

## Colonial Latin American Historical Review

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Volume 15

Issue 3 Volume 15, Issue 3 (Summer 2006)

Article 8

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6-1-2006

### Fernando Santos-Granero, Vital Enemies: Slavery, Predation, and the Amerindian Political Economy of Life

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#### Recommended Citation

Langer, Erick D.. "Fernando Santos-Granero, Vital Enemies: Slavery, Predation, and the Amerindian Political Economy of Life." *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 15, 3 (2006): 328. <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/clahr/vol15/iss3/8>

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*mayores* continued to defer to *costumbre* with regard to electoral disputes, and they did not interfere with the native officials' oversight of such home industries as cochineal and cotton mantle production, whose finished products the *alcaldes mayores* marketed in accordance with the *reparto de efectos*. This native control contrasts with the mining draft over which cabildo officials had little authority and which was much more disruptive to indigenous subsistence. As a Spanish economic enterprise, it was important for the Bourbons to extract more revenues out of its colonies. The contrast between native and empirical control suggests the limits of the Bourbon reach, an assertion which post-independence, local resurgence supports.

In fact, as Yannakakis argues, native intermediaries made themselves indispensable by constructing a political culture based on cabildo autonomy and multiethnic expression despite Bourbon efforts at centralization and ethnic homogenization. The remoteness of the area and the practical immunity to pervasive Spanish influences also provided a sufficient political space not only to native leaders, but commoners as well. However, with little historical documentation concerning commoners, their agency or contribution to shaping indigenous identity remains unknown. Nonetheless, Yannakakis' detailed analysis of a variety of sources—land disputes, legal petitions, idolatry trials, indigenous pictorial histories—is a worthy addition to the recent boom in sociocultural history that seeks to contextualize the use of language in the past.

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*Vital Enemies: Slavery, Predation, and the Amerindian Political Economy of Life.* By Fernando Santos-Granero. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009. x + 280 pp. Illustrations, maps, appendix, bibliography, index. \$65.00 cloth, \$24.95 paper.)

Fernando Santos-Granero asserts persuasively that slavery was not a product of colonial relations, as other scholars have argued. To the contrary, this book argues that "captive slavery" existed among the tropical Amerindian societies since before the European invasions and until fairly recently. The author shows the effects on indigenous societies by comparing six different indigenous groups that practiced captive slavery: the Calusa of Florida, the Kalinago (also known as Caribs) of the Caribbean, the Tukano of the Vaupés River Basin in Amazonia, the Conibo in the Ucayali River Basin in eastern Peru, the Chiriguana (more commonly known as Chiriguano or Ava-Guaraní) of the foothills of the Andes in southeastern Bolivia, and the Guaicurú of the Gran Chaco in Paraguay. Santos-Granero bases his comparisons exclusively on published sources, encompassing a period from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries.



The book is divided into four parts. In the first part, the author provides a short historical description of each indigenous group. As in subsequent chapters, each ethnic group is discussed separately. Santos-Granero provides a brief conclusion at the end of each chapter. In the second section, the author distinguishes between different groups of subalterns, including captive slaves, servant groups, and tributary populations. While there was much overlap between these categories, each indigenous group had different patterns of obtaining and treating subaltern populations. For example, the riverside-dwelling Tukano relied on enslaving the Makú from the interior forests or turning whole bands into servant groups. In comparison, the sixteenth-century Chiriguaná killed and ate the Chané males while taking the women as wives. Eventually, the Chané were absorbed into the Chiriguaná ethnic group, whereas the Tukano never wed Makú women and so the latter remained separate from their masters. The Guaná neighbors of the Guaicurú turned into tributary populations when they struck deals with the Guaicurú to end the raiding on their villages. Although relations between the two ethnic groups were later expressed in terms of reciprocity, Santos-Granero argues that they continued to be based on violence and coercion.

In the third part, titled "Sociologies of Submission," the author discusses the markers of servitude that distinguished the servile population from the masters, the obligations of the servile populations, and the changes in the dependent status that occurred over time. By discussing each group separately, the author shows the various relationships that existed between the servile population and their masters. Markers of servitude varied depending on the group, from boys born of captive women in Kalinago society eaten upon reaching adulthood, to the Tequesta who provided most foodstuffs to their Calusa masters. In all cases discussed by Santos-Granero, captive women provided sexual services to their masters and all servile populations did the most menial and labor-intensive tasks.

The final part represents the core of the book. Discussing "ideologies of capture," Santos-Granero posits that all the societies he analyzes held a common vision, which, with a few variations, viewed captives as inferiors. For example, some were seen as pets or game animals that had to be civilized, which he connects to their ideology of a finite "cosmic energy" that circulated among all living things. Thus, the "slave machine" eventually transformed captives into people as a means of enhancing the master's vital capital. Even cannibalism fit into this ideology, since it took the enemies' creative life force and appropriated it for the victors.

Santos-Granero's comparison between disparate ethnic groups and the different types of servility, for example, between tropical Amerindian societies and classic plantation slavery, is revealing and thought provoking. While there is some acknowledgment of considerable changes over time, the author assumes that the overall ideologies did not vary over the centuries. This ahistorical approach will concern historians; for example, Santos-Granero takes instances from the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries to draw



conclusions about the use of severed heads in Chiriguana rituals. As an inevitable consequence of this ambitious comparison, the author fails to engage with the major scholarship on some of these ethnic groups. Thus, this book is recommended for those concerned with an analysis of captive slavery rather than for experts on any one of the ethnic groups under examination.

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*Indian Alliances and the Spanish in the Southwest, 750-1750.* By William B. Carter. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009. xx + 308 pp. Maps, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth.)

In his latest work, William Carter rightly recognizes the importance of alliance among tribes in the United States' Southwest region, both among the Pueblo groups and between the Pueblos and the Apache. His detailed presentation of evidence in the historical record demonstrates the role of trade in such relationships and supports the significance of intertribal marriage in the formation of cross-cultural amity.

Carter has brought together a great deal of information concerning the period beginning with the first penetration of the Southwest by Spanish exploration to about 1705. He places his book in the necessary context by exploring events that took place during those tumultuous times. It was an era of major upheavals, revolts, and wars, and efforts to make peace following hostilities where such that alliances were most dramatically revealed.

Carter provides new insights into the context in which the narrative of events takes place through excellent background information on such issues as the Little Ice Age and the spread of Old World epidemic disease following contact. He also discusses Spanish thought and policy regarding Native Americans and cultural change brought about by Spanish rule and the role of missionization.

As an interdisciplinary field, ethnohistory requires anthropologists and historians to understand each other's work to a degree well beyond that of a lay person. In this work, the handling of archeological data is not as well done as is that of the historical data. The author tends to over interpret the evidence, leading to factual errors that should serve as a warning to readers to check the accuracy in such matters as the correlation between projectile point styles and bow technology (pp. 22-23). The steady increase in northern traits among the ancient Puebloans, culminating in the Pueblo IV period when kiva murals expand our knowledge of many cultural details, must at some point coincide with close contact with the Athabaskan peoples from the boreal forest. That being said, there is still insufficient data to pinpoint such events with a specific moment in time.