanguean	Cotoname, Maratino, Naolan	Many
Sonora and Sinaloa	Uto-Aztecan	Seri	Many
Texas	Athapascan, Caddoan, Comecrudan	Adai, Aranama, Atakapa, Coahuilteco, Karankawa, Sola- no, Tonkawa	Many

Table 2. The Distribution of the Languages of Colonial Northern New Spain

The degree of interaction across language boundaries is revealed by a variety of items that were traded within and beyond northern New Spain long before the arrival of Europeans. Archaeological sites in southern Arizona dating from before the Christian era have yielded quantities of marine shell imported from the Gulf of California and Pacific coast, and ceramics, stone axes, and cotton textiles from the American Southwest have been recovered in California from sites inhabited at different times during the precontact period. Long-distance trade networks also extended in a north-south direction, linking Indigenous societies in the region with one another as well as with their Meso-american contemporaries. Turquoise mined at Cerrillos in northern New Mexico appears throughout Mesoamerica, reaching by around AD 1000 the Maya city of Chichen Itzá in the Yucatán Peninsula, over 2000 kilometers away. Mesoamerican materials found in sites from about the same time period in what became northern New Spain include mosaic plaques or mírrors fashioned from pyrite and ornaments made of copper originating in southwestern Mexico (fig. 24).



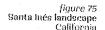
Religion and Art

Such exchange was not restricted to material goods. The diffusion of ideologies also was widespread, as evidenced in the similarities in the Indigenous religions of the Pueblo societies of New Mexico and northern Arizona, whose members spoke at least eight different languages. A similar situation existed in California, association with the ritual use of datura or jimsonweed, a powerful psychotropic plant of great significance in the ceremonial life of Cochimi-Yuman, Salinan, Utian, and Uto-Aztecan speakers there. In these as well as other areas of northern New Spain, each society contextualized such beliefs and practices differently. There was no pan-regional Indigenous religion but several general patterns can be discerned.

Some fundamental religious concepts were shared not only among Indigenous societies in the region but with Christianity and most other religions around the world. These include a cosmology in which the universe is comprised of multiple levels or realms, with regions beyond the human social world populated by deities whose powers both exceed those of humans and affect the human condition. Some members of each society had specialized knowledge or abilities that gave themgreater access than others to these deities and their powers, and these individuals were responsible for intervening with these deities and directing the society's religious affairs. Also universal was the belief in a life force or soul that continued to exist after an individual died. 18

Other concepts of Indigenous religions in northern New Spain and other New World regions were quite different from those of Christianity and in some cases diametrically opposed to them. The universe was not envisioned as the arena of the conflict between deities representing absolute good and evil. The same deities usually could help or harm humans, their inclinations toward them depending upon the degree to which humans propitiated them through offerings, dances, and other ceremonial activities. Similarly, power acquited from these deities could be applied to the benefit or detriment of other people, through curing, for example, or sorcery and witchcraft. Such power was not "supernatural—in the sense of being entirely separate from nature. Many deities manifested themselves through plants, animals, geological features, celestial bodies, and other natural phenomena.

Of equal if not greater significance was the focus in Indigenous religions on premoting the well-being of individuals in their daily lives. This emphasis contrasted with





the other-world orientation of Christianity and its concern with individual salvation in the afterlife. Instead of an apocalyptic expectation of a new and better world to come, Indigenous religions concentrated on preserving the current world. In many cases, doing so involved the performance of ceremonies directed toward maintaining a balance among the forces or deities that influenced the operation and survival of the universe. In some societies, illness was understood in similar cosmological terms, as an expression of disharmony in the relationships between individuals and these forces or deities. Curing rituals in these settings were designed to restore harmony to these relationships.

Health and the general wellbeing of the members of societies across northern New Spain tended to be responsibility of religious specialists. These or other specialists also played major roles in all other ceremonial activities. The rich variety of rituals included those focused on resolving individual crises, mainly illness but also other forms of misfortune, and marking critical points in the individual life cycle, especially birth, puberty, and death. Other rituals were directed toward ensuring success in hunting or warfare while those held as part of an established annual cycle typically were linked to enhancing the productivity of crops and wild resources or celebrating their harvest. The latter tended to be quite complex ceremonies, requiring lengthy preparations, lasting days and sometimes weeks, and involving the participation of large numbers of people. They often were accompanied by feasting and other social activities that reinforced their significance for the life of the society as a whole.

In societies across much of northern Mexico and southern Arizona, the consumption of alcoholic beverages prepared from maize or wild plants was a central component of many ceremonial activities but took place only in such contexts. <sup>19</sup> Tobacco was ubiquitous in the region and figured prominently in a wide range of ritual activities. In most of California, where societies depended upon wild resources rather than agriculture for their subsistence, tobacco was the only cultivated plant, and the members of some of these societies ingested tobacco to induce visions. Of more restricted geographical distribution was the ritual use of several other psychotropic plants: the datura mentioned above, in California and the southwestern United States; the peyote cactus, especially important in northern Mexico, east Texas, and possibly New Mexico; and the mescalbean, also used in east Texas and probably across northeastern Mexico as well. <sup>20</sup>

These plants likely were regarded as powerful beings wherever they were used, and they provided a mechanism for establishing direct contact with other realms of the universe. Such access also was achieved through other means, especially dreaming or extended vigils and fasting that often resulted in visions. The members of most Indigenous societies in northern New Spain adopted one or more of these approaches to acquire the esoteric knowledge required for the efficacious performance of curing rituals and other ceremonies. Only in the Pueblo and Navajo societies of New Mexico and northern Arizona did an individual develop this knowledge and the power associated with it primarily through instruction in religious philosophy and practice by established ritual specialists.

Information about the religions of most Indigenous societies of northern New Spain is either superficial or non-existent. Based on what is known, however, it can be assumed that religion pervaded the lives of the members of all these societies. As an integral and integrating dimension of their cultures, religion did not exist as a cultural domain entirely separate from other domains such as medicine or subsistence. The same applies to religion and aesthetics, which were linked in all societies for which documentation exists.

The philosophical basis for this connection in at least some societies in the region was the association or equation of beauty with goodness and harmony. Behavior toward other humans and the deities could be characterized as beautiful if it was morally correct and resulted in positive, harmonious relationships. Religious ceremonies typically were intended to create, perpetuate, or restore beauty in the world as well as to please the deities through the beauty of their performance.

For many societies, the preferred medium for the expression of beauty was performance: singing, dancing (fig. 91), playing musical instruments, reciting accounts of the activities of the deities or other ancient events, or conveying received wisdom and advice for proper behavior through skillful oratory. Such actions often were combined in religious ceremonies, which, particularly because of the importance of dancing, bore some similarities to the religious dramas introduced by Catholic missionaries during the colonial period. They were, however, quite different: they were religious rites, not dramatized portrayals of religious themes, a contrast comparable to that between the celebration of the death and resurrection of Christ in Catholic Mass and the re-enactment of these events in passion plays.

The kachina ceremonies of many Pueblo societies further illustrate this distinction. These ceremonies were noted by Spanish chroniclers as early as 1582, and despite Franciscan efforts to suppress them, they continue to be performed in a number of Pueblos today. The significance and roles of kachinas vary from one society to another, but they tend to be associated with the spirits of dead ancestors who are instrumental in ensuring rain, fertility, and health for the living. When they appear in the villages of the living, the kachinas are embodied in imposing masks that are constructed by the members of religious societies on the basis of esoteric knowledge and worn by them during complex rituals involving dancing and a number of other activities. By donning the masks, the dancers do not impersonate the kachinas: they become them. Their transformation finds its closest Catholic parallel in the doctrine of transubstantiation, which holds that the bread and wine offered at the Eucharist are the body and blood of Christ, not symbolic representations of them.

The vast majority of objects that from a Western perspective would be classified as art also were produced by the members of the Indigenous societies of northern New Spain for religious purposes. These include the complex compositions made of colored earth known as "sand paintings," murals painted on the walls of ceremonial structures (fig. 11), and statuary carved from wood, stone, or bone, which the missionaries of the colonial period usually identified as idols. Often these items were viewed only by certain individuals

or if they appeared in public ceremonies, they were hidden away or destroyed afterwards. There were, however, extraordinary examples of artistic expression that were part of everyday life. Particularly notable are finely woven baskets, pottery of diverse forms and functions decorated with intricate designs, and exquisite textiles produced from cotton, wild plant fibers, or, following the introduction of sheep during the colonial period, wool.<sup>23</sup>

Subsistence, Settlement Patterns, and Social Organization

As in the case of religion and art, the approaches to subsistence, settlement, and social organization adopted by the Indigenous societies of northern New Spain did not follow linguistic lines. The absence of a correlation between language and these other aspects of culture is well illustrated by the societies whose members spoke Uto-Aztecan languages, the language family that was most widely distributed in the region.

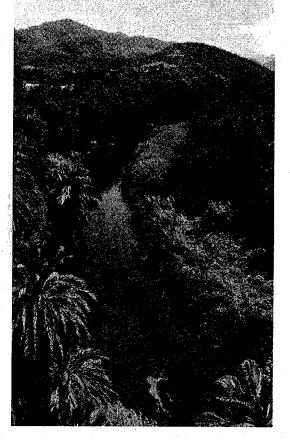
SOCIETÝ	SUBSISTENCE DEGREE OF REUANCE ON:		SETTLEMENT STRATEGIES		DESCENT
	Wild resources	Agriculture	Pattern	Туре	
Hopi	40%	60%	sedentary	compact villages	matrilineal
Pima	50%	50%	sedentary	dispersed rancherías	bilateral & patrilineal
Mayo	40%	60%	sedentary	dispersed rancherías	bilateral
Tarahumara	60%	40%	semi-sedentary	dispersed rancherías	bilateral
Cahuilla	95%	5%	semi-sedentary	dispersed rancherías	patrilineal
Luiseño	100%	0%	semi-sedentary	dispersed rancherías	patrilineal
Comanche	100%	0%	nomadic	mobile camps	bilateral

Table 3. Cultural Diversity among Selected Uto-Aztecan Societies

Table 3 summarizes the variation in these cultural domains in a sample of the Uto-Aztecan societies from northern New Spain. <sup>24</sup> As this table indicates, these societies included both hunter-gatherers and agriculturalists. All the agricultural societies cultivated maize, beans, squash, and a few other plants, but they varied considerably in the relative contribution of cultivated crops and wild plants and animals to their diet. They also differed in whether they lived in compact villages or dispersed rancherías and whether they shifted residence during the course of the year.

Similar variation is seen among the non-agricultural Uto-Aztecan societies. The principal food source of the Comanches was the bison, which migrated in herds and thus required a more nomadic existence. A quite different situation existed in southern California, where wild resources were more localized and sufficiently abundant to support the development of some of the more sedentary hunter-gatherer societies in North America. Like many other Californian societies, the Uto-Aztecan Luiseños and Cahuillas had their principal residences in fixed rancherías, moving to seasonal camps in other nearby areas as wild plants or animals became available there.

figure 76 (abouc) Oasis Mulegé, Baja California figure 77 (below) Arizpe



These societies also displayed marked variation in their internal organization. Some reckoned descent through both the mother's and father's line bilateral) while others were unilineal, emphasizing either the mother's or father's line (matrilineal and patrilineal respectively). The Pimas stood apart by emphasizing both descent lines in most aspects of life but maintaining patrilineal clans that figured only in certain ceremonial contexts. Among the Cahuillas, patrilineal clans were much more significant in organizing social life, as matrilineal clans were among the Hopis. The Luiseños, like the Cahuillas, were patrilineal but there is no indication that their lineages were brought together into more encompassing clans.

The range of subsistence and settlement strategies and social organizations encountered among the Uto-Aztecans is representative of the diversity fpimd a,pmg the other societies in northern New Spain whose languages did not belong to the Uto-Aztecan language family. Taken as a whole, the region presented a mosaic of patterned cultural variation that crosscut linguistic lines. The only major sociocultural feature that all these societies shared was local political autonomy. Different societies and often different settlements of the same society were politically independent, and authority tended to be vested in more than one individual. Although conflicts among neighboring societies were common, there were no conquest states or empires like those found in Mesoamerica.

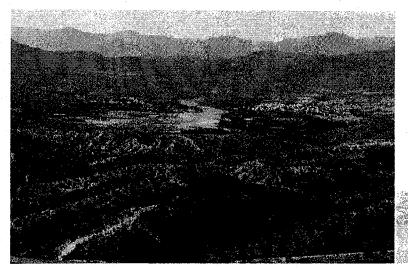
The Loss of Cultural and Linguistic Diversity

The full extent of the cultural and linguistic diversity of the Indigenous people of northern New Spain at the beginning of the colonial period will never be known because many societies disappeared before details about their cultures and languages were recorded. Both demographic and sociocultural factors contributed to their demise.

Epidemics of Old World diseases invariably accompanied and sometimes preceded the arrival of Europeans in different parts of the region. These diseases, combined with the impact of Spanish military campaigns and slaving raids, a declining birth rate, and high infant mortality, are estimated to have reduced the Indigenous population of the region by a staggering ninety percent, from around two million people in 1519 to about two hundred thousand in 1750.<sup>25</sup>

In the case of some Indigenous societies, especially smaller ones, relatively few of their members survived. Sometimes these individuals were absorbed by other Indigenous

societies whose populations were sufficiently large to withstand these demographic pressures. Survivors from different cultural and language groups also merged in mission communities and in refuge areas within and beyond the boundaries of the colonial system. In and around Spanish economic centers, they often mixed with Indigenous people from Central Mexico as well as individuals of European and African descent.



Occasionally new Indigenous identities were created in these contexts and at least for a time some native languages were retained, but the more usual outcome was the loss of distinct Indigenous identities and the replacement of Indigenous languages by Spanish. This process resulted in the emergence of large numbers of individuals of mixed genetic and ethnic heritage who were assimilated as such into Spanish colonial society. They eventually became the dominant component of the population across much of northern New Spain as well as in Latin America as a whole.<sup>26</sup>

It is impossible to calculate the number of Indigenous societies that disappeared during the colonial period. This is particularly true for the eastern half of the region, which corresponds to the modern states of Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Tamaulipas, as well as eastern Chihuahua and southeastern Texas. The majority of the societies here were small bands of hunter-gatherers who were devastated by epidemics, slaving and other forms of forced labor, and the disruption of their environments by Spanish livestock. Over the course of the colonial period, more than a thousand names were recorded for Indigenous groups in this area alone and more than two hundred languages were said to have been spoken by them. <sup>27</sup> Such reports undoubtedly reflect a lack of understanding of the cultural and linguistic affiliations of the Indigenous people there, but sufficient information exists to confirm that this area was characterized by considerable linguistic diversity that likely would have provided the basis for defining numerous distinct cultural identities. <sup>28</sup>

#### New Forms of Linguistic and Cultural Diversity

The principal role envisioned for Indigenous people within the colonial system was as a source of labor for Spanish mines, haciendas, and other economic enterprises. The precipitous decline in the Indigenous population of northern New Spain created a demand for labor that was met by importing workers from other areas. These workers included Indigenous and African slaves and free laborers as well as individuals of mixed European, Indigenous, and African ancestry.<sup>29</sup>

Indigenous slaves tended to come from areas beyond the colonial frontier, where they were captured by both Spanish and Indigenous slavers. Spanish colonies in New Mexico and Nuevo León, located close to the frontier and lacking significant mining activities, were major centers of the slave trade throughout the colonial period. Among the free Indigenous laborers from outside the region, Tlaxcaltecans and other Nahuatl-speakers from Central Mexico were particularly prominent, and for a time Nahuatl became along with Spanish a lingua franca in the Spanish economic centers of the region. In the Spanish economic centers of the region.

The origins of Africans who lived in northern New Spain have never been investigated, but members of hundreds of different cultural and linguistic groups from across the African continent were brought to New Spain. 32 Obviously Spanish colonists also figured in the cultural and linguistic diversity of the region, more so because they too were of diverse backgrounds. They included individuals from different parts of the Iberian Peninsula as well as Spaniards born in the New World. Basques were among the earliest settlers of Nueva Vizcaya and Sinaloa, Sephardic Jewish converts from both Spain and Portugal founded Nuevo León in the sixteenth century, and Canary Islanders migrated to Texas in the eighteenth century. 33 Almost all other

regions of Europe were represented in the ranks of the Jesuit who served in the missions of Baja California, Nueva Vizcaya, Sinaloa, and Sonora.<sup>34</sup>

## The Catholic Mission Program

Within the framework of the Spanish colonialist plan, the Catholic mission was envisioned as a bridging institution, intended to serve as the principal point of articulation between Indigenous societies and the colonial system and to prepare the members of Indigenous societies for integration into colonial society. To fulfill this function, Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries established over the course of the colonial period a network of missions that extended across most of northern New Spain (see David Weber's essay). The presence of these missions affected, directly or indirectly, the majority of the Indigenous societies in the region.

The mission programs of both religious orders shared a primary objective: to transform the members of these societies into devout, practicing Christians whose ways of life corresponded to European notions of civilization. To pursue this objective, they followed the same basic strategy, which remained essentially unchanged until late in the colonial period<sup>35</sup> This strategy can be divided into three mutually reinforcing components: selective cultural change socio-spatial reorganization, and economic reorientation.

#### Selective Cultural Change

As would be expected, the missionaries' efforts to change Indigenous cultures focused on religious beliefs and practices, with the aim of replacing Indigenous religions with orthodox Catholicism. The first step in this process was convincing Indigenous people to request baptism for themselves or their children. In the case of adults, baptism was supposed to be preceded by an explanation of the significance of this sacrament. The next step involved more thorough doctrinal instruction (figs. 124, 129, 131, 132). The converts' progress in learning church doctrine was expressed through their participation in annual or biannual general confessions, with further advancement marked by their receipt of the sacrament of the Eucharist. Although violations undoubtedly occurred, priests were expressly prohibited from coercing baptisms or admitting anyone to the communion rite whom they concluded lacked an understanding of fundamental church doctrine. <sup>36</sup>

The missionaries engaged in a variety of other activities that they believed would strengthen the commitment of their converts to the Catholic faith and attract new converts. To demonstrate their benevolence, they distributed goods like cloth and iron tools and provided food for feasts that they typically organized in conjunction with the celebration of Catholic holy days. They also involved the Indigenous people in their missions in the performance of religious dramas that portrayed major events in the life of Christ or the contest between good and evil.<sup>37</sup>

The latter theme was developed most exuberantly within the framework of what are known as "dances of the conquest." These dances usually were part of more elaborate religious dramas that depicted Christian victories over the Muslim Moors who had invaded southern Spain in the eighth century and, along with Jews, were expelled from the Iberian Peninsula in 1492. In New World settings, the Moors in these performances sometimes were identified with Indigenous people who had not yet been converted to Christianity. One of the danced in

this genre, Matachines, appears to have been particularly popular in northern New Spain. Its performance is documented in disparate parts of the region during the colonial period, in both Franciscan and Jesuit missions.<sup>39</sup>

At the same time that the missionaries promoted the Christian formation of their converts through indoctrination and participation in Catholic rites and ceremonies, they endeavored to eradicate Indigenous beliefs and practices that they regarded as heretical, immoral, or otherwise antithetical to Christian teachings and a Christian life. These encompassed almost the entirety of Indigenous theology, most religious ceremonies, and activities that they interpreted as idolatry, as well as the use of peyote, datura, and mescalbeans, drunkenness, and polygamy. They adopted a wide range of measures to suppress such things. At the more moderate end, they singled out the beliefs and practices they wanted to eliminate for condemnation or ridicule in their sermons, doctrinal classes, and daily conversations, or added them to the standard sins listed in their confessionals (see Table 4 and fig. 126). They also resorted to violence, destroying Indigenous religious objects, disrupting their rituals, and flogging the people they identified as transgressors.

Because religion pervaded Indigenous cultures in northern New Spain, the missionaries' intent to extirpate Indigenous religion from the minds and lives of their converts implied thoroughgoing cultural change (fig. 226). Their strategy of directed cultural change was, however, selective in the sense that they considered some aspects of Indigenous cultures to be acceptable, for example, the production of items for use in everyday life and subsistence practices that did not entail extended absences from the missions. They also tolerated the performance of Indigenous dances if they concluded that they were devoid of heretical content.

Indigenous languages were protected under the laws and regulations that governed the formation and operation of the missions. Although missionaries were expected to provide instruction in the Spanish language to the people in their missions, they also were required to learn their languages (figs. 125, 128, 131, 132).<sup>40</sup> Many missionaries failed to meet this obligation but many others became fluent, translating confessionals, creeds, and other doctrinal materials into local languages and producing dictionaries and grammars of them (see Table 4 and figs. 122 and 123).<sup>41</sup> In missions where converts spoke several different languages, one language often served as a lingua franca, which became the focus of the missionaries' linguistic efforts. In some cases, Spanish rather than an Indigenous language emerged as the common language among the missions' residents themselves. This occurred particularly in areas where the missions were located adjacent to Spanish settlements or their residents served regularly or for extended periods as laborers in Spanish economic centers.<sup>42</sup>

#### Socio-Spatial Reorganization

Europeans of the colonial period regarded a nomadic existence as the hallmark of savagery and a dispersed settlement pattern, even when associated with sedentism, as somewhat less than civilized. The second component of the mission strategy was directed toward concentrating Indigenous people into compact, sedentary mission communities. The ideal mission settlement was envisioned to be laid out in a grid-like pattern of streets and plazas, but alternative configurations for these settlements proved more feasible in northern New Spain. 43

SPANISH (ORIGINAL)	ENGLISH TRANSLATION	COAHUILTECO (ORIGINAL)		
Has matado à alguno?	Have you killed anyone?	Pil' t'an mamaicháp am é?		
A quantos mataste?	How many people have you killed?	T'ájat (vel jat) apsacám mamic chápco yam é?		
las comido carne de gente? Have you eaten human flesh?		Pîlam ahêuh (vel aháuh) t'an mamâihám am é?		
Has comido el peyote?	Have you eaten peyote?	Pajé chem mamâihám am é?		
Te emborrachaste?	Did you become drunk?	Mamáiyâman am é?		
Has comido frixolillo?	Have you eaten mescalbeans?	Samîn chem mamâihám am é?		
Te emborrachaste?	Did you become drunk?	Mamáiyáman am é?		
Has baylado mitote?	Have you danced the mitote*?	Tjé mamáijâ yam ê?		
Quando estavas preñada hizis- te alguna cosa para mal parir, y mataste al muchachito, que tenias en el vientre?	When you were pregnant, did you do anything to miscarry and kill the little one whom you had in your womb?	Jasahuîn tucuájám pin t'an mamaihôi am, japachálauj c'auj san tupáyô, co t'anpam shân jac'naj (vel jashîpoc) tacuém japamî tupôm mamaicháp am é?		

\*Note: The word "mitote," of Náhuatl origin, was incorporated into colonial Spanish as a general designation for Indigenous dances. Although dancing the mitote was included in the 1760 confessional as something to be confessed, more tolerance was expressed in a set of instructions for administering the Texas mission of La Purísima Concepción, prepared in 1787 by an unidentified Franciscan missionary. The relevant passage is as follows: "Sobre la licitud del bayle, que usan los Yndios llamado Mitote ... es verdad, que no haviendo supersticion, no siendo por motivo de muerte de Enemigo, u otro semejante y no haviendo peligro de pecado aliunde, yo no tengo por ilicito el Mitote quando lo hacen por mera diversion, porque es entre los Yndios lo mismo, que entre los Españoles los fandangos." The editors of this document provide the following translation: "Regarding the lawfulness of the dance, called mitote, done by the Indians ... it is my conviction that when no superstition, no question of celebrating an enemy's death, nor any sinful motive are present, then the mitote is not unlawful when done formere diversion, because among the Indians it is the same as the fandango among the Spaniards."

Table 4. Indigenous Practices in an Eighteenth-century Confessional from the Franciscan missions of Texas.

Excerpt from the section devoted to the Fifth Commandment, "Thou Shalt Not Kill."

Congregating the Indigenous residents of an area in mission settlements was considered to have an intrinsic civilizing affect on them and also to be crucial to implementing other aspects of the mission program. Regular religious instruction of large numbers of converts was feasible only if they lived near the missionary, who was better able to maintain his vigilance over them and to chastise them if they violated mission precepts. He also could impose a regimen on their daily lives in which worship and work alternated in tandem. The organization of labor on mission projects was facilitated by having the available work force close at hand, which could also be drawn upon by colonists for their own enterprises. In addition, concentrated villages could be more readily defended from raiding bands that attacked the missions as well as Spanish settlements across much of northern New Spain.

The number of priests available for service in the missions seldom was sufficient to allow a missionary to be assigned to each of the mission communities established in an area. In such cases, one community was selected as the head mission where the missionary had his principal residence. Other communities in the general vicinity became mission stations, to be visited on a regular basis by the missionary.

New forms of political organization were introduced to govern these mission communities and to oversee the activities of the people who resided in or were affiliated with them. Modeled on Spanish town governments, these political organizations usually included the offices of governor, lieutenant governor, sheriff, and one or more judges, as well as captains who were responsible for coordinating the defense of the missions or

fulfilling police functions within them.<sup>45</sup> Local Indigenous men filled these offices, either appointed by the missionaries or elected under the missionaries' supervision by other members of the communities.

Paralleling this group of political officials were individuals selected by the missionaries to support them in caring for the church, ensuring that the residents participated as required in religious activities, and often leading indoctrination classes in both the head missions and mission stations. The missionaries also created groups of musicians and singers, whom they trained in the performance of liturgical music. Most of these roles were performed by men but women were included in mission choirs and were responsible for some aspects of Catholic religious ceremonies. Along with girls, they also were assigned the tasks of cleaning the church and missionaries' homes as well as chores like cooking and laundry. Boys served as acolytes and assisted the missionaries in other activities in the church and their residences. 46

The missions were situated apart from the settlements of colonists, although the distances between them varied considerably from one area of northern New Spain to another. This separation reflected the fact that mission lands were designated for the exclusive use of their Indigenous residents and the missionaries. Non-Indigenous people were prohibited from living within the boundaries of the missionaries discouraged contact between their converts and colonists, particularly the lower classes, whom they regarded as given to drinking, gambling, and other bad habits. Because mission Indians were subject to labor drafts (*repartimientos*) and in some areas settlers were granted rights to their labor under the institution known as *encomienda*, minimizing such interaction was difficult. In addition, converts sometimes abandoned the missions to work as free laborers in Spanish economic centers.<sup>47</sup>

Apart from local Indigenous people, mission residents sometimes included Indigenous converts from other areas brought by the missionaries to collaborate in the conversion of local people. Indigenous people from Central Mexico typically fulfilled this role, especially Tarascans in Sinaloa, Tlaxcaltecans in Coahuila, Nuevo León, and New Mexico, and both in Nueva Vizcaya. <sup>48</sup> As allies of the Spanish in the defeat of the Aztec empire, the Tlaxcaltecans were granted special privileges and often established their own colonies in northern New Spain linked directly to the viceroy in Mexico City. The missionaries welcomed their presence because they regarded them as models of civilization that local Indigenous people could emulate. <sup>49</sup>

Franciscans and Jesuits attempted to reorganize the social and political lives of Indigenous people in all their missions, but their approach to congregation varied according to the settlement strategies of different Indigenous societies. The members of most agricultural societies in northern New Spain resided in rancherías that were dispersed across the landscape according to the distribution of arable land. The missionaries typically selected the more populous of these rancherías as the sites for their missions, encouraging the residents of other, smaller rancherías to relocate to them. Such congregation and relocation was irrelevant among the Pueblo societies of New Mexico and northern Arizona, which already were based in large, compact settlements.

At the opposite extreme were hunter-gatherers who were organized into small, mobile bands and usually lived in environments too arid for agriculture. Developing the mission program among them was deemed impossible unless they could be congregated into mission communities located in areas more propitious for raising the crops and live-stock that were the basis of the missionaries' subsistence strategy. Like religious conversion, the congregation of these bands was supposed to be voluntary, but it was some times imposed, especially on people who, because they had entered the missions as converts and then deserted them, were classified as apostates. <sup>50</sup>

The situation was somewhat different in the case of the hunter-gatherer societies of Alta California, among whom Franciscans established, between 1769 and 1823, a chain of missions that extended along the coast from San Diego to just north of the San Francisco Bay. The rancherías of these societies were comparable in size and permanence to those of agriculturalists in other parts of northern New Spain, but their location reflected primarily the distribution of the wild plants and animals upon which they depended for their livelihood. Although agriculture was possible, it implied a greater investment of time and effort than collecting the abundant wild resources of the area, and only a few xocieties complemented their collecting activities with agriculture. 51

Franciscan missionaries situated their missions near these rancherías, at sites that offered the best conditions for agriculture, where they consolidated the residents of different rancherías in the vicinity. The Indigenous populations initially congregated in these missions declined rapidly, but rather than abandoning the missions, the missionaries recruited or forced other Indigenous people who lived farther from the coast to repla ce them. In this case, their motivations for maintaining the missions populated were primarily economic rather than religious. They depended upon Indigenous labor to sustain the farms, ranches, and artisan industries that supplied nearby military garrisons, established along with the missions to block Russian and English colonial ambitions in Alta California. 53

#### **Economic Reorientation**

Among the myriad misconceptions of Indigenous societies shared by missionaries and other Europeans was the view that their economies were deficient, lacking in order and productivity. They failed to understand the complexities of Indigenous economies and they construed the leisure time that their economic strategies afforded the members of these societies as an expression of their indolence. Incorporating Indigenous people into what they regarded as a more rationalized economy thus was a fundamental component of their plan for "civilizing" them. The economic model they had in mind combined cultivating a variety of plants with stock raising, supplemented by carpentry, masonry, blacksmithing, weaving, and other forms of artisanry.<sup>53</sup>

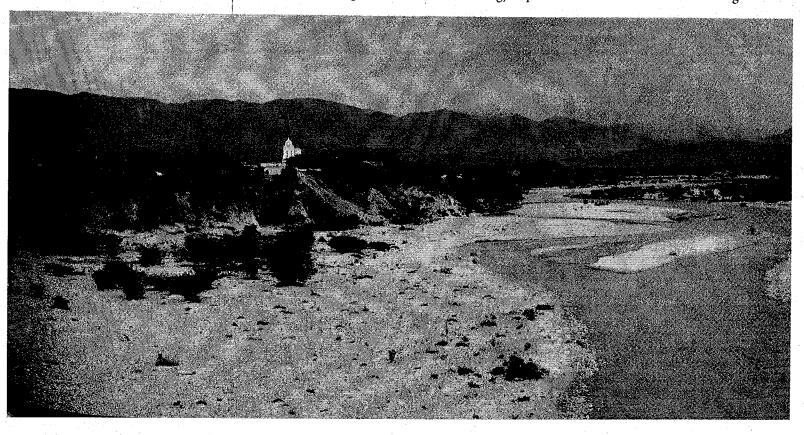
Despite philosophical justifications for changing the economic orientations of Indigenous people, pragmatic considerations drove the process. The congregation of converts into mission communities as well as the missionaries' presence there was contingent upon the availability of sufficient food supplies to sustain them. The Spanish crown subsi-

dized the mission program but expected the missions to become self-sufficient and ideally to produce a surplus that could be sold to support the missionaries' activities and other colonial endeavors.<sup>54</sup>

The strategies that the missionaries followed to develop the economic foundations of their missions entailed various kinds of reorientation for their Indigenous converts. Although most mission economies included as crucial elements the domesticated and wild plants and animals upon which Indigenous economies were based, wheat and other Old World crops as well as fruit trees were introduced, along with cattle, sheep, goats, horses, donkeys, mules, pigs, and chickens. The only domesticated animals found in northern New Spain prior to European contact were dogs and, in some areas, turkeys, so Indigenous people were required to learn new approaches to animal husbandry and other unfamiliar agricultural technologies, for example, the use of plows drawn by draft animals to prepare their fields for planting.

In most Indigenous societies in northern New Spain, the basic unit of production and consumption was the household, and none included an elite class that lived off the labor of subordinates. In the economic model envisioned for the missions, the mission itself became the primary economic unit. 55 It subsumed household economies and added new demands on food supplies, including provisioning the missionaries and their households and maintaining the surplus stocks that they used to provide rations to workers and to support the mission populations in times of scarcity. It also entailed new ways of organizing labor that drew upon the members of many different households to perform a variety of tasks related to the functioning of the missions, including cultivating their fields, caring for their herds of livestock, and building churches and other structures.

figure 78 San Ignacio Piantla Sinalos For hunter-gatherer societies in northern New Spain, the implementation of the economic component of the mission strategy implied a radical shift from food collecting



to food production. Fewer adjustments were required of the members of agricultural societies, but the institutions of obligatory labor intrinsic to the colonial economy were as foreign to them as to hunter-gatherers. In addition, the ways in which labor was organized and work was scheduled deviated significantly from the approaches followed in all these societies.

Another economic dimension of the missions was the role they played in providing Indian labor for Spanish enterprises outside the mission. <sup>56</sup> Many missions in northern New Spain functioned as little more than labor depots for haciendas, ranches, and mines in their vicinity. Laws governing Indigenous labor within the colonial system guaranteed colonists access to mission populations to meet their needs, but the missionaries often complained about the mistreatment Indigenous people endured while working for the settlers. Of equal or greater concern to them was the fact that the frequent and often extended absences of Indigenous laborers from the missions precluded their contributing to the development of the mission economies.

### Indigenous Responses to Spanish Colonialism

The expansion of the Spanish colonial system across northern New Spain evoked a wide range of responses among the Indigenous residents of the region. Because the mission program and the larger colonial endeavor of which it was a part were multifaceted, Indigenous people often responded positively to certain of their dimensions and negatively to others, but their responses were far from uniform. They varied considerably at different times and places, both between societies and among different individuals within the same society. At one point or another, however, the members of all Indigenous societies in northern New Spain for whom historical documentation exists resisted integration into colonial society.

#### Resistance

Spanish attempts to incorporate an area and its residents into the colonial system were met almost invariably by armed resistance, often motivated by earlier Spanish slave raids there or knowledge of the epidemics and brutality that accompanied their arrival in adjacent areas. In most cases, the Spanish were able through force or diplomacy to overcome this initial resistance, allowing missionaries to begin developing the mission program among the members of local societies. Injustices suffered at the hands of the missionaries and other colonists then led Indigenous people to organize military campaigns that the Spanish characterized as "revolts" or "rebellions" because they considered the participants to be members of colonial society. They reserved the term "war" for conflicts with people who had not been baptized or otherwise incorporated into the colonial system.

The seventeenth century was punctuated by a series of such compaigns that proceeded from south to north as the century progressed (see David Weber's essay). Intended to eliminate the Spanish presence in the area, they typically were based on temporary aliances among the members of different agricultural societies, but occasionally they involved both agriculturalists and hunter-gatherers. Such diversity is seen, for example, in the campaigns of the 1690s in northern Nueva Vizcaya, in which the agricultural and missionized Tarahumaras, Pimas, and Jovas were joined by Apaches and the members of several other hunter-gatherer soieties

who remained outside the colonial system.<sup>58</sup> These compaigns often mobilized hundreds of Indigenous combatants who destroyed missions and other Spanish settlements, killing missionaries and colonists alike.<sup>59</sup>

When operating on their own, most hunter-gatherer societies adopted small-scale raiding as their preferred military strategy. Many of these societies disappeared during the early colonial period, victims of epidemics and enslavement, but survivors often consolidated into raiding bands based in inhospitable areas where Spanish colonization was difficult or impossible. These bands soon provided refuge for the members of different agricultural societies fleeing the missions or Spanish economic centers, as well as for military deserters, criminals, slaves, and other disaffected elements of colonial society. The impact of their raids in some areas could be devastating: between 1771 and 1776 in Nueva Vizcaya alone, they are reported to have driven off more than 68,000 head of livestock and to have killed or captured over 1700 people.

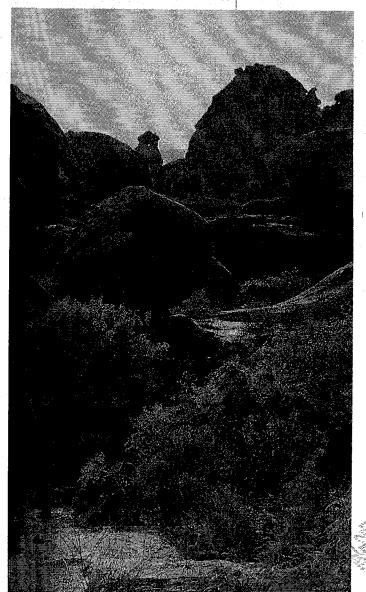
These violent forms of Indigenous resistance usually resulted in Spanish withdrawal from an area, but only temporarily. Sooner or later, they assembled soldiers, settlers, and Indigenous allies to attack their enemies in their settlements or strongholds. They often destroyed their homes and food stores, captured, imprisoned, or executed their leaders,

established military garrisons among them, or relocated them near existing garrisons.

Such actions, combined with the impact of epidemics that decimated the Indigenous populations, enabled the Spanish to pacify most agricultural societies in northern New Spain, but they proved much less effective against the mobile raiding bands. The Spanish organized military campaigns against these bands and resorted to genocide, enslavement, and sometimes deportation of their members to Central Mexico or the Antilles, but the bands that they eliminated were soon replaced by others. Et was not until the 1790s, after they implemented a strategy that combined military action with appeasement, including providing rations to raiding bands, that they were able to reduce significantly their attacks on Spanish herds and settlements. Sa

The participation of Indigenous people on the side of the Spanish in these conflicts was crucial to their successes. In most cases they constituted the bulk of the Spanish forces, and they provided knowledge of Indigenous warfare tactics that the Spanish applied in designing their military strategies. These allies, or auxiliaries, typically were individuals from societies distinct from those involved in the resistance, but sometimes the members of the same societies and even the same communities supported the Spanish. The Spanish reliance on them was part of their general tactic of divide-and-conquer that exploited pre-contact enmities among Indigenous societies or divisions within and among them that emerged during the colonial period.

figure 79 Peñoles Chihuahua



Indigenous people across northern New Spain also adopted various forms of passive resistance to the colonial enterprise. Principal amoung these was the avoidance of contact with the Spanish. Many Indigenous people fled beyond the colonial frontier or moved to remote areas in the interstices of Spanish-controlled territories, where they formed refuge communities. The cultural diversity of these refuge communities often rivaled that of the multiethnic raiding bands, but in contrast to the raiding bands, their members rarely attacked Spanish settlements. They based their livelihood on wild resources usually combined with some agriculture rather than Spanish livestock. Because they seldom constituted a military threat, the Spanish civil officials tended to ignore them, leaving their integration into the colonial system to the missionaries.<sup>65</sup>

Over the course of the colonial period, the influx of settlers into northern New Spain allowed the Spanish to consolidate their control over much of the region The areas available for refuge communities became increasingly limited, and fleeing beyond the colonial frontier became less viable. In frontier areas bordering on what are today Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, the members of some Indigenuos societies, partcularly the Comanches and Utes captured other Indigenous people and sold then to the Spanish for lives of servitude or slavery within the colonial system. For many Indigenous people, living within the boundaries of the mission system emerged as their only option for survival.

Mission residents developed strategies of passive resistance adapted specifically to the mission context. Of these, the refusal to congregate in the communities that their missionaries designated for them was especially important. Such refusal was possible because the missionaries usually lacked the means, including military support to impose congregation on them and often were unable to produce the amount of food required to sustain large, congregated populations.

The economic limitations of the missions reflected in some cases the absence of sufficient land suitable for intensive agriculture or resulted from recurring climatological disasters like droughts and floods. The principal factor affecting their productivity, however, was the amount of Indigenous labor available to the missionaries. The ranks of the mission workforces were regularly depleted when residents were drwn from the missions to work for Spanish settlers. Labor shortages were chronic in much of northern New Spain, so these demands were high. Settlers also welcomed Indigenous people who abandoned the missions to work for them as free laborers and were reluctant to assist the missionaries in forcing them to return to the missions.

A different set of conditions prevailed at the missions of Alta California and around San Antonio, Texas. The missions themselves were the dominant economic enterprises in these areas, producing crop surpluses and maintaining large herds of livestock. Here soldiers and settlers actively collaborated with the missionaries in their efforts to subjugate Indigenous people, both within and outside the missions. These circumstances enabled the missionnaries to implement congregation and other aspects of the mission program to a greater degree than in other areas. Flight from the missions and other forms of passive

resistance were common in both areas, however, and Indigenous people in California organized a number of revolts during the six decades of the missions there.<sup>67</sup>

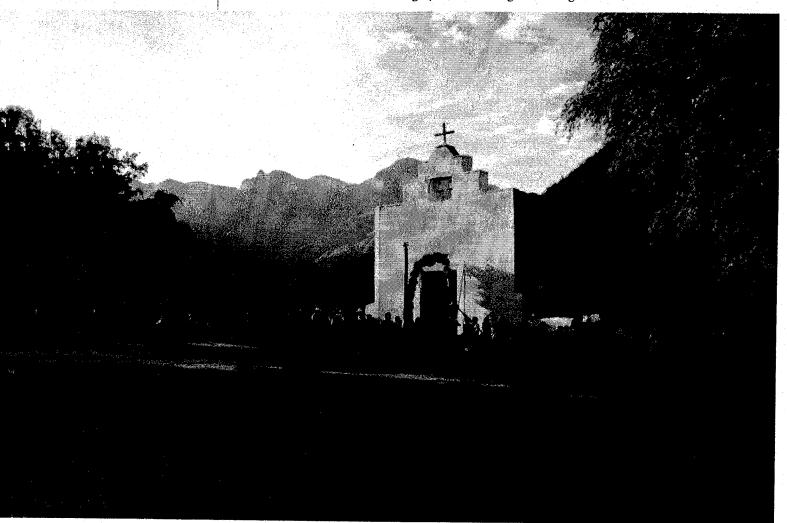
In some areas of northern New Spain, Indigenous people did not need to adopt any forms of resistance to maintain their autonomy because their missionaries administered various mission communities located at considerable distances from one another. In one extreme case, the Franciscan missionary responsible in 1786 for the mission of Baborigame, located in the rugged mountains and canyons of southwestern Chihuahua, was in charge of seven different communities distributed across an area of 1750 square kilometers, comparable in size to the modern states of Morelos in Mexico or Rhode Island in the United States. <sup>68</sup>

Even though most missions were more compact, the missionaries were rarely able to implement the mission program in all of the communities assigned to them or to closely monitor the activities of their residents. As a consequence, many Indigenous people within the mission system retained significant control over their lives. This autonomy allowed them to maintain the integrity of their cultures while integrating the Catholic religion and other components of introduced European culture as they saw fit.

#### Selective Integration

Even those Indigenous societies most adamantly opposed to incorporation into the colonial system integrated at least some elements from it. The best example is Old World livestock. Horses and mules were highly valued among most Indigenous societies in northern

figure 80 Guapalaina Urique, Chihuahua



New Spain as a means of transportation and in some cases as important new sources of meat and raw materials. In the second half of the eighteenth century for example, multiethnic bands based in the arid Bolsón de Mapimí that bordered on the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya and Coahuila relied on horse and mule flesh as a major component of their diet and lived in horsehide tents. They acquired these animals through raiding Spanish settlements and traded the surplus to Indigenous societies farther north. <sup>69</sup> Such clandestine trade set in motion a major economic transformation among Indigenous societies in the Plains and adjacent areas of what is now the central United States, where both pedestrian hunter-gatherers and sedentary or semi-sedentary agriculturalists became highly mobile bison hunters and horse pastoralists.<sup>70</sup>

The integration of sheep also had a significant impact but mainly on more sedentary societies. Apart from their meat and hides, sheep supplied wool that replaced wild fibers in the production of textiles. Along with cattle and goats, they also provided manure that allowed the members of Indigenous societies to begin cultivating lands that previously were unsuitable for agriculture. Some societies incorporated relatively small

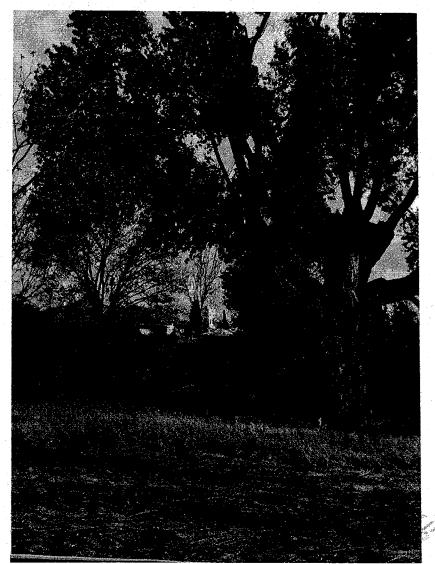
numbers of sheep but others, like the Navajos, reorganized their entire economies around sheep pastoralism. At the same time, the burgeoning sheep herds of both Indigenous people and Spanish colonists disrupted local ecosystems affecting the availability of wild resources and contributing to the environmental degradation of some areas of northern New Spain. 71

The integration of these new economic resources required little or no contact with representatives of the colonial system beyond, in some cases, their acquisition through raiding. More extensive interaction was involved in the transmission of other aspects of Spanish colonial life that were in corporated by the members of many Indigenous societies in northern New Spain. Most of these were introduced to them through the Catholic mission program.

During the seventeenth century, when the majority of missions in northern New Spain were ounded, missionaries reported that they had baptized hundreds of thousands of Indigenous people.<sup>72</sup> The vast majority of these baptisms appear to have been voluntary, sometimes occurring rapidly and involving large numbers of people. In the first decade of the seventeenth century, for example, Mayos and Yaquis in Sinaloa and Sonora requested that Jesuits establish missions among them, and between 1614 and 1620 around sixty thousand men women, and children were baptized.<sup>73</sup>

Here and elsewhere, the missionaries considered the acceptance of baptism to be an expression of the desire to be.





incorporated into the Catholic faith, but Indigenous motivations seem to have been more pragmatic. Baptism marked an affiliation with the Catholic Church that provided them protection against enslavement and also was viewed as means for preventing or alleviating the diseases introduced by the Europeans. Although missionaries sometimes were identified as witches or sorcerers who caused these diseases, more frequently they were interpreted as curers and the sacrament of baptism as a curing ritual.<sup>74</sup> In addition, missions offered their Indigenous residents greater access to European goods and sometimes provided food in times of scarcity and protection from attacks by other Indigenous societies.<sup>75</sup>

For many Indigenous people the conversion process began and ended with baptism. Although missionaries endeavored to instruct their converts in church doctrine, their success was quite variable, suggesting that many converts did not regard Catholic theology as very important. Precise information on the progress of indoctrination is unavailable for the missions founded by the Franciscans, but in the eighteenth century, the Jesuits began reporting the number of people in their missions to whom they administered the sacrament of the Eucharist. These reports provide a rough index of the level of indoctrination of the residents of these missions because the communion rite was supposed to be reserved for individuals who were sufficiently versed in church doctrine to understand the significance of this rite.

In 1765 the inspector general of the Jesuit missions Carlos de Roxas prepared a report on the more than two hundred missions and mission stations in northwestern New Spain. The information that he compiled indicates that, despite decades and in some cases well over a century of work, the Jesuits had been unable to indoctrinate the majority of Indigenous people in these missions. In Nueva Vizcaya, for example, 20,266 adults were reported in the mission districts of Chínipas and Tarahumara Alta, of whom only 3395 (about 17%) were admitted to the communion rite. A similar situation existed in the missions of Baja California and those among the different Piman societies in Sonora. In contrast, almost all the adults in the Yaqui and Mayo missions of Sonora and Sinaloa qualified for participation in this rite.

The degree of indoctrination that this participation suggests for the Yaquis and Mayos may reflect the fact that they played a major role in directing the development of the mission program among them and were not subjected to the same levels of abuse experienced by Indigenous people elsewhere. A solid grounding in the tenets of Catholicism, however, did not necessarily mean that the members of these or other Indigenous societies in the region were orthodox Catholics who had abandoned their Indigenous religions. To the contrary, all of the societies who maintained their distinct identities incorporated elements of Catholic religion into religious systems that remained largely Indigenous in orientation.

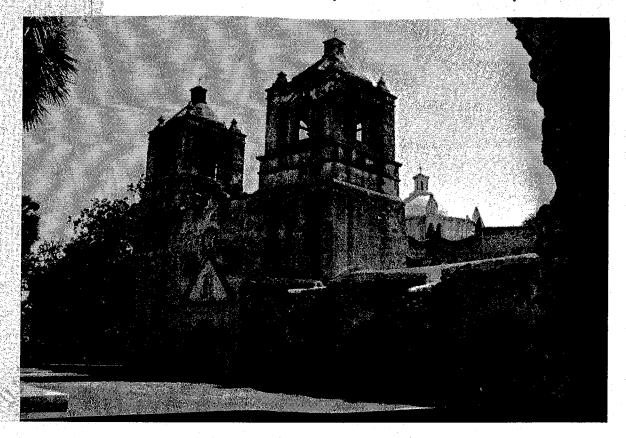
This appropriation was particularly extensive among the Yaquis. In collaboration with their missionaries, they translated Catholic concepts into local terms and linked Indigenous and Catholic rituals, continuing on their own to create a new form of their Indigenous religion. They subsumed the concept of God under the figure of Jesus, who became the Creator deity and a curer who had lived, been crucified, and resurrected in Yaqui country. The Virgin Mary was identified with the earth and as the mother of all Yaquis as well as of

Jesus. These two deities along with the dead became the focus of religious ceremonies that combined Indigenous rituals, like the Deer Dance, with processions, dramas, and dances introduced by the missionaries, all directed toward promoting the well-being of Yaquicommunities and their members. Eventually Yaqui ritual specialists directed even the Catholic liturgy, reserving the performance of the sacrament of baptism for Catholic priests.<sup>9</sup>

The results of this appropriation process differed from one Indigenous society to another but all shared a reinterpretation of Catholic cosmology within Indigenous frameworks and a replacement of the Catholic emphasis on individual salvation in the afterlife with a focus on enhancing the quality of life in this world through appropriate ritual action. The synthesis of Catholic and Indigenous ritual practices also was widespread, with the Catholic elements sometimes thoroughly transformed. Among the Tarahumaras, for example, the Catholic sacrament of last rites was reconfigured as preventative and alleviative curing ritual performed to strengthen the souls of individuals so that they could resist or recover from illnesses. Similarly, the application of ashes to the forehead, a sign of penance on Ash Wednesday in Catholic liturgy, became a ritual to protect the living from the dead. It was recontextualized as one of many different components of major ceremones sponsored to provide food and other provisions for the souls of the dead and to separate them from the world of the living. Si

The Tarahumaras also created their own versions of European passion plays, adopted the Matachine dance as a signifiant complement to their Indigenous rituals, and reorganized their overall religious system in ways that resembled the Yaquis' appropriation of Catholicism. The similarities between them reflet the fact tht the memvers of these societies shared condiderable control over the integration of Catholicism into their lives despite marked differences in their mission experiences. Throughout the colonial period, the majority of Tarahumaras lived in dispersed *rancherias* seldom visited by missionaries





and were able to incorporate elements of Catholicism with minimal intervention from them. Most Yaquis, in contrast, congregated in mission settlements where their mission-aries resided, but these missionaries were amenable to collaborating with them in adapting Catholicism to Yaqui perspectives.

A different set of conditions prevailed among the Pueblo societies along the Rio Grande of New Mexico. Like the Yaquis, the members of these societies lived in the same communities as their missionaries but the relations between them were more antagonistic. During the first decades of the colonial period, these missionaries vigorously suppressed Indigenous religion until the Peublo Revolt of 1680 drove them and other colonists from the province. Following their return near the end of the seventeenth century, they moderated their opposition, but the members of the Pueblo societies maintained a marked distiction between Catholicism and their own religions. They excluded Catholic elements from their rituals, most of which they held in secret, and Catholic beliefs had little impact on their philosophies and cosmologies.

They did, however, adopt some elements from Catholicism, including baptism and the celebration of Catholic holy days during which they performed Indigenous-style dances in conjunction with Catholic ceremonies. Many also incorporated the Matachine dance, which they modified by adding Indigenous elements and interpretations. <sup>82</sup> In addition, like a number of other Indigenous societies in northern New Spain, the Pueblo societies came to regard the mission churches as their own ceremonial spacesand retained at least some of the local church and political officials that the missionaries had introduced, the latter often serving as the principal intermediaries between their communities and outsiders. <sup>83</sup>

These various forms of appropriation were mid-points along a continuum of responses to Catholicism that ranged from rejection to acceptance. The total rejection of Catholicism occurred rarely, as among certain Apache societies, whose members vehemently and successfully opposed Spanish colonialism in general throughout the colonial period. Acceptance of orthodox Catholicism by an entire Indigenous society was limited to situations where missionaries were able to congregate most or all members of the society into their missions, compel them to participate in indoctrination classes and Catholic religious activities, and enforce their prohibitions on the practice of Indigenous religions.

The missionaries seem to have approximated such a level of control only in some of the missions of Texas and California and only at certain times. Here as in other areas of northern New Spain, however, the wholesale replacement of Indigenous religion by Catholicism usually resulted where intensive missionization was accompanied by extensive interactios between mission residents and the non-Indigenous population outside the missions, occurring as part of the process of their assimilation into this population. The retention of Indigenous identities and the shift to orthodox Catholicism appear to have been mutually exclusive.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The three centuries of the Spanish colonial period in northern New Spain were times of dramatic transformations. Epidemics of European diseases destroyed all but a small

fraction of the Indigenous population of the region, resulting in widespread misery and an incalculable loss of cultural and linguistic diversity. This demographic tragedy, combined with the failure of Indigenous societies to unite politically and militarily in opposition to the colonial endeavor, enabled the Spanish to expand the colonial system over much of the region, creating the conditions for the cultural assimilation of many Indigenous people. Yet, by the end of the colonial period, the members of a number of Indigenous societies remained only partially integrated into colonial society.

The Indigenous societies that survived the Spanish invasion of their territories and its aftermath adopted a wide range of strategies to adapt to their changing circumstances, but all reflected their common struggle to maintain autonomy in the face of determined efforts to dominate them. The most successful strategies combined accommodation to the degree necessary with resistance to the degree possible. The societies that followed this strategy were able to create niches for themselves within the colonial system that allowed them to reject many elements of the colonial program while incorporating others in ways that reinforced their persistence as distinct social and cultural entities. 84

A variety of factors conspired to prevent the Spanish from implementing their colonial project in northern New Spain as they had envisioned it when they arrived in the region in the early sixteenth century. Too few colonists were available to settle the vast region, which included many areas lacking the minerals or other natural resources to attract and sustain colonization. These areas remained under the firm control of Indigenous people, serving as refuges where they could minimize contact with the colonial system or launch raids against Spanish settlements.

These raids seriously affected economic activities across the region and blocked the northward expansion of the colonial frontier, but the Spanish were unable to devise an effective military response to them. Because they relied on Indigenous allies to defend the frontier, they were forced to maintain positive relations with them, providing Indigenous people more autonomy than they probably would have enjoyed if this external threat had not existed. Internal contradictions within the colonial system, surfacing in particular in the conflicts between missionaries and settlers over Indigenous labor, also allowed them to enhance their autonomy by playing one sector of colonial society against another.

In the final decades of the colonial period, the Spanish government instituted a number of reforms intended to strengthen the colonial system, but in northern New Spain many proved ineffective or counterproductive.<sup>85</sup> As a preliminary to this process, the Bourbon King Charles III of Spain ordered in 1767 the expulsion of the Jesuits from all of his domains. This decision was motivated by changing political and philosophical currents in eighteenth-century Europe and followed the examples set at the beginning of the decade by the kings of Portugal and France.<sup>86</sup>

The Jesuit expulsion had immediate and far-reaching ramifications across northern New Spain. The Spanish crown connfiscated Jesuit properties, including their extensive herds of livestock, which through an unbelievable miscalculation colonial officials sometimes congregated in areas most vulnerable to the raids of Indigenous and mixed-ethnic bands.<sup>87</sup> This confiscation disrupted the regional economy and engendered hardship and

resentment among the Indigenous residents of many Jesuit missions, who relied on the missions' livestock and other food stores for their survival. In addition, the expulsion taxed the resources of the Catholic Church, which had to transfer priests from other missions as well as parishes and monasteries to replace the Jesuits in the now economically weakened missions.<sup>88</sup>

Responsibility for the Jesuit missions in the region was divided between the bish-opric of Durango and the Franciscan order. From the outset, the bishop of Durango lacked priests to assign to the majority of missions over which he had laid claim and many were abandoned. The Franciscans, in contrast, initiated a vigorous program to consolidate the Jesuit missions that they inherited and to expand the mission frontier into Alta California. In 1772–1773, Dominican friars took over the missions of Baja California from them and founded new settlements in the north of the peninsula, bridging the gap between the older Jesuit missions in the south and the new Franciscan missions in Alta California. <sup>89</sup>

The declining fortunes of the Spanish crown, however, precluded sustaining the colonial enterprise as a whole, and the resources, both human and economic, required to maintain the missions became increasingly limited. In the waning years of the colonial period, most missions in northern New Spain were neglected. After 1821, the newly independent Mexican government began dismantling the entire colonial mission system, soon joined by the United States government once it had incorporated Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and Alta California into its territories. 90

The demise of the missions enhanced the autonomy of Indigenous people who lived in the mission settlements, especially in Texas and California where missionary methods were particularly draconian. At the same time, by eliminating the protections that the missions and missionaries had provided, it increased their vulnerability to outside pressures. Encroachment on Indigenous lands and other abuses by non-Indigenous settlers occurred across most of the region, accompanied by greater interaction and intermarriage across ethnic lines. Some Indigenous societies began disappearing as their members entered the non-Indigenous population, but others, modifying old strategies or developing new ones, continued to maintain their distinct identities and to defend their autonomy against the challenges of the post-colonial period.

## Endnotes

- 1 Thomas 1941; Navarro García 1964; Moorhead 1975 Presidio; Velázquez 1979.
- 2 Rodríguez-Sala et al. 1993, 1995.
- For a general overview of the Spanish colonial period across the northern frontier and the competition among European colonial powers there, see Weber 1992 Spanish. Gerhard 1982 provides detailed information on the evolution of the colonial system throughout northern New Spain.
- 4 Borges 1987; Weber 2005.
- 5 These topics are explored for both northern New Spain and South America in essays compiled in Langer, Jackson 1995 and Guy, Sheridan 1998. Weber 2005 is a comprehensive study of Indigenous-Spanish interaction for all of the Spanish New World Empire.
- 6 The information on the languages and language families in Tables 1 and 2 and Map 2 is from Handbook 17. The language names are used to designate the Indigenous societies discussed in this essay because they are the ones encountered most commonly in the scholarly literature. They often, however, do not correspond to those used by the members of these societies to refer to themselves or their languages. Detailed information on the latter is found in the chapters devoted to these societies in volumes 8, 9, 10, 11, and 13 of the Handbook of North American Indians.
- 7 Campbell 1997 provides a comprehensive overview of Indigenous languages throughout the New World. He presents information on undocumented languages in northern New Spain and their suspected connections to other languages in the discussions of the language families represented within the region.

- 8 The classification of these languages is discussed in Handbook 17; Campbell 1997; and Silver, Miller 1997.
- 9 Dalby 2004.
- 10 Riley 1971, p. 307; Goddard 1979, p. 364; Silver, Miller 1997, pp. 207-235.
- 11 Goddard 1979, pp. 355-356; Wurtzburg, Campbell 1995; Taylor 1986, pp. 275-282.
- 12 Heizer 1941, 1946 and 1978, p. 691; Forbes 1961; Ruby, Blackburn 1964; Davis 1974; Doyel 1991. On pre-contact exchange from the Southwest eastward, see Spielmann 1989 and Brown 2004 Exchange, pp. 683–685.
- 13 Weigand, García 2001.
- 14 Di Peso 1979, pp. 96–97; Gumerman, Haury 1979, pp. 84–89; Doyel 1991, pp. 227–228.
- 15 Parsons 1996 Lamphere 1983, pp. 753-758.
- 16 Bean, Vane 1978.
- Information on the Indigenous religions of northern New Spain during the colonial period is limited to descriptions provided by non-Indigenous chroniclers, mainly missionaries, and is undoubtedly distorted. The summary presented here is based primarily on research of anthropologists in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which is synthesized by Hultkrantz 1979, 1981 and Gill 1982 for North America in general and by Underhill 1948 and Lamphere 1983 for the southwestern United States. Studies of these religions as described in the colonial period include Beals 1943, pp. 57–70; Griffen 1969, pp. 122–132; Salinas 1990, pp. 132–135; Gutiérrez 1991; and Merrill 1992.
- 18 Hultkrantz 1953.
- 19 Havard 1896; La Barre 1938.
- 20 For overviews of the place of these plants in Indigenous societies, see: for to-bacco, Winter 2000; for datura, La Barre 1969, pp. 133-137 and Bean, Vane 1978; for peyote, La Barre 1969, Anderson 1980, and Stewart 1987; for mescalbeans, Howard 1957, Troike 1962, and Merrill 1977. For references to peyote in New Mexico during the colonial period, see Scholes 1935, p. 232; Slotkin 1951; and Schroeder 1972, p. 52.
- 21 The centrality of the concept of beauty in the religions and philosophies of Indigenous societies in the region has been explored in greatest depth among the Navajos (Witherspoon 1977, 1983 Language; cf. Wyman 1957).
- 22 Ortiz 1972; Griffith 1983; Adams 1991; Parsons 1996.
- 23 Feest 1992.
- 24 Overviews of these Uto-Aztecan societies and summaries of the sources of information about them are found in Handbook 8, 9, 10, and 13.
- 25 These figures are from Gerhard 1982, p. 24, Table B. Detailed studies of the demographic impact of disease on Indigenous populations of northwestern New Spain include Reff 1991 and Jackson 1994, the latter covering California as well. For northeastern Mexico, Texas, and New Mexico, see Gerhard 1982, pp. 320–322; Salinas 1990, pp. 136–141; Ricklis 1996, pp. 127–137; Thoms 2001; and Rogers, Sabo 2004, p. 622.
- 26 Mörner 1967. For analyses of the factors and processes involved in the retention, transformation, and loss of Indigenous identities, see Castile, Kushner 1981; Radding 1997; Anderson 1999; and Deeds 2003. Gerhard 1982, p. 24, Table B, charts the growth of the non-Indigenous population relative to the Indigenous population of the region between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. The decline in Indigenous population was due primarily to the impact of disease, but the loss of Indigenous identities through assimilation was an important factor as well.
- 27 Campbell 1983, p. 347; Goddard 1979, p. 358; Salinas 1990, pp. 21-114; Hickerson 1994; Valdés 1995, pp. 101-111; Sheridan 2000, pp. 67-72.
- 28 Goddard 1979; Campbell 1983; Griffen 1983; Campbell 1996; Manaster Ramer 1996; Cramaussel 2000.
- 29 Mörner 1967, 1970; Frost et al. 1979; Swann 1982.

- 30 Moorhead 1958, p. 49; Bailey 1966; Kessell 1987, pp, 231, 366-367; Cuello 1988; Brooks 2002; Sheridan 2000, pp. 90-98.
- 31 Griffen 1969, p. 134; Martínez Baracs 1993; Cramaussel 1998, pp. 24-25, 33; Martínez Saldaña 1998; Valdés, Dávila 1999; Sheridan 2000, pp. 98-109.
- 32 Aguirre Beltrán 1981; Valdés, Dávila 1989.
- 33 Mecham 1927; Tjarks 1974; Jones 1979, pp. 42-43; Gerhard 1982, pp.26, 172, 244, 345, 348; MacLachlan, Rodríguez O. 1990, pp.209-223; Chipman 1992, pp. 127-146.
- 34 Aspurz 1946; Hausberger 2005. Jesuit provinces in central Europe supplied many missionaries during the eighteenth century (Odložilík 1945; Binková 1984; Kašpar 1991; González Rodríguez 1993, pp. 15–32; Hausberger 1995). Franciscan missionaries not born in New Spain came primarny from Spain, but Borges, Morales 1993, p. 130, suggest that the number of Franciscans from other areas of Europe may have been greater than is documented. Orders were sent from Europe to the New World, see Borges 1977.
- 35 Borges 1960, 1987; Polzer 1976; Gómez Canedo 1988; Weber 2005.
- 36 Borges 1960, pp. 494-513; Polzer 1976, pp. 62-63, 71-73, 108; Gómez Canedo 1988, pp. 169-191; Pfefferkorn 1989, p. 251.
- 37 Gutiérrez 1991, pp. 83-91, 1993; Harris 1992, and 1994; Spicer, Crumrine 1997; Lara 2004, pp. 177-195.
- 38 Warman 1972; Trexler 1984; Jáuregui et al. 1996; Harris 2000.
- 39 Steffel 1809, pp. 345–346; Kurath 1949, 1957; Pfefferkorn 1989, pp. 181-182, Benoist, Flores 1994, pp. 34–35. The modern performance of variants of the Matachines dance is best documented among the Rarahumaraas of Chihuahua and the Pueblo societies of New Mexico (Champe 1983; Bonfiglioli 1995 and 1996; Parsons 1996, pp. 852–856, passim; Rodríguez 1996). For the Yaquis and Mayos, see Kurath 1949, pp. 90–93; Spicer 1980, pp. 100-102; Crumrine 1977, pp. 75–77, 1981, pp. 116–117, and 1997, p. 243.
- 40 Borges 1960, pp. 544–550; Polzer 1976, pp. 109–110; Nuttud 1979; Gómez Canedo 1988, pp. 154–162; Cifuentes 1998; Lerner 2000.
- 41 Colonial Jesuits prepared a number of dictionaries and grammars of the Indigenous languages spoken in their missions in northwestern Mexico (Burrus 1984; Dakin 1994—1995). Franciscans in northern New Spain were less prolific than either the Jesuits or Franciscans in other areas of Bew Spain (Ricard 1966, pp. 39–60, 406–414). The most extensive linguistic work by Franciscans in the north took place in California. Some Franciscan translations of doctrinal materials into Indigenous languages of California and Tesas as well have been preserved (Handbook 17, pp. 25, 40–42). Sources for Table 4 are García 1760, pp. 14–15 and, about mitote, Benoist, Flores 1994 pp. 36–37.
- 42 Revillagigedo 1966, p. 62, notes in his 1793 report on the missions of northern New Spain that missionaries in Coahuila did not need to learn local languages because all the Indigenous people in the province understood and spoke Spanish perfectly.
- 43 Stanislawski 1947; Foster 1960, pp. 34–49; Spicer 1962, p. 283; Borges 1987 pp. 142–146. For examples of plans for some missions in the region, see Habig 1976; Costello, Hornbeck 1989, pp. 310–314; Aguilar Marco et al. 1991; and Sheridan 2000, p. 184.
- 44 The schedules that missionaries in different areas of northern New Spain attempted to impose on the residents of their missions are discussed in Río 1984, pp. 143–154; Kessell 1987, pp. 129–131; and Sheridan 1999 Yugo, pp. 67–70, 2000, pp. 187–198.
- 45 Spicer 1962, pp. 388–395; Borges 1987, pp. 156–161; Gutiérrez 1991, pp. 157–161; cf. Cutter 1995, pp. 69–99.
- 46 Spicer 1962, pp. 288-291; Borges 1987, pp. 224-225; Mann 2001, 2002.
- 47 Simpson 1950; Mörner 1970; Río 1979; Deeds 1985, 1989, 1991.
- 48 Simmons 1964; Gerhard 1982, passim. Jesuits in Baja Claifornia adopted the

- alternative approach of taking new converts to visit established missions in Sonora, Sinaloa, and Nueve Vizcaya (Rio 1984, pp.188-189).
- 49 Alessio Robles 1978, pp.123-136; Gerhard 1982, p.221; Sheridan 2000, pp. 98-109.
- Santa María 1973,pp. 153-162; Habig 1976, pp. 171, 206; Griffen 1979, pp.
   4-24; Weber 1992 Spanish, pp. 112-113; Jackson, Castillo 1995; Sheridan
   1999 Empire, pp.76-80.
- 51 Lee De Vore 1968; Bean 1978, p.578; Luomala 1978, pp. 600-601.
- 52 Jackson, Castillo 1995, pp.26-29.
- 53 Borges 1987, pp. 198-225.
- 54 Padden 1956 Gutiérrez Casillas 1984, pp. 46-47; Veleazquez 1974.
- 55 Borges 1987, pp. 198-225.
- 56 Frost et al. 1979, Deeds 1989.
- Huerta, Palacios 1976; Castillo 1978, pp. 103-104; Griffen 1979, pp. 4-24; Espinosa 1988; Weber 1992 Spanish, pp. 133-141; Castro 1996; Deeds 1998.
- 58 Neumann 1969; Sheridan, Naylor 1979, pp. 39-70; Gonzeález, Rogríguez 1993, pp. 237-292.
- 59 Saravia 1943 provides a summary of missionaries killed in norhtern New Spain between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.
- 60 Merrill 1994, 2000.
- 61 Barry, Phelipe. "Resumen general de las hostilides cometidas por los syndios enemigos en la jurisdicciones de las alcaldías de esta Provincia de la Nueva Vizcaya... Durango, June 30 1777" Archivo General de la Nación, Provincias Internas 44,f. 20 (1777).
- 62 Thomas 1941; Navarro García 1964; Moorhead 1968, 1975 Spanish, Griffen 1969, pp. 6-74, 1979, pp. 4-24; Archer 1973; Sheridan 1999 Empire; Merrill 2000; Mirafuentes 2000.
- 63 Navaarro García 1964, pp.456-460; John 1975; Griffen 1988.
- 64 Jones 1962 Moorhead 1975 Presidio, Griffen 1979, pp. 49-50; Hu-DeHart 1081, Passim; Río 1984 pp. 221-222; Mirafuentes 1993; Radding 1997, Passim 1998, pp. 58-59.
- 65 Aguirre Beltrán 1967; Griffen 1979, pp.109-110.By the conclusion of the colonial period, the principal refuge communities in northern New Spain were located in the Sierra Madre Occidental, along the border between Nueva Vizcaya on the east and Sinaloa and Sonora on the west (Gerhard 1982, pp.8-9).
- 66 Bailey 1966, pp. 24-27; Schroeder, Stewart 1988; Brooks 2002, pp.59-79, 148-159.
- 67 Cook 1976; Castillo 1978, pp.103-104; Ángeles 2000; Sandos 2004; Hackel 2005; :Lightfoot 2005.
- 68 Laba Ignacio María. "informe de diezy seis misiones...., Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Marzo 10, 1786" University of Arizona Library Special Collections, Manuscript no. 186 (1786).
- 69 Merrill 1994, 2000.
- 70 Haines 1938; Roe 1955; Forbes 1959; Oliver 1962.
- 71 Humphrey 1958; Witherspoon 1983 Navajo, pp.525-530; Bailey, Bailey 1986, passim; Hall 1989, pp. 146-147; Melville 1994.
- 72 Reff 1991, pp. 201-203; Abad 1992, pp. 105-117.
- 73 Spicer 1962, pp. 48-49.

- 74 Reff 1991, pp. 260-263.
- 75 Sweet 1995, pp. 31–36. Ricklis 1996, pp. 161-168, argues convincingly that the Karankawa of east Texas regarded the missions primarily as a source of meat and grain, adding temporary residence in the missions, especially in the spring and fall, to their seasonal round of hunting and collecting wild resources.
- 76 Roxas, Carlos de. "Noticia de las Missiones q.e administran los P.P. de la Comp.a de Jesus en esta Nueva España, Año de 1765." University of Texas, Austin, W.B. Stevens Collection, no. 68 (1765).
- 77 Merrill 1991, p. 288.
- 78 A low level of participation in communion is reported for most of the Piman missions but is especially marked among the Upper Piman missions, some of which were located in what is today southern Arizona. Roxas 1765 (fols. 10–11; my translation) explains that the missionaries denied the Upper Pimans admission to the rite because of their recent violent resistance to the colonial system: "The royal presidio of Altar is located near the mentioned mission of Caborca as a deterrent and punishment for this nation of Upper Pimas, who in the year of 1751 revolted in a scandalous uprising in which they killed the fathers Thomas Tello and Enrique Ruhen; and this also is the reason, as has been noted, for there being so few who take communion in these Upper Pima missions, the Fathers not finding in these Indians the necessary disposition and reverence to receive such an elevated sacrament."
- 79 Spicer 1962, pp. 508–512, 1980. pp. 58–118. A comparable degree of appropriation of Catholicism occurred among the Mayos (Crumrine 1977, 1981).
- The sacrament of last rites, also known as extreme unction and anointing of the sick, is itself a curing ritual, but after the medieval period it tended to be administered exclusively to the dying. Its original, broader application to the seriously infirm was reaffirmed by the Second Vatican Council, convened between 1962 and 1965 (McBrien 1995, pp. 57–61, 1299–1306).
- 81 Merrill 1988, pp. 143-145, 172-175; 1992, pp. 159-160.
- 82 Dozier 1958; Champe 1983; Rodríguez 1996; Parsons 1996, pp. 852-856.
- 83 Spicer 1962, pp. 390-392, 412-418; Parsons 1996.
- 84 Spicer 1980, pp. 287–331; Radding 1997; Deeds 2003.
- 85 Gutiérrez 1991, pp. 298–336; Chipman 1992, pp. 171–194; Ortega 1993, pp. 101–131; Río 1995.
- 86 Dunne 1937; Mörner 1966, 1989; Riley 1977; Gutiérrez Casillas 1984, pp. 179–182.
- 87 Benedict 1970, 1972.
- 88 Río 1993, 1995; Escandón 1993; López, Río 1993; Merrill 1995.
- 89 Revillagigedo 1966; Jackson, Castillo 1995; Aguilar Marco et al. 1991.
- 90 Weber 1982, pp. 43–82; Rausch 1987. In some areas, the missions were transferred from the Franciscans and, in Baja California, Dominicans, to bishoptics, a process known as secularization that also occurred in different parts of northern New Spain during the colonial period. Franciscan responsibility for missions in Mexico ended with the abolition of religious orders in the midnineteenth century (Galeana de Valadés 1991; Morales 1993). The U.S. government promoted both Catholic and Protestant missionization of Indigenous people throughout the nineteenth century and during the first three decades of the twentieth century (Beaver 1988).

# The Arts of the

# Missions of Northern New Spain

1600-1821

Clara Bargellini Michael K. Komanecky

**EXHIBITION CURATORS** 

Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso in collaboration with

San Antonio Museum of Art

Museo de Historia Mexicana Centro Cultural Tijuana Oakland Museum of California

# **TERRA**

The organizers acknowledge the valuable support granted by Terra Foundation for American Art, which is dedicated to promoting the exploration, understanding, and enjoyment of visual arts in the United States by national and international publics. By acknowledging the importance of experiencing original works of art, the foundation offers opportunities for interaction and study, beginning with the presentation and growth of its own art collection in Chicago. To continue with the transcultural dialogue on American art, the foundation supports and collaborates with innovative exhibition, research and education programs. Implicit in these activities is the conviction that art has the potential to distinguish between cultures at the same time as to unite them.









