

NOTES

PREFACE

1. See Anthony Castanha, “Adventures in Caribbean Indigeneity Centering on Resistance, Survival and Presence in Borikén (Puerto Rico)” (PhD diss., University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 2004).
2. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books; and Dunedin, New Zealand: University of Otago Press, 1999), 35.
3. Although most indigenous groups prefer to be called by their own names in their own languages, I think “indigenous,” “native,” “aboriginal,” or “first” peoples are succinctly defined collectively by Julian Burger in terms of the right of self-identification, inclusivity, and the ability to adapt and survive, when he writes, “First peoples have a strong sense of their own identity as unique peoples, with their own lands, languages, and cultures. They claim the right to define what is meant by indigenous, and to be recognized as such by others. Some now live in cities, earning their living as, for example, lawyers and community workers—or in many cases struggling to make ends meet; others retain a traditional way of life. But they are united in their desire to maintain their identity and yet be able to adapt and survive,” in Julian Burger, *The Gaia Atlas of First Peoples: A Future for the Indigenous World* (New York: Doubleday, 1990), 16–17.
4. The term “*Indio*,” or “Indian,” was of course an imaginary creation of Christopher Columbus who believed, or refused to accept otherwise (Hulme 1986), that he had reached Asia or the Indies of the east up until his death in 1506. In other words, Columbus was virtually lost throughout his four voyages to the Americas. It is with this understanding and for the sake of clarity that I use the word in this book. I will also utilize indigenous words as appropriate as the Indian language in Borikén has survived in different forms and efforts to revitalize and perpetuate the language are under way. For an extensive listing of native words, see Luis Hernández Aquino, *Diccionario De Voces Indígenas De Puerto Rico* (San Juan: Editorial Cultural, 1993).

5. Thomas King, *The Truth About Stories: A Native Narrative* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 36–37.
6. *Ibid.*, 54.
7. Ronald D. Arroyo, “Da Borinkees: The Puerto Ricans of Hawaii” (PhD diss., Union Graduate School, 1977), 2.
8. *Ibid.*, 2–3.
9. Salvador Brau, *Historia de Puerto Rico* (1904; San Juan: Editorial Coquí, 1966), 181.
10. Arroyo, “Da Borinkees,” 3.
11. Oscar Lamour-Valentín, *Cannibal Recipes*, A sociolinguistic account of Carib-Jíbaro culture and response to the work of Ramón Pané, Unpublished manuscript (Ames: Iowa State University, 1979), 4.
12. The name “Boricua” basically means “sacred place where the people come from,” referring to both place and people. Bo—“big” or “great”; Ri—“humanity” or “people”; and Cua—“sacred.” Interview with elder and indigenous cultural practitioner Naniki Reyes-Ocasio, July 12, 1999.
13. María Teresa Babín, *The Puerto Ricans’ Spirit: Their History, Life, and Culture*, translated by Barry Luby (New York: Collier Books, 1971), 1–2.
14. Samuel M. Wilson, ed., *The Indigenous People of the Caribbean* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 177.
15. José Barreiro, “Carib Gallery,” *Northeast Indian Quarterly* 7, no. 3 (Fall 1990): 47.
16. See Bartolomé de Las Casas, in Oliver Dunn and James E. Kelly, Jr., eds., trans., *The Diario of Christopher Columbus’s First Voyage to America, 1492–1493*, abstracted by Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 284–87.
17. See Jesse Walter Fewkes, *The Aborigines of Porto Rico and Neighboring Islands*, 25th Annual Report, B. A. E. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1907).
18. Eugenio Fernández Méndez, *Art and Mythology of the Taino Indians of the Greater West Indies* (México City: Editorial Libros de México, 1972), 17.
19. See also Hernández-Aquino’s definition of “Carib” in relation to Borikén, in Aquino, *Diccionario De Voces Indígenas De Puerto Rico*, 124.
20. Interview with Carib-Jíbaro linguist and scholar Oki Lamour-Valentín, July 27, 1998; Uahtibili Báez Santiago and Huana Naboli Martínez Prieto, “Puerto Rico”: *la gran mentira*, Ilustraciones y arte gráfico por Luis Roberto Domínguez (Camuy, Puerto Rico: Edición Revisada, 2008), 45.
21. Lamour-Valentín, *Cannibal Recipes*, 36.
22. Luis O. Zayas Micheli, in Manuel A. Alonso, *El Jibaro* (Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico: Editorial Edil, Inc., 1992), 6.

23. Interview with Lamourt-Valentín, July 27, 1998.
24. Correspondence with artisan and indigenous cultural practitioner Margarita Nogueras-Vidal.

CHAPTER 1

1. Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the native Caribbean, 1492–1797*, (London: Methuen & Co., 1986), 8.
2. George Lamming, “The Occasion for Speaking,” in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, ed. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (New York: Routledge, 1995), 15.
3. Interview with Jíbaro *campesino* Cuko, August 22, 2008.
4. Interview with the Jíbaro man, August 23, 2008.
5. The main islands of the northern Antilles are known today as Cuba, Jamaica, Haití and the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico.
6. In a chapter titled “Columbus: Cannibal and Hero of Genocide,” Jack Forbes provides a poignant explanation of Columbus’s mission to the Americas. He writes, “Colón had had experience along the coasts of west Africa, helping to carry Africans to Portugal. He was apparently very familiar with the slave trade and with the philosophy of imperialism. As we shall see, he implemented a process of genocide probably without parallel until the days of Adolf Hitler. Moreover, it was his intention to commit ethnocide and to ruthlessly exploit the people he found in America.” See Jack Forbes, *Columbus and Other Cannibals: The Wétiko Disease of Exploitation, Imperialism and Terrorism* (New York: Autonomedia, 1992), 35–42. Accordingly, Luis Rivera chides certain scholars’ dismissal of genocide in favor of a “sanitary disaster” as the result of epidemics when noting, “In this view, it was a matter of mosquitoes, lice, fleas, bacteria, viruses, and germs! Missing is a critical and concrete analysis of the social context of the epidemics, their relation to the breakdown of the social order, the disaster in agricultural production, the degradation of autochthonous values, and the use of natives as instruments for the avaricious search for precious metals. The strange thing is that such factors are overwhelmingly present in innumerable testimonies from contemporaries,” in Luis N. Rivera, *A Violent Evangelism: The Political and Religious Conquest of the Americas*, translated by Westminster/John Knox Press (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), 178–79.
7. Loida Figueroa Mercado, *History of Puerto Rico: From the Beginning to 1892* (New York: L. A. Publishing Company, 1978), 74.
8. Adalberto López, “Birth of a Nation: Puerto Rico in the Nineteenth Century,” in *The Puerto Ricans: Their History, Culture, and Society*, ed. Adalberto López (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1980), 40, 53.

9. Arlene Dávila, "Local/Diasporic Taínos: Towards a Cultural Politics of Memory, Reality and Imagery," in *Taino Revival: Critical Perspectives on Puerto Rican Identity and Cultural Politics*, ed. Gabriel Haslip-Viera (New York: Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, Hunter College, City University of New York, 1999), 14.
10. Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 11.
11. Richard A. Grounds, "Yuchi Travels: Up and Down the Academic 'Road to Disappearance,'" in *Native Voices: American Indian Identity and Resistance*, ed. Richard A. Grounds, George E. Tinker, and David E. Wilkins (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 291.
12. Ibid.
13. Pierre Bourdieu, *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 40.
14. Franke Wilmer, *The Indigenous Voice in World Politics: Since Time Immemorial* (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1993), 42.
15. United Nations General Assembly, Report of the Human Rights Council, "United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples," September 7, 2007.
16. Maximilian C. Forte, "Introduction: The Dual Absences of Extinction and Marginality—What Difference Does an Indigenous Presence Make?" in *Indigenous Resurgence in the Contemporary Caribbean: Amerindian Survival and Revival*, ed. Maximilian C. Forte (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2006), 3.
17. Ricardo Alegría, quoted in Stan Steiner, *The Islands: The Worlds of the Puerto Ricans* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 15.
18. Grounds, "Yuchi Travels," in *Native Voices*, ed. Grounds, Tinker, and Wilkins, 302.
19. Interview with Carib-Jíbaro linguist and scholar Oki Lamour-Valentín, July 28, 1998.
20. Samuel M. Wilson, "The Legacy of the Indigenous People of the Caribbean," in *The Indigenous People of the Caribbean*, ed. Samuel M. Wilson (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 206.
21. Interview with Cuko, August 21, 2008.
22. Ibid.
23. Interview with Cuko, August 22, 2008.
24. Ibid.
25. Amaryll Chanady, "Identity, politics and *mestizaje*," in *Contemporary Latin American Cultural Studies*, ed. Stephen Hart and Richard Young (London: Arnold, 2003), 197.
26. José María Arguedas, *Formación de una Cultura Nacional Indoamericana* (México City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975), 2.
27. For a more detailed description and illustration of a *burén*, see Nelsonrafael Collazo, *Imágenes del Indio Puertorriqueño* (Jayuya, Puerto Rico: Nelsonrafael Collazo Grau, 1999), 33.

28. Interview with elder and *espiritista* Shachira, August 18, 2008.
29. Interview with the Jíbaro man, August 23, 2008.
30. Arguedas, *Formación de Una Cultura Nacional Indoamericana*, 2.
31. Interview with Cuko, August 21, 2008.
32. Chanady, "Identity, politics and *mestizaje*," in *Contemporary Latin American Cultural Studies*, ed. Hart and Young, 197.
33. Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 3.
34. Vine Deloria, Jr., *Red Earth, White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 1997), 167.
35. The storyteller, quoted in Steiner, *The Islands*, 15.
36. Francisco Moscoso, "Chieftdom and *Encomienda* in Puerto Rico: The Development of Tribal Society and the Spanish Colonization to 1530," in *The Puerto Ricans*, ed. López, 14.
37. Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 27–28.
38. Some of the stories were importantly recorded in script by the early Spanish chroniclers. For example, Ramón Pané notes how the people and particularly the leaders he associated with in Kiskeya believed in ancient songs or *areítos* as an important form of communication: "In fact, just as the Moors, they have their laws gathered in ancient songs, by which they govern themselves, as do the Moors by their scripture," in Fray Ramón Pané, *An Account of the Antiquities of the Indians* (c. 1498), trans. Susan C. Griswold (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 20. Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (Peter Martyr) writes that when the indigenous peoples were asked about the origins of their traditions, "they answer[ed] that they have inherited them from their ancestors; they say those things have been transmitted in that way in songs from time immemorial." Quoted in Pané, *An Account of the Antiquities of the Indians*, 50.
39. Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*, xi.
40. Juan Manuel Delgado, "Sobrevivencia de los apellidos indígenas según la historia oral de Puerto Rico," *Revista de Genealogía Puer-torriqueña* 2 no. 1 (April 2001): 41–80.
41. *Ibid.*, 53.
42. Interview with activist and indigenous cultural practitioner Baracutey, July 24, 1998.
43. Interview with activist and Jíbaro *campesino* Pepe, August 24, 2008.
44. Milton Takei, "Collective Memory as the Key to National and Ethnic Identity: The Case of Cambodia," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 4, no. 3 (1998): 62.
45. Irving Rouse, *The Tainos: Rise & Decline of the People Who Greeted Columbus* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 30.

46. Jesse Walter Fewkes, *The Aborigines of Porto Rico and Neighboring Islands*, 25th Annual Report, B. A. E. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1907), 20.
47. Interview with artisan and indigenous cultural practitioner Margarita Nogueras-Vidal, July 30, 1998.
48. Margarita Nogueras-Vidal, "Taíno Indian Symbolism . . . To Feel is to Perceive," Pamphlet, Jayuya, Boriké, 1996, 1998, 1.
49. *Ibid.*, 2.
50. Interview with elder and indigenous cultural practitioner Naniki Reyes-Ocasio, August 9, 2006.
51. Jorge Duany, "Making Indians Out of Blacks: The Revitalization of Taíno Identity in Contemporary Puerto Rico," in *Taíno Revival*, ed. Haslip-Viera, 46.
52. *Ibid.*, 50–51.
53. In a study funded by the National Science Foundation, Juan Martínez-Cruzado and colleagues at the University of Puerto Rico at Mayagüez appear to once and for all disprove the *biological* extinction myth of the indigenous peoples of Puerto Rico. They found that maternal ancestries (extracted mitochondrial DNA) revealed a "61.3% Amerindian, 27.2% sub-Saharan African, and 11.5% West Eurasian" breakdown of the overall Puerto Rican population. They write, "The combination of the high Amerindian mtDNA frequency found and the representativeness of the sample set leaves no doubts that the mtDNA pool of Puerto Ricans is predominantly Amerindian," in Juan C. Martínez-Cruzado et al., "Reconstructing the Population History of Puerto Rico by Means of mtDNA Phylogeographic Analysis," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 128 (2005): 131, 146. As mitochondrial DNA is inherited from the female line only, the significance of the study shows in part how Indian women survived the Spanish colonial process in large numbers, and how this relates to today. Ironically, there may be a cultural element to this type of testing too, for there would seem to be a desire for it from mainly those who might be ethnically connected to the original people and culture to begin with.
54. Dávila, "Local/Diasporic Taínos," in *Taíno Revival*, ed. Haslip-Viera, 23–24.
55. Duany, "Making Indians Out of Blacks," in *Taíno Revival*, ed. Haslip-Viera, 37.
56. Kenneth Ramchand, *The West Indian Novel and its Background* (London: Faber and Faber, 1970), 4–5; emphasis added.
57. Homi K. Bhabha, "Signs Taken for Wonders," in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, ed. Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffins, 34.
58. Sandra J. Kuilan Torres, "No hallan foro los indígenas?" *El Nuevo Día*, July 30, 2005.

59. Grounds, "Yuchi Travels," in *Native Voices*, ed. Grounds, Tinker, and Wilkins, 292.
60. Oscar Lamourt-Valentín, *Cannibal Recipes*, A sociolinguistic account of indigenous Carib-Jíbaro culture and response to the work of Ramón Pané, unpublished manuscript (Ames: Iowa State University, 1979), 8–10.
61. Interview with Lamourt-Valentín, July 27, 1998.
62. Bobby González, *The Last Puerto Rican Indian: A Collection of Dangerous Poetry* (New York: Cemi Press, 2006), 25.

CHAPTER 2

1. Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 167.
2. Linda Clarkson, Vern Morrisette, and Gabriela Regallet, "Our Responsibility to the Seventh Generation," in *The Post-Development Reader*, ed. Majid Rahnema with Victoria Bawtree (Dhaka: University Press Ltd; Cape Town: David Philip; Halifax: Fernwood Publishing; and London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1997), 41.
3. Eugenio Fernández Méndez, *Art and Mythology of the Taino Indians of the Greater West Indies* (México City: Editorial Libros de México, 1972), 19.
4. Harry Levin, "Some Meanings of Myth," in *Myth and Mythmaking*, ed. Henry A. Murray (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), 106.
5. *Ibid.*, 105.
6. Julian Burger, in Cultural Survival, *State of the Peoples: A Global Human Rights Report on Societies in Danger* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 6.
7. James Wilson, *The Earth Shall Weep: A History of Native America* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1998), xxi.
8. Vine Deloria, Jr., *Red Earth, White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 1997), 6.
9. David Stannard points out that among scholars today it is undoubtedly recognized that "numerous complex human communities existed in South America at least 13,000 years ago and in North America at least 6,000 years before that. These are absolute minimums. Very recent and compelling archaeological evidence puts the date for earliest human habitation in Chile at 32,000 B.C. or earlier and North American habitation at around 40,000 B.C., while some highly respected scholars contend that the actual first date of human entry into the hemisphere may have been closer to 70,000 B.C.," in David E. Stannard, *American Holocaust: The Conquest of the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 10.
10. Deloria, Jr., *Red Earth, White Lies*, 81.
11. *Ibid.*, 31.

12. Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 8.
13. *Ibid.*, 10.
14. *Ibid.*, 8.
15. *Ibid.*, 123.
16. Christopher Columbus, in "The Letter of Columbus (1493)," *Wild Majesty: Encounters with Caribs from Columbus to the Present Day*, ed. Peter Hulme and Neil L. Whitehead (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 13.
17. Christopher Columbus, quoted in Oliver Dunn and James E. Kelly, Jr., eds., trans., *The Diario of Christopher Columbus's First Voyage to America, 1492–1493*, abstracted by Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 112–13.
18. Ronald D. Arroyo, "Da Borinkees: The Puerto Ricans of Hawaii" (PhD diss., Union Graduate School, 1977), 7.
19. For example, see Fray Ramón Pané, *An Account of the Antiquities of the Indians* (c. 1498), trans. Susan C. Griswold (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 31; and Jesse Walter Fewkes, *The Aborigines of Porto Rico and Neighboring Islands*, 25th Annual Report, B. A. E. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1907), 65–66.
20. Hulme and Whitehead, eds., "The Letter of Columbus (1493)," *Wild Majesty*, 9.
21. Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook*, 124.
22. *Ibid.*, 177.
23. *Ibid.*, 10.
24. *Ibid.*, 15.
25. Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Harper & Row, 1984), 97.
26. Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook*, 16.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Todorov, *The Conquest of America*, 111.
29. Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook*, 18.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. See Todorov, *The Conquest of America*, 4.
33. Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook*, 17.
34. Todorov, *The Conquest of America*, 117.
35. *Ibid.*, 117–18.
36. *Ibid.*, 117.
37. Gordon Brotherston, *Book of the Fourth World: Reading the Native Americas through Their Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 45.
38. *Ibid.*, 49.

39. Vicente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society Under Early Spanish Rule* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), 27.
40. Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, & Colonization* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 199.
41. Todorov, *The Conquest of America*, 223.
42. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, 195–96; emphasis added.
43. *Ibid.*, 194–95.
44. *Ibid.*, 194.
45. *Ibid.*, 199.
46. *Ibid.*
47. Todorov, *The Conquest of America*, 5.
48. Deloria, Jr., *Red Earth, White Lies*, 167.
49. Amos Kidder Fiske, *The West Indies: A History of the Islands of the West Indian Archipelago, Together with an Account of Their Physical Characteristics, Natural Resources and Present Condition* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; and London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1899), 24.
50. "The Bull *Inter Caetera* (Alexander VI), May 4, 1493," in *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648*, ed. Frances Gardiner Davenport (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917), 75–78.
51. Luis N. Rivera, *A Violent Evangelism: The Political and Religious Conquest of the Americas*, trans. by Westminster/John Knox Press (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), 38.
52. *Ibid.*
53. Lewis Hanke, *Aristotle and the American Indians: A Study in Race Prejudice in the Modern World* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1959), x.
54. *Ibid.*, 72–73.
55. *Ibid.*, 40.
56. Paul Gottschalk, ed., *The Earliest Diplomatic Documents on America: The Papal Bulls of 1493 and the Treaty of Tordesillas Reproduced and Translated* (Berlin: Paul Gottschalk, 1927), 15.
57. Robert A. Williams, Jr., *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought: The Discourses of Conquest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 106–7.
58. Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), 151.
59. Indian comment quoted in A. Garcia, *History of the West Indies* (London: George G. Harrap & Co., 1965), 23.
60. Rivera, *A Violent Evangelism*, 281.
61. Martín Fernández de Enciso, quoted in Rivera, *A Violent Evangelism*, 36.

62. Williams, Jr., *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought*, 7.
63. For an explanation of indigenous settlement in the Americas, see Stannard, *American Holocaust*, 261–66.
64. Kirkpatrick Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), 69.
65. Interview with elder Juan Antonio Castillo, August 20, 2008.
66. Rivera, *A Violent Evangelism*, 4.
67. Edmundo O’Gorman, *The Invention of America: An Inquiry into the Historical Nature of the New World and the Meaning of Its History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), 17.
68. *Ibid.*, 9–10.
69. *Ibid.*, 4.
70. Garcia, *History of the West Indies*, 15.
71. *Ibid.*
72. O’Gorman, *The Invention of America*, 165.
73. *Ibid.*, 111–12.
74. *Ibid.*, 18–19.
75. *Ibid.*, 26.
76. *Ibid.*, 35.
77. *Ibid.*
78. Edmundo O’Gorman, quoted in Rivera, *A Violent Evangelism*, 5.
79. Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise*, 69.
80. According to Manuel Giménez-Fernández, during “the whole unfolding of the political domination of the Indies by Spain, there is not one single ideological movement intended to reform Spain’s established legitimacy, nor the direction of the governance of the Indies by the State, that in various ways does not allege the historical fact of Alexander’s letters in respect to the Indies to support its thesis, interpreting them in the light of its own conceptions,” *Nuevas consideraciones sobre la historia, sentido y valor de las bulas alejandrinas de 1493 referentes a las Indias* (1944), quoted in Rivera, *A Violent Evangelism*, 31.
81. Hanke, *Aristotle and the American Indians*, 60.
82. Loida Figueroa Mercado, *History of Puerto Rico: From the Beginning to 1892* (New York: L. A. Publishing Company, 1978), 59–60.
83. Rivera, *A Violent Evangelism*, 65–66.
84. Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise*, 134.
85. Glenn T. Morris, “Vine Deloria, Jr., and the Development of a Decolonizing Critique of Indigenous Peoples and International Relations,” in *Native Voices: American Indian Identity and Resistance*, ed. Richard A. Grounds, George E. Tinker, and David E. Wilkins (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 108.
86. Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the native Caribbean, 1492–1797* (London: Methuen, 1986), 47.
87. *Ibid.*, 22.

88. *Ibid.*, 26.
89. *Ibid.*, 31.
90. W. Arens, *The Man-Eating Myth: Anthropology & Anthropophagy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 51.
91. Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, in S. Lyman Tyler, *Two Worlds: The Indian Encounter with the European, 1492–1509* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), 124–25.
92. José Barreiro, *The Indian Chronicles* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 1993), 36.
93. Interview with Carib-Jíbaro linguist and scholar Oki Lamourt-Valentín, July 27, 1998.
94. Bernal Diaz, in Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook*, 17.
95. Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook*, 262.
96. Bartolomé de Las Casas, “*Historia de las Indias*,” in *Two Worlds: The Indian Encounter with the European, 1492–1509*, ed. S. Lyman Tyler (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), 124–25.
97. Interview with Lamourt-Valentín, June 28, 1999; see also Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, in Tyler, *Two Worlds*, 124.
98. Interview with Lamourt-Valentín, June 28, 1999.
99. Barreiro, *The Indian Chronicles*, 24.
100. *Ibid.*, 11.
101. Interview with artesian and indigenous cultural practitioner Margarita Nogueras-Vidal, July 30, 1998.
102. Comment by Peter Hulme and Neil L. Whitehead, eds., “The Report of Dr Chanca (1494),” *Wild Majesty*, 29.
103. Diego Álvarez Chanca, “The Report of Dr Chanca (1494),” in *Wild Majesty*, ed. Hulme and Whitehead, 32–34.
104. See engravings and captions in Hulme and Whitehead, eds., *Wild Majesty*, 31.
105. Irvin Auguiste, quoted in José Barreiro, “Carib Gallery,” *North-east Indian Quarterly* 7, no. 3 (Fall 1990): 50–51.
106. Arens, *The Man-Eating Myth*, 54.
107. Roberto Fernández Retamar, *Caliban and Other Essays*, trans. Edward Baker (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 7.
108. *Ibid.*
109. Wilson, *The Earth Shall Weep*, xxi–xxii.
110. Bernhard Lothar Hörmann, “Extinction and Survival: A Study of the Reaction of Aboriginal Populations to European Expansion” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1949), 2–3.
111. *Ibid.*, 4.
112. *Ibid.*
113. *Ibid.*, 8.
114. *Ibid.*, 55.

115. Carl Ortwin Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 39.
116. Bartolomé de Las Casas, *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account* (1552), trans. Herma Biffault (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 43.
117. *Ibid.*, 29.
118. Sven Lovén, *Origins of the Tainan Culture, West Indies* (Göteborg, Sweden: Elanders Bokfryckeri Akfiebölag, 1935), 657.
119. Manuel Maldonado-Denis, *Puerto Rico: A Socio-Historic Interpretation*, trans. Elena Vialo (New York: Random House, 1972), 15.
120. Federico Ribes Tovar, *A Chronological History of Puerto Rico* (New York: Plus Ultra Educational Publishers, 1973), 16.
121. Irving Rouse, *The Tainos: Rise & Decline of the People Who Greeted Columbus* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 30.
122. Lynne Guitar, Pedro Ferbel-Azcarate, and Jorge Estevez, “*Ocamada Taíno* (Hear Me, I Am Taíno): Taíno Survival on Hispaniola, Focusing on the Dominican Republic,” in *Indigenous Resurgence in the Contemporary Caribbean: Amerindian Survival and Revival*, ed. Maximilian C. Forte (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2006), 60.
123. Fewkes, *The Aborigines of Porto Rico and Neighboring Islands*, 31.
124. Lynne A. Guitar, “Cultural Genesis: Relationships among Indians, Africans and Spaniards in Rural Hispaniola, First Half of the Sixteenth Century” (PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 1998), xv.
125. *Ibid.*
126. *Ibid.*, 411.
127. Juan González de Mendoza, *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costumbres del gran Reyno de la China* (1586), quoted in Guitar, *Cultural Genesis*, 411.
128. Panchito Ramirez, quoted in Valerie Taliman, “Defying the Myth of Extinction,” *American Indian* 2, no. 2 (Spring 2001): 19.
129. José Barreiro, “Taíno Survivals: Cacique Panchito, Caridad de los Indios, Cuba,” in *Indigenous Resurgence in the Contemporary Caribbean*, ed. Forte, 25.
130. Panchito Ramirez, quoted in Barreiro, “Taíno Survivals,” in *Indigenous Resurgence in the Contemporary Caribbean*, ed. Forte, 29.
131. Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main*, 202.
132. *Ibid.*, 204.
133. *Ibid.*
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137. Woodrow Borah, "The Historical Demography of Aboriginal and Colonial America: An Attempt at Perspective," in *The Native Population of the Americas in 1492*, ed. William M. Denevan (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1976), 16.
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41. Rivera, *A Violent Evangelism*, 280.
42. Silén, *We, the Puerto Rican People*, 19.
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44. Pedro Albizu Campos, quoted in Steiner, *The Islands*, 238.
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46. Oscar Lamourt-Valentín, *Cannibal Recipes*, A sociolinguistic account of Carib-Jíbaro culture and response to the work of Ramón Pané, unpublished manuscript (Ames: Iowa State University, 1979), 13.
47. Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, quoted in Fray Ramón Pané, *An Account of the Antiquities of the Indians* (c. 1498), trans. Susan C. Griswold (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 50.
48. For instance, see Samuel M. Wilson, “Introduction to the Study of the Indigenous People of the Caribbean,” in *The Indigenous People of the Caribbean*, ed. Samuel M. Wilson (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 4.
49. For an in-depth critique of Rouse’s first “repeopling” theory, see Anthony Castanha, “Adventures in Caribbean Indigeneity Centering on Resistance, Survival and Presence in Borikén (Puerto Rico)” (PhD diss., University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 2004), 94–104.
50. Puerto Rican archeologist Roberto Martínez-Torres confirmed to me in an interview the similarity between Alegría and Rouse’s theories, July 14, 1999. Also, Eugenio Fernández-Méndez refers to Alegría’s refusal to acknowledge that the ceremonial grounds and ball game played among indigenous Caribbean peoples was influenced and primarily found in Mesoamerica: he “clings to the traditional but now discredited position that the possible route of diffusion was by way of the northern coast of South America,” in Eugenio Fernández Méndez, *Art and Mythology of the Taino Indians of the Greater West Indies* (México City: Editorial Libros de México, 1972), 49. One implication here may be that the “Archaics,” as a so-called “primitive” people, could not have developed such a game or ceremonial practice. However, as Fernández-Méndez points out,

- the game was apparently played in “very remote times” and among the “ancient peoples” of México and Mesoamerica (61).
51. Irving Rouse, *The Tainos: Rise & Decline of the People Who Greeted Columbus* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 73.
 52. Jalil Sued-Badillo, review of Irving Rouse’s *The Tainos*, *The American Historical Review* 99, no. 1 (February 1994): 333.
 53. Betty J. Meggers and Clifford Evans, “Lowland South America and the Antilles,” in *Ancient South Americans*, ed. Jesse D. Jennings (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Company, 1978), 308.
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 55. Fernández-Méndez makes numerous references to the linguistic link to Mesoamerica and notes that “the arawak adscription of the Taino language rests on rather flimsy linguistic comparisons,” 16. See Fernández Méndez, *Art and Mythology of the Taino Indians of the Greater West Indies*. Lamourt-Valentín has most interestingly used the Mayan language to interpret the Pané text. He told me that through his Jíbaro background and knowledge of the many myths passed down to him through oral tradition, he was able to relate the myths back to the Indian language, subsequently breaking down the language from the transliteration to reveal the poetics of the narrative. By returning to the original Mayan language, he figured out that what the *cacike* Guarionex was telling Pané concerned “moral production,” social relations of exchange, explaining “exogamy,” and relationships of trade, distance, time, and economic productivity. Interviews with Lamourt-Valentín, July 27, 1998 and June 28, 1999. A breakdown of some important elements of the language are contained in Lamourt-Valentín’s *Cannibal Recipes*.
 56. Fernández Méndez, *Art and Mythology of the Taino Indians of the Greater West Indies*, 19.
 57. Elder Doña Herminia (Monsita) Vargas, quoted in Kukuya, *The Ku of the Cemi*, Codex I (Jayuya, Puerto Rico, 2008), 8.
 58. Kukuya, *The Ku of the Cemi*, 5.
 59. Miguel Rodríguez, “Osamenta de 5 mil años de edad,” *El Expresso*, January 18, 1996, 24; interview with Martínez-Torres, July 14, 1999.
 60. See Roberto Martínez-Torres, “El Yacimiento Aracaico De La Tembladera,” Tesis Presentada Como Uno De Los Requisitos Para El Grado De Maestro En Artes En Historia Con Concentración En Arqueología, Centro De Estudios Avanzados De Puerto Rico Y El Caribe, San Juan, Puerto Rico, March 1994.
 61. Interview with Martínez-Torres, July 14, 1999.
 62. Rouse, *The Tainos*, 70.
 63. Fernando Picó, *History of Puerto Rico: A Panorama of Its People* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2006), 38.

64. Jesse Walter Fewkes, *The Aborigines of Porto Rico and Neighboring Islands*, 25th Annual Report, B. A. E. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1907), 23.
65. María Teresa Babín, "Introduction: The Path and the Voice," in *Borinquen: An Anthology of Puerto Rican Literature*, ed. María Teresa Babín and Stan Steiner (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), xv.
66. Fewkes, *The Aborigines of Porto Rico and Neighboring Islands*, 84.
67. *Ibid.*, 82.
68. *Ibid.*, 79–82.
69. The storyteller, quoted in Steiner, *The Islands*, 10.
70. Jesse Walter Fewkes, in *ibid.*
71. Fewkes, *The Aborigines of Porto Rico and Neighboring Islands*, 83.
72. Moscoso, "Chieftdom and Encomienda in Puerto Rico," in López, ed., *The Puerto Ricans*, 22.
73. Adalberto López, "The Evolution of a Colony: Puerto Rico in the 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries," in López, ed., *The Puerto Ricans*, 25.
74. Delgado Colón, "¿Dónde están nuestros indios?"
75. Steiner, *The Islands*, 14.
76. Regarding the partial abolition of slavery, Federico Ribes-Tovar writes, "On July 12, 1520, the King of Spain, in a letter to Lic. Antonio de la Gama, Governor and Resident Judge of Puerto Rico, stated categorically: 'After much study and discussion, it was agreed and decided that the said Indians (*encomendados*) are free men and should be considered and treated as such, that they should be granted full liberty, and that we cannot and should not impose forced labor on anyone,'" in Ribes Tovar, *A Chronological History of Puerto Rico*, 60.
77. Adolfo Pérez-Comas, "Censo de Lando de 1530–1531," *Hereditas: Revista De Genealogía Puertorriqueña* 5, no. 2 (2004): 66.
78. Moscoso, "Chieftdom and Encomienda in Puerto Rico," in López, ed., *The Puerto Ricans*, 22.
79. Salvador Brau, *Historia de Puerto Rico* (1904; San Juan de Puerto Rico: Editorial Coquí, 1966), 70–71.
80. See Pérez-Comas, "Censo de Lando de 1530–1531," *Hereditas*, 66–87.
81. Figueroa Mercado, *History of Puerto Rico*, 73.
82. Guitar, "Cultural Genesis," 271.
83. Moscoso, "Chieftdom and Encomienda in Puerto Rico," in López, ed., *The Puerto Ricans*, 22.
84. Figueroa Mercado, *History of Puerto Rico*, 75.
85. Brau, *Historia de Puerto Rico*, 80.
86. Pérez-Comas, "Censo de Lando de 1530–1531," *Hereditas*, 66.
87. Census data in Figueroa Mercado, *History of Puerto Rico*, 83; emphasis added.
88. Delgado Colón, "¿Dónde están nuestros indios?"

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CHAPTER 5

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47. *Ibid.*, 216.
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52. Interview with the Jíbaro man, August 23, 2008.
53. Interview with Cuko, August 21, 2008.
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62. Interview with Pepe, August 24, 2008.
63. Carlos Feliciano, quoted in Steiner, *The Islands*, 238.
64. *Ibid.*, 241–42.
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66. Luis Muñoz-Marín, quoted in Steiner, *The Islands*, 241.
67. Feliciano, in Steiner, *The Islands*, 239–40.
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73. Interview with Puerto Rican archeologist Roberto Martínez-Torres, July 14, 1999.
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75. Interview with Martínez-Torres, July 14, 1999.
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77. Interview with elder Doña Varín Chévez, August 2, 1998.
78. Juan Manuel Delgado, “Sobrevivencia de los apellidos indígenas según la historia oral de Puerto Rico,” *Revista de Genealogía Puertorriqueña*, 2, no. 1 (April 2001): 77.
79. *Ibid.*
80. Interview with Boricua and president of the United Puerto Rican Association of Hawai‘i (UPRAH), Angel Santiago-Cruz, September 19, 2004.
81. Interview with Santiago-Cruz, November 11, 2004.
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CHAPTER 6

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3. Fray Bartolomé Las Casas, in Fray Ramón Pané, *An Account of the Antiquities of the Indians*, trans. Susan C. Griswold (c. 1498; Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 62.
4. Interview with Güiyya, August 25, 2008.
5. Expanding on the etymology of the word “*dita*,” Lamourt-Valentín writes, “The container made from the fruit of the calabash-tree (‘higüero’) is called a ‘dita’ from ‘ti’ (to, in, with) and ‘taab’ (to hang, to suspend) or = ti’-taab . . . and in some places people apply this native term to metal cooking pots.” in Oscar Lamourt-Valentín, *Cannibal Recipes*, A sociolinguistic account of indigenous Caribíbaro culture and response to the work of Ramón Pané, unpublished manuscript (Ames: Iowa State University, 1979), 6.
6. Interview with Güiyya and Migui, August 25, 2008.
7. Interview with Migui, August 25, 2008.

8. Interview with activist and Jíbaro *campesino* Pepe, August 24, 2008.
9. Interview with Isabel Serrano, August 25, 2008.
10. Interview with elder Celia Gonzales, August 25, 2008.
11. Ibid.
12. Interview with Isabel, August 25, 2008.
13. Interview with *espiritista* and indigenous cultural practitioner Uahtibili Báez-Santiago, March 24, 2010.
14. Ibid.
15. Interview with elder William Feliciano, August 25, 2008.
16. See Pané, *An Account of the Antiquities of the Indians*, 19–23.
17. Interview with Isabel and elder Feliciano, August 25, 2008.
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19. See María Dolores Hajosy Benedetti, *Earth & Spirit: Healing Lore and More from Puerto Rico* (Maplewood, NJ: Waterfront Press, 1989).
20. Hajosy Benedetti, *Earth & Spirit*, xi.
21. Bárbara Rodríguez, in Hajosy Benedetti, *Earth & Spirit*, 117.
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26. Interview with Shachira, August 21, 2008.
27. Ibid.
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29. Hajosy Benedetti, *Earth & Spirit*, 58.
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38. Ibid., 21.
39. Ibid., 20.
40. Interview with Huana Naboli Martínez-Prieto, August 26, 2008.
41. Interview with Uahtibili, August 26, 2008.
42. Interview with Uahtibili and Huana, August 26, 2008.

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44. Ibid.
45. Ibid., 33.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., 30.
48. Interview with Uahtibili, March 24, 2010.
49. Interview with Jíbaro *campesino* Cuko, August 22, 2008.
50. Lamourt-Valentín, *Cannibal Recipes*, 6–7.
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55. Interview with Pepe, August 24, 2008.
56. Interview with Migui, August 25, 2008.
57. See Nelsonrafael Collazo, *Imágenes del Indio Puertorriqueño* (Jayuya, Puerto Rico: Nelsonrafael Collazo Grau, 1999), 184–86.
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59. Interview with artisan and indigenous cultural practitioner Pluma, August 22, 2008.
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64. Interview with Pepe, August 27, 2008.
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CHAPTER 7

1. Interview with the Jíbaro man, August 23, 2008.
2. Interview with activist and Jíbaro *campesino* Pepe, April 5, 2010.
3. Interview with Jíbaro *campesino* Cuko, August 21, 2008.
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8. Interview with Pepe, August 24, 2008.

GLOSSARY

(SELECTED INDIAN AND SPANISH WORDS)

año de las guácaras: The “time we lived in caves.”

areíto: A traditional ceremonial dance, recitation, or song.

apodo: A nickname.

batey: A ceremonial ground or ball court.

behike: Similar to a shaman.

bohío: An traditional Indian house.

burén: Traditional Indian plate used for cooking.

cacike/a: A regional leader or chieftain.

campesino: A Jíbaro farmer in Puerto Rico.

cemí: Personal or familial guardians representing various spiritual entities and a link between the physical and ancestral worlds.

coca: A cup made from coconut that is African in origin.

comadrona: A midwife.

el componte: Documented period of torture in nineteenth-century Puerto Rico.

conuco: Multicropping and subsistence farming.

cotona: A dress like a tunic.

criollo (or “*blanquito*”) elite: In Puerto Rico, mainly locally born descendants of Spaniards.

cuandero/a: A medicinal healer.

dita: A bowl-shaped calabash made from the native *higüera* tree.

encomendado: Indian people held under the *encomienda* said to be “free persons.”

encomendero: A landlord and slaveholder.

encomienda: Institutionalized system of forced labor, akin to slavery, where native lands and people were apportioned to *encomenderos*.

erone: Mound cultivation.

espiritismo: Spiritualism.

espiritista: Similar to a shaman, or one who works with spirits.

fogón: Jíbaro way of cooking using a table with stones.

guajiro: Cuban Indian, equivalent to Jíbaro in Puerto Rico.

guatiao: A greeting, exchanging of names or “blood mixing” in order to establish kinship relations, peace, and friendship.

Indios esclavos: Indian slaves.

Kiskeya: Also Quisqueya; today Haití and the Dominican Republic.

mestizo/a: “Mixed blooded” Indian as is commonly known in the Spanish Americas.

“*pardos libres*”: “Free Colored” people.

repartimiento: Distribution of native people.

requerimiento: Utilization of Spanish “just war” theory as a way of requiring native people to convert to Christianity.

tiznado: A native warrior.

yagua: The “boards” or *tabla de palma* from the native *yagua* palm tree.

yucayeke: A village or province.

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