Richard Chase Smith:

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THE AMUESHA PEOPLE OF CENTRAL PERU:
THEIR STRUGGLE TO SURVIVE

"Since this year many rubber gatherers will enter the Pichis and Tschicuta Rivers, the missionaries will have an extensive and fabulous field from which they can gather many flowers."
(Father Sala, 1925)

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For the Secretariat of IWGIA

Peter S. Aaby Helge Kleiven Stefano Varese
Editors of the Series

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I. THE HISTORY OF THE AMUESHA PEOPLE AT THE QUILLAZU MISSION

A. Introduction

"Fascual Hunyull Ortiz, Manuel Hunyull Ortiz, Mateo Hunchassan, Martin Mallatupin, Santiago Ciriaco, Valentin Ballentero, Doctor Toman Enhazu (shaman, tobacco specialist), Pablo Soto of the Ancestors; these were the most famous Amueshas, the original founders, who kept watch and governed from the Pama River to the Llamarquiza River, the latter located seven kilometers on the other side of Oxpampa." (Amuesha Petition to President Prado, 1951)

In the year 1742, the national liberation movement lead by Juan Santos Atahualpa forced the missionaries of the Franciscan Order, their military back-up, and the Spanish colonists they brought, to leave the central montaña of Peru and allowed the Amuesha and Campa peoples of the area to continue determining their own destinies independent of the Spanish and later Peruvian occupational forces. In 1891, after 139 years of absence, the Franciscan Order returned to the area, entering the Chorobamba valley, inhabited exclusively by Amuesha people, where they founded the mission post "Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de Quillazu." The following is the story of the Amuesha people living in the vicinity of the Quillazu mission and their struggle to survive the aggression of the mission, the colonists, and representatives of the national government.

The Quillazu valley, named for the small river (Amuesha: Puekellaga) which flows past the mission, is one of a series of widenings along the Chorobamba River, where the surrounding mountains pull back a bit to allow a small flat basin to exist. The valley is located ten kilometers north of the town of Oxpampa, in the high jungle (1800 meters elevation) of the Department of Cerro de Pasco. The Chorobamba River flows from Oxpampa valley, through the Quillazu valley to Huancabamba, 25 kilometers to the north. Here it joins the Huancabamba river, eventually emptying its waters into the Pajacu and Pachetena Rivers. In Quillazu, the sun rises over
the jagged crest of the Yanachaga mountain range (Am. Chemeles), which, rising to heights greater than 3000 meters, forms an impenetrable barrier between the entire Chorobamba valley and the flat, more tropical Pumacu basin to the east. The sun sets over lower, less dramatic mountains, behind which at a short distance rise the barren peaks of the Central Andes.

Before the Europeans and mestizos arrived the Quillinau valley was covered with a forest of enormous Ucumano and Diablo Fuertes, rare species found only in certain areas of the high jungle. Today the forest is gone along with the fauna it housed. In its place one finds coffee groves on the valley floor, most being so old and ill-kept that their production no longer justifies their maintenance. The hillsides and the area around the small mission town are now covered with "yaranu" grass which makes crop cultivation virtually impossible. The small patches of scrub forest which now survive are subject to annual clearing and burning for cultivation of corn, manioc, and other subsistence crops. The grassland, useless to those who cannot afford to raise cattle, is rapidly spreading into every corner of the valley and threatens to eliminate practically all the cultivable land.

To the Amuesha, the valley and its surrounding mountains and quebradas are intimately familiar; they have inhabited the valley as far back as their collective memory reaches and can point out to any visitor the spot where their grandparents or other ancestors lived. The Amuesha oral tradition has kept alive the names which their ancestors placed on each mountain, stream, or rocky cliff, and tells us how their ancestors, much more powerful than any living Amuesha today, created these physical features. Bordering the valley to the southwest is Shadow Spirit Mountain (Am. Choveshomatopen), where human spirits gather after death, and Inca Mountain (Am. Enhapen) where the Inca once lived. Behind the mission rises Squirrel Monkey Mountain (Am. Tochepen) where one can still see the nose of the monkey which Our Father (Am. Tomper) converted to stone. Many mountains house Amuesha "saints" whose activities in remote times protected and favored the Amuesha.

B. The Spanish Colonial Period

"Among our indians, whether in the highlands or in the jungle, ... it is necessary to bend and subjugate their will, even if it means physically beating them, so that eventually they will receive the light and open their understanding. That is how it was done in the time of the viceroy and how it is still done along the Ucayali River; in such a way that there is no other solution for the Indian who did not attend the Mass than to lower his pants and give him another kind of lesson." (Sala 1925:599)

The early history of the valley remains obscure. It appears that the first European to have entered the valley was Fr. Jeronimo Jiménez, a Franciscan layman, who in search for a closer route to the missions of the Huallaga region, passed through the valley in 1635.² He apparently entered the Huancabamba valley through the highland town of Pucartambas, continued south through the whole length of the Chorobamba Valley and on to the Cerro de la Sal and Chanchamayo valley. In the neighboring Huancabamba valley, the inhabitants, known as Amagos (possibly Amuesha), had apparently experienced the European presence for many decades, perhaps since the middle of the 16th century. At about the time of Fr. Jiménez’s trip, the mission post in Huancabamba was turned over to the Franciscan Order and in 1641, Fr. Matias Illesean was put in charge of the post. He remained there for three years.²

For the next one hundred years, mission posts were established in eight places among the Amuesha, most of them to the south of the Chorobamba valley. The most strategic of these missions, from the Spanish point of view, was that located at the Cerro de la Sal, the most important source of salt in the central jungle, where native peoples from all parts converged to obtain their salt.³ These mission centers were by no means permanent; they were constantly being abandoned, either by order of the Amuesha chiefs or for lack of missionaries. The post in the Huancabamba valley, the closest one to the Chorobamba valley, operated sporadically during this period. A report from that post in 1689 claims there were twenty families of Amagos living in the vicinity.⁴ Apparently during that century the Amuesha population of Huancabamba was being replaced or assimilated by Spanish settlers who began to establish haciendas in the region, importing labor from the highlands. By the 1740’s, there is no evidence of an Amuesha population in that valley.

By the time of the liberation movement of Juan Santos Atahualpa, all eight mission centers among the Amuesha were operating, after a long period of abandonment. To the south there were missions at Quiniri and Nijendaris (Chanchamayo), Cerro de la Sal, Emeno, Matara; to the north there was one in Huancabamba, and two relatively new centers in the Posooso valley (Posooso and Tilingo), some 30 kilometers north of Huancabamba. These areas, especially Chanchamayo and Huancabamba, had come under Spanish control or influence, and were subject to both the hacendado system of economic exploitation and Catholic missionization as imposed by the Franciscan Order.
Yet, strangely, the Chorobamba valley, in between these two extremes seems to have remained untouched by both the Franciscans and the Spanish colonists. There is no record of any permanent European settlement of any kind within the whole length of the valley, despite the fact that it served as the main route of communication between Huancabamba and Chanchamayo.

In the year 1742, tired of the oppressive situation imposed by the missions and the Spanish settlers, the native inhabitants of the central jungle, including Amuesha, Campa, Piro, and other small nations, heeded the call sent out by Juan Santos Atahualpa, self-declared pretender to the Inca crown. They gathered in large numbers at his encampment in the Gran Pajonal, abandoning the mission sites and haciendas. Within a few months a guerrilla army had been formed, adept in the use of the bow and the sling, which, with an appalling rapidity cleared the central jungle of all Europeans: the missions and the haciendas collapsed. According to the history by Ortiz, in October 1743 part of the liberation army moved into the Huancabamba valley and forced the Spanish and mestizo population to flee. Outposts were established to ensure that the Europeans did not return.

The church authorities in Huamapu, frightened by the prospect of the two remaining Amuesha missions in Fosuso joining the uprising, ordered that the Amuesha population be evacuated under force of arms to the highland town of Cuchero. Except for those who managed to escape the forced march, the entire Amuesha population of the Fosuso valley was transferred to the highlands where, within a few years, they all died from starvation and cold.

The central jungle remained independent of outside control and its native inhabitants free to pursue the limits of their own cultures for another 120 years. What went on among the Amuesha and Campa peoples in these regions was largely unknown to the European population on the coast. The mestizo wars of independence had no effect on the Amuesha; they had achieved and were enjoying their own independence.

C. The Central Jungle Recaptured

"...the missionary should not go in among them (the Indians) unless he be well escorted with soldiers and other people with arms. These latter groups should obligate these savages in the name of humanity to get rid of their ferocious customs and to live like rational people; if this is not possible, they should exterminate them. By using terror and moderate punishment, they (the Indians) will find themselves obligated to resort to the mercy of the missionary who can then carry out his divine mis-

In the early 19th century, Peruvians in search of land began to enter the Huancabamba valley. They soon reestablished haciendas in the area dedicated largely to the production of cane alcohol for the miners in Corro de Fuego. Until near the end of that century the mestizo population in Huancabamba remained small and made no attempt to enter the Chorobamba valley.

To the south, the white penetration of the Chanchamayo valley came a bit later. After several attempts, a fort with a detachment of soldiers was established in 1847 at the confluence of the Tarma and Tulumayo Rivers. In 1866 a military expedition, sent to capture the salt mines, was forced to turn back by the Campa and/or Amuesha before they reached the site of the old mission at Huarandia. But they succeeded in opening up the way for colonists to that point. In 1869 a military expedition succeeded in gaining access to the salt mines, despite the resistance offered by the Amuesha. Here they remained a few days, snacking and looting every house and garden they could find. Within a few years the town of La Merced was founded and large numbers of colonists, many of them of European origin, quickly settled the valley up to the confluence of the Chanchamayo and Paucartambos rivers. Several other military expeditions followed. A mission was established on their heels by the Franciscan Father Sala at San Lázaro de Shuaru.

In Chorobamba the Amuesha continued to resist all threats to their independence. After the colonization of the Fosuso valley began in 1859, the Huancabamba entrance to the central jungle became well known and well traveled. With increasing frequency the new colonists as well as the more established hacienda owners began looking to the Chorobamba valley as a place to extend their own land holdings. To this day the Amuesha tell of the armed incursions into their territory made by the colonists from Huancabamba, of the houses they burned, of the women they raped, and of the prisoners, especially children, they carried off to work on the haciendas. The Amuesha met the great force of firearms carried by the whites with their bows and their greater knowledge of the forest.

The situation remained a standoff until sometime in 1879-80 when an extremely virulent yellow epidemic swept through the entire territory, devastating the Amuesha peoples. The Amuesha tell how, in order to escape the certain death, their people scattered into the hills, leaving sick ones to die and dead ones to rot. Many continued to live for decades in virtual isolation. The epidemic pro-
duced serious social disorganization, demoralization, and death among the Amuesha. Their oral history informs us that at that time a leader among them decreed that the Peruvian colonists had sent the disease as a new weapon and that their only chance for survival was to lay down their arms, burn their magical plants for war, and allow the whites to enter their valley. A series of gift exchanges took place with some residents of Huancabamba, until finally, as the Amuesha tell it, they amassed on the bank of the Chorobamba river opposite the hacienda "Carolina". One by one they crossed the river, shaking with fear, and walked into the arms of the Peruvian residents.10

During this same period, the hacienda owners of Huancabamba began to look elsewhere for help in dominating the Amuesha. According to Ortiz, for a decade before the founding of the mission at Quillanzu, they "submitted requests to the church officials asking for the establishment of a mission post among the falkians Amuesha in order to achieve the peaceful conquest of the Chorobamba valley, inhabited by the Amuesha tribe."11 Such was the excitement that the prospect of creating a new mission in virgin territory aroused, that a struggle broke out between the two "Colegios de Propaganda Fide", the Descalcos in Lima and the other in Ocopa over who had the right to eat this new spiritual pie. The dispute which lasted several years, was decided in favor of Ocopa, and in April of 1881, the mission Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de Quillanzu was founded. A site near the confluence of the Quillanzu and Chorobamba Rivers was selected as it offered a central location and avoided conflict with the owners of the hacienda "Carolina", which claimed the nearby Gramasso River as its southern boundary. The Amuesha, who lived throughout the Chorobamba valley received the missionaries peacefully, and in accordance with their rules of etiquette, offered them lodging and food.

Besides the hacienda owners, there was another group interested in having the lands of the Amuesha conquered and made available for colonization; they were the recent German colonists who had been settling the Pozozo and Huancabamba valleys. They were largely small farmers who had been attracted to Peru by a government-sponsored scheme to colonize the jungle with Europeans. The newly established Franciscan missionaries encouraged the German colonists to leave Pozozo and settle the Amuesha lands, considering it the ideal scheme for "civilizing" the Amuesha. They offered their assistance to pacify any Amuesha who might object. After years of delays, in 1891 a group of 20 families left Pozozo to settle in the Oxpampa valley, ten kilometers north of Quillanzu. The Amuesha were quickly expelled from the valley. Within ten years, the colony of Oxpampa had grown considerably and all of the readily accessible lands had been divided up among the colonists.

D. The Mission at Quillanzu

"...the Franciscan missionaries who established themselves at Quillanzu in 1881 realized the superior quality of the Huancabamba and Chorobamba valleys. For that reason they expressed their interest in seeing the colonists of Pozozo abandon their lands and take possession of the Chorobamba valley, inhabited exclusively by Amuesha, who showed themselves to be peaceful and inoffensive from the beginning." (Ortiz Vol.I:135)

In 1884 Father Lucas de T. Bartorell sent a petition to the Prefect of the Department of Junín asking that "...in the name of the Missionaries of the already mentioned mission post and of the recent convert, the corresponding legal protection be granted for all the lands actually occupied by the already mentioned infidels."12 The request was granted immediately. On the third of November, 1905, Father Antonio Ballie requested that he be granted "the definitive title for those lands which for the past 25 years have been occupied by families of infidels and natives who have cultivated the major part of them."13 By Supreme Resolution 15270 N°21105 of November 17, 1905, the Peruvian government proclaimed that the property named "the Convent of Oxpampa" with 1226 hectares 200m² was "the property of the Missionaries of the Colegio de Ocopa and of the residents who had been given legal protection."14 At about the same time similar titles were also granted to the mission posts at San Luis de Shanuro and Sogormo with the expressed purpose of "protecting" Amuesha land. In 1902, Commander Bailly-Maitre in his official report on the Oxpampa region informs us that "the lands of the convent (Sogormo) just as those of Quillanzu and San Luis, are inalienable, in order to protect the rights of the indigenous peoples."15

At Quillanzu the property never left the hands of the Franciscan missionaries who administered it as a private hacienda, ignoring their legal and moral responsibility of "protecting" the Amuesha people. The missionaries never acknowledged the fact that the title was granted in name of the Amuesha as well, and never informed them of their rights as co-owners of the property. Apparently there was never an established policy or guideline for administering the property, but rather each director of the mission imposed his own personal regime. Within the memory of those Amuesha living today, one
of these regimes obligated them to work two days a week for the mission in payment for their right to occupy their own lands. A later regime demanded the payment of 150 soles per year per hectare plus one day's work per month.

According to Father Ortiz's history, the expressed intention of the mission has always been "to defend the Amueha from outsiders who want at all cost to throw out the Amueha from the valley and establish themselves there, often deliberately violating the sacred principles of human rights." The contradiction could not be more obvious; from the very beginning the mission promoted the policy and practice of colonizing the property and renting small parcels to non-Amueha. In his report to the Ministry of Public Works in 1902, A. Tamayo comments that already parts of the Quillanzu land had been granted to outsiders citing the small sugar plantation of a Mr. Gallo near the Arcunazu River. During the first 60 years, the mission placed these tenants on the best lands on the right bank of the Chorobamba River, in the vicinity of the mission post. This produced the slow migration of the Amueha to the left bank of the river. During the 1950's, when the right bank was fully occupied by tenants, the mission began to introduce colonists on to the left bank, especially in the Sipizu valley. This act precipitated a large exodus of Amueha to the Pucambe basin. By the year 1960, the number of colonists and tenants living on the Amueha lands at Quillanzu was greater than the number of Amueha.

A land fight involving the Mission, the Amueha, and a North-American employed by the Peruvian government arose in the year 1929. Legal action was taken on behalf of the Amueha against John Robertson, who apparently laid claim to the lands between the Sipizu and Gramazu Rivers. A Supreme Resolution dated July 3, 1929 ruled in favor of the Amueha and ordered that Robertson cease his work there. On February 21, 1930, a second Supreme Resolution guaranteed that 20 hectares of land be reserved and given legal protection for each of the 45 Amueha families in the Gramazu area, thus granting a total of 900 hectares. The Office of Jungle Lands sent an order (#37) to the Prefect of Junin to the effect that he take charge of surveying the lands for the Amueha. This was carried out by the local government land surveyor, Alberto Schleiffert, who turned the finished plans over to Father Garraicocha of the mission in June of 1932. Nothing more is known regarding this survey; and no Amueha received land in Gramazu at that time.

In 1941, the director of the mission, Father Lopez, together with Fr. Buenaventura de Urtarte, then Bishop and Apostolic Vicar of the Ucayali worked up a project to create a new town on the lands at Quillanzu. The plan called for the subdivision and sale of the land according to the following criteria: 1) 100 hectares will be reserved for the mission; 2) the Amueha and actual residents will receive preference in the assigning of land parcels; 3) the price per hectare will depend on its location; on the left bank, it will cost 15 soles for the Amueha, 20 soles for the other residents, and 25 soles for newcomers; on the right bank, up to 30 soles per hectare; 4) those who do not meet their payments for two consecutive years will lose their right to the land. Although the project received favorable publicity in the Lima newspapers, it was apparently blocked by a few influential tenants and was never carried out. It was during these years that the Vicariate in San Ramon succeeded in selling the Amueha lands in Sagorno and in San Luis de Shuar, using the money to build a new church in La Merced.

It was probably during the regime of the German Father Bardo Bayerle that Mr. Ernesto Mueller, a resident of Oxapampa, was named "overseer of the lands and of the exploitation of lumber from the forests at Quillanzu." During these same years, Mr. Mueller along with his sons were building up their own private lumber business in Oxapampa. In 1948 Mr. Mueller and company began to extract the timber from the left bank of the Chorobamba River. In both Sipizu and Gramazu they installed sawmills to cut up those logs which were too large to fit on the trucks. With the support of the Mission, Mr. Mueller forced all of the Amueha to move to the valley floor and to stop making their gardens on the hillsides in order to facilitate his operations. After about five years of continual operation, he had removed every single usable tree, "not leaving anything, not even for own construction needs."

Father Ortiz offers us a justification for the extraction of the lumber; he says it was done "to fulfill the needs of the Mission and not as a business deal." At another point he says "it was necessary to construct several buildings of wood which was an enormous expense for the Apostolic Vicariate; fortunately they took advantage of the lumber and soon the buildings were finished. Local sources have informed me that Mr. Mueller agreed to construct the buildings needed, a convent for the Nuns, a new church, a dormitory for boarding students, and a hospital in Oxapampa, in exchange for the timber up to the value of his work, plus the exclusive right to buy the rest of the timber. The price he officially paid at that time was ten cents a board foot, but many people have informed me that he paid an little as 100 soles per alcecumano tree, many of which
contained from five to eight thousand feet each.

One of Mr. Mueller's foremen for that operation estimates conservatively that from 2 to 3 million board feet of first class lumber were extracted during those five years. The truth may be considerably greater than that. He also estimates that a maximum of 150,000 board feet were used in the mission buildings and the hospital. Considering that these constructions did not cost the mission any money, and assuming the Mr. Mueller was good enough to pay for at least half the lumber he took out, the mission must have made a profit of at least 100,000 soles. It's not out of place here to wonder what the mission did with all that money. Mr. Mueller of course made several million soles on the deal, a fortune which allowed him to build up his operations to a point where he controlled the lumber business and the economy of Oxapampa for many years. Today the Amuesha have to buy lumber from Mr. Mueller's company to build their houses.

The extraction of the lumber from the lands on the left bank gave rise to a series of disputes over who was legally in possession of the land between the Sipisup River and the Gramazu River, an area inhabited exclusively by the Amuesha. The mission gave Mr. Mueller permission to remove the lumber from that area, claiming the Gramazu River as the northern boundary of the mission property. The Amueshas of the Gramazu valley brought a lawsuit against the mission, basing their claim on the Supreme Resolution of 1930 which guaranteed them the possession of 900 hectares along the right bank of the Gramazu River.

The dispute was further complicated by a third claimant, a Mr. Bravo, owner of the neighboring hacienda "Carolina", who brought a lawsuit against both the Amuesha and the mission. Mr. Bravo claimed the Sipisup River as the southern boundary of his hacienda. The lawsuit dragged on for several years, during which time the mission had the Amuesha leader jailed for defamation of the priest, and then took advantage of the leader's absence to force the other Amuesha to sign an agreement allowing the mission to negotiate the lumber sale. The Amuesha leader tells how, while he was in jail, the police chief used threats to force him to sign the same agreement. Meanwhile Mr. Mueller took advantage of the confusion to take as much lumber as he could.

The dispute was eventually settled in favor of the Amuesha, and in 1951, the Office of Jungle Lands began to measure 45 lots of 20 hectares in accordance with the 20 year old Supreme Resolution. The lumber which was left on the land had to be sold by the Amuesha to cover the court costs and lawyer fees. The measuring was shortly thereafter suspended, according to the Amuesha leader, through the intervention of the local senator Carlos Pachiera, who supported a group of Italian colonists who wanted to establish themselves on the right bank of the Gramazu River. The colony was established and awarded individual lots ranging in size from 50 hectares to 300 hectares. The Office of Jungle Lands later concluded that as there were only 24 families then living along the Gramazu River, and as the available land had been reduced by the Italian colony, parcels of ten hectares each would be measured for only those 24 families. Thus the original grant of 900 hectares was reduced to 240 hectares.

In 1960, the mission made another attempt to sell the Amuesha lands, threatening to forcibly remove any Amuesha who did not agree to buy the land he was working. The Amuesha answered Father Urrestivatay's threats by sending a petition to the President of the Republic, Manuel Prado U., asking for protection of their rights as native Amuesha and owners of the land, and asking that all the lands on the left bank of the Chorobamba River be returned to the tribe. The petition was referred to the local department of the Direction of Colonization of the Ministry of Agriculture which ruled on the 16 of November, 1961, that "the lands called 'The Convent of Oxapampa' granted by concession according to the aforementioned documents are private property held jointly by the Apostolic Prefecture of Ucayali and the natives; and consequently the Apostolic Prefecture has no right to exercise private dominion over the disposition of the lands because of their condition as pro-indivia which belong as much to the natives as to the Apostolic Prefecture." 22

The Prefecture immediately presented a recourse to the Ministry of Agriculture affirming the legality of its private title, and refusing to recognize in any way the status of the Amuesha as co-owners of the property. The lawsuit which resulted between the Amuesha and the Apostolic Prefecture was resolved in favor of the Amuesha. Eventually, on the fourth of June, 1962, a peaceful agreement was reached to divide the lands and to establish the Chorobamba River as the boundary line between the Amuesha lands called "Mirafluores" on the left bank and the lands "Convant of Oxapampa" on the right bank. The director of the Department of Padrón y Catastro of the Ministry of Agriculture ordered that the land in Mirafluores be subdivided among the Amuesha inhabitants. This subdivision, which gave lots of 10 hectares to 72 Amueshan plus a communal civic center, was completed on January 23, 1963.
Even before the subdivision had been finished, disputes arose between the Amuesha and the approximately forty tenant farmers which the mission had introduced into the left bank during the previous few years. According to the report presented by the police chief of Oxapampa on May 30, 1963, the majority of the tenants had been in the area from one to five years, and were only provisionally established. Again the legal department of the Ministry ruled in favor of the Amuesha: the two memoranda, #524DL of April 19, 1965, and #1922-B-DL of September 16, 1964, declared that the Supreme Decree #3 of January 3, 1957 which guaranteed all tribal peoples 10 hectares of land for each person above five years of age should be applied to the Amuesha at Quillau; that the subdivision and assigning of lots should be overseen by the Ministry of Agriculture; and that the Apostolic Prefecture was responsible to see that the tenants left the Amuesha lands and to pay them for crops they left behind. During this period the majority of the tenants left peacefully, without the intervention of the mission.

When the Belaunde government entered office in 1964, the National Office of the Agrarian Reform was created; it assumed the functions and personnel of the Office of Jungle Lands. The mission at Quillau, with the support of the Franciscan Order in Lima, took advantage of the change of government to deny the validity of the legal decisions and to refuse to honor the agreement to divide the lands with the Amuesha. Father Urretaviscaya tried to reestablish his control over the entire property. Delegations from the Amuesha community made frequent trips to the Office of the Agrarian Reform asking that they be defended from the aggression of the mission. At one point a commission from Mirafloros managed to have a personal interview with President Belaunde, in which they asked him to intervene in the case. Despite all the promises they received for imminent action, the case disappeared into the Agrarian Reform archives -- silence and dust collected on it.

Meanwhile everyone took advantage of the government's closed eyes and of the Amuesha's patience. The tenants who stayed in Sipizu did everything possible to extend the lands under their control, threatening with violence any Amuesha who tried to cultivate his small lot there. Several Amuesha found the houses which they built on their lots in Sipizu burned to the ground. Several tenants and other outsiders began to cut down and sell the last of the lumber which remained in the distant corners of the valley. The government offered no protection despite the Amuesha's complaints. In another part, the neighboring haciendas alienated a sizable piece of land from the community, but the Amuesha owner stopped complaining when the usurpers threatened his life. The usurper has since made the Amuesha owner the co-father of his child, a means to insure that no future complaints are made. Exasperated by the empty promises from the government, and tired of putting up with the abuses of the tenants and the mission, twelve Amuesha families emigrated from Mirafloros between 1964 and 1968.

In November of 1967, the Amuesha community once again sent a commission of three persons to Lima to confront the Director of the Agrarian Reform on the empty promises. They received a memorandum directed to the director of the regional office in Tarapoto ordering that the land tenure problem in Quillau be investigated and resolved. The order passed on to the office in La Merced and eventually on to Oxapampa, where the director had already chosen the zone of Quillau as its center of work for 1968.

During the year of 1968, the Quillau valley was full of activity: of surveyors measuring the cultivated areas, of technical personnel evaluating the soil and the crops, of social workers gathering all kinds of data. The director of the Oxapampa office visited the Amuesha community on several occasions, explaining his program. At the end of the year all the information gathered was sent to Lima along with a request that the original title be annulled.

2. Some Notes on the Amuesha

"They are accustomed to celebrating on the full moon.... they sing extremely dull songs, dance to the sound of the drum and the flute which barely has one or two notes, and drink manioc beer until they are completely drunk. The dance is extremely monotonous and dull. Afterwards, they remain stretched out there under the dominion of Bocchua, the god which they have honored with that wild and monotonous orgy." (Navarro 1924)

"We hold large celebrations where we present different kinds of dances and music, such as drum dances, women's dances, pan-pipe dances, and men's dances. There is much happiness among us; we share roast meat, manioc beer and cocoa leaves. In this way we demonstrate friendship and good friendly relations among our people." (Conversation with an Amuesha man 1970)

Before recounting the final act of violence perpetrated on the Amuesha community at Quillau, I want to talk a bit about the Amuesha. At the beginning of this century, as a result of the yellow fever epidemic, the grandparents of today's population lived in small groups or in isolation throughout the entire length of the Chorobamba valley, from the northern limits of the Oxapampa valley to the San Daniel River in the south. As the Germans and others began colonizing this territory, they pushed out the Amuesha, by
deception, by threats, and by force of arms. Gradually the Amuesha moved into the Quillazu valley or into the Falcanzu basin. There is no way of knowing what the Amuesha population was before the colonization of the valley. In 1968 there were 370 Amuesha living in Quillazu. These people lived in three distinct groupings, defined by kinship ties and geography. The largest group lived in Miraflores, which is on the flat river basin opposite the mission post; the second largest group lives along the Gramasu and Sipisu Rivers; and the third group lives on the right bank, along the Arcuaezu River. Within each group, the families live in smaller clusters, in most cases a group of siblings in the vicinity of the aged parents. There is no urban center or nucleus of houses in any of the groups.

The term “tribe” which is often used to refer to groups of people like the Amuesha, is so sufficiently vague and full of prejudices and stereotypes, that it serves only to obfuscate the reality of these people. Those Amuesha living in Quillazu are part of a much larger group, which can be called a nation or ethnic group, which besides the ties of kinship, is united by sharing a common culture. All of the different groups speak the same language and share the same history of the origin of themselves and the universe which surrounds them. They all participate in a particular way of living, in a cosmic order which gives them a very particular sense of life, and which distinguishes them from all other nations which surround them.

The members of the national Peruvian culture, European in its origins, who entered Amuesha territory not only robbed them of their lands and resources, but also robbed them of their history and culture. One has only to read a few pages of Father Saña’s diary or any of the other mission reports or government and private publications to realize that the robbery from the Amuesha of their culture was deliberate and premeditated.

The Amuesha men and women used to wear a long toga, known to Spanish speakers as kushma, heavily adorned with bands of bright seeds and beads and dried bodies of brilliantly colored birds. Perhaps twenty years have passed since an Amuesha in Quillazu has worn his own dress; today only European clothes, most of them in rags, are worn. The Amuesha tells us that he is ashamed to put on his kushma because the “Peruvians” make fun of him; they “murmur” in his presence, and call him “chuncho” when they see him in his own dress. The same story repeats itself with the language: although every adult and most older children can speak their own language, most of them prefer to speak Spanish. There are very few families today who teach their children to speak Amuesha: “We don’t want our children to suffer as we did,” they say. And it’s true, for many people remember how in school at the mission, they were punished and subject to public humiliation if they were overheard speaking their language.

One of the many histories which the old pass on orally to the young explains how the Amuesha used to live in a kind of social chaos, murdering each other just for crossing the boundary lines between isolated families. A woman, while in search of her murdered husband, learned the secret of making a fermented drink from manioc and learned to sing and dance. Her son also acquired a sample pan-pipe. On returning to their home, they taught the neighboring Amuesha the secret of living in harmony with friendly social relations. Thus the Amuesha began the celebrations with manioc beer and music. (Am. Korneshañi). These celebrations have served since that time to consolidate social relations among the dispersed groups of Amuesha.

This celebration is also an extremely religious occasion; through the music the participants recount and celebrate the deeds of their gods, important plants and animals, and their ancestors. There used to be among the Amuesha personae who were particularly religious (Am. Korneshañi) and who acquired a considerable following. They often directed the Korneshañi celebrations held at the religious houses or at certain sacred places.

Such was the case in Quillazu. Seven kilometers north of Quillazu, near the Falcanzu River there stands Our Father Tospere’ with his wife, Our Mother Paman, his three sons and a group of his followers. They were all converted to stone in remote times by Our Father the Sun and commissioned to hold the earth firm. It is the most important religious site for the Amuesha. Many Amuesha used to live around the site. Until sometime in the 1930’s Korneshañi Domingo lived there and officiated at the celebrations of Amuesha who came from all parts of the Amuesha world. During these years—the exact date is not known—the authorities, as the Amuesha feared and respected all Peruvian authorities equally, came with the police to force an end to the celebrations at Tospere’. Korneshañi Domingo escaped to the upper Chuchurras River; it is said he was under order of arrest for causing disturbances.

The colonists who attacked a claim to the land later burned the sacred house which stood over the group of stones. Within the last few years, colonists in the area further violated the site by excavating the stones, knocking them over, and breaking the smaller ones. According to the Amuesha, when they tried to dynamite Tospere’ in search of gold, there was lightening and the ground shook. The
colonists fled in terror. The Amuehna still return to the site clandestinely to celebrate in silence, despite their fear of the police and the owner of the land.

Among the factors which combined to create the Koshamnata complex are the creation in the Amuehna of a profound sense of shame for anything which identifies them as Amuehna; and the influence and threats of both spiritual and corporal retribution by the missionaries and local authorities. The Amuehna parents stopped teaching their children the sacred songs; the children lost interest in learning them. Today the Koshamnata is not celebrated anywhere in the Quillazu area. Manioc beer is kept hidden in each person's house, no longer the symbol of friendly social relations. The music, the means of expressing those things most important in the Amuehna world, has become the object of idle curiosity, which the grandparents keep to themselves, afraid of being ridiculed by their grandchildren.

The European concept of private ownership of land was something quite new to the Amuehna, who still do not understand why outsiders should want to claim and accumulate large amounts of land and then prohibit others from entering them. The Amuehna consider land as existing to give sustenance to everyone, and thus open to satisfy anyone's needs. Of course people "own" the crops which they plant; that is, they have the right to determine what happens to them. But to own the soil is incomprehensible. At the same time the idea of boundary lines, of exercising exclusive rights over a stream or river, of owning a tree, are foreign to the Amuehna.

Thus the process which slowly forced the Amuehna to live within the boundaries of the concession in Quillazu and which later assigned them individual parcels of land was also a process of inculcating in the Amuehna the European concept of private property and its effect of alienating land. Once inside the Quillazu lot, the Amuehna continued living according to their own criteria, exercising their freedom to plant their gardens or coffee wherever they wanted, as long as they respected the plants of others.

During the late 1950's they began to plant coffee in the flat river basin in Miraflores. During the next decade almost every unable square meter on the valley floor was planted in coffee. Each family planted many small patches in different parts of the pampa. The 1963 subdivision recognized the complexity of land holdings on the valley floor and left it a communal reserve. At the same time the hillsides which rise behind the valley floor were subdivided into ten individual lots and assigned to the older members of the community. Since the rest were prevented from gardening their individual parcels in Sipizu, they continued to make their gardens on the

hillsides facing the Chorobamba River, staying within the boundaries of whichever lot corresponded to their parents or grandparents.

For example, one of the ten lots was assigned to the now deceased Domingo Cirilo; within his lot all of his children and grandchildren felt free to plant their gardens. As one of the Cirilo sons expressed it, "Within the family we can't deny anyone the right to plant his garden, when there is room to plant. We all have to eat." But there was a tremendous flexibility to this pattern: when there was no room within one's father's lot, then one simply asked the owner of the neighboring lot permission to plant in his lot. Permission was always granted.

That is the manner by which by 1968 the Amuehna had accommodated themselves to the imposition of the concept of private property. And at the same time, it is the way that almost the entire population of Miraflores, about 35 families, accommodated themselves to and depended on their small coffee plantations and gardens within Miraflores.

These 35 families had begun to think of themselves as a small community during those years. They had named a five member council which was in charge of local affairs and dealing with outside institutions. Through their own initiative they acquired their own school, an important factor in gaining their independence from the mission. They initiated several small community projects which met with varying degrees of success and failure. After nearly a century of experiencing the disorganization and the erosion of their own institutions for social solidarity, the Amuehna in Quillazu were learning...relearning...the concept of community.

F. The Agrarian Reform Enters Quillazu

"Ever since that time proposals were made to cultivate the banks of the Uruganazú River, where today one finds the hacienda "White Cross", the savages opposed it; until in 1982 after several attempts, (the colonists) were able to dominate them and establish themselves definitively." (A. Tamayo 1908)

On September 12, 1969, by Supreme Resolution #163-69 AP/DGRA, the Peruvian government revoked the original land title for the Quillazu concession, and put the 12% hectares at the disposition of the Agrarian Reform. The 1963 subdivision on the left bank was invalidated. The decision was made to re-subdivide the entire lot into individual parcels, the size of which in theory would depend on the area which each person had cultivated in 1968. As dictated by the 1969 Agrarian Reform law, the individual parcels would be sold to the new owner by means of a 20 year contract, requiring
equal annual payments.

The surveyors returned and began their work in Sipizu. Here, despite the many years the Amueha had struggled and waited patiently for their lands in Sipizu, preference was given to the tenant farmers: 18 lots were assigned to tenant families. Only those Amueha who had managed to survive the attacks of the tenants in previous years and maintain their original parcels were given lands in Sipizu: 8 lots were assigned to Amueha. Several lots were unassigned.

That left 30 Amueha families with no parcel of land. It was decided (another anonymous decision) to subdivide the community of Mirafl ores, including the communal reserve of coffee plantations, into ten parcels. The upper half of the mountain the only area left suitable for cultivation, was assigned to the forestry office as a forest reserve. The new subdivision paid no heed to the previous boundary lines; it ignored the fact that thirty families depended on these lands and their coffee plants; it ignored the complexity of land holdings on the valley floor; and it ignored the existence of a community of people. Ten families were assigned the parcels; the other twenty families were advised to go elsewhere to look for land—to abandon their coffee plants, their only source of income; to abandon their network of kin relations; to abandon their community. Those who received the lots were advised that they must pay the others for whatever permanent crops, coffee, fruit, etc. fell inside their parcels.

Quarrels broke out immediately between neighbors whose traditionally agreed-upon boundaries had now been shifted, perhaps by as little as a few meters; and between those who received parcels and those who did not receive parcels, as the latter group suddenly found their houses, gardens, and coffee plants within someone else’s “private property.” Within a very short time, this community of people who had never quarreled among themselves over land, turned into a chaos of misunderstandings, bad feelings and resentments.

When the surveyors were measuring the last lot, those families who remained without land sent a protest to the local Agrarian Reform office asking that the entire area of Mirafl ores be declared a communal reserve. Immediately those who were to receive a parcel sent in a counter-protest. The quarrels intensified; the community structure began to unravel. Eight families who received no land, including the elected leader, convinced that their lands were being taken away from them, emigrated to the upper Chuchurran River.

From that time until my arrival in the community in January 1973, there had been no community meetings, no new community leader named, and no further communication with the Agrarian Reform office.

In July of 1970, the handful of Amueha who received parcels in Sipizu were called to pick up the contracts for their land. But for Mirafl ores there was only silence. Until May of 1973, no one in the community knew what had been the fate of their lands. And the quarrels continued.

In June 1973, I found out from the Agrarian Reform office in San Ramon that in the final version approved by the government an area of 129 hectares called “Mirafl ores” was declared a communal reserve; a second adjoining lot with 25 hectares was declared the civic center of Mirafl ores; and a third lot with 38 hectares, located on the right bank of the Chorobamba River bordering the Arcuasua River, was also declared a communal reserve. I also learned that seven separate lots with a total of 490 hectares were retained by the government as forest reserves to be administered by the government forest agency. To my knowledge those are the only forest reserves in the whole province of Oxapampa.

G. Conclusion

“The idea of morality and justice are very obscure and vague among these chuchones. They barely have a clear notion of good and evil... and there they live, with no more aspirations and feelings than those of an animal’s existence.” (Navarro 1924)

“We distinguish between things which are good and things which are not good. The old people teach the children how to live in a good way and all about good manners.” (Conversation with an Amueha, Mirafl ores, 1970)

To conclude this part, let us look briefly at how the Amueha at Quillusau have fared after 80 years of “protection” by the Franciscan missionaries, 8 years of legal battles with the mission and its tenant farmers, and 5 years of social and economic justice as administered by the Agrarian Reform program. The Amueha in Quillusau are finding themselves in a continually more precarious economic situation. By usurping their lands and renting them to outsiders and then selling all the lumber from their forests, the mission eliminated the Amuehas’ traditional means of satisfying their economic needs (gathering raw materials, hunting, gardening, etc.) and thus created needs for manufactured goods and a dependency on the monetary system for acquiring them. At the same time, they were left with no means for participating in the money economy. They were trapped in a situation of permanent poverty, dependent on the production of their small plots of coffee and on selling their labor to local hacendado owners for any money income.
Franciscan Missions among the Amuesha 1639-1974

**Probable limits of Amuesha nation 1639 - 1900**
- Missions operating 1639-1742
- Missions founded 1880-1900
- Present-day Colonist towns

Map based on: USAF ONC NGS 1964

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Amuesha settlements 1974

* Official reserved areas
* Areas awaiting government action
* Concentrations of Amuesha with small individual parcels of land
* Limits of areas heavily colonized 1870 – present
* Principle roads open to traffic

Map based on: USAF ONC NGS 1964
Then after the mission washed its hands of its responsibility, the Agrarian Reform entered and left the Amueha poorer and with less hope for economic improvement than ever before. At the time of the 1963 subdivision, the community of Mirafloros had over 800 hectares of land. The present, and, I assume, final subdivision left 35 families with 154 hectares, 90% of which is either uncultivable grassland or already planted in coffee. Yet the government retained for itself as forest reserves 490 hectares, over three times what it left for the Amueha. Those few Amueha who received individual lots are now paying the government rather than the mission for the right to work their own ancestral lands. They have been saddled with a twenty-year debt and the possibility of losing their land for failure to make the yearly payment. And finally after creating a situation which practically guarantees permanent poverty for the Amueha, it offered no technical or economic assistance and no hope for economic improvement.

Ever since the colonisation of the Chorobamba valley began, the Amueha have constantly been pushed from one place to another as the colonists took their lands. The mission offered very little protection and even threatened to throw them out of the Quillazú valley. Throughout the past 15 years of legal battles and constant clamoring at government offices, the Amueha have been asking for one thing: security for the lands they possess. To this day, despite the activities of the Agrarian Reform, the inhabitants of Mirafloros and Arcusazu still have no document which guarantees and protects their land. They are still subject to the abuses of outsiders who treat the land as if it were public property.

From the time the Franciscans first entered the Quillazú valley, they disregarded the indigenous socio-political order. They purposefully confronted the authority of the traditional leaders, fostering loss of confidence by the Amueha in their own institutions. The resulting social and political disintegration allowed the missionaries easily to impose and consolidate their power under a quasi-feudal regime in which the missionary assumed the role of patron. The Amueha accommodated themselves to this system for over half a century, allowing the missionaries to usurp their right to self-determination and to treat them as part of the missionaries personal service.

Beginning in 1960 the Amueha began to protest openly the mission's abusive administration of their lands, and at the same time began to re-evaluate the role of the mission in their own personal and community affairs. Slowly throughout the last decade, they have been building a community life and organization which has functioned independently of the mission. Then the Agrarian Reform entered the valley and unjustly stripped the mission of its lands and power. But its attempt to subdivide the Amueha lands, disregarding the community of people and their own land-use patterns, provoked much misunderstanding and quarrel among the Amueha, that paralysis and disintegration of the community resulted. Then the Agrarian Reform, perhaps not even seeing the situation they created, abandoned the community, making no attempt to repair the damage they had done.

But the situation at Quillazú is not irreparable. I would like to offer the following suggestions as a way which the Revolutionary government of Peru can effectively aid in the recuperation of the Amueha community at Quillazú:

1) All unoccupied lands within the boundaries of the former lot "Mirafloros" should be returned to the community. This includes all forest reserves and all unassigned lots.

2) A means should be established by which those individual parcels in Biquisú which were alienated from the Amueha through the action of the Agrarian Reform can be returned to the Amueha community, for example when the owner of the individual parcel in want to sell or transfer their lot, the community should be given first option to acquire them.

3) All available lands which border on the Amueha community should be incorporated into the community. This includes the lands occupied by the Italian colony in the Gramazu valley which have been abandoned for several years.

4) If, with these lands included, the area of the community still does not reach a total as guaranteed by the Supreme Resolution of 1957 (10 hectares per person over five years of age; a total of over 3000 hectares), then neighboring haciendas like the remnants of the Hacienda "Carolina", should be expropriated and returned to the community.

5) Financial and technical aid should be given to initiate cooperative cattle raising projects and other projects for economic improvement.

6) And finally such sacred sites as the group of stones in Palmazu should be returned to the community for their conservation.
II. THE COLONIZATION OF THE AMUESHA CONTINUES

"In dealing with the conversion of the Campas and the Amueha, I have to say there is no other solution than absorbing them... that is, colonizing their lands, we surround them, and we absorb them, obligating them almost by force, if not by shame, to follow the customs of civilized people..." (Salu 1925:556)

"When we became civilized, we no longer fought with our bows and arrows. We became friends with the Peruvians. Also when we are civilized and the Peruvians ask us for a piece of land to plant their gardens, we have to give it to them. We are friends now and we have to give them land when they want it." (Conversation with an Amueha, Miraflores, 1973)

Today the Amueha nation as a whole is composed of some 47 groups, varying in size from a few families to over 100 families. These groups are living throughout a territory of about 9500 square kilometers in the easternmost parts of the departments of Junín, Pasco, and Huánuco. The estimated total population is around 3500 individuals.

Of all the small nations in the Peruvian tropical forest, the Amueha are located the closest to the populated centers of the highland and coastal areas, and have experienced the most direct interchange with members of the national society. Until the beginning of this century, the Amueha lived along the narrow corridor from San Ramón in the south to Puno in the north. Throughout this century, these river valleys have been the object of large scale colonization and exploitation by Peruvians and Europeans. Through the usurpation of their lands and the diseases brought by the colonists, the Amueha were forced out of this corridor and into Pucará-Pachuca riversheds area to the east.

Today there are no Amueha in the Pucará valley and only a handful of westernized Amueha in the Chanchamayo valley. Between Oxapampa and the lower Pucará valley, small groups live isolated among the land holdings of the colonists. There are however large groups of Amueha living along the Pucará River, from its source near the town of Villa Rica till it forms the Pachitena River, some 150 kilometers to the north.

As late as 1970, at least 80% of these groups had no legal protection for their lands. Despite their petitions to the government, their lands were considered empty and free lands, and as such they were subject to usurpation by any colonist who presented a land claim to the appropriate government office. The Amueha who found himself living inside such a land claim had two options; either he was allowed to remain on the land, trapped into the debt-peonage service of the new owner (as was the case in the Villa Rica area, where after World War II large coffee plantations were established by German refugees); or he was forced to leave the land under threat of the police and local authorities who inevitably conspired with the colonist.

Between 1968 and 1972, a number of factors coincided to make possible the securing of some Amueha lands; sympathetic people held two important positions within the Agrarian Reform program in the area; a steady source of volunteer labor was available to gather the needed information; and the newly created Office of the Native Communities of the Jungle intervened to add its weight to the effort. Provisional land titles were obtained for some Amueha living in their individual lots. In the case of larger groups of Amueha who lived in areas not yet colonized by outsiders, land reserves of varying sizes were established.

Practically all the present reserves are located in the upper Pucará River area. So far, eight land reserves have been officially recognized. They range in size from 65 hectares to 8,300 hectares. Two reserves are awaiting official recognition. That leaves at least 19 Amueha settlements which still lack security for their lands.

What sort of security and guarantees does the creation of a land reserve offer the Amueha? Legally very little. There is in this day no law which unequivocally protects or even recognizes the jungle native's right to his own land. A Supreme Resolution from 1957 speaks very convincingly of the need to protect the lands of the jungle tribes, but then declares that a maximum of 10 hectares should be reserved for each native person over five years of age. All factors considered, this quantity of land guarantees little more than permanent poverty.

The land reserves were given official status by the issuance of the Ministerial Resolution, a simple government decree which has validity until the government changes its mind or is replaced by another government. The Ministerial Resolutions do not specify how long the reserves shall exist, what rights the Amueha have within the reserved areas, what guarantees the Amueha have to the resources within the reserves (lumber, minerals, oil, etc), what rights they have with respect to hunting and fishing grounds, nor what access those living in these areas have to government assistance.

The drive to colonize the more accessible areas of the Peruvian tropical forest has been renewed recently. The Ministry of Agriculture in coordination with SINANOS is presently organizing a large scale "March to the Jungle" which plans to move large numbers of
people from the highland areas of Junín into the Pichis and Palcazu valleys. The Peruvian Army is presently constructing a highway from Villa Rica to Puerto Bermúdez as the backbone of the projected colonization. The road when finished will pass through the Amuesha reserves of Cacacucho and Yuncullana, and a branch road entering the lower Palcazu valley will pass through at least three Amuesha reserves. Unfortunately this colonization project has not taken into consideration the already existing native population in the area to be colonized. The Amuesha peoples no longer have any place to escape such colonizing activities. The "March to the Jungle" will undoubtedly put to test the validity and legality of the land reserves, and may force the government to define its position regarding the native peoples of the jungle.

III. SOME THOUGHTS ON THE AMUESHA AS COLONIZED PEOPLE

"Chuncho means the same as a person who is false, a traitor, ungrateful, lazy, drunkard, vengeful, and inconsistent. And what should we do with people like this? Just what they do in the rest of the world: assuming they do not want to live like men, but like animals, treat them like animals. And shoot them when they unjustly oppose the life and well-being of the rest." (Sala 1925:565)

Words of an Amuesha who continues to resist the attempts to convert him to Christianity: "I don't go visiting my fellow Amuesha any more. They always call me montano (non-Christian) or son of the devil, and want to force me to follow their religion. But what I think is this; when I'm chewing coca, and someone comes, do you think I'm going to make him chew coca if he doesn't want to?"

The history of the Amuesha at Quillassu is by no means unique; it is not an isolated incident caused by one bad priest or one misinformed bureaucrat. It is a process which has repeated itself countless times among the Amuesha and among other colonized peoples on all continents. Almost the exact same story could be told about the Franciscan missions at Sogorno, San Luis de Ochucro, or along the Ucayali River. Similar histories could be told about the Iroquois peoples in eastern North America, the Aboriginal peoples in Australia, the Ibo peoples in West Africa, or any other peoples who have been the object of European colonization.

The process involved, often called "civilizing the savage", or "christianizing the heathen" or even in some parts called "revolutionizing the oppressed", is the logical outcome of (1) the colonizers' inadequate and faulty ideas about peoples who have not yet been alienated from themselves and their cultural origins; and (2) the colonizers' fear of those people who are, de facto, different from them. It is in a process of alienation—of putting a barrier between the Amuesha and what in rightfully his: the product of his labor, his ancestral land, his history, his gods, his identity, and above all his sense of self-esteem.

The European peoples who had contact with these small nations of the upper Amazon around the turn of the century were fairly explicit about their attitudes towards them. They considered the people something a bit more evolved than animals but certainly far less evolved than themselves. They thought of and treated the Amuesha as children; as beings totally incapable of having any thoughts, feelings, or ideas.

Such ideas were given an intellectual justification through the misapplication of Darwin's ideas about biological evolution to human cultural groups. This became an ideology which viewed the cultural differences between human groups as indications of their failure to achieve the perfectly evolved state of European upper class society. Thus from the European point of view, all other human groups were judged as lacking, and it was precisely the others' "fallure" to live and think like Europeans which "proved" their judgement correct.

But it in understandable that such ideas developed if we consider that Europeans—in fact, all colonizing peoples, including Peruvians—needed a way of thinking about other peoples which would justify their colonizing activities, that is, which would justify robbing other peoples resources, independence and self-esteem. These activities were usually carried out in the name of civilizing the other, of bringing "culture", the European point of view—to the rest of the world who lacked it. For the Europeans it was their moral obligation.

But it was not enough for the colonizer to justify it to himself; the robbery had to be presented in such a way that the colonized people, the Amuesha, for example, would believe they had been done a great favor. He had to convince the Amuesha that, stripped of what is rightfully his, he would be much happier (or more civilized, richer, a better person) in that condition. For the colonized it had to become known as salvation.²⁵

I recently overheard an Amuesha preacher, considered a prize convert to evangelism by a large protestant missionary group, tell his Amuesha congregation that they and their ancestors were Jews, because they do not believe in anything; and for that reason, just
like the Jews, they are persecuting and killing God. The implications of his sermon let the congregation know that their murderous acts would end when they accepted whiteman's interpretation of God.

I want to analyze the situation more closely, so as to expose the tricks which are being played. The Amuehna, who have an incredibly rich and poignant reality which they believe in, are told they do not believe in anything; that is, their reality is nothing, non-existent. Then they are told that by believing in whiteman's religious doctrines, that is, in his impoverished materialist reality, they will be believing in something. As if by magic, something is turned into nothing and nothing into something. Then the Amuehna is told that by believing in nothing, that is by being himself, he is killing whiteman's God. Actually whiteman, by impoverishing and narrowing his concept of God, has been "killing" his own God. The Amuehna who is seduced by this kind of mystification begins to experience himself and the world as alienated and alienating. He has stopped believing in his own reality, which makes sense to him, and accepted a Western foreign reality, which makes no sense to him and little sense to anyone.

Among the Amuehna, this situation is perpetuated not only by missionaries, but by colonists and government people as well. It is particularly distressing to me to see the young "revolutionaries" who are now filling the government offices repeat the same formulas, the same stereotypes, and the same destructive and alienating acts as their grandfathers did at the turn of the century. But today it is dressed up in new words and justified, not by evoking the need to civilize the savage, but by the need to bring our progress and development to those who lack it.

In a recent conversation with personnel of a local government agency, I heard them lament the fact that the Amuehna had for so many years been regarded and treated as animals, and that now the time had come to begin treating them as people. I was told that in order for this to happen, it is incumbent on the government to plant the seed so that a new way of life can flower for the Amuehna; that we now live in the twentieth century and there was no reason for the Amuehna to continue living in their primitive, backward state. The implications are clear: these officials thought the Amuehna live like animals, and felt the moral obligation to teach them to live like human beings, that is, like themselves.

The government of Peru has justly and wisely declared an end to government paternalism. Let us examine the relationship between the government and the Amuehna in the context of this discussion.
vians" whether of European stock Europeanized background, are conscious of their role as oppressors of the native peoples and as perpetrators of an oppressive colonial situation, whether in the Andes or in the jungle?

During the past five years the Revolutionary government has without doubt set Peru on the path of remaking Peruvian society and economy. But if a truly revolutionary atmosphere and a truly equitable and liberated society are to be created, then those participating in the process must face two obvious facts about their own historical situation: the plural character of the society and the condition of Andean and jungle indigenous groups as colonized peoples. To achieve a revolutionary society, the task of decolonization must begin immediately, and the first step is to recognize and respect the very fundamental cultural differences which give Peru its richness. To deny those differences is to continue to produce alienated, and as such, terrorized and incapacitated people subject to control by others. To recognize those differences, allow them to live, fostering strong, and independent and cooperating ethnic groups is to produce a truly revolutionary society where each individual is free to be his unalienated self.

IV. SUGGESTIONS

I offer the following suggestions regarding native peoples' land as partial measures for decolonizing the Amuesha and other native peoples of the jungle. They have been discussed and in part offered by leaders among the Amuesha. The Amuesha well know the urgency of their situation and know that the highways, colonists, lumber barons, and oil prospectors will not wait for the government to decide the fate of the native peoples.

1) All lands occupied by native peoples as determined by the native peoples should be given immediate recognition and legal protection by law. It should be specified that these lands are inalienable and that the guarantee last forever. The property right should include the exclusive right to dispose of all resources--forest, animal, and mineral--found within the lands.

2) It is suggested that rather than reserving small discontinuous pieces of land, that larger contiguous zones be recognized so as to avoid isolating each native community in a sea of colonists. For example, in the upper Palcazu River, three reserves were established with small spaces between them. It would make more sense to reserve one continuous piece of land from the upper limits of the Yuncullamas reserve to the lower limits of the Loma Linda reserve. In Omil a area between the reserve and the uninhabitable peaks of the Yanachaga mountains was left unreserved. Today colonists are beginning to move into the area, impeding the free movement of the Amuesha as well as their hunting and fishing rights.

3) It should be recognized by law that each native community has the right to determine who shall live within the community lands and the right and power to expel any person, native or colonist who the community agrees should be ousted. In the case of colonists who invaded native peoples lands, the community should not be held responsible for any permanent crops which the colonist leaves behind.

4) All lands recognized as native peoples lands should be tax exempt by law and free of other charges.

5) When roads pass through native peoples lands, the state shouldcede to the native peoples its claim of eminent domain over the land within 25 meters on either side of the road.

6) The native peoples should not be subject to requirements that they organize themselves or exploit their lands according to government criteria in order to have their lands recognized. But financial, technical, and organizational assistance should be made available to those communities which seek it.

7) A means should be established by which lands alienated from the Amuesha by theft, deceit, force, etc can be recuperated and reintegrated into the native peoples territory.

NOTES

1) Bernardino Iniguez I., Historia de Las Misiones Franciscanas del Peru, Lima, 1925, V.I.
2) Dionisio Ortiz, Diopana, Lima, 1967, V.I.
3) Stefano Varone, La Sal de los Cerron, Lima, 1968.
4) Op. cit., Ortiz, p. 81. Many writers assume that the Amag and the Amuesha are one and the same. While the possibility exists that they are, I have no definite proof.
5) For more detailed accounts of the Juan Santos Atahualpa movement, see Iniguez, 1925; Ortiz, 1967, V.I; Daniel Valcarcel, Rebelion de Indigenas, Lima, 1942; Varone, 1968.
10) See Hans Reiser, Indiana, Braunschweig, 1943, for an account of the same incident from the colonists point of view.
12) Petition to the Prefect of Junin, 1884; Father Lucas de T. Martorell. Archives of the Agrarian Reform Program.
13) Petition of November 3, 1905; Father Antonio Batille. Archives of the Agrarian Reform Program.
14) Supreme Resolution #6270 Bol.105, November 17, 1905. Archives of the Agrarian Reform Program.
22) Archives of the Agrarian Reform Program.
23) The term chuncho is originally a Quechua word meaning a native of the eastern forests. It has been incorporated into Peruvian Spanish with the same meaning, but with the implication of racial and cultural inferiority.
24) In addition to Miraflores, there are 8 families with individual parcela ranging from 6 to 17 hectares in Sipisz; 20 families in Urana living within the 240 hectares granted in 1952; and 14 families in Aracazu crowded into the tiny reserve of 36 hectares.
25) See Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, New York, 1968; and A Dying Colonialism, New York.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Approx. Pop.</th>
<th>Form of Tenancy</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Legal Status</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Mima</td>
<td>Villa Rica</td>
<td>17 families*</td>
<td>individual parcels</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>sale contracts</td>
<td>surrounded by colonists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. El Palomar</td>
<td>Villa Rica</td>
<td>21 families*</td>
<td>communal reserve</td>
<td>65.22 hec.</td>
<td>Ministerial decree 1971</td>
<td>uncultivable mountain top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bocas-Falma</td>
<td>Villa Rica</td>
<td>7 families*</td>
<td>reserve petitioned</td>
<td>80. hec.</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>few colonists;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bocas-Purus</td>
<td>Villa Rica</td>
<td>3 families*</td>
<td>traditional</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>land and lumber claims; few colonists;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Casazu-Union</td>
<td>Villa Rica</td>
<td>24 families*</td>
<td>communal reserve</td>
<td>173.13 hec.</td>
<td>Ministerial decree 1971</td>
<td>land and lumber claims; surrounded by land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Casazu-scattered</td>
<td>Villa Rica</td>
<td>10 families*</td>
<td>individual parcels</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>sale contracts</td>
<td>claims and colonists;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Tuniculas</td>
<td>Villa Rica</td>
<td>9 families*</td>
<td>communal reserve</td>
<td>1,400. hec.</td>
<td>Ministerial decree 1972</td>
<td>surrounded by land claims and colonists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Lower Casazu</td>
<td>Villa Rica</td>
<td>5 families*</td>
<td>traditional</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>no colonists or land claims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Sanchirio</td>
<td>Villa Rica</td>
<td>8 families*</td>
<td>individual parcels</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>surrounded by colonists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Metaro-Patria</td>
<td>Perene</td>
<td>4 families*</td>
<td>communal reserve</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>surrounded by colonists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Metaro-Bancachari</td>
<td>Perene</td>
<td>25 families*</td>
<td>individual parcels</td>
<td>561. hec.</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>surrounded by colonists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Alto Turinaki</td>
<td>Perene</td>
<td>50 families*</td>
<td>individual parcels all together</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>colonised area;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Magaso</td>
<td>Paucartambo</td>
<td>18 families*</td>
<td>reserve petitioned</td>
<td>40. hec.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>colonised area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Pusapno</td>
<td>Oxapampa</td>
<td>10 families*</td>
<td>individual parcels</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>surrounded by colonists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Miraflores</td>
<td>Oxapampa</td>
<td>35 families*</td>
<td>communal reserve</td>
<td>154. hec.</td>
<td>Ministerial decree 1970</td>
<td>surrounded by colonists</td>
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<tr>
<td>23. Sipisu</td>
<td>Oxapampa</td>
<td>8 families*</td>
<td>individual parcels</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>sale contracts</td>
<td>surrounded by colonists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Gramasu</td>
<td>Oxapampa</td>
<td>20 families*</td>
<td>individual parcels all together</td>
<td>240. hec.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Amuena and colonists intermingled empty lands available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Asulina-Pichanas</td>
<td>Upper Falcazu R.</td>
<td>37 families*</td>
<td>communal reserve</td>
<td>6,805.60 hec.</td>
<td>Ministerial decree 1971</td>
<td>no colonists or land claims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Porrayo</td>
<td>Upper Falcazu R.</td>
<td>5 families*</td>
<td>reserve petitioned</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>in dispute with colonist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Loma Linda</td>
<td>Upper Falcazu R.</td>
<td>66 families*</td>
<td>reserve petitioned</td>
<td>4,300. hec.</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>awaiting recognition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Shiringamas</td>
<td>Upper Falcazu R.</td>
<td>34 families*</td>
<td>reserve petitioned</td>
<td>2,851.10 hec.</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>awaiting recognition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Approx. Pop.</td>
<td>Form of Tenancy</td>
<td>Area</td>
<td>Legal Status</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Chuchurres</td>
<td>Upper Palcazu R.</td>
<td>14 families</td>
<td>reserve petitioned</td>
<td></td>
<td>none</td>
<td>awaiting government action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Upper Lagarto</td>
<td>Upper Palcazu R.</td>
<td>8 families</td>
<td>reserve petitioned</td>
<td></td>
<td>none</td>
<td>awaiting government action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Villa America (Omais)</td>
<td>Upper Palcazu R.</td>
<td>49 families</td>
<td>communal reserve</td>
<td>8,362. heca.</td>
<td>Ministerial decree 1971</td>
<td>borders with colonists on NE part to SW open lands now being colonized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Villa Esperanza (Omais)</td>
<td>Upper Palcazu R.</td>
<td>24 families</td>
<td>communal reserve</td>
<td></td>
<td>none</td>
<td>partially colonized area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Tsopis (Omais)</td>
<td>Upper Palcazu R.</td>
<td>25 families</td>
<td>communal reserve</td>
<td></td>
<td>none</td>
<td>sparsely populated area</td>
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<tr>
<td>37. Comprechnas</td>
<td>Upper Palcazu R.</td>
<td>9 families</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>traditional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Lower Lagarto</td>
<td>Upper Palcazu R.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>traditional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Rio Caibies</td>
<td>Upper Palcazu R.</td>
<td>7 families</td>
<td>traditional</td>
<td></td>
<td>none</td>
<td>threatened by local haciendas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Lower Pachitea</td>
<td>Lower Palcazu</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>traditional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Isla Yarina</td>
<td>Lower Palcazu</td>
<td>53 families</td>
<td>communal reserve</td>
<td>3,899.05 heca.</td>
<td>Ministerial decree 1971</td>
<td>partially colonized area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Garza Playa</td>
<td>Lower Pichin R.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>245.64 heca.</td>
<td>Ministerial decree 1964</td>
<td>partially colonized area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. Upper Pachitea</td>
<td>Upper Pachitea R.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td>none</td>
<td>isolated families along river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Orrellana</td>
<td>Upper Pachitea R.</td>
<td>12 families</td>
<td>traditional</td>
<td></td>
<td>none</td>
<td>partially colonized area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. Ilapana</td>
<td>Perares</td>
<td>5 families</td>
<td>individual parcels</td>
<td></td>
<td>none</td>
<td>colonized area</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

47 communities 681 families

+ - information based on actual censuses conducted by the author
x - information based on estimates of people from those communities

21,891.66 heca. Ministerial decree
6,072.10 heca. surveyed, but no legal guarantees
APPENDIX:

Excerpt of "Indian Girls make the best Maids; another Aspect of Ethnocide."

For more than thirty years the Amueha community of Miraflores (Oxapampa) has provided young girls to work as servants on the neighboring haciendas and in the homes of the lumber, lumbering, and other white men in Oxapampa, who behind their masks of middle class respectability maintain an active traffic of Amueha girls. Those who are not "patronera" often use money as the bait to trap girls, but they also use false promises and illnesses to allure them. The girls are first taken into the homes of the local traffickers for several weeks, until "they get used to it." Then they are sent to Lima to the homes of relatives, friends, and who knows what other clients. I have no idea what arrangements are made between the traffickers and their clients; that information is not available to me. Once in Lima the Amueha girls are put to work cleaning, cooking, and caring for children.

We might ask why the girls parents are so willing to turn their daughters loose. Perhaps it's not a question of willingness. The Amueha, especially those around Oxapampa, are economically stratified; the colonists have left them with very little land which now produces practically nothing. They have little or no knowledge of an economy based on commerce and money, and so of course cannot work it to their advantage. At the same time, with the introduction of western medicines coupled with the loss of traditional methods for controlling birth, family size now ranges between 8 and 12 children. In their economy it is very difficult for them to support even a small number of children. And finally after a century of being the object of the white man's cultural and racial prejudice, many Amueha are convinced of their inferior condition. They have accepted the prejudice and now actively look for a way to change their identity. Sending their daughters to work as servants seems to them to solve many of these problems.

The "patron" of course has another point of view. His society, in contrast to the Amueha society, is based on the exploitation of human beings by other human beings. And as such, accepts the use of young girls, especially those from the poor and indigenous classes, as a labor service. It is also well known that in these same societies, different economic classes are constantly making an effort to imitate the members of the wealthier classes. Among the Surinamese middle class, the Amueha girl has become a symbol of prestige, an indication that the particular family has achieved middle class status. In Peru, I estimate that between 80 and 90% of the servant class are native peoples. I ask, might the use of native peoples as house servants also be a symbol of domination of the native peoples by the colonists, the non-natives?

Then is the problem? It seems that the situation agrees with everyone's interests. Let's look at the situation of the girls. They are often taken to Lima as young as eleven or twelve years old. They have never left their houses before, they have no understanding of the world, and they have no consciousness of their condition as servants. Many of them have never known money, so whatever salary the patron offers them is acceptable. "I arrived and the woman said to me she will pay me 200 soles a month (about $5.00), well, I was happy. I said, look how much money they are going to pay me. My father never gave us that much money." The girls with more experience and more consciousness of their situation receive between $10.00 and $30.00 a month.

The promises with which the traffickers or patrons use to lure the girls are most often empty. Very seldom are the girls allowed to continue their education. Very seldom are they allowed to pursue other useful vocations. They learn to wash clothes, clean the house and care for children, work they learn very adequately in their own homes.

Usually the girls live in a world of servitude and in the practice of women's work. The same the patron would only allow the girl to go on a weekly trip to the market. When the girl stayed more than the allotted time, she was punished on returning to the house. The patron had "neglected" his work by permitting the girl to go to the market. The patron would tell the girl that the night before she came home her father had no way of informing her father because the patron controlled her correspondence. "But one day I wrote a letter to my father without letting the patron know, and put it in the mail. Two days after that a letter arrived from my father saying that I should come home. And the patron became angry and told me: 'you can go by yourself to buy your ticket and leave.' And I wasn't familiar with Lima. What could I do?"

The Amueha girls leave home during a very critically sensitive age, when their own characters are being formed. They lose contact with the world and reality of their own nation, and with the values it teaches. In Lima they are enclosed in a very tiny and limited world, where only the family of the patron can serve as a model for structuring their enlarged reality. From this new family they learn that the life of their own families is just as painful, back-breaking, and sad, and all the rest of the prejudices which urban people have about life in the jungle. As a consequence the girls learn and incorporate the attitudes of the middle class valuing sex, beauty, and culture as prejudices of their patrons.

They learn to think in racist terms: that their indigenous origins are a disgrace and the cause of their present unhappy and backward situation. They learn to hold on to the idea that the patron and his family hate it. A profound sense of shame, incapacitating in its rigidity, is developed in them, which eventually turns into a self-contempt. At the same time the patrons create in them the illusion that only the city (Lima) can offer them a fulfilling life, full of important things: movies, cars, lights, stores, etc. They learn many other equally stupid things: they are defenseless against it. The girls become loyal to their community after their arrival in the capital, they show scorn for everything they see: the food, the inconveniences, the ignorance of their families, and even the green panoramas of forests. (Coastal peoples think the whole world should be like their coast. The idea of the new life in the city is that it demeans its population and makes everyone a city person.)

The girls learn the value of the city's life, and the idea of the "capital," which means that most of them are not onlyachat of the boys here attract her. Now the girls only like pretty people with a good appearance. But our grandparentstold us that if a person in pretty or ugly doesn't mean a thing." An Amueha mother may say to her son or daughter: "You want to marry a Peruvian. When they go to live with Peruvians from the time they're little girls, and with all the luxuries and good food, that's why they want to marry a Peruvian." Every mother explains it in her own way. But the fact is the same: the girls who are taken to Lima to work as servants don't return to participate in the life and destiny of their own nation. Their life and condition in Lima and the capital is so important to them. The girls have no consciousness of their condition as servants.
and 26, 31 of which are now working or have worked as servants. Of these 31, 14 are still single, working in Lima; five married another Amuesha, and twelve married a non-Amuesha. So that during the past ten years, 70% of the women married a white man and didn’t return to their community. Today there is one unwed woman older than 12 years living in the community. Not one...and there are 29 young men between the ages of 18 and 50 years who are looking for a companion. Twenty-nine single men and not one single woman.

The meaning of this couldn’t be clearer: if this situation continues, and there’s every indication that it will, there will not be a new generation of Amuesha in Miraflores. They will not be able to reproduce themselves either biologically or culturally. “That is the sad condition among us: the girls decide to leave, and the community disappears. When they leave they forget about their people, they no longer think about their ancestors and they want to become like the white people. In time they abandon their generation or their nation. Just like many others elsewhere who abandoned their nation, and now their descendants are lost.”

In concluding, I would like to reiterate only two points. The first is the right of the servant class, as members of the working class, to share the rights and benefits of all working people: a minimum wage, limited and specified working hours, and the enjoyment of social security benefits. And these are the barest minimums.

I have shown here the problem of the traffic and exploitation of children: what percentage of the servants in Lima are minors? Does anyone know? I doubt it. It seems strange that no one has yet interested themselves in these problems. The Amuesha at least must think about it every day: “There are many people in other places that are only just servants. That is a bad custom that they adopted from the Spaniards. Until just the other day, they used to buy their slaves. Now they don’t buy them, but they buy them by exploiting them, paying them some money so that they won’t realize what is happening.”

The second point is that of ethnic cleansing. The Amuesha community of Miraflores is now facing its own disappearance (annihilation?) for having allowed its daughters to serve white patrons in the urban areas. If this process continues in other Amuesha communities, will the Amuesha disappear as a nation, as a human group with their own unique cultural characteristics? I wonder too about the situation of the daughters of the other nations in the Peruvian jungle—the Conchua, the Huachipalcs, the Yaguas, and others. And what about the indigenous people in the Andean area? Are they subjected to the same process of elimination and disintegration? One doesn’t need a degree in anthropology or sociology to observe that almost 90% of the servant class in Lima are native peoples. And what does that mean?

An Amuesha mother expressed her feelings with these words: “We, give our daughters so that they can serve others, and they can’t serve us. And the whites never give us their daughters to serve us, that’s what I am thinking. Even though there are lots of them, there isn’t even one who doesn’t have a father or mother, that the Peruvians might say: there she is, take her, so that she can serve you. No...and here they all go to serve the Peruvians, we are always serving everyone.” An Amuesha mother reveals her heart, and how can we respond?

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