

Colonial Latin American Historical Review

Volume 10

Issue 3 *Volume 10, Issue 3 (Summer 2001)*

Article 1

6-1-2001

"Who Induced the Indian Communities?" The Los Pastos Uprising and the Politics of Ethnicity and Gender in Late-Colonial New Granada

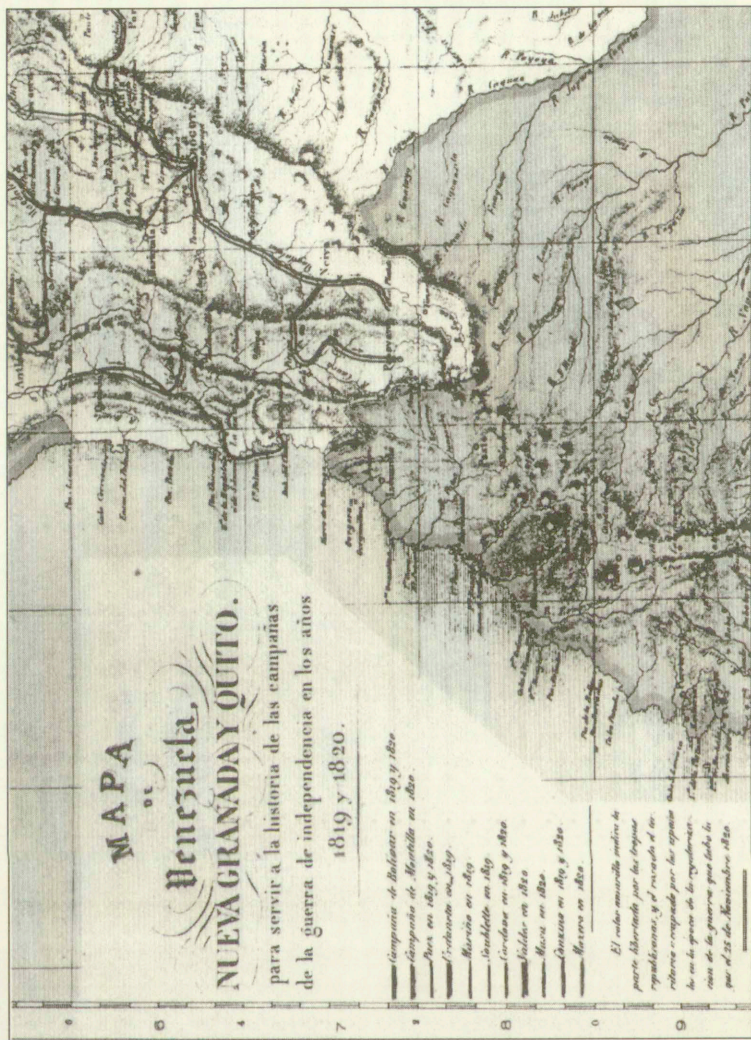
Derek Williams

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/clahr>

Recommended Citation

Williams, Derek. "Who Induced the Indian Communities?" The Los Pastos Uprising and the Politics of Ethnicity and Gender in Late-Colonial New Granada." *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 10, 3 (2001): 277. <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/clahr/vol10/iss3/1>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by UNM Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Colonial Latin American Historical Review by an authorized editor of UNM Digital Repository. For more information, please contact disc@unm.edu.



Map of Venezuela, Nueva Granada, and Quito, nineteenth century, in *Ecuador atlas histórico-geográfico*, ed. Juan Morales y Eloy (Quito: Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, 1942).

"Who Induced the Indian Communities?" The Los Pastos Uprising and the Politics of Ethnicity and Gender in Late-Colonial New Granada

DEREK WILLIAMS

On the afternoon of 18 May 1800, hundreds of women and men descended on the town of Túquerres in the Province of Los Pastos, south of Popayán.¹ Twenty-four hours later, two provincial officials were dead and several Crown-owned buildings lay in ruins. Triggered by a proposed tax increase, and directed toward local colonial authorities, the disturbance in Túquerres appears at first glance to be a variation on a common theme of Creole "popular protest" in late-colonial New Granada.² However, for high officials in Popayán, Quito, and Santa Fé, the May 1800 disturbance was in fact not another regional reprise of the late-colonial cry, "Death to bad government! Long live the King!" Rather, it was initially identified as a *sublevación de indios* (Indian uprising), forming part of a broader phenomenon of eighteenth-century Indian insurgence in the jurisdictions of Quito and Peru.³ Indeed, eyewitness reports all concurred that the destruction had been principally the work of an "*indiada*" (Indian

¹ The "provincia de los Pastos" (also referred to in late-colonial documents as a *partido* and *corregimiento*) was located in the southern reaches of the *gobernación* of Popayán, adjacent to the *provincia* of Pasto. In this article, I have capitalized the province's name as "Los Pastos" to avoid confusion with "los Pastos," the pre-colonial ethnic group that inhabited the region. The Indian peoples of the province do not appear to have represented themselves as "Pastos" in the period under study, nor did late-colonial authorities refer to them as such. On the early history of the region, see Luis Fernando Calero, *Pastos, Quillacingas y Abades, 1535-1700* (Cali: Biblioteca Banco Popular, 1991).

² Anthony McFarlane, "Civil Disorders and Popular Protests in Late-Colonial New Granada," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 64:1 (1984):17-54.

³ In his seminal study of Indian uprisings in the Audiencia de Quito against "colonial exploitation," Segundo Moreno Yáñez does not investigate the Túquerres episode. Segundo Moreno Yáñez, *Sublevaciones indígenas en la Audiencia de Quito: desde comienzos del siglo XVIII hasta finales de la colonia* (Quito: Ediciones de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, 1995).

throng). Accompanying the news that both the province's magistrate and its tithe collector had been brutally assassinated, were alarming rumors of Indian aggression towards all resident whites. Even more disturbing for colonial officials, however, were confirmed reports of the rapid contagion of violence to other Indian pueblos within and beyond the Province of Los Pastos. Unlike the short-lived, assail-and-abate Creole disturbances, this popular protest was apparently just beginning.

Fearing the potential for an Indian rebellion in the style of the 1781 Tupac Amaru revolt in highland Peru, viceregal authorities in Santa Fé acted swiftly to stem the violence. In a rare show of military force, two regiments of royal troops were brought into Los Pastos from Popayán and Ibarra, and officials in neighboring districts were placed on alert. Despite the end of open attacks on authority, for several months bands of rebels continued to roam the countryside, instilling fear into non-Indian residents. In early July, with the potential of widespread Indian rebellion averted, the governor of Popayán was brought in to head an official investigation of the uprising. However, as the state response shifted from repressing to investigating and punishment, Indians receded into the background. Investigators instead looked to *vecinos* (Creole residents) and mestizos to explain the motivation, organization, and leadership of the disturbance.⁴

Tellingly, the first substantive question investigators asked of witnesses was: "Who induced the Indian communities?"⁵ From the outset, officials in Santa Fé and Quito suspected Creole involvement and foul play. The viceroy, for example, matter-of-factly dismissed any political motivation of the Indian participants, instructing Crown investigators to "ascertain the *real origin* of the commotion."⁶

⁴ Viceroy to king, Santa Fé, 19 October 1800, Archivo General de la Nación (formerly Archivo Histórico Nacional de Colombia), Bogotá, Colombia (hereinafter cited as AGN), Estado, tomo 52, doc. 99; and Viceroy to governor of Popayán, Santa Fé, 20 June 1800, AGN, Virreyes, tomo 20, fols. 626r-26v.

⁵ The original wording is: "¿Quién indujo a las comunidades de indios?" Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from Spanish are by the author. The original Spanish orthography of the quotations from archival documents has been maintained. Various declarations, Túquerres, 28 November 1800, AGN, Aguardientes de Cauca, tomo 1, fols. 290r-300v.

⁶ The original wording is: "Averiguar el verdadero origen de la conmoción." Viceroy to governor of Popayán, Santa Fé, 20 June 1800, AGN, Virreyes, tomo 20, fols. 626r-26v. Emphasis added.

Throughout the investigation, every possible lead of non-Indian motivation and leadership of the attack was followed to a dead end, before colonial authorities cleared local *vecinos* of wrongdoing. The "Indian throng" would be suspected and later punished for their individual acts of "barbarity," but their manifest and symbolic protests against the local colonial order would remain largely unseen. Indeed, as represented in the discourse of the uprising's investigators, Indians were politically invisible.

In itself, there is little remarkable in the duplicitous response of the colonial state—both fearing widespread Indian rebellion and suspecting that a Creole hidden hand had promoted the disorder. As is well known to students of late-colonial revolts, high-level colonial authorities would have been remiss had they not suspected a behind-the-scenes Creole scheme to use a popular protest to advance its own local political agenda. *Vecinos* throughout the colonies had been known to tacitly encourage brief demonstrations of Indian unrest to discretely voice their own discontent to colonial authorities over unpopular local officials or unwanted reforms. Still, studying the origins, execution, and investigation of the Los Pastos uprising is relevant and revealing in several respects.

First, the Crown's obsession to uncover a hidden plot among local *vecinos* was exceptionally misguided in the Los Pastos uprising, an episode that was conceived, organized, and led by its principally Indian participants. The extensive and rich testimonies of witnesses and declarations of suspects gathered during the investigation permits the recreation here of a coherent and credible narrative of the dramatic events during May and June 1800. Seen from a perspective of local Indian political culture, this reconstruction is enlightening in explaining how the "*indiada*" could and did rise up against the local colonial order all on its own.⁷

Second, the seemingly misplaced hidden-hand interpretation of the Los Pastos uprising was not accidental, but rather a direct function of the episode's setting—both geographic and temporal. Late-

⁷ Following Keith Baker's succinct conception, "political culture" is used here to refer to the particular terms by which social and political claims can be "legitimately" framed, and correspondingly, by which the "identity and boundaries" of "community" are shaped. Keith Michael Baker, "Introduction," in *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, ed. Keith Michael Baker (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1987), 1:xii.

colonial Indian uprisings, though commonplace in the Andean region south of Los Pastos, were an anachronism in New Granada proper. Indeed, in the increasingly mestizo society of what would become the Republic of Colombia, the very existence of a large zone such as Los Pastos, peopled with communities of Indian farmers and weavers, had become a rarity. As such, the 1800 uprising was awkwardly positioned on the other side of an increasingly defined ethnic frontier in the Andean region between a "mestizo North" and an "Indian South."⁸ Indeed, the Los Pastos uprising unfolded within a larger context of shifting perceptions of ethnicity in New Granada, in which both mestizos and Indians were under reevaluation in connection with colonial state politics.⁹

Finally, this article seeks to link the seemingly unconnected spheres of Indian (popular) culture and official (state) culture through an analysis of how the people of Los Pastos engaged dominant, "common-sense" notions about the interconnections between ethnicity, gender, and political protest. Colonial definitions of race, gender, and rebellion were never hegemonic; rather, they remained open to negotiation as they were disseminated into local contexts and were vulnerable to selective appropriation by the subordinated Indian class.

The violent collective action in Túquerres, the administrative center of the province of Los Pastos, had its roots in a popular protest against a proposed tithe increase occurring in Guaytarilla, an Indian village a half-day's walk away.¹⁰ On Sunday, 18 May 1800, five In-

⁸ For a synthetic and instructive comparison of buoyant *mestizaje* in Colombia and the resurgence of Indian identities in the southern Andes during the early post-independence period, see Brooke Larson, "Andean Highland Peasants and the Trials of Nation Making During the Nineteenth Century," in *South America*, vol. 3, part 2 of *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*, ed. Frank Salomon and Stuart Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 558-703.

⁹ Frank Safford, "Race, Integration and Progress: Elite Attitudes and Indians in Colombia, 1780-1870," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 71:1 (1991):1-33.

¹⁰ This description is based principally on the "confessions" of the participants and "declarations" of the eye witnesses recorded in Túquerres between May 1800 and January 1801. Pasto 26-IX-1800, Archivo Nacional de Ecuador, Quito (hereinafter cited as ANE), Criminales, caja 131, fols. 14r-45v, 47r-88v, 96r-98r; Pasto 28-V-1800, ANE, Popayán, caja 253, fols. 2r-39v; and AGN, Aguardientes de Cauca, tomo 1, fols. 290r-300v. For a more detailed account of the causes of the uprising, see Rebecca Earle Mond, "Indian Rebellion and Bourbon Reform in New Granada: Riots in Pasto, 1780-1800," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 73:1 (1993):114-19.

dian women had stormed into the parish church, stealing and destroying the tithe document moments before the priest was to read its contents.¹¹ The actions of the *indias* were received with alarm by local authorities. Two of the women were locked up in the church, pending further punishment. The *corregidor* (local magistrate), Francisco Clavijo, immediately instructed Túquerres' Indian cacique to investigate the incident and to discipline the perpetrators. Meanwhile, in response to the confinement of the women and the still-pending tithe increase, the people of Guaytarilla and the neighboring village of Chaytan worked to organize a mass protest for the following day. Sending *chasquis* (foot messengers) to many of the Indian authorities of the province, the villagers coordinated a multicomunity march on Túquerres.

In the mid-afternoon of the following day, 19 May 1800, hundreds of Indians armed with stones and sticks arrived in the plaza of Túquerres. The group immediately proceeded to the royal *aguardiente* factory, which doubled as the home of the *corregidor* and his half brother, Atanasio Clavijo, the province's tithe collector. Although various lesser officials outside the building promised the agitated crowd that the tithe reform would be cancelled, the protesters insisted on hearing any such concessions directly from the *corregidor*. When still no one emerged from the factory, the Indians began to destroy the building, stoning its walls and torching its roof.

Fearing for their lives, the Clavijos managed to escape over a back wall and took refuge in the church a short distance away. However, their safety would be short-lived. With the church's entrance guarded by the parish priest, at nightfall the protesters took vigil in the plaza, creating a spectacle of blazing torches and rhythmic drumbeats, and chanting ominously: "There is no pardon! War! War!"¹² At

¹¹ The document was a church decree that mandated the end of the fixed-rate collection of tithes and extended the obligatory tax to include previously exempted products of domestic use. On the history of the tithe in the Pasto region, see Alberto Montezuma Hurtado, "Los Clavijos y la casa de los muertos," *Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico* 11:8 (1968):31-32. On the customary collection of tithes in the Audiencia de Quito, see Moreno Yáñez, *Sublevaciones indígenas*, 297-98.

¹² The original wording is: "¡No hay perdon! ¡Guerra! ¡Guerra!" Declaration of Antonio Mera, Túquerres, 4 December 1800, AGN, *Aguardientes de Cauca*, tomo 1, fols. 295v-96v; Declaration of Vitalio Ybuag, Túquerres, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fol. 21v; and Confession of Marcelo Ramires, Túquerres, 29 November 1800, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 13, fol. 53v.

dawn, spurred by rumors that a group of *vecinos* were coming from the nearby town of Pasto to free the *corregidor*, the uneasy standoff abruptly ended, and several Indians broke into the church. Neither the impassioned pleadings of the priest nor the heavy wooden altar could save the Clavijos; within minutes, the men were dead—felled with stones and killed with lances. In the days that followed, the violence would spread throughout the province in a series of uprisings, without further death but marked by similar attacks on government stores and local officials. For several months, bands of fugitives from the Túquerres uprising would menace local *vecinos* with threats of violence and sporadic attacks on villages, creating a climate of insecurity and fear throughout the province.

The *indiada* that marched into Túquerres on 18 May was far from a homogeneous group. Organized the previous day, the protesters were comprised of three or four hundred people from various outlying communities—Sapuyes, Imues, Túquerres, as well as Guaytarilla and Chaytan. They included both young and old, women and men, Indian authorities and *indios comunes* (Indian commoners), weavers and spinners, *cargueros* (porters), and *labradores* (peasant farmers).¹³ As in many other late-colonial uprisings in the Audiencia de Quito, the collective action in Túquerres, while largely an Indian crowd, included a number of mestizo participants as well.¹⁴ With respect to the participation of this mestizo minority during the episode, two aspects are especially pertinent. First, the mestizos in Los Pastos generally formed part of the *pueblos de indios* (Indian villages) and participated from within the parameters of these communities. Rather than comprising an emerging middle class of artisans or merchants as in other regions of New Granada, these mestizos were gen-

¹³ Various confessions, Túquerres, November 1800-January 1801, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fols. 33v-35r, 47v-88v, 96r-98r.

¹⁴ The "corregimiento de los Pastos," circumscribed by the province of Popayán, formed part of the Audiencia de Quito. The social and ethnic make-up of the participants is revealed most vividly in Informe of Ramón Ordóñez de Lara, Túquerres, 29 May 1800, Pasto 28-V-1800, ANE, Popayán, caja 253; Declaration of Juan Rosero y Salas, Túquerres, 22 May 1800, Pasto 28-V-1800, ANE, Popayán, caja 253, fol. 4r; and Report of governor of Popayán, Túquerres, 28 November 1800, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fol. 45r. On mestizo participation during the Indian uprisings in Riobamba (1764), San Miguel of Molleambato (1766), San Felipe (1771), y Otavalo (1777), see Moreno Yáñez, *Sublevaciones indígenas*, 404-05.

erally *labradores*.¹⁵ Indeed, in the Los Pastos province, class interests seemed to have united mestizos and Indians across ethnic boundaries.¹⁶ Second, mestizos were not involved—openly or covertly—as organizers of the protest, nor did they appear to emerge as leaders during the uprising in Túquerres.

With respect to the role of the *vecino*—or white—population during the uprising, this small patrician class played no active role as participants or organizers, nor does it appear to have been allied passively with the Indian protesters. Despite Crown suspicion and accusation, any belief in clandestine machination or collaboration by local elites was entirely without foundation. In some instances, during the protest in Túquerres, for example, *vecinos* made efforts to prevent the destruction of the royal aguardiente factory and to protect the *corregidor*.¹⁷ More commonly, Túquerres' white population simply disappeared during the episode—shutting themselves in their houses or abandoning the town for nearby haciendas. It is tempting, of course,

¹⁵ Eye-witnesses all concurred that the mestizos who protested in Túquerres came from the "inferior class" ("clase inferior") and were of the "most ordinary" ("más ordinario") sort. Declarations of Rafael de Narváez, Manuel Guevara, and Raymundo Argote, Túquerres, 4 December 1800, AGN, Aguardientes de Cauca, tomo 1, fols. 290r-93r. On the occupations of mestizos imprisoned after the uprising, see Confessions of Mariano Zeron, Pedro Balenzuela, and Bernardo Baca, Túquerres, November 1800, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fols. 49v, 52r-53v.

¹⁶ To be sure, Indians were socially differentiated from mestizos in Los Pastos, a fact reflected in part by distinctions in dress and occupation. Porter (*carguero*) and weaver, for example, were almost exclusively Indian occupations. See Various confessions, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fols. 33v-35r, 47v-88v, 96r-98r. Similarly, the region was not without mestizo-Indian conflicts, such as land disputes. See, for instance, Recurso de don Leandro Días, Gervacio Piscal y el común de Yndios del Pueblo de Tuqueres [*sic*], sobre Tierras, Túquerres, 23 August 1794, Pasto 23-VIII-1794, ANE, Popayán, caja 229; Expediente de don Miguel Colimba con don Alfonso Castillo sobre despojo de tierras, Quito, 12 September 1794, Pasto 12-IX-1794, ANE, Popayán, caja 229; and Doc. 7135, 1791, ANE, Fondo Especial, caja 125, fol. 40. Overall, however, the "mestizo problem" in Los Pastos was relatively insignificant (see notes 79 and 80).

¹⁷ Report of Francisco Sarasti, Quito, 7 July 1800, Pasto 28-V-1800, ANE, Popayán, caja 253; Declaration of José Antonio Dávalos, Pasto, 22 May 1800, Pasto 28-V-1800, ANE, Popayán, caja 253, fols. 2r-3r; and Declaration of Bernardo Eraso, Túquerres, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fol. 15r. On the overall absence of a Creole "hidden hand" ("*mano oculta*") directing the uprising, see Governor of Popayán to viceroy, Túquerres, 26 October 1800, AGN, Miscelanea de la Colonia, tomo 21, fol. 881r; and Sentencing report, 17 September 1801, AGN, Anexos Justicias, tomo 6, fols. 278r.

to interpret *vecino* neutrality as some sort of passive support for the protest, as has been done for other popular disturbances in late-colonial New Granada.¹⁸ After all, white residents, like their Indian counterparts, had suffered first hand the abuses and excesses of the *corregidor*, such as arbitrary taxes on their cattle, confiscation of Indian peons from their haciendas, and pilferage from the public treasury. In general, they resented the power of an outsider *corregidor*.¹⁹ Yet the Túquerres uprising, consisting of a planned protest, showing widespread Indian intimidation toward bystanders, and unfolding in the absence of policing forces, suggests that the absence of non-Indians during the episode was essentially a defensive reaction.²⁰ As will be seen, the violence of the episode focused selectively on the *corregidor* and his sphere of authority. Yet, during the confusion of the uprising itself, *vecinos* could not have been sure that the attack would not extend its scope beyond the Clavijo clan, to target the entire white population. With the factory in flames, the *corregidor* trapped in the church, and the presence of several hundred "riotous" Indians in the plaza, whites credibly deemed seclusion or flight as necessary to guarantee their personal safety. Unsure of the scale of

¹⁸ On the political meaning of *vecino* inaction during the Quito Rebellion of 1765, for example, see Anthony McFarlane, "The Rebellion of the Barrios: Urban Insurrection in Bourbon Quito," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 69:2 (1989):306. On the 1781 riot in the town of Pasto, see Earle Mond, "Indian Rebellion and Bourbon Reform," 108-09.

¹⁹ Clavijo was born in Cartago, and his family settled in the vicinity of Popayán. On Clavijo and his consolidation of economic power, see Hurtado, "Los Clavijos y la casa de los muertos," 14-17, 27-28. For a comprehensive cataloguing of the abuses and excesses of Clavijo, see Jean Pierre Minaudier, "¿Revolución o pasividad? Las sociedades tradicionales ante las reformas fiscales" (unpublished manuscript, Paris, 1988), 10-14. See also Earle Mond, "Indian Rebellion and Bourbon Reform," 112-13.

²⁰ Various declarations, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fols. 51r-52r, 56v-58v, 65v-66v, 82r, 87r; and Declaration of Juan Rosero y Salas, Pasto, 22 May 1800, Pasto 28-V-1800, ANE, Popayán, caja 253, fol. 4r. The organized nature of the uprisings stands in contrast with scores of other episodes of violence that sprang fortuitously during a feast or market day. Nor was there evidence of generalized drinking during the Túquerres uprising. On the link between feast and market days with popular uprisings in New Granada, see McFarlane, "Civil Disorders," 47-50. For similar findings in late-colonial Mexican rebellions, see William Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979), 118.

Indian "barbarity," many *vecinos* would wait several days before venturing back into the semi-destroyed Túquerres.²¹

While the episode in Túquerres was deemed by white onlookers to be a real threat to local social order, this explains little as to what the protest and uprising meant for those involved—the organizers, leaders, and protagonists themselves. To answer this complex question, one might begin by heeding George Rudé's observation that in searching out the essence of popular protest, historians need not be so ingenious as to ignore the manifest targets of the episode.²² Indeed, any adventure onto the slippery analytical terrain of consciousness or ideology is most fruitful when grounded in the actions and words of the historical actors themselves. Such a methodology is adopted here; however, it does not assume any transparency in the protesters' behavior. That is, the destroying of the tithe decree, the burning of the liquor depots, or the killing of the local colonial magistrate do not neatly translate into evidence for an anti-clerical, anti-fiscal, or anti-colonial ideology.²³ While the Indians of Los Pastos may have had little love for church taxes, royal monopolies, and local officials, they protested principally because the taxes were excessive, the monopolies new, and the officials abusive. Similar to other popular protests in New Granada during this period, the Los Pastos uprising was in part an expression of opposition to innovation and the excesses of the local colonial order, not an expression of an "anti-colonial conscious-

²¹ Report of Francisco Sarasti, Quito, 7 July 1800, Pasto 28-V-1800, ANE, Popayán, caja 253; Declaration of Gabriel Urquiza, Túquerres, 12 March 1801, AGN, Empleadas Públicas, tomo 4, fol. 930r; and Declaration of José Caicedo, Túquerres, 12 March 1801, AGN, Empleadas Públicas, tomo 4, fol. 934r.

²² George Rudé, *The Crowd in History: A Study of Popular Disturbances in France and England, 1730-1848* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1981), 218.

²³ Among local historians, the debate over the ideology expressed during the 1800 episode has been a lively but largely unfruitful one. For the boldest anti-colonial interpretations, see Doramaria Chamorro Chamorro and Míriam Eraso Enríquez, *Elementos para la interpretación de la historia de Pasto: Provincia de los Pastos* (Pasto: Fundación para la Investigación Científica del Desarrollo de Nariño, 1982); and Victor Sánchez Montenegro, "Los comuneros del sur," *Revista de Cultura Nariñense* 14:68 (1974):439-566. For an anti-fiscal reading of the episode, see Javier Laviña, "La sublevación de Túquerres: una revuelta antifiscal," *Boletín Americanista* 20:28 (1978):189-96. For an anti-clerical interpretation, see Lydiá Inés Muñoz Cordero, *La última insurrección indígena anticolonial* (Pasto: Imprenta del Departamento, 1982).

ness."²⁴ Moreover, the protest in May 1800 grew out of a specific history of subordination and negotiation between the Los Pastos Indians and the church-state apparatus.

At some level, the participants in the Túquerres uprising focused their disgruntlement directly toward the Clavijo clan. The Indians of the region, who had experienced first hand the physical and verbal abuses of the *corregidor* and his tithe-collecting brother, may well have welcomed a chance for vengeance.²⁵ Yet, such an interpretation is at best partial in understanding the larger political expression of the episode, particularly in light of the continuation and extension of the uprising after the *corregidor's* death.²⁶ Rather than simply a rejection of an abusive local officialdom, the protest was to be a manifestation against Clavijo's increasingly effective consolidation and use of that authority. The remarkably selective pattern of violence manifested throughout the uprising corroborates such an interpretation.

By all accounts, the Indians arrived in the town of Túquerres with no intention of attacking, let alone killing the *corregidor*. Instead, they came to protest in person what they considered to be the arbitrary detention of the women in Guaytarilla and to demand the abolition of the tithe extension. In fact, when the *corregidor's* nephew, Francisco Sarastí, faced the crowd outside the factory and

²⁴ This type of interpretation is developed most originally and coherently by John L. Phelan, *The People and the King: The Comunero Revolution in Colombia, 1781* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978). See also Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide and Rebellion*; Ward Stavig, "Ethnic Conflict, Moral Economy, and Population in Rural Cuzco on the Eve of the Thupa Amaro Rebellion," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 68:4 (1988):740. In this sense, the ideology that inspired the Los Pastos uprising differs from the complex anti-colonial consciousness expressed during Upper Peru's late-colonial age of insurgency, painstakingly deciphered by Sinclair Thomson, "'We Alone Will Rule...': Recovering the Range of Anticolonial Projects among Andean Peasants (La Paz, 1740s to 1781)," *Colonial Latin American Review* 8:2 (1999):275-99.

²⁵ For an interpretation of the Túquerres uprising as an anti-Clavijo riot, see Earle Mond, "Indian Rebellion and Bourbon Reform," 114, 119.

²⁶ On the specifics of spin-off uprisings in the Los Pastos province after the Túquerres protest, see Various declarations, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fols. 23r-45r. On the significance of these lesser disturbances, see Derek Williams, "Acomodación, negociación y el actuar político: resistencia y revuelta indígena en el altiplano de Los Pastos" (M.A. thesis, Universidad del Valle, Cali, Colombia, 1994), 177-89.

promised the cancellation of the decree, much of the crowd responded favorably, shouting, "If it is like that, then there is nothing more. Peace! Peace!"²⁷ It would be only after Clavijo refused to directly appear before the protesters that the crowd turned violent against him and his administrative network.²⁸

If personal hate for the *corregidor* partially motivated the assassination of the Clavijos and the burning of the factory, it was clearly less of a factor in the days and weeks after the riot in Túquerres. With Clavijo's corpse in the plaza and government property in ruins, the uprising continued unabated the following day. Facing no resistance from local authorities, many participants grew more intrepid after the *corregidor's* death.²⁹ Yet, rather than evolving into a specter of random violence or radicalizing into an attack against all whites, as some officials feared, the attacks remained concentrated on Clavijo's provincial network of power.³⁰

In the wave of spin-off disturbances outside Túquerres, the destruction echoed the same pattern, confining itself to village liquor depots and the *corregidor's* petty lieutenants. Even the bands of fugitives that roamed the surrounding highlands during the months after the uprising acted with a focused sense of political purpose, making armed attacks on villages and penning pasquinades directed against "distinguished subjects who had merited the friendship of the de-

²⁷ The original wording is: "[P]ues si es asi ya no hay nada. Pazes, Pazes." Report of Francisco Sarasti, Quito, 7 July 1800, Pasto 28-V-1800, ANE, Popayán, caja 253.

²⁸ Declaration of Bernardo Eraso, Túquerres, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fol. 14v; Declaration of Juan Rosero y Salas, Túquerres, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fol. 18v; Declaration of Vitalio Ybuag, Túquerres, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fol. 20v; Declaration of Manuel Ynquorar, Túquerres, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fol. 23v; and Report of Ramón Ordóñez de Lara, 6 June 1800, Pasto 28-V-1800, ANE, Popayán, caja 253.

²⁹ As McFarlane observes for the 1765 riots in Quito, the inability of authorities to terminate the Túquerres riot with force appears to have given legitimacy to the protest and confidence to its participants. McFarlane, "'Rebellion of the Barrios,'" 313.

³⁰ After the death of Clavijo, protesters restricted their attacks to the town liquor depot, the government tobacco store, and a depository of imported goods—buildings all plugged into the *corregidor's* economic and political power base. Declarations of Bernardo Eraso and Marcos de Arroyo, Túquerres, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fols. 14r-19r; and Declarations of Raymundo Argote and Julián Cazedo, Túquerres, 4 December 1800, AGN, Aguardientes de Cauca, tomo 1, fols. 293r-94r, 297v.

ceased *corregidor*"—his henchmen and business associates.³¹ In sum, the selective pattern of destruction throughout the episode suggests that, after settling personal scores, the protesters looked beyond Clavijo to eradicate the *corregidor*'s entire political network.

In its violent reaction to fiscal and administrative innovations, the Los Pastos uprising forms part of a larger wave of popular revolt against Bourbon reformism in defense of political or constitutional rights. Anthony McFarlane—extrapolating from John Phelan's seminal interpretation of the Comunero Rebellion of 1771—has masterfully mapped out a widespread pattern of popular protest against colonial government in New Granada. Like the widespread rebellion in Socorro, these series of smaller-scale disturbances were founded upon the defense of an "unwritten constitution"—a customary set of norms, evolving under the rule of the Hapsburgs and early Bourbons, that governed relations between the American vassals and the Spanish king. That is, the popular protests of the late-eighteenth century were informed by a conservative and traditional ideology that resisted outside interference in local politics, rejected innovations that did not suit regional conditions, fought to preserve existing administrative and fiscal arrangements, and asserted the right to direct negotiation with the royal bureaucracy.³² In her detailed regional study of political discontent in late-colonial Pasto, Rebecca Earle Mond has advanced such an interpretation, placing the Túquerres riot within a regional political tradition that sought to defend local autonomy. Like the *comuneros* of Socorro, the people of Los Pastos felt the injurious impact of imperial centralization on a local political culture shaped during two centuries of decentralized colonial rule. Thus, from this perspective, the turn-of-the-century uprising formed part of a *multiethnic* assertion "that government initiatives should be altered to suit local conditions."³³

While Phelan's notion of the defense of an unwritten constitution is helpful in linking the Los Pastos uprising to a wider crisis of colonial legitimacy on the periphery, it is considerably less useful for

³¹ The original wording is: "Se ponen Pasquines contra sugetos de distincion que merecían la amistad del Difunto Corregidor." Report of *teniente* of Tulcán, Tulcán, 30 June 1800, AGN, Anexo Justicia, tomo 6, fol. 259r.

³² McFarlane, "Civil Disorders," 19, 31; and Phelan, *The People and the King*, xvii-xx, 134-35, 239-40.

³³ Earle Mond, "Indian Rebellion and Bourbon Reform," 123; see also 113-14.

understanding the specific political culture that spawned the uprising. Indeed, conflating the mass protest of May 1800 with a regional tradition of Creole politics runs the risk of obscuring the specific field of practices and symbols from which the Indian communities expressed themselves. Rather, to get at the meaning of the protest for the actual participants, one needs to go beyond a generalized notion of a backward-looking moral economy and deal with the specific patterns of Indian political culture in the province.³⁴ And while the Indians of Los Pastos shared certain conjunctural concerns with *vecinos* over Bourbon innovation and excess, their politics were shaped by a distinct local history of negotiation with the colonial state as Indian subjects.

The collective protest and violence of the Los Pastos Indians is perhaps best understood from within the context of their preexisting patterns of political engagement with the non-Indian sectors of local society.³⁵ In line with Sergio Serulnikov's enlightening study of peasant political culture in late-colonial Chayanta (Upper Peru), it is imperative to note that the collective action in Túquerres was inextricably intertwined with other political strategies among the Los Pastos Indians.³⁶ Throughout the late-colonial period, the province's Indian communities continually initiated contact and negotiated with authorities at all levels of the colonial administrative hierarchy. In part, Indian political culture in Los Pastos included strategies of everyday resistance against local demands on their land, labor, and tribute wealth, as well as against claims in other areas, such as church taxes and government monopolies. Yet, beyond a defense of material resources, Indians engaged the state over the terms of their subordinate position, struggling to adapt colonial demands to the cultural coordinates of the community. In other words, local Indian struggles over

³⁴ For an enlightening discussion of the misuse of the Edward P. Thompson "moral economy" approach as a generalized theory, see Brooke Larson, "Explotación y economía moral en los Andes del sur: hacia una reconsideración crítica," *Historia Crítica* 6 (1992):75-97.

³⁵ Steve J. Stern, "New Approaches to the Study of Consciousness in Peasant Rebellions: The Implications of the Andean Experience," in *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries*, ed. Steve J. Stern (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 10-13.

³⁶ Sergio Serulnikov, "Disputed Images of Colonialism: Spanish Rule and Indian Subversion in Northern Potosí, 1777-1780," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 76:2 (1996):208.

economic resources were filtered through historically constructed cultural values—norms that shaped their particular political responses.

The Indians of late-colonial Los Pastos, in notable contrast to other provinces in the region, had achieved substantial legal successes in defending and advancing their broadly conceived domestic and community interests.³⁷ As members of communities engaged in textile production and marketing, for instance, they fought for the right to pay tribute in textiles and not in gold, a stratagem that frustrated collectors who were left to convert overvalued *anacos* (woolen shawls) and *capisayos* (cloaks) in a Popayán market increasingly flooded with cheap foreign cloth. Additionally, communities defended their *resguardo*—or community—lands, both in the courts and in the *zanjas* (boundary ditches) from the expansionist pretensions of hacendados and mestizo farmers.³⁸ As consumers and small-scale distillers of contraband aguardiente, Indians—along with non-Indians—had thwarted royal attempts to impose government control on the production and distribution of alcohol. In sum, if never questioning the structural precepts of colonialism, their tradition of political engagement had earned the Indians of Los Pastos considerable space for the material and cultural reproduction of their communities. It is within this specific history of favorable negotiation that the violent protest of May 1800 is most fruitfully understood.

In the 1790s, Indian strategies of resistant adaptation faced an extraordinary challenge under the rationalized administration of a new *corregidor*.³⁹ By appointing Francisco Clavijo in 1789, the governor of Popayán—under whose jurisdiction Los Pastos fell—hoped to finally reap the rewards of Bourbon fiscal reforms introduced by Charles III, but only fitfully implemented in the region in the 1760s and 1770s.⁴⁰ Thanks to the economic and political ambition of the

³⁷ Williams, "Acomodación, negociación y el actuar político," 29-136.

³⁸ Williams, "Acomodación, negociación y el actuar político," 29-87, 100-36.

³⁹ On the notion of "resistant adaptation," see Stern, "New Approaches," 8-13.

⁴⁰ Earle Mond, "Indian Rebellion and Bourbon Reform," 111. Both the province's small patrician class and Los Pastos' peripheral location within the viceroyalty seem to have exempted it from a general viceregal disinclination to raise taxes in the 1780s and 1790s. As Alan Keuthe points out, after the Comunero Rebellion of 1781, authorities in Santa Fé moved "cautiously in effecting political and fiscal reform." Still, they never abandoned efforts to gradually expand royal monopolies and advance tax collection. Alan Keuthe, "More on 'The Culmination of the Bourbon Reforms': A

corregidor, the *rentas reales* (royal rents)—most significantly, the lucrative *aguardiente* tax—were reestablished. Backed by a network of *estancquillos* (government liquor depots) across the province—controlled by Clavijo-appointed petty *tenientes* (lieutenants)—the renewed alcohol monopoly curbed much of the small-scale production. Similarly, the *corregidor*'s bureaucratic stalling impaired Indian efforts to defend community land rights, as evidenced in the bundles of Indian petitions found at archives in Quito and Bogotá. As regards to Indian tribute, the collection was placed under royal administration in 1797 for the first time in two decades, putting an end to many of the Indian tactics used to mitigate the payment under the customary system of private collectors.⁴¹ To be sure, the innovations of Clavijo affected provincial society at large, yet they were especially effective in rationalizing the modes of local exploitation of the region's majority Indian population. Backed by tactics of fear, violence, and surveillance, the improved system of customary exploitation managed to mitigate the effectiveness of Indian strategies of negotiation. To wit, the *corregidor* countered the prosaic tactics of Indian politics with his own strategies of resistant domination.

In this sense, the violent collective action of May 1800 is perhaps best interpreted as a part of a "larger political contest to define the meaning of colonial rule" in Los Pastos.⁴² As in other contexts of late-colonial Andean insurgency, the participants in the Túquerres uprising in part "sought to regain control over their economic and social resources."⁴³ Indeed, the mass protest was underwritten by the same logic that informed their day-to-day confrontations with intrusive hacendados, underhanded tax collectors, and ambitious *corregidores*. Yet, the protest in Túquerres against the *corregidor*'s political network was also a defense of local Indian political culture itself.

Perspective from New Granada," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 58:3 (1978):477-80, esp. 478.

⁴¹ On Clavijo's damaging intervention in Indian land issues, see, for instance, Alonzo Paspur et al. to governor of Popayán, 15 March 1797, Pasto 15-III-1797, ANE, Popayán, caja 239, fols. 15r-16v. On the revamping of Indian tribute collection in the late-1790s, see Francisco Sarasti to *corregidor* of Los Pastos, Túquerres, 5 December 1798, AGN, Tributos, tomo 2, fols. 806v-08r. On Indian-state conflict over tribute payment in eighteenth-century Los Pastos, see Williams, "Tribute, Textiles and Ethnic Economy."

⁴² Serulnikov, "Disputed Images of Colonialism," 211.

⁴³ Serulnikov, "Disputed Images of Colonialism," 211.

Beyond the real and symbolic attacks on the *corregidor*, the Indians of Los Pastos rose up to protect their right to negotiate directly with the Crown. This was not simply the defense of some unwritten, universal pact between Old World king and New World vassal. Rather, it was the recalcitrant assertion of a hard-earned, locally enforceable right to pursue their everyday political initiatives, and to negotiate—as Indians—the specific terms of colonial rule.

Seen from the perspective of Indian political culture, within a context of local patterns of negotiation with authority, the 1800 uprising appears as a rational response to Clavijo's political innovations. Yet, within the colonial imagination, the episode was understood using a very different criterion—one entirely unconcerned with the logical linkages between mass violence and prosaic strategies of negotiation. Rather, colonial authorities focused overwhelmingly on ascertaining who among the local patrician class might have been the "real origin" of the tumult.⁴⁴

The Crown's supposition of Creole instigation and string-pulling in Túquerres are hardly surprising, given that the most conspicuous target of the protest was the aguardiente factory. Indeed, there is little doubt that the attack on the royal monopoly was what raised suspicions of *vecino* involvement. Since the 1760s, government regulation of liquor production in New Granada had provoked widespread resistance, especially in those regions peripheral to the viceroyalty's sphere of control. In the neighboring province of Pasto, for instance, a more serious disturbance involving the assassination of a state official had occurred in protest of the establishment of the aguardiente monopoly in 1781.⁴⁵ Given the utter lack of evidence for *vecino* involvement, however, the evocation of the hidden-hand theory in reaction to the Los Pastos uprising demonstrates the degree to which the association of royal monopolies with Creole recalcitrance had become naturalized in the late-colonial imagination.

Such common-sense handling of popular protests also reveals the selective representation of politics along ethnic lines in eighteenth-

⁴⁴ See note 6 for the original quotation. Viceroy to governor of Popayán, Santa Fé, 20 June 1800, AGN, Virreyes, tomo 20, fols. 626r-26v.

⁴⁵ On local resistance to the liquor monopoly in New Granada, see Gilma Mora de Tovar, *Aguardiente y conflictos sociales en la Nueva Granada durante el siglo XVIII* (Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1988); McFarlane, "Civil Disorders," 22-27; and Earle Mond, "Indian Rebellion and Bourbon Reform," 102-10.

century New Granada. Various called *tumultos*, *motines*, or *revueltas* (tumults, riots, or revolts), attacks against royal monopolies or other fiscal innovations were deemed the domain of Creole-mestizo politics.⁴⁶ By the same logic, a protest concerning a different set of issues—community land, tribute payments, *mita* (state labor drafts), *repartamiento de bienes* (forced system of exchange)—was generally labeled a *sublevación* (uprising or rebellion), a word that immediately conjured up images of *Indian* unrest.⁴⁷ The categorization of late-colonial popular protest along ethnic lines served, in a discursive sense, to limit the legitimate political horizons of Indians to specific Indian issues. When Indian protest moved outside those boundaries, their politics were invisible. The strict correlation of certain behavior with "Indian-ness" helps to explain why colonial officials reacted with such resolve in May 1800, mobilizing troops to prevent Indian rebellion, only to later examine the episode as a clandestine Creole-mestizo attack against the government. The Indians' larger indictment of the local colonial system—one that included distaste for the provincial network of liquor monopoly—was simply imperceptible within such a design.⁴⁸

The invisible politics of the Indian rebels in Los Pastos is also in part explained by a late-colonial prejudice toward popular protest. Throughout the Spanish colonies, the Bourbon Crown increasingly feared the existence of multiclass coalitions allied against its central authority. Widespread was the belief that the new fiscal pressures and centralizing political reforms had created a context of potential alliance among Creoles, Indians, and mestizos. Of course, this was not simply viceregal paranoia. The experiences of large-scale rebellions

⁴⁶ For a sampling of the nomenclature of *vecino*-led civil disturbances in late-colonial New Granada, see McFarlane, "Civil Disorders," 20.

⁴⁷ In the Audiencia de Quito, official use of the term "*sublevación*" was almost exclusively limited to labeling Indian disturbances. In some cases, Indian-led protests were also dubbed *alzamientos* or *levantamientos*. Moreno Yáñez, *Sublevaciones indígenas*, passim.

⁴⁸ The analysis here of the official response to the Los Pastos uprising is consistent with Serulnikov's study of the colonial reaction to the large-scale Tomás Katari Rebellion in Chayanta (Upper Peru, 1780). Serulnikov observes similar attempts by authorities to represent Indian insurgency as narrowly focused against specific colonial institutions, particularly the tribute. He argues compellingly that the colonial "prose of counterinsurgency" sought to delegitimize or mitigate the Chayanta insurgents' broader critique of "the political and ideological basis of Spanish authority." Serulnikov, "Disputed Images of Colonialism," 201-05.

in the early 1780s—especially the *comuneros* in Socorro and Tupac Amaru in Cuzco—had shown how multiethnic and multiclass coalitions could effectively challenge colonial authority.⁴⁹

Beyond their conjunctural relevance, such fears also reflected certain dominant perceptions of elite and popular politics. First, in the logic of the colonial imagination, a popular protest against agents or institutions of government could only emerge in the fissures of elite conflict between European-born and American-born Spaniards. Second, it was routinely assumed that such cross-class alliances were directed—if often surreptitiously—by a discontented Creole sector that mobilized mestizos, mulattos, or Indians as pawns for their power struggles against central authority.⁵⁰ Various historians have rightly observed that the search for a hidden hand in popular protests reveals more about colonial interests and fears than it does about the internal complexities of late-colonial rebellion and revolt. As Anthony McFarlane argues in his interpretation of Quito's Rebellion of the Barrios (1765), even if the Creole elite did manipulate the plebe for their political projects, this did not preclude the possibility that popular groups could use the same context to express their own interests and politics.⁵¹ Yet, while such colonial rhetoric has understandably been mistrusted as a source for the social historian of popular attitudes and values, these same discourses provide an invaluable source for a study of the cultural conditioning of political space for popular and Indian agency.

In the specific case of the Los Pastos uprising, such attitudes towards popular protest were manifested in the colonial belief that Indians were incapable of having organized and led a confrontation with the *corregidor* as well as an attack on the liquor factory. Only after an exhaustive search for white or mestizo leaders did colonial investigators then look within the ranks of the Indian protesters. And here they focused exclusively on Crown-recognized Indian authorities—caciques, *gobernadores*, and *indios principales*—regarding these

⁴⁹ On the Comunero Rebellion, see Phelan, *People and the King*, esp. 50-94. On the Tupac Amaru Rebellion, see Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, *Rebellions and Revolts in Eighteenth-Century Peru and Upper Peru* (Köln: Böhlau, 1985), 209-73; and Ward Stavig, *The World of Tupac Amaru: Conflict, Community, and Identity in Colonial Peru* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999).

⁵⁰ Boleslao Lewin, *La rebelión de Tupac Amaru y los orígenes de la emancipación en Hispanoamérica* (Buenos Aires: Hachette, 1957).

⁵¹ McFarlane, "'The Rebellion of the Barrios,'" 306.

leaders more as corruptible local officials than as Indians per se.⁵² That is, whether by anti-reformist *vecinos*, interstitial mestizos, or power-hungry indigenous authorities, one thing was clear: Indian commoners must have been manipulated into rising up against local authority. It was an impossibility in the colonial mind-set that Indians, as such, could have initiated such a protest on their own. As it turned out, there had been both organizers and leaders—principally Indian women, as will be discussed later. Yet, when the investigation concluded that "the whole event had been the production of Indians, and the most ordinary mestizo folk," authorities stopped looking for political motivation or forethought.⁵³ In this new light, Indian participants were converted from the managed pawns of outsiders into Indian rebels, and their concerted protest was transformed into simple rebelliousness—spontaneous and irrational acts of barbarity.

To be sure, the perceptions revealed in the state's interpretation of the uprising formed part of a broader official attitude that deemed Indians incapable of self-representation. Indian voices only reached Crown ears when filtered through a recognized authority—whether it was a *protector de indios* (Indian legal advocate), a parish priest, or a community cacique. In short, Indian politics required mediation. Moreover, their claims were only recognized as legitimate and rational forms of grievance when channeled through a legal system created expressly for Indians—a system that the Los Pastos communities appear to have used to considerable effect. However, when the Indians stepped outside of the courts, taking their protests into the *zanjas* against neighboring haciendas, or—as on 19 May 1800—into the town plaza, the colonial perception of their actions shifted: Indian politics became simply Indian rebellion.

The linkages within the colonial imagination between ethnicity and political agency were connected as well to specific definitions of gender. This dynamic was particularly revealed when colonial investigators tried to make sense of the leadership roles played by women during the Los Pastos uprising. Of course, historians of other

⁵² Five Indian authorities were imprisoned for suspected involvement in the riots, but the investigation found no evidence of a coordinating or leadership role. None were convicted. Sentencing report, 17 September 1801, AGN, Anexos Justicias, tomo 6, fols. 277r-82r.

⁵³ The original wording is: "Todo el hecho ha sido producción de los indios y la gente mestiza más ordinaria." Governor of Popoyán to viceroy, Túquerres, 26 October 1800, AGN, Miscelanea de la Colonia, tomo 21, fol. 881r.

regions have long recognized the conspicuous participation of women in episodes of riot, revolt, and rebellion. Rural women in early industrializing England, for instance, were notorious for their violence and ferocity during the protests studied by Edward P. Thompson. William Taylor also has remarked how women often formed an "aggressive, insulting" majority of participants during village uprisings in eighteenth-century central Mexico. Similarly, in late-colonial New Granada, the female participation in the popular riots of the Comunero Rebellion has been depicted by John Phelan as "numerous, vocal and angry."⁵⁴

Yet, while such studies have importantly identified the radicalizing role of "the fury of women" in episodes of protest, they have been less forthcoming with reasons for differences in participation along gender lines.⁵⁵ That is, the question as to *why* women did—and could—participate so numerous, vocally, and angrily is left largely unanswered. The rich source-base produced by the official investigation of the Los Pastos uprising offers an opportunity to examine in depth the political significance of women-in-revolt, and, more broadly, the relevance of gendered differences in episodes of collective action. The actual participation of Indian women and men during the Los Pastos uprising contradicted prevailing beliefs—as expressed in the official handling of the uprising—about the relationships between gender, ethnicity, and politics. Examining the intersection of late-colonial racism and sexism also helps to explain both why the Indian women of Los Pastos were perceived differently than their male counterparts and what implications these conceptions had for Indian behavior during the uprising.

With respect to the participation of women and men during the uprising, several points merit emphasis. First, members of both sexes played crucial, active roles in the Túquerres episode. For example, while it was two men—Ramon Cucas Remo and Julian Carlosama—who killed the Clavijos, it was mainly Indian women, along

⁵⁴ See, respectively, Edward P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present* 50 (1971):76-136, esp. 115-16; Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide and Rebellion*, 116; and Phelan, *The People and the King*, 46. See also, Moreno Yáñez, *Sublevaciones indígenas*, 306.

⁵⁵ The phrase "the fury of women" comes from Phelan, *The People and the King*, 46.

with some mestizo women, who destroyed the aguardiente factory.⁵⁶ In general, both in Túquerres and during the spin-off uprisings, women and men participated together as the protagonists of selective violence. This is not to say, however, that the participation of protesters was not differentiated along gender lines. True to the stereotype, women tended to be more "vocal" during the various disturbances, radicalizing or extending the scope of the protest through their verbal interjections. Paula Flores, for instance, precipitated the torching of the factory by yelling: "As long as this house of the devil exists, we will never have peace."⁵⁷ By contrast, men seldom took center stage during the public demonstration in Túquerres. Indeed, besides the two assassins, the only other male participants singled out for their conspicuous and radicalizing presence were José Betancur and Lorenzo Piscal, who, with the beating of a drum, led the crowd in seditious chanting.⁵⁸

Further gender differences in participation emerge with respect to the organization and leadership of the protest. Here, Indian women clearly played the influential, directing role in the initiation and evolution of the uprising. Andrea Cucas, for example, coordinated the brief planning of and recruitment for the protest from her home in Chaytan. Similarly, on the day of the uprising it was a group of women who enlisted support from neighboring communities, sending messengers from the plaza in Túquerres. While men were

⁵⁶ Declaration of Juan Saavedra, Túquerres, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fol. 28v; and Confession of Lorenzo Piscal, 18 November 1800, Túquerres, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fol. 48v.

⁵⁷ The original wording is: "Mientras esta casa de diablos exista no hemos de tener paz." Declaration of Antonio González, Túquerres, 4 December 1800, AGN, Aguardientes de Cauca, tomo 1, fol. 300r. Another participant accused Nicolasa Táquez of the same provocative statement. Confession of Julián Carlosama, Túquerres, 16 December 1800, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fol. 57v. For other verbal interjections and conspicuous actions of women during the uprising, see Declaration of Antonio Mera, Túquerres, 4 December 1800, AGN, Aguardientes de Cauca, tomo 1, fol. 296r; Declaration of Manuel Ynquorar[?], Túquerres, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fol. 24r; Confession of Ramón Cucas Remo, Túquerres, 29 November 1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fol. 51r; and Report of governor of Popayán, 28 November 1800, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fols. 45v-46v.

⁵⁸ Report of governor of Popayán, Túquerres, 28 November 1800, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fol. 46r; and Sentencing report, 17 September 1801, AGN, Anexos Justicias, tomo 6, fol. 279v.

involved in the clandestine planning process, few emerged as leaders during the episode, and the more common trend was to follow the initiative or urging of women. Even the assassination of the Clavijos in the church was precipitated by female prompting, including a false rumor spread by some women that a group of *vecinos* from the town of Pasto would soon be arriving to liberate the *corregidor*.⁵⁹

Thus, women participants in the uprising were not only numerous, but also were at the vanguard of the collective protest. Of course, the weighty participation of women in the 1800 uprising is hardly surprising. As in other rural Spanish American contexts, women in Los Pastos made up the majority of the sedentary population and were probably in a better position than their male counterparts—who worked in haciendas or as *cargueros*—to make the trip to protest in Túquerres.⁶⁰ Moreover, the Indian women of Los Pastos had legitimate and direct reasons for protesting the tithe extension and the general tightening of the local colonial administration. To be sure, Indian women experienced the forces of local exploitation differently than their brothers or husbands, who faced the direct obligations of tribute and public works labor obligations. Yet, as wives of *cargueros*, for example, Indian women were charged with independently managing all domestic affairs during the long absences of their husbands.⁶¹ As weavers and spinners, they were directly responsible for the production of textiles for Indian tribute.⁶²

This is not to argue, however, that Indian women forwarded some proto-feminist critique of the *corregidor's* administration.

⁵⁹ Confession of Julián Carlosama, Túquerres, 16 December 1800, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fol. 57v. On strikingly similar female leadership during the Tupac Amaru Rebellion, see, for example, Leon Campbell, "Women and the Great Rebellion in Peru, 1780-1783," *The Americas* 42:2 (1985):163-96.

⁶⁰ Taylor offers a similar explanation of the large female presence during the village rebellions in late-colonial central Mexico. Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide and Rebellion*, 116.

⁶¹ *Protector de naturales* (Los Pastos) to viceroy, Túquerres, 1 June 1797, AGN, Tributos, tomo 2, fol. 857v. *Cargueros de viveres* were found throughout the Los Pastos district. Perhaps as many as half of all adult male Indians worked as porters, carrying supplies to the Barbacoas gold mines. Nine of the nineteen Indians imprisoned after the uprising, for example, were identified as *cargueros*. Various confessions, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fols. 33v-40r, 47r-88v.

⁶² In Los Pastos, weaving apparently was principally a female occupation. See, for example, Various confessions, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fols. 33v-40r, 47r-88v, 96r-97v.

Rather, the pertinent point here is that *indias* participated in the protest both as women and as Indians (among perhaps other identities), and thus cannot be conceived as a separate social block, unconnected to the larger ideological expression of the uprising. That is, while participation did in fact differ by gender, in Los Pastos both women-in-protest and men-in-protest were allied in the empowering and violent assertion of their political rights.

The testimonies and forced confessions recorded during the criminal investigation clearly demonstrate the important role played by women in the organization, leadership, and action of the uprising. In a preliminary report to the *audiencia* in November 1800, the governor of Popayán—who headed the investigation—not only recognized the general participation of Indian women, but also identified the machination of Andrea Cucas and signaled Fulgencia Chaucanes and Paula Flores as the "principal engines of the disturbance."⁶³ Yet, ten months later when the trial wrapped up, these earlier findings did not translate into fitting punishments. Moreover, gone was any mention of female organization or leadership; rather, the apparent female initiators of the uprising—Chaucanes and Flores—were convicted along with several other male Indians for having looted the factory. While men convicted of lesser crimes were sentenced to two hundred lashes and eight years in prison, these women, so central to the radicalization of the protest, received half the corporal punishment and only a two-year exile from the province.⁶⁴ Although faced with the documented rebelliousness of Indian women, the colonial justice system was unable to hold them equally responsible for their actions.⁶⁵

⁶³ The original wording is: "los principales motores de la inquietud." Report of governor of Popayán, 28 November 1800, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fol. 45r.

⁶⁴ Sentencing report, 17 September 1801, AGN, Anexos Justicias, tomo 6, fols. 280r-80v. Cucas fled after the uprising, joining the outlaw bands that roamed the province. Though jailed briefly, she promptly escaped, thus vanishing from historical record.

⁶⁵ In the Indian uprisings in eighteenth-century Audiencia de Quito, a similar phenomenon of massive female participation and minimal punishment can be discerned. See Moreno Yáñez, *Sublevaciones indígenas*, esp. 126-27, 143-46, 164, 201. Capital punishment for women was unusual but not unheard of. For an exceptional case of three women hanged and quartered after an 1803 uprising in Guamote and Columbe (Audiencia de Quito), see Moreno Yáñez, *Sublevaciones indígenas*, 128, 333.

The records of the criminal proceedings of the uprising particularly illuminate the ways that colonial definitions of political agency were shaped by notions of gender and ethnicity. The *protector de indios* never contested the body of evidence detailing the women's active participation. Rather, he argued that their actions could not be deemed as criminal because they had not been the consequence of rational plotting, but of "their lack of reflection." The *protector* reminded the viceroy as well of the inherent "fragility of [their] sex," which he offered as proof of the women's subordination to male *sublevados*. He pleaded to the court, for instance, to:

Consider these unfortunate women, possessed by fear of a riotous tumult and by the threats of a few *fierce men*, and expecting to die.... [They could] only free themselves through obedience to these [men].⁶⁶

Along the same lines, he contended that female acts of violence and destruction were the result of the compulsion of men. And the *protector's* efforts were not in vain: the judge concurred, ruling that, while such a defense was not sufficient for the women's complete impunity, it was for the substantial mitigation of the punishment.⁶⁷

It is worth noting that, without exception, every male defendant similarly alleged that he had been obligated to participate against his will. But, in these cases, such arguments were not judged as credible, and many of these men were convicted, imprisoned, or, in four cases, hanged, drawn, and quartered—a typical punishment for Indians implicated in the death of a colonial official.⁶⁸ Of course, male

⁶⁶ The original wording is: "su falla de reflexión;" "la fragilidad de sexo;" and "Conciderense esas infelices, poseidas del susto de un motinado tumulto y de las amenazas de unos hombres constituidos en fieras; y esperando la muerte...[podían] libertarse solamente con obedecerles...." *Protector de naturales* (Los Pastos) to viceroy of Santa Fé, 9 October 1800, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fol. 106v. Emphasis added. See also Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fol. 103v.

⁶⁷ Sentencing report, 17 September 1801, AGN, Anexos Justicias, tomo 6, fols. 280r-80v.

⁶⁸ Confession of Lorenzo Piscal, Túquerres, 18 November 1800, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fol. 49r; and Sentencing report, 28 September 1801, AGN, Anexos Justicias, tomo 6, fol. 280r. On death sentences and lesser punishments after other "Indian uprisings" in late-colonial Audiencia de Quito, see Moreno Yáñez, *Sublevaciones indígenas*.

Indian suspects were not judged to have acted rationally or with reflection. Rather, as Indian *men*, they posed a permanent potential threat within the colonial imagination and, as such, required the heavy hand of colonial law. Indeed, in contrasting the fierceness of the male participants to the timorous and obedient nature of women, the *protector* conjured up the image of the Indian rebel—that vengeful and barbaric man that had haunted the imagination of Spanish colonizers from the earliest colonial times.⁶⁹

The complimentary cultural constructions of what could be termed the "rebel Indian man" and the "innocuous Indian woman" were neatly highlighted during an episode which occurred in Guaytarilla some hours after the destruction of the tithe decree on 18 May. In the aftermath of the incident in the church and the subsequent confinement of two *indias*, various *vecinos*, as well as an agitated group of *indios*, congregated in front of the house of Bernardo Eraso, the parish priest. Eraso denounced the excesses committed by the female Indians and recommended that if the community had a grievance they should better express this through the *protector de indios*. The priest concluded the meeting and exonerated the community at large from blame, dismissing the morning's events as having been "the work of women."⁷⁰

Several elements of Eraso's speech merit elaboration. On one level, with his reference to the *protector*, the priest affirmed the need for mediation in Indian politics. The women were being punished first and foremost because—as *Indians*—such direct forms of expressing grievances could not be tolerated. More explicitly, however, the priest hoped to diminish the seriousness of the event by dwelling on the femaleness of its protagonists. To this end, he made a clear distinction between an act of male rebelliousness and the harmless work of a group of women. Finally, by absolving the Indians in general, Eraso effectively represented the actions of women as isolated from, or peripheral to, the interests of the community at large. In retrospect, however, given the show of solidarity in defense of the locked-up women and the subsequent protest the next day, this was not the case.

⁶⁹ Elinor Burkett, "Indian Women and White Society: The Case of Sixteenth-Century Peru," in *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives*, ed. Asunción Lavrin (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), 123.

⁷⁰ The original wording is: "Había sido una obra de mujeres." Report of Bernardo Eraso, Túquerres, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fol. 14r.

Yet, the priest—himself likely aware of a broader community involvement—recognized that he could diminish the sense of threat to the non-Indian population simply by emphasizing the common-sense perception of Indian women as both non-political and non-threatening beings. If Indians, in general, were politically invisible, the sexist notion of women as weak and unthreatening created a context in which the *indias* of Los Pastos were ethnically invisible. That is, within the juridical and ideological definition of political agency, their gender identity overwhelmed their ethnic identity. While Indian women participated both as women and as Indians in defense of their domestic and community interests, in the colonial eye they were seen as women only. As such, their Indian rebelliousness remained imperceptible.

There is no doubt that the intersection between sexual difference and politics as represented in late-colonial discourse corresponded little to local Indian conceptions of gender and political protest. This is not to say, however, that the two positions were not inter-related. In fact, such a disparity seems to have created for Indian women in Los Pastos a political space, inside of which they could act radically, even violently, without being perceived as captaining rebellion. Whereas men could be sure that their conspicuous actions during the protest would be judged as subversive, women could participate boldly and vociferously with the assurance that their efforts would be interpreted not only as irrational and non-political, but as compelled and innocuous as well. Indian women, in this sense, enjoyed more opportunity than their male counterparts for political action within this exceptional context of community manifestations.⁷¹ When they led a protest, it would be seen as obliged obedience; when they radicalized the scope of the protest, it would be judged as a peripheral influence; and when they acted politically, their actions would be dismissed disparagingly as "the work of women."

The various defenses forwarded during the Los Pastos' trial clearly demonstrate an Indian awareness of colonial definitions of

⁷¹ The premeditation of female political action has been noted in passing in other studies of popular protest, most notably by Edward P. Thompson for the rural "riots" in eighteenth-century England. Thompson marvels at how women "...cunningly combin[ed] fury with the calculation that they had slightly greater immunity than the men from the retaliation of the authorities," and cites a local official who suspected that women's prominence during riots was "partly because they presume upon the privilege of their sex." Thompson, "The Moral Economy," 115-16.

gender, ethnicity, and political (or rebellious) action. Of course, it is difficult to determine if such knowledge was used as conscious strategy during the protest. However, at least one incident during the uprising in Guaytarilla suggests the appropriation of colonial ethnicity and gender constructions by an Indian community to pursue political ends. In testimony given to investigators, Manuela Cumbal claimed that minutes before she and four other women stole and destroyed the tithe decree from the parish priest, she overheard a group of Indian men talking in the entrance of the church. They were saying:

Let us hope some women decide to steal the [decree] that the Priest is about to read, so that its effect can be suspended.⁷²

That this supposed conversation singled out women as the ideal candidates for the task suggests that the community was well aware of the different implications of "the work of men" and "the work of women." A group of Indian women would offer the perfect vehicle to express a community grievance effectively—without provoking severe reprimand. Indeed, as suggested by the community's unanimous indignation to the subsequent confinement of the women, it was as if they fully expected the incident to have gone unpenalized.

Of course, it is conceivable that Cumbal simply invented this conversation during the investigation so as to diminish the responsibility for her actions. Even if this were the case, the fabrication of the story still would reflect an awareness of colonial conceptions of sexism and racism and a willingness to take advantage of her favorable position as an Indian woman. In either scenario, it seems reasonable to affirm that the women assumed radical or initiative roles in part because they understood that their actions would be deemed irrational and innocent. By the same token, Indian men were less likely to take on conspicuous roles, conscious that their actions would be perceived as threatening and rebellious.

The salient participation of women in the Los Pastos uprising, and more generally in late-colonial indigenous uprisings, may well

⁷² The original wording is: "Decían que ojalá algunas mujeres se resolvieran a quitar al Sacerdote el recudimiento que iba a leerse, que de este modo podria suspenderse su efecto." Confession of Manuela Cumbal, Túquerres, 31 January 1801, Pasto 26-IX-1800, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fol. 90r.

reflect a calculated strategy of Indian communities in open manifestations of protest. To contend this is not to argue that Indian men were suppressing some sort of natural male leadership capabilities, or alternatively, that women's importance within local Indian society was limited to moments of public protest. Indeed, the prominent role of women in the clandestine organization of the Túquerres protest strongly suggests otherwise. Rather, the experience in the Los Pastos uprising demonstrates that Indians were not simply passive recipients of colonial knowledge about gender and ethnicity. In fact, they were capable of appropriating these colonial perceptions as a tactic to maximize the impact of their protest while minimizing the overall cost for the community. Such a conclusion also warns against assuming that colonial discourses about race and gender were hegemonic—that they closed off all space for negotiation or the emergence of popular or indigenous alternatives. Rather, colonial hierarchies were shot through with ambiguities and contradictions. Gender and ethnicity intersected differently in various historical contexts during the colonial period and did not necessarily doom Indian women to a double jeopardy.⁷³ For Indian women in the eighteenth-century Andes, colonial sexism could mitigate the effect of colonial racism, allowing them to lead the way during these exceptional—but defining—episodes of collective protest.

In itself, there was nothing exceptional or novel in the racial and gendered interpretation of the Los Pastos uprising by colonial officials. Yet, the specific timing and the particular location of the uprising suggest a larger significance of the episode within the colonial imagination. On the one hand, the handling of the Los Pastos uprising by viceregal authorities needs to be read against the backdrop of changing attitudes towards mestizos and Indians in New Granada. That is, the episode corresponded to a context in which Indian policy in New Granada was being redefined—a gradual shift from colonial politics of separation to a proto-national policy of integration. On the other hand, late-colonial Los Pastos was a highland Indian region on the periphery of an increasingly mestizo territory, and in this sense the colonial response to the 1800 uprising previewed Bogotá's republican Indian policy toward an increasingly marginalized Indian frontier.

⁷³ Burkett, "Indian Women," 122-24.

Perhaps nowhere else in the Andes did the process of biological and cultural *mestizaje* (Indian-white miscegenation) happen as fast or as thoroughly than within the highland Indian regions of present-day Colombia. By mid-eighteenth century, in the central cordillera around Santa Fé, the core regions of the once-great Chibcha civilization had been overrun by epidemics and miscegenation. The dissolution of the Indian *resguardo*—now infiltrated with mestizo farmers who in many cases outnumbered the Indian inhabitants—appeared irreversible.⁷⁴ Moreover, by late-colonial times, Indian tribute had ceased to be an important fiscal base in New Granada, and thus the preservation of the *resguardo* had lost its fiscal sense. Colonial authorities increasingly professed an integrationist policy, arguing the economic logic in fully privatizing community lands and encouraging Indian acculturation. Among certain sectors, *mestizaje* began to be viewed as a positive social force. That is, it would help integrate what was considered a declining and wretched Indian population by grafting them into this interstitial caste.⁷⁵ Indeed, by the turn of the nineteenth century, an important political and discursive shift was underway in New Granada: the colonial mestizo problem of separation was being replaced with the republican Indian problem of incorporation.

However, such a discursive transformation did not happen at once, nor was it an uncontested process, something that the official handling of mestizos in the Los Pastos uprising reveals. In numerical terms, mestizos made up but a fraction of the crowd in Túquerres and played no significant leadership or organizing roles. Yet the mestizo participants in the protest received unusually severe treatment, suspected and convicted in disproportionately high numbers for their peripheral participation.⁷⁶ Indeed, during the official investigation, the

⁷⁴ Phelan, *The People and the King*, 90-94.

⁷⁵ Safford, "Race, Integration and Progress," 4-11.

⁷⁶ Sentencing report, 17 September 1801, AGN, Anexos Justicias, tomo 6, fols. 280r-80v. Of the fifty-nine suspects rounded up after the Los Pastos uprising, almost a quarter were non-Indian; of the twenty-five men who were imprisoned and tried for their roles in the uprising, more than one-third were mestizo. For the purposes of this analysis, ethnicity of suspects was determined from their testimony using three criteria: overt statements of ethnicity; presence or absence of *protector de naturales* (Indian legal advocate); or association in court proceedings of *naturaleza* or *patria* with Indian and *vecinidad* with white-mestizo. Various confessions, November 1800-January 1801, ANE, Criminales, caja 131, fols. 47v-88v, 96r-98r; and Lista de los reos, Pasto 26-I-1801, ANE, Popayán, caja 258.

search for outside leadership of the Indian uprising extended beyond the *vecino* sector, to the province's mestizo population. Colonial authorities suspected mestizos in part for the same reasons they suspected local whites: any coordinated protest against colonial authority required non-Indian guidance. But, rather than imagining mestizos as masterminding some anti-government plot, the supposition of influence in this case reflected a well-established tradition of seeing mixed-blood *castas* as an undesirable and disruptive force in colonial society. In the colonial imagination, mestizos had always existed outside the ideal bipartite model of a *República de Españoles* and a *República de Indios*. *Mestizaje* was blamed for the degeneration of both Indian pueblos and Spanish cities. This interstitial mixed-blood class was especially implicated in the social problems of Indian communities—drinking, land conflicts, and general unrest—which had worked to undercut the functional relationship between the state and the Indian population. Thus, in the aftermath of collective uprisings by Indian communities, the usual mestizo suspects were invariably rounded up.

The official reaction to mestizo participation reveals the larger functioning of ethnic politics in late-colonial New Granada. First, it is important to note that the ideal of two distinct republics still carried political weight. Even in New Granada, where the notion of a dual society was increasingly exposed as fiction by buoyant miscegenation, the ideal of Indian separation persisted. That is, the reality of *mestizaje* did not necessarily lead to a universal acceptance of its inevitability or irreversibility. In fact, some influential thinkers, like the viceregal *protector de indios* Moreno y Escandón, called for a redoubling of segregation efforts. As Frank Safford argues, late-colonial New Granada witnessed a lively ideological battle over the vicerealty's politics of ethnicity.⁷⁷ Thus, it is worth recalling that while many Creole thinkers increasingly espoused integrationist politics, higher-level authorities tended to cling to the familiarity of colonial institutions, even if they had to be propped up or reinvented. Indeed, early republican policy toward the Indian problem in Colombia, as

⁷⁷ Moreno y Escandón advocated the resettlement of Indians so as to create a handful of Indian-only *resguardos*, while freeing up other *resguardo* land for white-mestizo farmers. Safford, "Race, Integration and Progress," 3-11. The Moreno y Escandón inspection is transcribed in Francisco Antonio Moreno y Escandón, *Indios y mestizos of la Nueva Granada a finales del siglo XVIII*, ed. Jorge Orlando Melo, transcription by Germán Colmenares y Alonso Valencia (Bogotá: Biblioteca Banco Popular, 1985), vol. 124.

elsewhere in the Andes, would be marked more by the redefinition and restructuring of colonial caste relationships than by attempts at political or economic integration.⁷⁸

Second, the presumption of a mestizo problem in the particular case of the Los Pastos uprising was incongruent with the region's ethnic make-up and is symptomatic of this province's relationship to central authority. Unlike other highland regions in the viceroyalty, mestizo intrusion into Indian communities in Los Pastos was not a widespread problem.⁷⁹ The region south of Popayán, and particularly the Los Pastos province, never experienced the same degree of *mestizaje* as other highland areas in New Granada. In a 1797 census, for example, only 3 percent of Los Pastos' population was identified as having mixed origin—hardly a threatening force in an overwhelmingly Indian society. In this sense, the search for mestizo agitators in the 1800 uprising was a curious reaction—a response more appropriate to a disturbance in, say, Popayán or Socorro, where a more generalized *mestizaje* held sway.⁸⁰

In part, the imposition of a misplaced agenda onto the investigation is symptomatic of Los Pastos' geographic isolation and relative insignificance for viceregal government. As the thirty-year lag in the implementation of the Bourbon reforms exemplifies, the region had never been anything but peripheral to colonial administrative and fiscal policies.⁸¹ But as well, from the perspective of Santa Fé, the province of Los Pastos and the neighboring province of Pasto consti-

⁷⁸ Larson, "Andean Highland Peasants," 683-86.

⁷⁹ A review of Indian lawsuits processed in Quito between 1774-1813 reveals that only four of the more than twenty-five land-related petitions in Los Pastos involved mestizos. Williams, "Acomodación, negociación y el actuar político," 29-74.

⁸⁰ The 1797 census for Los Pastos recorded less than six hundred "libres de todos colores" (a category that incorporated mestizos) in a population of almost eighteen thousand. "Padrón general del gobierno de Popayán, 1797," transcribed in *Cespedesía* 45-46 (1983):495-512. Seventeen years earlier, a census of the Popayán district identified less than 1 percent of the Los Pastos population as "libres." These figures reflect the relative lack of *mestizaje* in late-colonial Los Pastos within a broader New Granada context. In Socorro, center of the 1781 Comuneros Rebellion, 44 percent of the population was mestizo; in Popayán, 20 percent; and in neighboring Pasto, 8 percent. Estado general del numero de Almas, Popayán, 14 March 1781, AGN, Censos de varios departamentos, tomo 6, fol. 361.

⁸¹ Earle Mond, "Indian Rebellion and Bourbon Reform," 102. The region's isolation from colonial power was reinforced by geography—situated an eight-day's journey from Quito and a full ten days from Popayán.

tuted an Indian region on the margins of a society bent on miscegenation. The Andean sierra south of Popayán was a zone long colonized and always integrated into macro-regional economic circuits, yet, unlike the majority of New Granada, remained highly Indian. As such, it simply did not fit into the emerging assimilationist imaginings of the Creole elite.

Indeed, the Los Pastos region shared more in common with its neighbors to the south—the *audiencias* of Quito, Peru, and Charcas—where large indigenous peasantries ensured a distinct approach to the complex questions of ethnicity. By 1800, the Los Pastos region was positioned on the indigenous side of an increasingly defined boundary in the Andes between a "mestizo North" and "Indian South." This ethnic frontier did not correspond to the future national boundary between Colombia and Ecuador, a fact that ensured the continued political marginalization of the region throughout the nineteenth century. In Los Pastos, the Indian communities were destined to reproduce themselves within a new Colombian republic committed to imagining a nation where "Indians would disappear into cultural *mestizaje*."⁸²

Indeed, Santa Fé's response to the Indian uprising in Los Pastos turned out to be a partial preview of Colombia's handling of its Indian problem in the republican period—anticipating the nineteenth-century fate of those regional Indian islands that had resisted the ebb tide of *mestizaje*. The viceroy's decisive military reaction in May 1800 foreshadowed the republican policy of marginalization—and in some cases, extermination—of the indigenous population in southwestern Colombia. Within an official ideology of Indian assimilation, those regions that did not accommodate themselves to the model would be left out, excluded from the national project of progress and integration.⁸³ Much as colonial officials feared the spread of Indian rebellion in 1800, so too would central authorities in the Republic of Colombia be concerned by the remnants of its Indian and colonial past. After all, the Los Pastos uprising served as a reminder that,

⁸² Larson, "Andean Highland Peasants," 594.

⁸³ Safford, "Race, Integration, and Progress." An exceptional case of Indian resurgence in nineteenth-century Colombia was the Paez, an indigenous group based in the Andes' Central Cordillera, east of Popayán. See Joanne Rappaport, *The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Colombian Andes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 81-106.

despite the seeming inevitability of the complimentary processes of *mestizaje* and *hispanización*, Indian communities still existed, even thrived. Moreover, Los Pastos, like other "Indian stains" in New Granada, would remain an anomaly in the republican era. An Indian frontier—especially one with a vital culture of political engagement—was to complicate the implicit ethnocidal visions of Colombia's fledgling nation-builders.