



Graduate Program in Translation  
College of Humanities  
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FIFTH CENTENARY OF THE TAÍNO REBELLION <1511—2011>  
(a translation of excerpts from *5to centenario de la Rebelión Taína <1511—2011>*  
by Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña)

by

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FIFTH CENTENARY OF THE TAÍNO REBELLION <1511—2011>

Pamela Arroyo Reyes, 2017

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## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

Finding an appropriate text for my thesis in the Translation Program was difficult, but I am pleased to present a translation of three papers found in *5to centenario de la Rebelión Taína <1511–2011>*, published by the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture. I was aware of the word-count limit and was unsure whether it would be acceptable to translate only a portion of the selected text instead of the whole, but once I was notified it had been accepted, I decided to choose the parts of the text which I believed to be the most important, using the *MLA Style Manual* as reference.

I chose this subject mainly because of a family belief that we are of Taíno ancestry and because I am passionate about history and archaeology. I found this text to contain the kind of information that I would consider crucial to be included in history books, yet there is not much on this topic published, and the small amount that is rarely reaches the general public, let alone the history courses taught in schools. It is my belief that educators in Puerto Rico give children too little information about what is considered a third of our ancestry, focusing instead on the rich European conquerors and the tortured African slaves, while almost completely ignoring our indigenous culture. Taíno heritage is pushed to the side because of the false belief that is taught in our educational system: that the Taíno disappeared completely and the only connections we have to them are the *mestizo* and *criollo*. This text provides evidence that this way of thinking is incorrect, based on archaeological finds, historical records, and modern research.

The Institute of Puerto Rican Culture is highly respected, and this publication is the result of years, even decades, of study and research. The author of the first paper, “La rebelion taína, crónica de una guerra negada,” is archaeologist Miguel Rodríguez López,

vice-chancellor of the Center for Advanced Studies of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean. He criticizes the poor representation Taíno culture has in Puerto Rico and states that it is the result of misinformation passed down through the centuries by biased European chroniclers.

The next paper, “Théodore de Bry: La imagen gráfica del taíno y la crítica a la conquista española,” was written by Dr. Sebastián Robiou Lamarche, president of the Fundación Cultural Educativa, Inc. (Educational Cultural Foundation, Inc.) and author of various books dealing with Taíno culture. What caught my attention about this paper were the passages from Bartolomé de las Casas’ *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (*A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*) that accompany the engravings done by de Bry. De las Casas’ work, in addition to de Bry’s art, makes for an astonishing, impactful message, one in which the cruel and inhuman treatment suffered by the Taínos at the hands of the Spaniards is brought to life.

The final paper is “Quinientos años de resistencia boricua” by Dr. Juan Manuel Delgado, a professor at the Center for Advanced Studies on Puerto Rico and the Caribbean. His research, which began in the 1970s, has produced numerous extraordinary discoveries, including accounts that support the belief that the Taínos continued their way of life, adapting to the inevitable changes created by time, surviving the Inquisition brought down on their culture by the Catholic Church.

As I was reading the text for the first time, I felt overwhelmed by the number of quotations, names, and words that would require extensive research. I also wished to transmit the style of each author in his respective essay, to keep the unique voice each one possessed. I admit the thought of choosing an easier text was tempting, but I was

determined to make *5to centenario de la Rebelión Taína <1511—2011>* my thesis project.

As always, the first step was the hardest, but once I became more involved, the work became almost enjoyable, and the amount of information and knowledge I have gathered from it has been its own reward. It would be wonderful if others could benefit from this text, and I believe an English translation might help, if only a little. The educational system in Puerto Rico does not value our Taíno heritage because of lack of knowledge, since the amount of time given to its study is very limited. Most of Taíno history is usually covered during elementary school only. After that, Puerto Rican history is taught almost exclusively from mid-eighteenth century until the present date, providing just a passing glance at the Spanish colonization until reaching the Spanish-American War in 1898. By then, the Taínos have long since been forgotten, creating the impression that they had been completely exterminated. Texts such as this one are needed to stop that trend, and to teach Puerto Ricans that part of their ancestry, one they consider dead, is still alive.

A translation of this text not only can benefit future generations of Puerto Ricans, and in that way foment our cultural pride, but also can be of assistance in future research and studies. Nowadays, investigations about the first human migratory routes are increasing in number, and English translations of studies about the Taíno culture and their known history will be of great help in the research to map the migratory routes of the first inhabitants of the American continent. An English translation can also help in sharing information among other professionals.

Although I am passionate about this subject, my knowledge about it is not great, which made the process of translation interesting. There were several times when I doubted what I was reading for the simple reason of having been taught differently. Fortunately, Dr. Robiou has written several books on the Taínos, and I spent a good amount of time simply reading what other scholars had written on the subject. Following the example of Dr. Delgado, I did my own research concerning Taíno practices, interviewing relatives who had been born and reared in Orocovis. Their knowledge of local plants, traditions, and history was a great contribution, confirming much of what Dr. Delgado writes. One of my aunts has a collection of Taíno relics, carved stones, and tools, all of them certified as authentic, which she found while constructing her house, mere minutes away from where she had lived all her life on my grandparents' farm. Both of my grandparents were born in the area, and their parents as well. Talking to family friends in Orocovis who had also come from generations of *jíbaros*, I found they all confirmed the claims as well. At that point, all my doubts about continuing with this text vanished. I confronted all obstacles this project brought and enjoyed doing it.

The first obstacle presented itself in the form of a quotation from a history book written in 1947. I believed it would be simple just to find the translated version that existed, but the only English copy was located in the library of the La Trobe University, in Australia. I decided it would be easier to contact the publishing house, Rand McNally, but unfortunately they had lost all rights and track of the text, since they are no longer in the book business. My only hope being on the other side of the world, I contacted the university for a book loan or a scan of the four sentences I needed translated. I was ecstatic when the reply arrived, but my joy was quickly extinguished when they informed



me that no English edition existed; it was an error in the catalog. I had to create my own translation, which for some reason terrified me at the time. Thankfully, the sentences were quite short and simple. The only problem I encountered was the spelling of “Agüeybaná” as “Güaybaná,” which I believe is a typing error, since “Güeybaná” was the name he was given at birth, according to historical records of Fray Ramón Pané.

I constantly struggle with overly literal translations and the fear of changing even the smallest detail. I kept wondering what would make more sense for an English speaker, a school child, or anyone that was not knowledgeable on the subject. I was continually searching for phrases, words, and expressions that would deliver the message I was trying to send.

I knew the greatest difficulty would be the vocabulary. Right at the very beginning, exactly the fourth word of the first sentence, I was stuck. It had not crossed my mind how to translate *ponencia*. At first, I thought that what I was reading was a text that, originally, had been given orally. In that case, it would have made sense to refer to it as “presentation” or “essay,” but then “report” and “paper” came to mind. Searching in the dictionaries of *Merriam Webster* and the *Real Academia Española*, I looked for the different meanings offered, and contrasted one with the other. “Presentation” started to lose its appeal, since it is “the act of presenting; a symbol or image that represents something” rather than reading. “Paper” was “a formal written composition often designed for publication and often intended to be read aloud” and “report” meant “an account or statement describing in detail an event, situation, or the like, usually as the result of observation, inquiry, etc.” “Essay” was “a short literary composition on a particular theme or subject, usually in prose and generally analytic, speculative, or

interpretative.” It was after one of the many revisions on the translation that I noticed that the first author refers to his work as a “written presentation.” Taking this into consideration, and given the nature of the text and the public which I wished to reach, “paper” seemed like the correct choice.

Another struggle was with the word *indio*. Historically, I have heard and read the Spanish conquerors, or “conquistadors” as they are sometimes called, being referred to as “Spaniards,” and there are no controversial arguments about it. *Indio* is completely different. I refuse to call Taínos “Indians,” because I am aware of the difference and the story of why “Indian” was the term chosen to refer to the indigenes of America. Calling them “native” could be considered a safe choice since, etymologically, “native” comes from the Latin *natus*, which means “birth.” But there precisely lies the problem, since “a native” could be anyone of any place born in Puerto Rico. By that definition, children born of Spanish women in Puerto Rico could be called “native.” “Aboriginal,” meaning “origin, the very first,” seemed like the correct term, but it is so attached to the inhabitants of Australia that the probability of confusion and misinterpretation was too high. The term “indigene” is etymologically synonymous with “native,” but with the connotation of “primitive inhabitant of the land.” According to the Center for World Indigenous Studies, it is an accepted term within aboriginal communities, and one of my goals is to respectfully represent Taíno and other indigenous cultures. This would mean that “indigene” and its different versions would appear too often, as they would substitute for both *indio* and *nativo*, in addition to the times *indígena* is used. Since this text is about the Taíno Rebellion, it would seem reasonable to add “Taíno,” to vary the vocabulary.

“Indian” would be used only when it is referred to in quotes, be they spoken or written in documented reports, or when I wished to convey the speaker’s tone and style.

When it came to Taíno names and words, I decided to keep the original term, italicized, followed by an English translation or explanation when it seemed proper. This way, the reader could gain knowledge of the culture without having to do his own research on terms, unless looking for a more detailed explanation. Many of these terms have an English equivalent; for example, *batata* is “yam,” while others are known by a variation on their indigenous names, such as *yuca*, which is known as “cassava.” On page 102 of the source text, one of the notes given by the author lists several tubers with their Taíno names, and I kept them as they were, with an English equivalent for each of them. For *marunguey* and *mapuey* the scientific name and an explanation are given, since they do not have a common term in English. Given the number of words and names that I believed would require additional information, I made a glossary, which was quite helpful during the translation process, using *La Real Academia Española*, Merriam Webster, the Center for World Indigenous Studies, *Vocabulario puertorriqueño*, *Diccionario de mitología universal*, *Diccionario de voces coloquiales*, *Mitos del pueblo taíno*, *The Taíno Term*, and *The Taíno in 1492* as references.

Thankfully, there was not much vocabulary specific to archaeology or any other related field. It was a different story when it came to translating passages from de las Casas. His original work is dated 1552 and dedicated to the future King Phillip of Spain, so his vocabulary is rather archaic, which would mean the earliest translations would be as well. There are numerous English versions of his work, some with a more modern vocabulary than others. At the beginning, I wanted to maintain the historical atmosphere

by using a translation that would fit in with the time, but the vocabulary was so in disuse and uncommon today that some information could be lost. I decided to look for a translation that kept some of its original style, but with a more modern vocabulary. The problem was that these translations had additional phrases not found in the original text, and I wondered which one was correct. Among the numerous Spanish versions I could find, none had these phrases, which led me to believe that an early English translation which added these was used as the source text for posterior English editions, preserving them until this date. Fortunately, I discovered the translation of Nigel Griffin from 1992, which I found to be the most faithful English version I have read of de las Casas' work and that contained the vocabulary for which I was searching.

I knew quotations would be difficult. During the translation of the first paper, I encountered several quotations that were not identified, and so I could not locate them. For those, I changed the quotation format, be they italicized or with quotation marks, and made them look like part of the text, keeping the explanation that those words were not mine, but from someone else. An example appears on page 13 of the source text: “De su propio puño Oviedo nos advierte que el propósito principal de su vasta producción escrita era: *el recontar los méritos de los conquistadores de estas partes.*” This was translated as, “In his own hand, Oviedo informs us that the main purpose of his written production was to recount the merits of the conquerors from those parts.” This way, the message is not lost or affected, while Oviedo is given credit for his words. For Elliot's quote on page 30 of the source text, the Spanish version of the book was unavailable, and the title of the essay was not stated and therefore, the translation is my own.

The rest of the quotations were from the people interviewed by Dr. Delgado, which were never translated because there was no need, so I was free to do so. This could also apply to the times he mentioned political parties from colonial times, since they had disappeared or lost importance by the time the United States took over the island. During this process my initial fear of translating quotations arose. I was still hesitant to change what was stated and found myself doing translations that were too literal. This was the case when it came to places, since it is possible that many English-speakers are unfamiliar with the Caribbean area and names. For the island of La Española, in English called “Hispaniola,” and the island of San Juan (after St. John the Baptist) and its indigenous name Boriquén, I identified them as Spanish colonies when their most common names are not used. Tierra Firme, which in the earlier maps represented the Caribbean coast in Central and South America, is also identified as Spanish territory. This way, knowledge is gained without interrupting the reading, still staying faithful to the source text. These names are also included in the glossary for further information.

I noticed that the first two papers were much more difficult to translate than the last one, which I believed would be the hardest, since its word-count is higher than the first two combined and the amount of documentation was greater. It turned out that it was the opposite. While I struggled with my fear of changing the author’s voice unintentionally at the beginning, it became much easier as time passed and the translation progressed. I noticed that the draft of the last paper elicited a small fraction of comments and questions from my advisor compared to the first two, where I second-guessed every other sentence. I was becoming more comfortable with the text and the translation. Searching terms became easier, and I was not as hesitant to change some aspects of the

original as I was at the beginning. This in no way means that I have conquered that fear, but I have improved. I also noticed that since I was translating in a more natural, relaxed way, words and phrases that had once given me a hard time were not as difficult. There were many instances when the first words that came to mind sounded better than the ones for which I had spent much time searching before, and I decided to keep them and change the ones I had used.

Throughout the source text, I noticed several grammatical errors, some of which made me question the term. For example, I was not sure whether one of the tubers listed by its Taíno name was written correctly, since the way I found it spelled varied. According to various books and articles on Puerto Rican and Central and South American plants, *amaranta* appears as a female proper name, since it is a flower, and the little information I could find about the plant mentions that it does not grow in Puerto Rico, but I did find the tuber *maranta*, also known as “West Indian arrowroot,” native to tropical climates. Another option could be *amaranto* or “amaranth,” cultivated by indigenous people in America since pre-colonial times. My family had never heard of *amaranta*, but they knew of *maranta* and *amaranto*. One crossed out, I kept searching. *Marata* would have the same use as lettuce or spinach, while *amaranto* was used as a grain. Figuring a visual aid would help, I showed my mother a picture of both plants, and she immediately recognized *amaranto*, saying it was very common in Orocovis when she was a child and that it could still be found. This research was necessary, since the author of the essay did not reply to my request for further clarification.

Something similar happened with a sentence on page 92 of the source text. It mentions St. Patrick being proclaimed “protector of the cassava” by our local Catholic

Church. I found this hilarious and simply not realistic. That was a mistake or a joke, I was sure. To my surprise, it is a fact. According to David Ungerleider in his book *Las fiestas de Santiago Apostol en Loíza*, from all the names of saints to randomly choose from a box, St. Patrick's was picked the three times they tried. Considering that a miracle, the people found the protector of the cassava they desperately needed to end a plague. In the end, it was an enjoyable experience, and I gained knowledge in searching terms and verifying the authenticity of facts.

Despite some difficult times, I enjoyed the work. It is much easier to dedicate long hours of research and study to a subject about which you are passionate, since looking for information stops feeling like an obligation to complete the work and instead becomes a quest, where you learn all new bits of information which make you enjoy your work and the subject even more. I am grateful I got to translate such an amazing and interesting text. It has also helped me with my translation practice, and I would gladly accept translating the rest of the papers if the Institute should ask me to do so, if only to have more time to learn about my culture and to help others do so as well.

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I would like to dedicate this work to my family, who were, and still are, my inspiration in everything I do. I express my gratitude to my advisor, Charlotte Ward, for her guidance and assistance in this work. I would also like to thank all who corroborated in the publication of *5to centenario de la Rebelión Taína <1511—2011>* and made gaining such knowledge possible.

I also thank Anelix Díaz and César Caballero, who became my main reasons for joining the Translation Program and continuing my studies. They inspired and pushed me into this wonderful world.



GLOSSARY

<b>Spanish</b>	<b>English</b>
<b>Academia Puertorriqueña de la Historia</b>	History Academy of Puerto Rico
<b>Agüeybaná el Bravo</b>	Agüeybaná the Brave (chief of a tribe of Taínos in Puerto Rico)
<b>alabarda</b>	halberd; two-handed pole weapon
<b>amaranto</b>	amaranth or purpleheart, also crimson-colored
<b>Anacaona</b>	Anacaona (chief of a tribe of Taínos in Hispaniola)
<b>Antillas Menores</b>	Lesser Antilles
<b>arcabus</b>	harquebus (gun supported on a tripod)
<b>areíto</b>	ceremonial dance
<b>ballesta</b>	crossbow
<b>Batalla de Yahueca</b>	Battle of Yahueca
<b>batata</b>	yam
<b>batey</b>	ceremonial plaza
<b>boricua</b>	from Boriquén
<b>Boriquén</b>	Boriquén, also spelled Borinquen (indigenous name of Puerto Rico)
<b>burunquena</b>	Taíno name for a species of crab
<b>cabalgadas</b>	cavalry raids
<b>cachacos</b>	Spanish and Creole people
<b>cacique</b>	chief
<b>cañón</b>	cannon
<b>caribes</b>	Caribs (indigenous group of the Caribbean)
<b>cayuco</b>	Taíno canoe
<b>ceiba</b>	ceiba tree or kapok tree
<b>cemí</b>	spiritual amulet or object
<b>Centro Cultural de Cayacól</b>	Cayacól Cultural Center
<b>Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Puerto Rico y el Caribe</b>	Center for Advanced Studies on Puerto Rico and the Caribbean
<b>Centro de Investigaciones Históricas de la Universidad de Puerto Rico</b>	Historical Research Center of the University of Puerto Rico
<b>cibao</b>	stone
<b>cibuco</b>	Cibuco (a tribe of Taínos in Puerto Rico)
<b>conuco</b>	plot of land
<b>criollo</b>	Criollo or Creole, person born in the American continent with European ancestry
<b>dardo</b>	dart
<b>diente de pala</b>	shovel tooth
<b>en guasábara montuna</b>	(local expression) fight in the open

<b>endogamia</b>	endogamy, reproduction within a small group
<b>entradas</b>	charges
<b>espindarga</b>	long-barreled musket
<b>Fundación Cultural Educativa, Inc.</b>	Fundación Cultural Educativa, Inc. (Educational Cultural Foundation, Inc.)
<b>gentilicio</b>	demonym or gentilic, a noun or adjective that denotes ethnic or national affiliation
<b>Grito de Lares</b>	Cry of Lares (political independence movement celebrated as a holiday in Puerto Rico on September 23)
<b>guábara</b>	Taíno name for a species of shrimp
<b>guanín</b>	medallion
<b>guasábara</b>	warlike encounters
<b>gunda</b>	air potato
<b>hacha</b>	axe
<b>Hacienda Real</b>	Royal Treasury
<b>Hatuey</b>	Hatuey (chief of a tribe of Taínos in Cuba)
<b>horquilla</b>	gun rest
<b>indígena</b>	indigene
<b>indio</b>	Indian (preferred term is “indigene”)
<b>indoamericano</b>	Indo American (a member of any of the aboriginal peoples of the western hemisphere except often the Eskimos)
<b>Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña</b>	Institute of Puerto Rican Culture
<b>Isla de Mona/La Mona</b>	Isla de Mona/La Mona (small island part of the Puerto Rican archipelago off the west coast)
<b>Isla de San Juan Bautista</b>	Island of San Juan Bautista (John the Baptist/Spanish name for the island of Puerto Rico during the colonization)
<b>jíbaro</b>	country person from the interior of Puerto Rico
<b>Juan Ponce de León</b>	Juan Ponce de León (first Spain-appointed governor of Puerto Rico)
<b>La Española</b>	Hispaniola (name of the island made up of Haiti and the Dominican Republic)
<b>ladino</b>	Ladino (European indigene group)
<b>lanza</b>	spear, lance
<b>Las Indias</b>	Indies (refers to the West Indies)
<b>lerén</b>	Guinea arrowroot
<b>Leyenda Negra</b>	Black Legend; term indicating an unfavorable image of Spain and Spaniards, accusing them of cruelty and intolerance

<b>mapuey</b>	<i>Dioscorea trifida</i> , a species of yam
<b>maravedí</b>	Spanish monetary unit during the colonial era
<b>marunguey</b>	<i>Zamia amblyphyllidia</i> , a species of seed plant
<b>mecha</b>	fuse
<b>mestizo</b>	mestizo or mixed race
<b>naboria</b>	Taínos in the service of the cacique
<b>nagua</b>	white-cloth sashes
<b>pardo</b>	tri-racial (in this case: European, African and indigenous)
<b>Partido de la Negritud Puertorriqueña</b>	Puerto Rican Negritude Party
<b>Partido de Puerto Rico</b>	Puerto Rican Party
<b>Partido de San Germán</b>	San Germán Party
<b>Partido Indigenista Puertorriqueño</b>	Puerto Rican Indigenist Party
<b>Partido Peninsular Deificado</b>	Exalted Peninsular Party
<b>Península</b>	Peninsula (refers to the Spanish Peninsula)
<b>peto</b>	breastplate
<b>provanza</b>	deposition (process of giving sworn evidence)
<b>República Boricua</b>	Boricua Republic
<b>soldado con armadura</b>	armored soldier
<b>taíno</b>	Taíno
<b>Tierra Firme</b>	Tierra Firme (landmasses surrounding the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico)
<b>topónimo</b>	toponym, general name for any place or geographical entity
<b>Universidad de Puerto Rico, Recinto de Río Piedras</b>	University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras Campus
<b>yautía</b>	yautía, also known as taro
<b>yuca</b>	cassava

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FIFTH CENTENARY OF THE TAÍNO REBELLION, 1511–2011

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Translated by Pamela Arroyo Reyes

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## **The Taíno Rebellion: Chronicle of a Denied War**

Archaeologist Miguel Rodríguez López

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At first I entitled this paper “The Taíno Rebellion: Chronicle of a Forgotten War.” But after a short reflection, I decided, once I started to write it, on “The Taíno Rebellion: Chronicle of a Denied War.” More than a war forgotten by history, the war between Taínos and Spaniards has been, in my understanding, an ignored, underestimated, and in a way, devaluated event, to the point that its importance and significance have been diminished, and—why not say it?—its dignity and greatness denied as a pinnacle in the history of our people. There are some who refer to this war as a series of brawls and scuffles of little importance between Spaniards and indigenes. Nothing could be further from the truth, and an artist from Ponce, Agustín Anavitata Cordero, shows the grandeur in his masterful re-creation on canvas of the Battle of Yahueca. **Fig. 1**

Between 1922 and 1947, exactly a quarter of a century, the basic knowledge that our Puerto Rican youth had about our early precolonial history came from the book *Historia de Puerto Rico* (History of Puerto Rico) by Paul G. Miller, a teacher from the United States who worked in the island as a school inspector and principal, and later as Commissioner of Public Instruction. He stated that our indigenes were primitive people, that they were backwards in their way of living, and that, even though they had good memories, their mental capabilities were inferior, this last statement being mentioned on two different occasions in his book.



**Fig. 1** The author next to the painting *La batalla de Yahueca*, by artist A. Anavitate.

Miller dedicates only three pages to the Taíno Rebellion, and he summarizes them in four blunt sentences:

To activate the work in the mines, a distribution of Indians occurred, which caused them to rebel. Güaybaná [*sic*] set up a plan to exterminate the Spaniards. The Indians destroyed the village of Sotomayor. Ponce de León then organized a campaign defeating the Indians in the river Coayuco and in Yagüeca, the current jurisdiction of Añasco.

Unfortunately, the text and images of Miller's book, and of many traditional Puerto Rico history texts that have been used on all levels of our educational system, including the university level, have been decisive in the way that, even at this advanced stage of the twenty-first century, a major sector of our people perceives the nature of our indigenous societies, as well as the nature of their struggle. **Fig. 2**

But we need to acknowledge the considerable efforts of distinguished anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians from the second half and latter part of the

twentieth century, such as Ricardo Alegría, Eugenio Fernández Méndez, Jalil Sued Badillo, Francisco Moscoso, Luis Antonio Curet, José Oliver, and Juan Manuel Delgado, who try to change this distorted, negative image. Through their writings, the true spirit of the Taíno rebellion and their resistance have been rescued, assuring their survival through time. And I want to make it clear that I mention only these authors because they are the ones that to the greatest extent have inspired my thinking and performance as an archaeologist and researcher in these subjects.

Practically all versions and interpretations of the Taíno Rebellion of 1511 are based on the writings of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, who was employed in 1532 as chronicler of the Indies, to write the official history of the conquest of America. Oviedo was a Spaniard who lived and studied in Italy, and who traveled extensively across the Mediterranean, being educated as a Renaissance man.

In his own hand, Oviedo informs us that the main purpose of his vast written production was to recount the merits of the conquerors from those parts, whom he describes as good, courageous, noble, knowledgeable, spirited, and strong, among other adjectives and praise. On the other hand, he describes the indigenes as naturally lazy and immoral, melancholic, cowardly, and generally dishonest and idle people, heathen, lustful, sodomites, and other such insults and abuse. Now we have an idea of where Miller got inspiration for his descriptions of the characteristics of the Taíno and the reason for their shout of rebellion.

What does the official history—mainly that of Oviedo—tell us about that armed

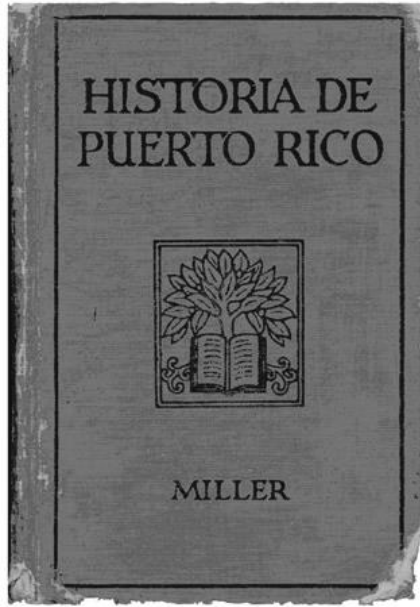


Fig. 2



Fig. 3

Fig. 2 Cover of the book by Paul G. Miller, edition of 1947.

Fig. 3 *The Taíno Rebellion*, old engraving from 1601.

rebellion of 1511, and about which the author received direct information from some of its participants, which include Juan Ponce de León himself? It tells that the indigenes rebelled because some of their *caciques*, or chiefs, such as Agüeybaná II, whom we call “the Brave,” were evil and cruel in nature, and had great hatred for the Spaniards; that they were also being influenced by the evil *caribes*, who planted in their heads the idea of rebelling; that, on top of that, they were ungrateful, and battled the Spaniards by treason, while the Spaniards were brave and bold when battling against the indigenes. **Fig. 3**

Oviedo also tells us that because the Taínos believed the Spaniards were immortal, in order to be sure before rebelling, first they drowned Diego Salcedo; that once they recovered from the initial attack, the conquerors, though few, reorganized and easily defeated the Taínos in a short amount of time, roughly a year, in three main confrontations: the one in Coayuco, the lands of Agüeybaná in the southern part of the island, the one in Aymaco in the lands of *cacique* Mabodamaca in the northern part of the

island, and the one in Yagüeca in the western central part of the island, on the shore of the river Guaorabo. In this way was proven, according to Oviedo, the clear superiority of the European over the indigenous population.

Oviedo then proceeds to emphasize and exaggerate—and why not say it?—poetically fantasize the individual feats of the Spanish captains who battled against the indigenes, such as Cristóbal de Sotomayor, Juan González, Diego de Salazar, and Juan Ponce de León himself, then governor. He even passionately narrates the bravery of Becerrillo the dog, who frequently caused the Taínos more havoc than the Spaniards did.

But at this advanced stage of the twentieth-first century, it should not be enough to reread Oviedo, even if it is with a critical point of view, to learn the truth about the Taíno Rebellion. A formidable number of writings and collections from the sixteenth century has been published, some long time ago, such as documents of the Royal Treasury, the submissions of royal officials, lists of clothing and maintenance that were given to the entrusted indigenes, the inventories of goods captured and auctioned during the cavalry raids, records of ships that arrived from Spain, from the island Hispaniola, and from other American lands, collections of royal letters and documents, and depositions, lawsuits, and trials of residence. Some of the speakers in this symposium have been pioneers in the effort of scrutinizing all this documentation that until recently was not available in Puerto Rico, and that allows us to propose new interpretations for those historical and social processes of the sixteenth century.

On a side note, I would like to acknowledge the recent publication made by the Center of Advanced Studies of five volumes of documents from the sixteenth century, compiled by Ricardo Alegría, as a major contribution to Puerto Rico, as well as Volume

II of the valuable Documents of the Royal Treasury between 1510 and 1545 published by the Historical Research Center of the University of Puerto Rico and the Puerto Rican Academy of History, directed by our special guest of the evening, Dr. Luis González Vales, Official Historian of Puerto Rico. For scholars of the sixteenth century, both works are treasures of incalculable value.

But, what was the truth about the rebellion and the subsequent battle? New historical conclusions seem to be far from what was previously established. There is no doubt that the Taínos of Boriquén, under the command of their *cacique* Agüeybaná the Brave, and their *caciques* and *naborias*, called “captains of war” by the Spaniards, managed to maintain the element of surprise in the general uprising, killing in a few days, according to Oviedo, eighty Christians and more on different parts of the island. Among these firsts executions was the one of the legendary Diego Salcedo, killed in this case by *cacique* Urayoán and his warriors at the beginning of the insurrection by the shores of the river Guaorabo.

The immortality of the Spaniards, and the experiment with Salcedo, which has been retold as an absolute truth, is a legend which historiography has already gotten over. In the Spanish colonies of La Española and the island of San Juan, a great number of Spaniards had died in front of the eyes of everyone, be it from natural causes, because of sickness, and even in fights among themselves or against the indigenes. Nonetheless, Oviedo’s tale does not cease to be a wonderful visual image of poetic justice that has inspired, and I am sure will keep on inspiring, great Puerto Rican writers and artists of all kinds. In this same way, in the sixteenth century, it inspired the Belgian Theodore de Bry,

creator of an extraordinary engraving that illustrates what happened to Salcedo as a sequence of three historic events. **Fig.4**

Not long afterwards, even Becerrillo the dog had his turn and was killed by the indigenes in one of the so-called charges led by the Spanish captain Sancho de Arango. Of the three great *guasábaras*, as the Taínos called warlike encounters, we have only Oviedo's version, in which he states it was won by the Spaniards with relative ease and in a very short time, less than a year.

But Oviedo's retelling falls short and does not provide the whole truth. Juan Ponce de León seems to refute it by admitting in a letter written to King Ferdinand at the end of 1511 that things were not going so well for the Spaniards, and he mentions that once the war was over, only two of the rebelled *caciques* surrendered, and the rest were still rebelling. All sources agree that most of the Taíno commanders ignored the humiliating demands of the conquerors and opted to continue the armed resistance.

How is it possible that it is said and accepted so easily, like an absolute truth, that someone won a war when only two of the dozens of rebel *caciques* surrendered to Ponce de León?

But the very same conquerors knew that was not the reality. It was then that the war took a new turn, one much more direct and aggressive, by organizing the so-called charges and cavalry raids against rebel villages and hideouts. These were real, punitive operations, to use a concept very much in style on our island, that had as their purpose to weaken the support base that the civil population gave to its warriors in arms. During these assaults, huts and canoes were burned, villages were raided, crops were



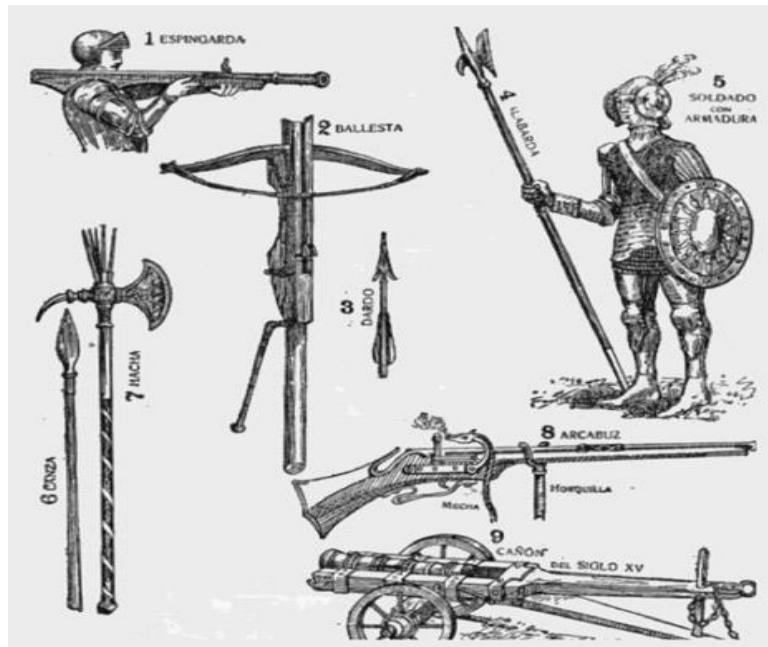
**Fig. 4** *The Drowning of Salcedo*, engraving by T. de Bry (1590)

destroyed, major leaders were executed, and the great majority of rebel indigenes were captured, women and children primarily, with the purpose to sell them in public auctions as slaves in the markets of San Germán and Caparra.

We must remember that once called in arms, there was leave to make war with fire and sword, to arrest and enslave the warriors and their families, as had been done since 1503 with the so-called *caribes* of the Lesser Antilles. And lest they forget their condition as slaves, their foreheads were branded with the letter *F* for Ferdinand, king of Spain, who also received a fifth of the value of each sale.

In our research, we have managed to record at least forty-three different punitive incursions between 1511 and 1513, and hundreds of indigenes sold as slaves to work in agriculture and mines. But the numbers may have been higher because there are documents that indicate so. A witness in a deposition says that some assaults carried out on the Taíno lands of *cacique* Humacao in 1513 produced “among men, women, and the





**Fig. 5** Weaponry used in the war against the indigenes (See glossary for translations of the terms. 1. *espidarga*, 2. *ballesta*, 3. *dardo*, 4. *alabarda*, 5. *soldado con armadura*, 6. *lanza*, 7. *hacha*, 8. *arcabus*, *mecha*, *horquilla*, 9. *cañón del siglo XV*.)

young, one thousand two hundred souls...”. I believe that many of these captured Taínos could have directly become part of the work force of the island, without necessarily having to go through the official process of a public auction. **Fig. 5**

The urgent, constant shipment of great loads of defensive and offensive arms from Seville destined for the island of Saint John the Baptist confirms that the war against the Taínos was violent and that the so-called pacification was not easy for the Spaniards. For example, the vessel *La Victoria* arrived at the island in January 1512 full of breastplates, spears, crossbows, arrows, daggers, and gunpowder, a small arsenal assigned by King Ferdinand with a value of 64,834 *maravedíes*. It is explained in the manifest of the vessel that the load was brought because it was wartime. By July 1513, more weapons kept coming from Spain: metal harquebuses, iron spears and long-barreled muskets, crossbows, and leaden balls for the harquebuses, which makes us suppose that

war against the indigenes continued.

During the charges and cavalry raids, utilitarian and ceremonial objects of obvious Taíno manufacture were captured and sold to patrons to be used as payment to the Taínos in exchange for their work with agriculture and in the mines. Hundreds of hammocks and *naguas*, and also harpoons, nets, and bundles of rope figure in the official lists of the Royal Treasury.

Also mentioned are the capture and selling of objects of obvious ceremonial function, or those associated with the ruling class in Taíno society. Among the seized and sold objects are false or copper *guanines*, *areito* figurines, *cibao* necklaces, one *batey*, a necklace made of dog teeth, and a particular *cibao*, which for the high price it was sold must have been the figure of a *cemí* or an amulet carved in stone of great importance and value for the Taínos. It is worth mentioning that all these documents preserve the Taíno name of many of these objects.

For archaeologists, reference to these domestic or ceremonial-type pieces have particular importance because they complete and enrich the archaeological knowledge of the Taíno culture and also of the ones before them.

Other documents confirm that the Taínos continued the armed battle against the conquerors for many decades, be it in a direct or indirect way, with tactics that would be known today as those of guerrilla warfare, on their own or united with the *caribes* of the Lesser Antilles, with whom they once could have had disagreements and differences, but who became supportive allies since the beginning of the conquest.

Definitely, the Taíno Rebellion was not crushed with the alleged Spanish military

triumph in the Battle of Yahüeca. Let us examine what some documents tell us—and Oviedo does not tell us.

In June 1513, a force of one hundred indigenes, allegedly *caribes*, dared attack the very Villa of Caparra, headquarters of the colonial government at that time, killing and injuring some residents. The warriors raided and burned the church and destroyed almost every house in the village. An attack this risky and daring cannot be carried out by people that consider themselves beaten.

A memorandum of August 1515 says that three years after the war was supposedly over, *caciques* Humacao and Daguao, who had previously surrendered, rebelled again with their fellow Taínos in their territories on the coast of the island. The authorities then sent soldiers to crush the new uprising.

Another account of 1517, six years after Ponce de León had supposedly ended the war against the indigenes, states with assurance that a third of the Taínos on the island of St. John were in the hills, rebellious and agitated, and had already killed some Spaniards.

And many other documents such as these could be cited to confirm that what Oviedo said, and what has been repeated by many of our historians, is not correct. **Fig. 6**

I would like to conclude this written presentation with a reflection on the future. Many factors have intervened in this new reading of the general insurrection of the Taínos, as well as of the various stages of the rebellion and the eventual resistance of the population, who did not submit to the Spanish authorities. And the enthusiasm generated by this meeting proves it. I believe these are the same elements which have also allowed us, on the one hand, to create from the archaeological perspective, an elaborate mosaic of



**Fig. 6 Re-creation of the Taíno *areito***

indigenous people that for a long period of 3,500 years, as far as we know today, populated our territory in ancient times, long before the Europeans. On the other hand, it gives us the chance to be a part of a large movement that is inspired by the Taíno's survival and relevance, spanning cultural, social, biological, and genetic opinions with a deep sense of identity and ethnic confirmation in a growing sector of our people, that must be accepted and respected.

About Ponce de León, the protagonist figure of the conquest, much has been said recently, and I believe that it has been attempted, at least, to offer a more real, objective image than the traditional one of the heroic knight and the alleged founding father of Puerto Rican society and family.

As for Agüeybaná the Brave, his counterpart and our first national hero, and the rest of the male and female *caciques* of Boriquén, their families and people, their deeds, their sturdy rebellion, much has begun to be researched and written, rescuing for the

enjoyment of those here present and for future generations of Puerto Ricans dramatic histories almost lost from the Hispanic imaginary of the conquest and colonization of our lands and of our native people. **Fig. 7**

For all the above-mentioned reasons, it is just and necessary that at this particular moment of our history we remember and commemorate the Taíno Rebellion of 1511 with all the honor and decorum it deserves. Let it no longer be a forgotten war, much less a denied war!

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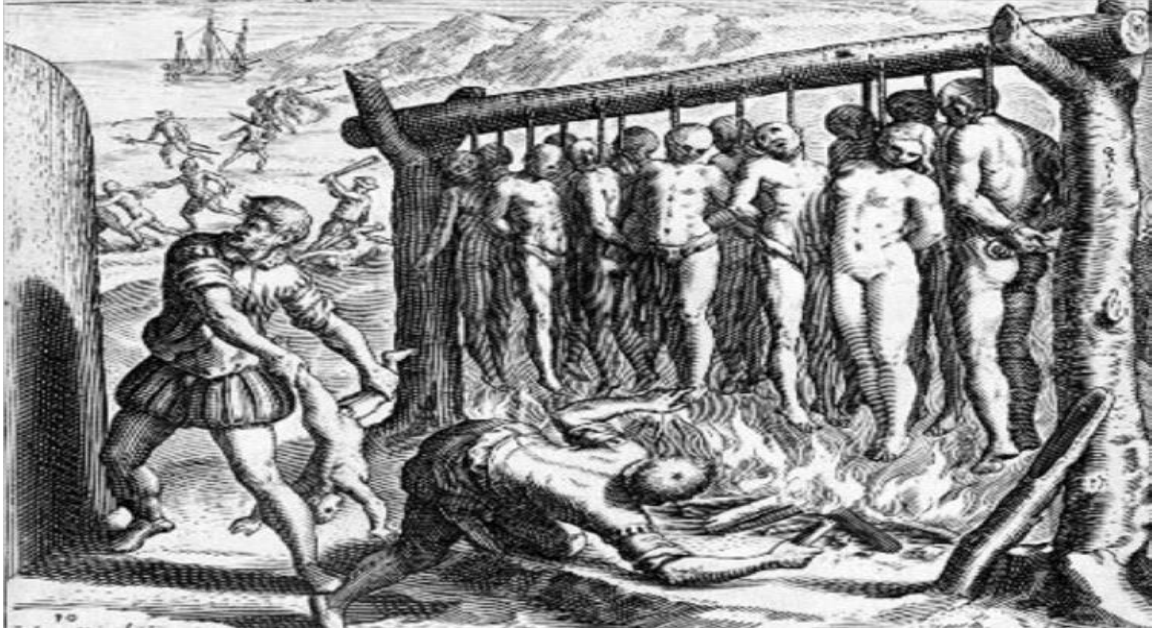
**Fig. 7** *Agüeybaná el Bravo* in the Cayacól Cultural Center, Juana Díaz

## **Théodore de Bry: The Graphic Image of the Taíno and the Criticism of the Spanish Conquest**

Dr. Sebastián Robiou Lamarche  
President, Fundación Cultural Educativa Inc.

The sermon of the Dominican friar Antonio de Montesino in late 1511 in Santo Domingo, when he bravely accused the patrons and authorities of anti-Christian treatment towards the Taínos, led to the vital process of the conquest of America by those very same Spanish. Consequently, *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (*A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*), by his fellow Dominican Bartolomé de las Casas, was published in 1552. It is a work where all the abuses and cruelties, many of which he witnessed, suffered by the Indo Americans at the hands of the Spanish conquerors were listed.

It was not long before his text was used by European Protestants to attack the Catholic reputation of Spain, creating the famous Black Legend. In fact, *La Brevísima* was one of the books with the greatest dissemination and impact during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, forty-two editions published: three in Italian, three in Latin, four in English, six in French, eight in German, and eighteen in Dutch. In the German edition of 1597 (Frankfurt), de las Casas' testimonies were reinforced with seventeen impressive engravings by the Belgian Protestant Théodore de Bry. These images presented the inhumane treatment given to the indigenes in the Antilles and Tierra Firme, while at the same time transmitting a severe criticism against Spanish Catholicism. Of this edition we include the engravings and part of the text related to the Antilles.



**“They spared no one, erecting especially wide gibbets on which they could string their victims up with their feet just off the ground and then burn them alive thirteen at a time, in honour of our Saviour and the twelve Apostles, or tie dry straw to their bodies and set fire to it.” (La Española.) Engraving by Theodore de Bry**

After *La Brevisima*, in 1565 Girolamo Benzoni published *Historia del Mondo Nuovo* (*History of the New World*). The text of the second edition (1572) was complemented with sixteen woodcuts. The one entitled “The Indians of La Española hang themselves in the woods, rather than serve Christians” was used as inspiration by de Bry for a later illustration.

At the end of the sixteenth century, de Bry and his heirs began the publication of *Collection of Grand Voyages* (1590-1634). This masterpiece of fourteen volumes contains 342 copperplate engravings that illustrate the scenes and maps of voyage accounts by the most distinguished authors, such as Columbus, Vespucci, Oviedo, Acosta, Magellan, Benzoni, Léry, and Raleigh. The publishing success consisted, then, of compiling, interpreting, and visually translating the texts by the major sixteenth-century chroniclers of the two American continents, whose works were rarely illustrated. The



importance and influence of these volumes was enormous. On the one hand, de Bry created graphic stereotypes of the Indo American that became persistent models over time (Mosser 1998), which have been interpreted as an iconography of the abnormal within the colonial process (Bucher 1981). On the other hand, the engravings and their accompanying texts were required reference for “those who intended to obtain detailed descriptions of the first encounter between Europeans and the native people of the New World and the horrific images of the Spanish conquering of the Indies.”

Naturally, the Taíno, prototype of the first indigene enslaved and slaughtered by the Spanish conquest and colonization, became the ideal model for the disaster committed in the American continent. That is why they are not omitted in the engravings of the Belgium Protestant and his heirs. In this way, the Taíno became the protagonist in four illustrations related to Columbus’ arrival, the natives’ suicide, a religious ceremony, and the drowning of Salcedo (Book IV, 1594), and in two that deal with mining and sugarcane activity (Book V, 1595).

It is claimed that the certainty that Spaniards were mortal was the spark that began the Taíno Rebellion in January 1511, the fifth centenary of which we are commemorating.

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“Some they chose to keep alive and simply cut their wrists, leaving their hands dangling[...] The way they normally dealt with the native leaders and nobles was to tie them to a kind of griddle consisting of sticks resting on pitchforks driven into the ground and then grill them over a slow fire, with the result that they howled in agony and despair as they died a lingering death” (La Española.) Engraving by Theodore de Bry.



“[The governor] duped the unsuspecting leaders [...] into gathering in a building made of straw and then ordered his men to set fire to it and burn them alive. All the others were massacred, either run through by lances or put to the sword. As a mark of respect and out of deference to her rank, Queen Anacaona was hanged.” (Conquest of the chiefdom of Xaragua by Ovando, La Española.) Engraving by Theodore de Bry.



“And they discharged this duty by sending the men down the mines, where working conditions were appalling, to dig for gold, and putting the women to labour in the fields and on their master’s estates, to till the soil and raise the crops [...] And this is not to mention the floggings, beatings, thrashings, punches, curses and countless other vexations and cruelties to which they were routinely subjected and to which no chronicle could ever do justice nor any reader respond save with horror and disbelief.” (La Española.) Engraving by Theodore de Bry, Book IV, illustration 5.



“Once he was tied to the stake, a Franciscan friar who was present, a saintly man, told him as much as he could in the short time permitted by his executioners about the Lord and about our Christian faith [...] The friar told him that, if he would only believe what he was now hearing, he would go to Heaven there to enjoy glory and eternal rest, but that, if he would not, he would be consigned to Hell, where he would endure everlasting pain and torment. [The lord Hatuey] thought for a short while and then asked the friar whether Christians went to Heaven. When the reply came that good ones do, he retorted, without need for further reflection, that, if that was the case, then he chose to go to Hell to ensure that he would never again have to clap eyes on those cruel brutes.” (Execution of Hatuey, Cuba.) Engraving by Theodore de Bry.



**“The Indians, incapable of tolerating the Spanish tyranny any longer, hanged themselves.” Based on Benzoni (1572). Engraving by Theodore de Bry, Book IV, illustration 23.**



**“The Indians, wanting to determine whether the Spanish were immortal, drowned in the sea a Spaniard by the name of Salcedo.” This engraving is based on Oviedo’s version of the drowning of Diego Salcedo in November 1510 in the river Guorabo by instructions of the *cacique* Urayoán. Engraving by Theodore de Bry, Book IV, illustration 5.**

## **Five-Hundred Years of Puerto Rican Resistance**

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In this paper, we will connect the war of the first people of Boriquén to the process by which the *jíbaro* came to be and was transformed, and the forms of struggle and resistance in this new component. In this way, we can insert these elements into a structural historic time, one of a larger duration, which was long enough to influence the general resistance of our island. This is not an easy task. Our colonial historiography, with its tangled official histories, buried the indigenes with the same severity that the Hellenics expelled outlaws, by applying the punishment of ostracism.

The official history taught in schools and universities, be they private or public, has maintained the dogma that the indigenes disappeared or were completely exterminated in the sixteenth century, and that by mid-century, there was nothing left of that lineage. One sector of the Puerto Rican Academy of History, four decades ago, emphasized, time and time again, that if the “Indian” is mentioned in any documentation, it is a “foreign Indian.” It is even said that the “Indians” that appear in the censuses from the eighteenth century were ex-convicts from Mexico brought to Puerto Rico to serve their sentences in the prison of the Inquisition located in the city of Puerto Rico, and that everyone located in Las Indieras was a slave brought from the Caribbean or from Mexico. What is incredible about this act of segregation is that, even if it were to be true that all indigenes were erased from the face of the earth, we cannot understand how there has been discrimination against this sector, and how their cultural contribution has been denied.

In a forum such as this, we cannot keep silent concerning the abuse and discrimination that the indigenous sector has suffered throughout history. We can say that the discrimination has reached such heights that the indigene is still being persecuted even after death. Unfortunately, this ethnic policy has predominated in the Academy, where exponents of this tendency have used very strong expressions to show their animosity against the first roots.

Due to reasons of time and space, we cannot illustrate this very important underground history, but we certainly can advance some significant examples. We were told by Dr. Ricardo Alegría that when he conceived the idea of creating an emblem or shield for the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture, he immediately thought of including the three elements that serve as a foundation for ours. The idea already conceived, he requested the support of Lorenzo Homar. Don Ricardo was astonished when he started to receive the reactions on the proposed trilogy. To his surprise, the greatest rejection came against the indigene of Boriquén. Some scholars from the University of Puerto Rico questioned the indigenous presence. “What is an Indian doing here, when we have nothing of Indian?” some asked with a certain force in their tone of voice. Curiously, there were no objections against the Spanish or the African elements.

Even though half a century has passed, the question mentioned still comes up. The principal argument to sustain this rejection is that the Spanish and African elements are the main components of our Puerto Rican culture, and that the indigene is the one with less weight, less continuity, and less real visibility in our culture. The indigene is visualized more as an absence than a presence, more of a myth than a reality. The ones that have expressed themselves like this support the thesis of José Luis González, who

states that the first Puerto Ricans were the Africans and their descendants, since they broke their bonds with Africa and accepted our society as their own. There is also the fact that the indigene cannot be considered Puerto Rican, since that identity did not exist at the time, and when they mixed, they disappeared. This argumentation presents a species of syllogism that cancels itself. The African slaves and the European Ladinós, brought by force to this land, who did not immigrate of their own free will, were not the first Puerto Ricans either. And they were not precisely because that identity and category did not exist, not even in the linguistic field.<sup>1</sup>

This speech, which for years has been present in the Academy, has reached racial and biological limits. Jalil Sued Badillo has claimed that we Puerto Ricans have no indigenous blood in our veins. In 1978, he wrote the following: “As researchers on the topic of natives, we can assure that biological heritage from the aborigines of Puerto Rico is completely non-existent.” This argument is wrong. Scientific research has confirmed that our people also have indigenous biological heritage.<sup>2</sup>

There is also a questionable point in the attitude of some of the sectors of the Academy. We refer to the argument presented by the historian Gervasio García, who maintains that any activity carried out to commemorate our indigenous past or recover it is just a racist expression to devalue or ignore our African heritage. It is common in these debates to combat racism with another racist expression. When we commemorate the Rebellion of 1511, it is not with the intention of devaluing the slave conspirators or the Cry of Lares. Furthermore, the argument that the indigenes that appear in the censuses from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were foreigners is presented without remembering that the Spanish and Africans were foreigners also.<sup>3</sup>



We continue to insist, even in the case that the indigenes' survival had not taken place, be it in an ethnic or biological context, that we cannot understand why it should be devalued in the cultural field, why it is said that the indigene was the one who contributed least to our culture, when it is completely the opposite. If we step back from prejudice, we can see that indigenous culture was our mother culture, the culture that, because of reasons inherent to human survival, the most basic conservation element, had to adopt and assimilate with other newly arrived groups. Indigenous culture managed to survive through material conditions and spiritual expressions in most of the rural population of Puerto Rico.<sup>4</sup>

The origin of this belittlement can be found in the effects that Western vision has had on our Academy, evidently from a European point of view. This mentality has unfavorably affected us, no matter how pro-indigene we are, no matter how pro-African we are. We must battle against this vision so we can study and understand our historic processes. For example, when the Academy treats the topic of "Spiritism," Allan Kardec comes to mind because we base it on the premise that the cult of the spirits was brought by the Europeans to Puerto Rico in the nineteenth century. We forget that our indigene was animistic, the same as the African slaves, independently of their claim to being Catholic. And we forget that our indigene's "Spiritism" managed to survive in our *jíbaro* culture. Our research has shown that their presence remains in some ideas and practices. When "scientific Spiritism" arrived in Puerto Rico, we already had an autochthonous Spiritism, evidently from indigenous precedence, or "native," as it was usually called by researcher Oscar Lamourt Valentín.<sup>5</sup>

When we started studying the topic of the Taíno resistance in 1972, reading and

re-reading, analyzing and re-interpreting the classic secondary sources, we started to become aware that indigenous survival had been deeper and longer than what we had been told. Rereading the work of Manuel Alonso, we became aware that our *jíbaro* substituted the *cemí* for the wooden saint. Dr. Alonso emphasized that the *jíbaro* placed his images in a specific place in the hut, precisely in the same place where the indigenes of Boriquén placed theirs, according to the research conducted by Friar Ramón Pané, before 1497. We could confirm the discoveries while beginning our field research, with elderly people in the interior of the island, as of 1975.

The spiritual survival from the indigenous world appears everywhere. The survival of that world view was maintained with great force and presence until the mid-twentieth century. Both in Morovis and Orocovis we discovered the practice of burying St. Anthony in the cassava *conuco*, and with other products, in the certainty that such an action guaranteed an abundant, good harvest. This discovery was important because it is a practice carried out by an old woman of indigenous aspect who informed us that her grandparents were of “Indian lineage.” Without a doubt, this type of practice came from rituals in indigenous society. In the written work of Friar Ramón Pané, we can find such conceptions. The existence of a *cemí* guardian of the cassava is stated in the text. And their world view managed to survive, in a way, in the worship of St. Patrick, proclaimed and recognized by the local Catholic Church as the “protector of the cassava” when he was credited for the miracle of defeating the plague that destroyed the plots of this essential product.<sup>6</sup>

The cultural survival of the indigenous world can be detected in almost every activity of Puerto Rican culture. When Eugenio Fernández Méndez studied the technique

of fishing, he discovered that the “corral” system had been kept intact despite the five hundred years that had passed. According to oral stories we have compiled, the construction and use of the *cayuco* was maintained until the first decades of the twentieth century. An old man resident in Lajas informed me that, in the mid 1950’s, it was still used in the mangroves and was still known by the same name. Some were for the use of children. In the northeastern area, we discovered the existence of vessels with indigenous names that are not shown to be registered in any historical source, which is evidence of aspects of the indigenous culture in its survival stage.<sup>7</sup>

Definitely, we never encountered indigenous survivals because we never took on the task of finding them. The dogma of the total extermination of the indigenes affected all research: archaeological, historical, ethnological, anthropological, folkloric, linguistic, in short, all research related to our culture and our historic processes. Unfortunately, the indigenous contribution is limited to five hundred words (which include archaeological voices already in disuse), some foods, the use of the hammock, our nobility, hospitality, and of course (this cannot be left out) our pacifism. The great paradox of this process was to observe how a considerable sector of our historians and literati, even though they openly battled against the colonial evil of Hispanophilia, when it came to research and writing, took as truth the versions written by the Spaniards, word for word, without summing them to criticism and questioning.

We could also find this survival in the context of indigenous identity, which is the most important one because it has been the most attacked and prohibited. One of the surprises of greatest impact in our research was the discovery of indigenous last names. In the 1970’s, some of the elderly knew that their last names were “from the Indians” and

that these were their original last names. In Ciales we interviewed an old woman who told us the story of how a priest from that town had changed her family's last name. According to their family story, they were "The Mamíos," from Utuado, but the priest forced them to change their juridical identification because "it was not a Christian last name." Since then, after that unilateral decision, they were identified and baptized with the last name of "Rivera." The old woman said to us that her grandmother had told them that, in a family meeting, they swore to keep their "original last name," that "as long as there was a Mamío, they would keep using that last name," even though they would use "Rivera" in the official documents. In that way, they could remain conscious of their indigenous identity, a consciousness backed up by the use and conservation of their last name "Mamío."<sup>8</sup>

The last name "Mamío" has survived for more than five hundred years. Everything seems to indicate that this survival, of extraordinary character, endured thanks to the strong will to preserve their true identity. The survival of indigenous first names and last names is one of the most impressive pages of the resistance and survival of the natives.<sup>9</sup>

Indigenous survival is everywhere. Unfortunately, as is bound to happen, we do not find it because we are not searching for it. It is called "coincidence," the phenomenon that a historian, ethnologist, anthropologist, or anybody, finds something for which he was not searching. In fact, indigenous survival in our literature is not found because the Academy searched its limits in the officially known literature. In other words, it looked for it in literary legends written by intellectuals and not in the folkloric ones, where there is abundance in the corpus of the *jíbaro* oral literature. Here, the Western classification of

“literary genres” has no meaning, neither for discovering it nor understanding it.<sup>10</sup>

To understand the origins of indigenous survival and many of our historical processes, it is necessary to recognize the two geopolitical areas of our archipelago. The dividing line between these two areas can be placed in the very center, in the area of Orocovis. Establishing this, we can think of the West as the area of separatism, independence, and revolution, while the East is the stronghold and bastion of annexationist autonomism. Curiously, the tombs of colonialism, which represent the nationality associated with this annexationist autonomism, are located in Barranquitas, a town east of the dividing line. We must acknowledge this division, agree with and remember it, to understand the nature of the libertarian expressions of our people and its relationship with indigenous survival.

After establishing the dividing line and carrying out the relevant research, we can confirm the relationship. Ramón Emeterio Betances, “Father of the Puerto Rican Nation,” Segundo Ruiz Belvis, Pedro Albizu Campos, Juan Antonio Corretjer, Eugenio María de Hostos, José de Diego, Francisco “Pachín” Marín, Lolita Lebrón, and Blanca Canales were all born in the West. The First Republic of Lares and the Second Republic of Jayuya were proclaimed in the West. The Yauco Rising and the three revolutionary seizures of ‘98, in Sabana Grande, Ciales, and San Germán, were all in the West. The main poles of the Revolution were always there. As a proposal, we present the hypothesis that this extensive inventory of heroes, revolutionaries, and achievements linked to the West is caused by a political culture whose genesis dates back, or is influenced by, the indigenous world. In that area, the indigenes managed to survive with more vitality, with such vigor that they could express themselves politically. Definitely, it is about the development and

expression of a political indigenism beyond the literary indigenism the Academy traditionally recognizes.

There are many loose ends that are slowly being tied up. It is a puzzle the pieces of which we have pulled apart and put back together. To assemble the history, especially in a colony such as Puerto Rico, we must disassemble it first. One of the pieces offers us the genesis of that political geography. The origin of the previously mentioned pole, from the point of view of its space, almost coincides with the area of the old San Germán Party, and its dividing line starts in the river Camuy. Another important piece comes from the correlation that the political geography has with the ethnic geography which had been defined since the first years of the so-called Conquest. Since the beginning of the entrustment system, little by little, the apartheid system had been taking shape, organized by the conquistadors of the city of Puerto Rico. In 1531, at the first census of colonial landowners and workforce, two-thirds of the laborers of assigned indigenes were located in the San Germán Party, while in the Puerto Rican Party, the opposite happened, where two-thirds of the manual laborers were made up of slaves. This disparity in the proportion, two to one, in each Party, makes us conclude that most of the workforce in San Germán was made up of indigenes. The concentration of indigenes of Boriquén in that area must have been quite visible, since the San Germán Party represented a third part of the territory of Boriquén. This means, in relative terms, and viewed in the context of the quantity of assigned people, that the indigenous workforce was in San Germán.<sup>11</sup>

The indigenous presence in the area of the San Germán Party has been corroborated by different sources. In 1570, the cosmographer Juan López de Velazco mentioned that in that region there lived a village of indigenes known as the *Cibuco*. The

indigenous presence in the area must have grown because of the effects of natural reproduction, but also because the state of war between indigenes and Spanish had come to an end. In addition, it could also be because the isolation kept the population away from the conflicts and tensions of the coastal centers. Another visible factor was the entrance into the region by indigenes of other places. The ones from La Mona returned to the mainland and sought refuge in the mountains of the West. A ship full of natives of Brazil was shipwrecked on the coast of San Germán, and in that region they stayed.<sup>12</sup>

This population of invisible indigenes, who must have preserved a large part of their ancestral culture, which includes their language, manages to leave its tracks in the toponymy. The survival of toponyms of indigenous origin indicates the revealing of the names of chiefs in the indigenes' survival stage. These names are very suggestive: Macurabo, Guanajibo, Cotuy, Tallaboa, Bayagán, Hoconuco, Duey, Humata, Bucaná, Camacey, Guaico, Caguabo, Caguana, Caonilla, Guaonico, Bahomey, Bayaney, Unibón, Yunes, and Manicaboa.

According to the historical notes of Friar Iñigo Abad, the indigenes managed to survive in the western mountains until the eighteenth century. Abad emphasizes that they sought refuge in that area and that the indigenes took part in the foundation of Añasco in 1733. Their presence is evident. One of the main streets of Añasco had “Dagüey” as its name, that managed to survive until the nineteenth century. How is it possible that if the indigenes went extinct in the sixteenth century, two centuries later, the Spanish and creoles designated so many places with proper names of indigenous precedence, especially in isolated areas where there was not a single old-fashioned Spanish population? That name and the ones from the districts of Añasco strengthen the

information given by Iñigo Abad, giving reference that free indigenes founded that town.

The indigenous presence in the western area also expressed itself politically. The apartheid system that Spain encouraged in Puerto Rico, supported by the dominant system of endogamy, helped lead to the segregation of the indigenes in military companies. Under the same criteria, black militia, as well as indigenous militia, were organized. In the 1780's there was a company of indigenes in San Germán. There are sources that point to an indigenous company in Cabo Rojo during the eighteenth century.<sup>13</sup>

The presence of armed indigenes to protect the coast is part of that history. No one can believe that those segregated companies, of indigenes and blacks, were organized, uniformed, and trained to entertain themselves in the practice of military exercises. This sector contributed to the defense of a country free of Dutch, French, and English. The history of Boriquén is the history of a sovereign island that practiced free commerce, and because of a non-written pact or agreement, left the Spanish, inside the walls of the city of Puerto Rico since before 1635, to think of themselves as rulers of the island. Nevertheless, when it was time to rebel against the *cachacos* (what the *jíbaros* used to call the Spanish and creoles), they did.

Between 1701 and 1711, what is known as the "Uprising of San Germán" took place. This event was brought out of historic neglect by the distinguished historian Francisco Lluç Mora. According to his research, the uprising came to be because the residents of the San Germán Party were protesting against the demands of the government which obliged them to abandon their families to do military service in the city and in the Puerto Rican Party. These people refused to send a hundred men to the



Capitol because they preferred to stay where they resided to defend their territory. They also refused to transfer pigs to meet the quota demanded from them by the city of Puerto Rico. As retaliation for their failure to comply with these demands, the people of San Germán were accused of contraband. As we can see, the uprising was of a political character, almost like a civil war, and with signs of economic characteristics as well. Lluch Mora correctly understood that this was about a dispute between the people of San Germán, for their laws and rights, and the authorities of Puerto Rico.

This uprising, of great historic importance, can have other interpretations. It caught our attention that the principal leader of this protest was José de la Rosa, a person who, in the legal procedure documentation, appears identified as an “Indian.” There is also the second in command of the liberating army, Juan Martín, identified as mestizo, which implies he was the son of an indigene. Another protagonist, the Captain of the Militia of San Germán, Cristobal Lugo, who offered support to the movement, was also apparently of this stock. This means the main leaders of this uprising were of indigenous stock.

There are other interesting data in the documents. The rebels were from the rural area of Hormigueros, like Guanajibo, and from places such as Potosí, Bocajabana, Coamo, and Maricao. According to Lluch Mora, after some movements of troops and encounters had taken place, the rebels took refuge in the mountains of Maricao, in Las Indieras. This information corroborates the presence of the community that since that time has borne the name of the only place in the Greater Antilles identified as “land of the Indians.” That indigenous presence in San Germán must have been quite extensive and visible. It seems hard to believe that a population of whites from San Germán, in full

rebellion, was going to choose some indigenes from the rural area of San Germán as the military leaders and spokespersons in a protest against the Capitol authorities. That support had to be backed up by the indigenes and mestizos of the population.

As the Enlightenment was creating the political and administrative structure necessary to attend to the necessities of the capitalism developing in Europe, the effects of which could gradually be felt in the Antilles, in that same manner indigenous faces were appearing. Many factors had contributed to keeping them invisible, such as their isolation in the mountains, away from the city walls that sheltered the officials who reported on population numbers without counting the people, the lack of interest from the bishopric in making them a part of the flimsy local Catholicism, the want of an economy that crossed the limits of the little coastal sugar mill bordering on a little town of four or five houses, the limitation of being trapped in the numerous categories that made registering their presence impossible, as so was for the subterfuge of “added” or “added from all castes,” their being part of a human mass that was attached to the counting of a unilateral category such as “neighbor” or “inhabitant,” meaning the owner. All of these factors contributed to keeping them invisible.<sup>14</sup>

Our historiography has omitted the fact that the first censuses of the population, carried out in Spain, were done under the rule of the Bourbons. Thanks to the insistence of the Count of Aranda in 1768, and the Count of Floridablanca in 1787, censuses were carried out according to modern guidelines, with a rigor never seen before. The means of capitalistic production, which was gaining sway, needed a precise count of the people, to know the quantity of the workforce and on what taxes they could rely. If censuses were not carried out in Spain at that time, it was even less likely they were carried out in a

Caribbean island. The indigene appeared in the census when the practice of making estimates with general categories was discarded. In 1779 it was announced that 3,351 indigenes lived in the area of Yauco and San Germán. In the census of 1801, 3,355 were recognized in the latter. Unfortunately, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the practice of recognizing them as an independent category was discontinued, and from then on they were included in the tri-racial category. In fact, the practice of recognizing them as tri-racial had begun long before 1770.

The Haitian revolution, and the past stirrings in the American colonies, caused a political earthquake in Puerto Rico. After these events, the island witnessed some of the most violent and definitive moments in our history. The repressive measures taken to prevent Puerto Rico from joining the liberation process, the rise in the entrance of slaves to increase the sugar industry, the arrival of foreigners to develop the economy, and the participation of the Creoles in Spanish state politics promoted the confrontation of two nations in conflict: one that had been transformed since the sixteenth century, and another that was starting to develop. When this confrontation occurred, indigenism became a political weapon.

The conflict started with the election of Ramón Power Giralt to the Cortes de Cádiz. This event has been celebrated and applauded by the colonial school and historiography. Nevertheless, this process, which started with the Cortes, from the economic point of view, caused a series of negative consequences for most of the people. In the political context, it contributed to creating the annexation autonomism, which had as a political objective for the Spanish government to recognize Puerto Rico as a province and grant Spanish citizenship with all its rights. That so-called “autonomism,” which

colonial historiography has presented to us as a twin brother to “independentism,” was nothing more than what is known today as movement of States’ Rights.

In the cultural context, those autonomist Creoles helped to create, with the help of the Spanish, the psychology and identity of “Puerto Rico,” but we must add, of a colonial Puerto Rico. The other movement, in contrast, continued to fight for the independence of the island. This sector defended and fomented the name of Boriquén, using the native name *boricua* to identify themselves, and appealed to the *jíbaro* rebellion. This practice of keeping the indigenous names in use was of a political character. That is why the indigenism of the nineteenth century, especially that expressed before and during the Revolution of Lares, is political indigenism. With the upmost respect, we understand that it is a historical mistake to have reduced it to literary indigenism.

When the Africans fought to eliminate the names the Europeans had imposed upon their territories, they were not carrying out a folkloric or literary exercise. They were carrying out a political action in a larger context, that of an anti-colonial revolution that not only demanded independence, but reaffirmed their identity. That process also occurred on our island during the nineteenth century, and we have not realized it. When the people of Comerío, from the times of Spain, decided to change the name “Sabana del Palmar,” imposed by the Spanish, and when the people from Orocovis did the same to eliminate the name “Barros,” both towns were rescuing the original names directly related to their identities. Similar processes occurred in other towns of Puerto Rico, as was the case of Canóvanas.

During the first four centuries, there was a battle between the native name of the island, “Boriquén” (later “Borinquen”), and that of “Puerto Rico,” imposed by the

Spanish. This battle was won by the Spanish government with the help of the Creoles. Nevertheless, in the hearts of the people, in their literary expression and in the spirit of independence, the resistance in favor of our original names was kept. An epic of such nature cannot be reduced to a mere literary expression. This very important subject must be reevaluated, not to create a movement set out to change the name of the island, but to understand the complexity of our process of identity.

The voice of Boriquén is indigenous. It had been known on the island long before the European invasion. Between 1516 and 1517, Isabelica Buriqua worked in the Royal Treasury. Various female indigenes appeared as *Buriquena*, while another one appears as *Boriquena*. The three variants are very similar to “Boriquén,” the original name of the island. It is curious that there are no males identified with these variants with the function of a last name registered by the Spanish. One of the significant pages in the political indigenism from the nineteenth century was the ill-advised attempt to restore the name of the island to the title of “Boricua Republic.” This effort was carried out in the 1820’s and was part of a project that claimed to achieve independence, establish a constitution, and recognize Puerto Rican citizenship. Though the residents of this conspiracy resided in Naguabo, the movement was backed up by separatists from Mayagüez and other parts of the West. The Boricua Republic demonstrates that long before Betances was born, the independence movement kept a respect for our forms of identifying ourselves. The movement of Betances circulated revolutionary proclamations, many of which were directed to the *borincanos*, “the children of Boriquén.”<sup>15</sup>

In August 1975, I interviewed Ambrosio Angleró Alers, grandchild of one of the revolutionaries from Lares. He informed us that from the lips of his parents, uncles, and

grandparents, he found out that the indigenes who worked as laborers on the haciendas of the Anglerós and the Alerses came to be part of the libertarian army. Twenty years after the interview with Mr. Angleró, researcher Oscar Lamourt Valentín confirmed the information to me. The old people that talked to him in the 1970's said that many of the laborers who participated in the *Grito de Lares* were indigenes. This is the most important underground history in the Boricua resistance, and it can be corroborated by analyzing some of the available documentation. In all the oral family stories that I could compile, from Comerío to Maricao, among the descendants of “pure Indians” or “from Indian lineage,” the version that always came up was that “they were captured by the Spanish with dogs” to make them work on the coffee haciendas. This episode of the underground history occurred when day laborers’ notebooks were imposed. The repression was so savage that it helped to increase the hatred the *jíbaro*, especially those of indigenous caste, had for the Spanish. They expressed it in the *Grito de Lares* and in 1898 during the rural rebellion of the seditious parties.<sup>16</sup>

Once again we run into a problem when it is time to discover invisible identities. Since the State decided who was who on the island, and since it had decided ever since the beginning of the nineteenth century not to count or recognize them, they continued to be made invisible. They were all trapped in the category of *jíbaro*, together with other classes, no longer in an ethnic context, as at their origins, but recognized as inhabitants of the rural area, especially in the interior of the island. The descendants, in contrast, continued to claim they were the real *jíbaros*.<sup>17</sup>

Everything seems to indicate that the speeches, icons, historic languages, use of demonyms, and presence of expressions proper to the different classes, used by the

revolutionary movement, were the product of a previous analysis on the plurality of sectors that participated in that nationalist revolution of popular character. Even though we continue to investigate every detail of this complex revolutionary process, we can say in advance that we have no doubt the indigenous element was present in the Revolution of 1868, that this presence defines nineteenth-century indigenism as political, and proves that it was an important link in the Boricua resistance that, in different ways, continues to express itself.

It could be said that this indigenous element is a myth, an icon, a symbol, but it is there. No one can erase it, especially when, in oral stories from the West, that *jíbaro*-indigenous identity is still strongly maintained. The link with the indigenes was of such relevance that Governor Sanz had to tell the Separatists, by official communication, that they were no longer indigenes. The charge, on record in the newspaper *La Gaceta*, shows that the Governor was conscious that a sector of the rural masses was still identified with the indigenes, and that their past and present were being used as a political weapon. The Mexican school, in the voice of Alonso Caso, emphasized that “an Indian is one who feels he is an Indian.” No bishop, governor, mayor, critic, much less a historian, had the authority to violate the rights of the ones who throughout the nineteenth century recognized themselves as such.

Official history has buried the indigene and established an official policy that maintains we can celebrate the indigenous rebellion, its contributions, and even commemorate their culture in an annual festival, but those actions must be inside the setting of remembering the dead indigene, the indigene prior to 1550, the one that we are allowed to contact only through the chronicles of the conquistadors, and, above all,

through archaeology. Respectfully, I encourage all who are interested to continue studying the indigene from the times of the so-called conquest, but also to research and study the one from the survival stage. Thank you for your attention.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup>If we analyze the text by José Luis González objectively, we can conclude that his great contribution was to insist on the extraordinary participation of the Black in our culture and vehemently criticize the devaluing to which he was submitted. But the information he used, coming from the official history, disagrees with the historical process that took place. González built, metaphorically, a four-story island without anchoring. He did not give even half a story to the first floor.

<sup>2</sup>In Maricao, there have been found blood subtypes like “Diego Blood,” of indigenous precedence. Studies carried out in Venezuela prove that 60% of the Panare have that blood type. In some indigenous areas of Peru, it reaches 53%. Also, studies of mitochondrial DNA in Puerto Ricans prove that 62% have some DNA of indigenous origin. In some places on the island, the results were astonishing. Dr. Juan Carlos Martínez Cruzado, a scientist who has investigated the precedence of DNA in Puerto Ricans, found that in some communities on the island, such as a sector in the Indiera Alta neighborhood of Maricao, DNA of indigenous precedence reached 80%. At the end of the 1940’s, Ricardo Alegría found that 40% of the students at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras Campus, had the “shovel tooth” associated with this ethnic group.

<sup>3</sup>It is unfortunate that this type of argumentation is present at this advanced stage in our history because it confirms the existence of the absurd battle and rivalry among the three cultural parties that fight openly, or *en guasábara montuna*, for the racial hegemony of Puerto Rican identity. We refer to the *Partido Indigenista Puertorriqueño* (Puerto Rican Indigenous Party), *Partido de la Negritud Puertorriqueña* (Puerto Rican Blackness Party), and the *Partido Peninsular Deificado* (Exalted Peninsula Party). The surprising coincidence with the Spanish initials of the modern political parties in Puerto Rico (PIP, PNP, PPD) with the colonial parties is just that, mere coincidence, as well as in the context of their ideologies, their genesis, and political origin.

<sup>4</sup>A report by the State Government of 1947 emphasizes that the country people of the neighborhood Cialito in Ciales “lived as the Indians did,” in all senses of the word.

<sup>5</sup>Another good example is based on the subject of our diet during the nineteenth century. In the archives, we can find an inventory of the European products sold in businesses and stores. But in the archives of the people, in their rebellious oral history, what appears is the diet of the *jíbaros*. Many of them, during all their lives, fed on *yuca* (cassava), *yautía* (taro), *batata* (yam), *maíz* (corn), *marunguey* (*Zamia amblyphyllidia*), *mapuey* (*Dioscorea trifida*), *amaranta* [*sic*] (amaranth), *gunda* (air potato), *lerenes* (Guinea arrowroot), and other tubers. They completed their nourishment with *guábaras* (shrimp) and *buruquenás* (crabs) fished from rivers and gorges. Hundreds of country people assured me that their parents and grandparents told them they never shopped at stores, and many recounted that not even in the 1920’s had they ever had money in their hands. In the 1880’s, most *jíbaros* still could not eat beef, much less pork, because they could not tolerate it and many got sick. Westernization, generalizations, among a great many other causes, have wreaked havoc in our colonial historiography.

<sup>6</sup>The institutional church, that had regulated the lives of all human beings since the very first centuries in the name of God, resorted to assimilating the “heathen” beliefs of the people they dominated to continue enforcing their power over them. In America, this practice had some effects that we are still discovering and evaluating. In the text written by Friar Ramón Pané, he mentions the first forms of manipulation through contra textual information. But that manipulation had a response, which makes us value the five hundred years of Boricua resistance and survival.

<sup>7</sup>In the 1970’s, an elderly person from Manicaboa, an old hunting ground recognized in the eighteenth century, mentioned twelve types of *yautía*, many of them with indigenous names that do not appear in the classic work of Luis Hernández Asquino. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Puerto Rico had the largest museum of *yautía* in America. For a time, the quantity exceeded that of Brazil. All over the island I have managed to find hundreds of pieces of evidence about the cultural survival of the indigenous world.

<sup>8</sup>The old woman who told us this story had all the characteristics associated with the indigenous phenotype (skin color, hair, height, shovel tooth, slanted eyes...) and the extensive oral history of her ancestors “of Indian lineage.” She practiced Spiritism all her life and was fully conscious of customs that came from the indigenous world. When we did the mitochondrial DNA test, we could corroborate that her maternal lineage was of indigenous precedence. Her specific origin came from the Amazon, the most

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abundant of the three indigenous DNAs found in Puerto Rico. Thirty-five years later, we have managed to talk with some relatives of the old woman, from the fourth and fifth generations, that know that story and use Mamío, but with the social function associated with a community nickname.

<sup>9</sup> This name, and its variable “Mamía,” with the function of a last name, was registered by the Spanish at the beginning of the sixteenth century in the acts of the Royal Treasury. In November 1517, there was mentioned a native named “Antón Mamyo,” who worked in the Otua Valley, precisely in the same region from which the Mamías from Ciales came. Two members from the *Mamya* were also registered: Pedro and Gonzalico. These two *naborías* worked in the haciendas of Otua and of Toa, between 1516 and 1519.

<sup>10</sup> Two good examples of this type of “legend” are *La Ceiba del Cacique* (The Ceiba Tree of the Chief), from the town of Florida, and the story of the indigene and the Spanish woman that suffered for love, in the mountains of Comerío.

<sup>11</sup> This very rare coincidence makes us believe that the authorities had plain knowledge of the racial segregation they were causing. In the Puerto Rican Party, in the East, they placed the slaves, Africans, and “Caribes.” Logic and common sense make us believe the apartheid was configured for security reasons. Most of the slave manual labor remained on the coast, close to the city of Puerto Rico, the place where the center of power and its repressive institutions were located. This same logic makes us suppose the “Caribe” slaves found in San Germán were also indigenes. As is generally known, a great number of indigenes was classified as *caribes* the moment they were captured, either in combat or during the plundering incursions carried out by Christians in the Lesser Antilles.

<sup>12</sup> According to information offered by Velazco, indigenes were considered free vassals, since they did not work on the Spanish haciendas or pay taxes. In 1601, the chronicler Antonio Herrera pointed out that the indigenes on the island lived in the mountains of San Germán, where they had their plots. Everything seems to indicate that, since the late sixteenth century, the large indigenous region known as “La Indiera” was already established. The indigenous presence in this area and in other places on the island must have grown with the arrival of the *caribes* from the Lesser Antilles, who possibly were seeking refuge when they started to receive the attacks of the French and English, starting with the second decade of the seventeenth century.

<sup>13</sup> Delgado, Juan Manuel: “Racismo y Apartheid en Puerto Rico.” Paper presented in the Forum to commemorate the Abolition of Slavery. Center for Advanced Studies in Puerto Rico and the Caribbean. March 26, 2011.

<sup>14</sup> A careful and impartial reading of the chronicles, whether official or not, reflects that the authorities avoided recognizing the existence of a population sector that could present any claim under the premise that they were owners of the lands taken from them. We understand that this was one of the main reasons the “Indian” and mestizo populations that identified themselves as “of Indian lineage” and bore the name *jíbaro* or *boricua* stayed buried under other subterfuges like “natives” and “islanders.” This was the same resource used by the *cachacos* in Old San Juan during the nineteenth century, with the term *hijos del país* or “sons of the country.” These seizures and identity thefts had as an objective to “Spanishize” a considerable sector of the population during the first phase, and turn into “Puerto Ricans” almost all the population during the second phase. It has come to our attention that, even though the *jíbaro* appears mentioned in documents since the beginning of the eighteenth century, Friar Iñigo Abad never mentions them, not even at this advanced stage of the 1780’s. His silence is eloquent and revealing. When it is time to recognize identities and cultural practices, censure is the solution.

<sup>15</sup> We are conscious that some intellectuals on the island understand that the inclusion of those indigenous voices, related to the deepest identity of being, are used by the people to express their pride in being Puerto Rican. They visualize it like this, as if it were true to say “Boricua” is the same as “Puerto Rican,” as if both voices had the same psychological and emotional force. It is even said that “Boricua” came from the Puerto Rican community in New York, with the sole purpose of expressing their solidarity and resistance against racism. There is no doubt that this occurred, but it was a spirit of independence and the thousands of *jibaros* who emigrated to New York which took that voice to the United States. Due to reasons of space, we cannot elaborate on this topic.

<sup>16</sup> Miguel Meléndez Muñoz, sociologist of the *Jíbaro*, always emphasized that during the nineteenth century this component carried the weight of the revolution. He was quite right. Documented and oral history confirm it.

<sup>17</sup> Juan Santiago, an old man from Utuado, who claims to be “of Indian lineage” on his mother’s side, told us this: “The *jíbaro* is we ourselves. It is the same. The *jíbaro* is the country Indian, from inland.

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We are from inland. The Indian here and the poor from inland, which is what they never recognized in those times.” And on this subject, he immediately added, “Because we *jibaros* are Indian descendants of the Indians. And if we do not know this, who can know it in our rural lands?” This response came from asking him the difference between the indigene and the *Jíbaro*. On final reflection, he expressed the following: “What there were here were Indians. They came, but they did not recognize us as a country. Never was the Indian recognized. In those times. And this land was of Indian lineage. But they never recognized the Indian lineage here, who were the real owners of this land. They never recognized them. That is the problem we have today.”