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Author

Farnsworth, Paul

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Salvation through Slavery: Chiricahua Apaches and Priests on the Spanish Colonial Frontier. By H. Henrietta Stockel. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008. 184 pages. \$27.95 cloth.

According to Stockel, there are two related themes of this book, the identity theft and the enslavement of the Chiricahua Apaches at the hands of Spanish missionaries during the colonial period in northern Mexico and southern Arizona. The purpose of the book is to demonstrate that the Jesuits and Franciscans “attempted genocidal murder of the Chiricahua Apaches” (137). Unfortunately, Stockel’s use of the terms *identity theft* and *slavery* is problematic, and her evidence for the missionaries’ involvement in slavery lacks clarity and evidence.

The book opens with the statement “identity theft is one of the hottest topics in the early years of the twenty-first century” but goes on to state that on northern Mexico’s Spanish colonial frontier “identity theft was then called baptism” (1). Stockel proceeds to make the case that baptism and the renaming that accompanied it were the first major step in the imposition of a new way of life. However, *identity theft* means the appropriation of another’s identity in order to use it to obtain something illegally through the use of the stolen identity. As a result, the missionaries did not commit identity theft by renaming Native Americans during baptism, and Stockel’s use of the term is a gimmick to draw more readers to the volume. Her misuse of the term is confusing and disingenuous. Stockel accuses the missionaries of a fraud that they did not commit. As a result, the reader is immediately suspicious about other claims the author makes.

Stockel’s point is that by renaming individuals, the missionaries were taking away an important part of their self-identification, and that this was a major step in the process of assimilation. Stockel makes a strong case that by taking away a Chiricahua’s given name, the missionaries took away that person’s unique personal identity. However, given the other physical and psychological changes being forced on the Chiricahua, the author probably overstates the significance of baptism. In the second and fifth chapters, Stockel undermines her initial thesis when she discusses whether the Chiricahuas were true converts or deceiving the missionaries by paying lip service to Roman Catholicism (45, 129–30). Although she favors the latter position, she concludes that the pragmatic Apaches would do whatever was necessary to survive. However, because Stockel asserts the importance of renaming to the process of changing an individual’s identity, her first theme is significantly weakened when she subsequently questions the depth of the Chiricahuas’ conversion to Christianity.

Rather than attempting to use identity theft to shape her argument, Stockel could have framed her discussion around the concept of double consciousness and the role that baptism played therein. *Double consciousness*, coined by W. E. B. Du Bois, describes an individual whose identity is divided. Although more often used in regard to African Americans, the concept also applies to Native Americans in the Spanish missions. The danger of double consciousness resides in conforming and/or changing one’s identity to fit how others perceive you. This concept better helps to understand the case of Chiricahua Apache families

on the Mescalero Apache Reservation who carry Spanish surnames and are Roman Catholics, which Stockel calls “identity theft” (129).

The second theme of the volume is the alleged enslavement of the Chiricahua Apaches by the missionaries. Stockel uses the term *slavery* throughout her discussion but doesn’t define her use of the term. There are many definitions of *slavery*, and although at times Stockel clearly refers to Spanish colonial legal definitions of *slavery*, she also uses the term in some situations that do not conform to Spanish legal definitions but do conform to other definitions of the term. However, without a clear definition, it is sometimes confusing as to whether Stockel refers to a situation that meets Spanish colonial legal definitions or one in which she is interpreting the situation as meeting her definition of *slavery*.

For example, in the second chapter, Stockel provides an excellent overview of *reducción* and *congregación*, the first steps in the missionization process, and then considers what a mission really was. She quotes David Sweet’s statement “that the missions were more like the slave plantation,” but beyond this quote, following Spanish colonial law, she does not refer to the neophytes in the missions as being slaves, although many would conclude otherwise under some definitions of the term (“The Ibero-American Frontier in Native American History,” *The New Latin American Mission History*, ed. Eric Langer and Robert H. Jackson, 1995, 43). However, when discussing the *encomienda* in chapter 4, she incorrectly (from a Spanish colonial legal perspective) refers to the Native American victims as “slaves,” yet in discussing the *repartimiento* she correctly (from a Spanish colonial legal perspective) alludes to the victims as “workers” (113–14).

The discussion of the evidence for the Spanish missionaries, both Jesuit and Franciscan, selling children from the missions into slavery starting in the early 1700s begins with the Spanish encouragement of their Pima allies to sell captured Apaches to Tucson-area families wanting slaves. While documenting that the Franciscans were aware of this activity, this digression adds little to Stockel’s thesis, as she presents no evidence that the missionaries were involved in the sale. The evidence that they subsequently baptized many, if not most, of the captives does not, therefore, have any bearing on the thesis that the Chiricahua Apaches were enslaved by the Spanish missionaries. However, Stockel puts major emphasis on a letter from Diego Miguel Bringas de Manzaneda y Encinas, OFM, which states that the Pimas took Apache prisoners to the missions.

Stockel then introduces what she says is the new information, which consists of a sample of the Chiricahua Apaches who she alleges were sold into slavery by missionaries. In a confusing paragraph, Stockel states that in the baptismal records she uses, the term *Apache* is only a generic identifier that is not necessarily correct and that individuals’ tribal names are not given. Because the author’s thesis concerns the fate of the Chiricahua Apache specifically, this is a problem. It should also be noted that she alludes to the individuals as “captives” (118), yet in the sample of the original records used by Stockel that I reviewed, there was no mention of the Apaches being captives or how they came to be at the mission.

The key to Stockel's argument is that she subscribes to John L. Kessell's (*Mission of Sorrows*, 1970, 50) statement that in the records, "Godfather" is the term used to indicate purchaser," although she also notes that others may not agree (114). Thus Stockel argues that for these baptisms the godfather purchased the child from the missionary conducting the baptism. However, she does not explain to the reader why she believes this to be the case. The reader is left with no information on which to evaluate her claim or understand the basis of it. Stockel then gives the results of her analysis of the mission records, which are available on the Mission 2000 online database (available through the National Park Service Web site for Tumacácori National Historical Park: <http://www.nps.gov/tuma>). This consists of a series of paragraphs, each devoted to a child baptized by a missionary, with as much information about the child, missionary, and godparents as is available, but there is often little information to be found, especially regarding the child and godfather. There are approximately thirty cases. This is Stockel's "proof of the terrible event that occurred all across the frontier in the eighteenth century" (126). Yet Stockel admits that we do not know how, or whether, the missionaries benefited from the alleged sales, and that "there is no unassailable proof of this activity, nothing that can be corroborated" (127).

Unfortunately, Stockel's misuse of the term *identity theft* and her lack of a convincing argument for the enslavement of the Chiricahua Apaches by the missionaries undermine what is, in other respects, a useful summary of the ethnography and Spanish colonial period history of the Chiricahua Apaches. They also undermine her statement that "it is undeniable that the Jesuits and Franciscans were guilty of genocide insofar as the Chiricahua Apaches are concerned. Identity theft and enslavement are unmistakable proof of the priests' intent to destroy and prevent the Apache's continuation as a people" (137). Stockel presents convincing evidence that the Spanish authorities were guilty of genocide of the Chiricahua Apaches, while the Catholic Church and its agents did nothing to prevent it. This is the important conclusion that should have been drawn in this intriguing and thought-provoking volume.

Paul Farnsworth

University of California, Berkeley

Taxidermic Signs: Reconstructing Aboriginality. By Pauline Wakeham. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008. 255 pages. \$67.50 cloth; \$22.50 paper.

Taxidermic Signs: Reconstructing Aboriginality makes a powerful argument to expand the tools of critical race theory in order to achieve more nuanced and context-specific readings of cultural texts. In doing so, this book's ultimate goal is to destabilize the continued exercise of colonial authority over Native North American peoples. Analyzing various case studies from museum displays to photography, documentary film, and the discourse surrounding the DNA analysis of indigenous remains across the US-Canada border, Pauline Wakeham