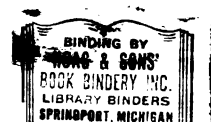


CULTURAL INTEGRATION OF THE
KWAYKER INDIANS, COLOMBIA:
A GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
LUIS EDUARDO ARAGON
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THESIS





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ABSTRACT

CULTURAL INTEGRATION OF THE KWAYKER INDIANS, COLOMBIA: A GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

By

Luis Eduardo Aragón

Economic, social and demographic pressures are forcing Colombians to explore remote areas of their national territory. Such lands are covered largely by heavy forest. The two major forested regions in the nation are the Amazonia in the southeast and the Pacific coast in the west. People moving to these areas are called colonos.¹ They are essentially mestizos, Spanish-speaking people and with a high degree of Spanish-based culture. Although the largest number of colonos come from the highlands, some of them migrate from the plains and valleys as well.

The remote areas are not totally unpopulated, as there have been native Indians living there since time immemorial. The colonos, or outsiders, represent a markedly distinct culture in comparison with the local aboriginal groups in terms of economy, language and religion.

The Kwaykeres are a group of Indians living in southwestern Colombia and are suffering the continuing

effects of one of the earliest colonization penetrations in Colombia. They speak a Chibcha dialect and have been considered by anthropologists as "full-blood Indians" closely related to Eastern Asians.²

The purpose of this study is twofold: first, to delimit and calculate the present population of the Kwayker Indians and, second, to explain how the colonization process, by reducing the Kwayker geographical space, forces Indians to abandon their own cultural patterns in order to integrate with those of the new and dominant colonists.

A historical review and statistical analysis of data collected during the field work, in Colombia and Ecuador, show that as colonization increases, the cultural integration of Kwaykeres into the national life likewise increases. Because endogamy is a typical characteristic among the Kwaykeres, they were classified operationally by their surnames. Numerical taxonomy was used to differentiate the Kwayker names from non-Kwayker names. The surnames, Bisbicús (BI), Canticús (CA), Cuasalusán (CU), Gwanga (GW), Nastacuás (NA), Paf (PA), Paskal (PS), and Taicús (TA), were taken as belonging to Kwaykeres. Other surnames, except Garcia (GA), were taken as belonging to colonos. People with the surname Garcia or with one Kwayker and another colono surname, were taken as cholo.³ Relationships through marriage, baptism, and land transactions were analyzed in relation to the surnames. The

Kwayker cultural area was delimited on the basis of five factors: 1) existing maps and descriptions of the Kwayker area, 2) the Kwayker surnames, 3) the Kwayker language, 4) land elevation above sea level, and 5) places visited by the author, other writers, and missionaries in the Kwayker area.

After a century of glory, the Kwaykeres began their decline as a cultural entity around 1630. Today, they are reduced to no more than 6,500 people in an area of 10,000 square kilometers. The colonization by non-Kwaykeres, a geographical-space-reduction process, has increased sporadically and strongly since 1960. It has disintegrated the Kwaykeres as a culturally homogeneous group within a contiguous territory. The Kwaykeres manifest a different material culture, social structure and way of thought as they settle sites farther from the frontier of colonization. The main activity of the Kwaykeres, today, is the clearing of forest to sell the cleared land to colonos. Colonos and Kwaykeres together are deforesting the land at an increasing pace. Therefore, within a few years the Kwaykeres will have no forested area remaining. They are changing their primitive subsistence agriculture for an economy based essentially on wage earnings and before long will be completely absorbed by the colonizer's culture.

¹Colonos are operationally defined in this study as people with surnames different than Bisbicús, Canticús, Cuasalusán, Gwanga, Nastacuás, Paf, Paskal or Taicús. According to this distinction, mestizo and black people are taken as colonos, who are referred to several times as outsiders.

²Sergio Elias Ortiz, "The Modern Quillacinga, Pasto and Coaiquer," Handbook of South American Indians, Vol. II (1946), 961-968, and Henri Lehmann, Alberto Ceballos Araujo y Milciades Chaves, "Grupos sanguíneos entre los indios Kwaiker," Boletín de Arqueología, II, No. 3 (Julio-Septiembre, 1946), 227-230.

³Cholo is a term used locally to express the mixture between a Kwayker Indian and a colono (either mestizo or black). Methodologically, the term refers to those persons with a Kwayker and colono surname. It is important to understand that the term is only a methodological reference because in the Department of Chocó, north of the Kwayker area, another Indian group is called cholos, and in the southern part of the Kwayker area the colono-Kwayker people are called criollos.

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To the Kwaykeres

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If this study helps in part to solve the problems of the Kwayker Indians, I will have been greatly rewarded. My debt, of course, to the Kwayker knows no bounds.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Colombia, a South American country with 23,700,000 people, was inhabited by 850,000 aborígenes when Columbus first reached the American continent.¹ Today, about 300,000 Indians are estimated to be living in the same area. Of these, some 150,000 are considered "primitive" by anthropologists, while the remainder are called campesinos indígenas, or Indians with an aboriginal historical and cultural background but highly integrated into Colombian rural life.² At national and local levels three major stages of Indian integration into the national life can be seen. The first stage is represented by the group of Indians called campesinos indígenas. They are culturally and ethnically integrated but discriminated against per se

¹Angel Rosemblat, La población indígena y el mestizaje en América, 1492-1950, T. I., pp. 306-307, as cited by Hermes Tobar Pinzón, "Estado actual de los estudios de demografía histórica en Colombia," Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura, V (1970), 65.

²Darío Fajardo, "Censo indígena: Primer paso para la acción," in D.A.N.E., Ayer y hoy de los indígenas colombianos (Bogotá, D.E.: Talleres del D.A.N.E., 1971), p. 40.

as Indians in some areas.³ Most of the Indians living in this stage are located in the high mountains, protected only by the resguardo institution.⁴ The second stage of integration is represented by those Indians bordering the rural-living mestizo areas. These Indians are assimilating with varying intensity into the national way of life. The third stage is comprised of Indians located in the forests, in only sporadic contact with the national culture, who basically have not been reached by the colonization process. The same macro-regional process of integration can be seen at a micro-regional level among the Kwayker, a small group of Indians considered in the national conscience as living in the second stage of integration, or in intermittent contact with the national life.⁵

The Kwayker Indians are located in southwestern Colombia, and overlap the Ecuadorian-Colombian border. In Ecuador, they are concentrated in the parroquias of

³Manuel Quintín Lame, Las luchas del indio que bajó de la montaña al valle de la "civilización" (Bogotá, D.E.: Rosca de Investigación y Acción Social, 1973), pp. 1-50.

⁴Fabián Díaz Aristizábal, El resguardo indígena: Su realidad y la ley (Bogotá, D.E.: Ministerio de Gobierno, [n.d.]), pp. 3-146. Resguardo (reservation) is a type of land tenure system. It is a communal unsalable and non-transferable Indian landholding.

⁵Writers spell the word KWAYKER in a variety of ways, including KUAIKER, KWAIKER, KOAIKER, COAIQUER, COAIKER, COAYQUER, and QUAYKER. The phonetics of KWAYKER, as pronounced by the Kwaykeres, is [KWAY-KER].

Maldonado and Tobar Donoso.⁶ They populate about 10,000 square kilometers between the Telembí and Mira-San Juan rivers, at an elevation from 100 to 2,000 meters above sea level. Although some Kwaykeres live beyond these general boundaries, they rarely make permanent settlements there (see Figure 1).

The Kwaykeres can be culturally divided into three major stages, according to the distance at which they reside from the colonization frontier. In the first stage the Kwaykeres have forgotten their own language or only speak it on very special occasions. They have assimilated the main features of the colonizer's culture. Those Indians living in the second stage have mixed cultural manifestations, combining participation in the commercial trade system with primitive agriculture. A dualism in language and clothing is another typical cultural feature of this stage. The third stage includes those Indians who are located far away from the colonization frontier, and who leave their settlements only to participate in the main Kwayker religious celebrations.⁷ The Indians living in

⁶The parroquias are minor civil divisions in Ecuador, comparable to municipios in other Latin American countries. In Colombia parroquias are ecclesiastic-administrative divisions. The Colombian parroquia might cover more than one municipio, or a municipio might cover more than one parroquia. In this study the parroquias are used as methodological subunits, rather than as administrative divisions.

⁷The Kwaykeres hold two great celebrations during the year, the Fiesta del Pendón on August first, and the Fiesta de la Virgen de la Lajas on September fifteenth.

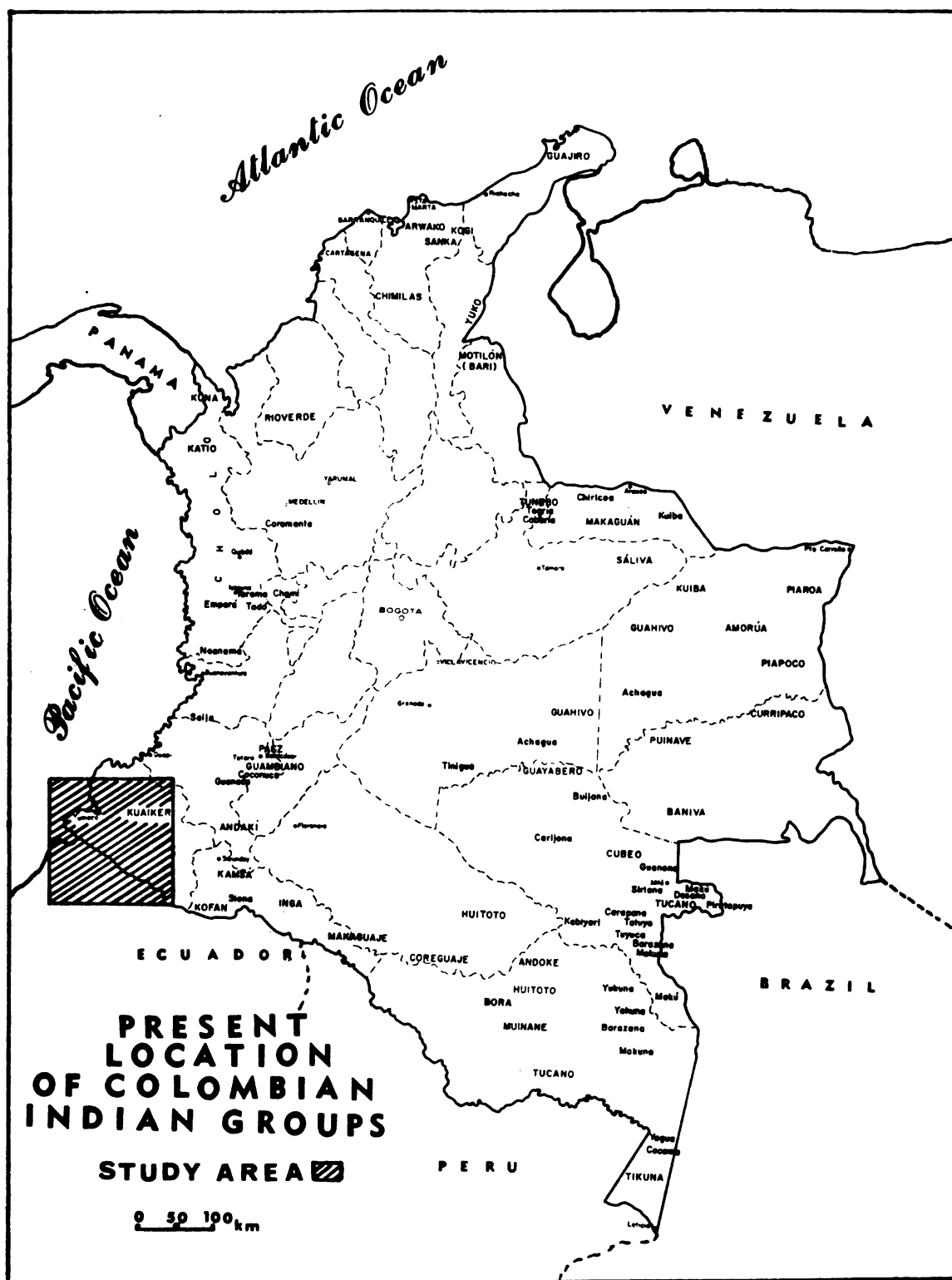


Figure 1.--Present Location of Colombian Indian Groups

Source: DANE.

this stage are the most isolated and preserve most of their own cultural manifestations. Almost all of the Kwaykeres, regardless of their stage of integration, are discriminated against as Indians by the colonizers.⁸

The Problem

The purpose of this study is twofold: first, to delimit and calculate the present population of the Kwayker Indians and, second, to explain how the colonization process, by reducing the Kwayker geographical space, forces Indians to abandon their own cultural patterns in order to integrate with those of the new and dominant colonists. Therefore, answers have been sought for the following questions:

1. What is the geographical extent of the Kwayker Indian area today?
2. What is the present population of the Kwayker Indians?
3. How much land have the Kwaykeres surrendered to the colonizers?
4. What has been the process of land occupation in the Kwayker area?
5. What are the most important geographical relationships between colonizers and Kwaykeres?
6. Has the colonization process disintegrated the Kwayker Indians as an homogeneous cultural group?

⁸ The southern part of the Kwayker area (the parroquias of Chiles and Maldonado), should be excluded from this generalization. Here, by means of migration and miscegenation the Kwaykeres, called locally Cantincuses, are not discriminated against.

7. What are the official government programs dealing with these Indians, and how effective are they?

Theoretical Considerations

To understand the geographical evolution and the present spatial organization among the Kwaykeres, it is important to know whether or not these Indians occupy a distinct cultural area. The concentration of a group named Kwaykeres in certain municipios of southwestern Colombia is a nationally accepted fact. Historical documents, reports, and the author's personal experience prove that the Kwaykeres themselves are conscious of their cultural and ethnic differences from other local people. Cultural features such as language, economy, settlement patterns, and daily habits distinguish the Kwaykeres within an area surrounded by people of other cultural backgrounds. Hence, the questions which must be promptly answered are: 1) what are the geographical boundaries of the Kwayker area today?, and 2) has this cultural area changed in size and cultural intensity through time?

Cultural areas, or regions, can vary in size from an entire continent to the dwelling and hunting area of the last two remaining people of an island race that is dying.⁹

⁹Peter Wallace DeForth, "The Spatial Evolution of the German-American Culture Region in Clinton and Ionia Counties, Michigan" (unpublished master's thesis, Department of Geography, Michigan State University, 1970), p. 7.

Given the conditions cited, a regional analysis may be macro-regional or micro-regional, but the same procedure and methodology are often used in both. Although this study deals with a micro-regional case, to understand the geographic phenomena pertaining to this Indian group it is important to relate the area to the total culture surrounding it and also to considerations at the national level.

Some aspects of methodology used in micro and/or macro-regional studies in Latin America and other places are helpful in gaining an understanding of specific geographic processes. The most suitable study as a theoretical guide to understanding the present functioning of the Kwayker phenomena, and their interrelations with the outside culture, is D. W. Meinig's analysis of the Mormon cultural region.¹⁰ Meinig points out:

We need to know more precisely just where the Mormons are and just what is the context of their situation in each locality, which means knowing something about when, why and how they got there and what is their relationship with reference to other local peoples. . . . If the culture area concept is to be used by geographers to provide new insights and interpretations rather than merely new compartments for the assemblage of commonplace data, such

¹⁰D. W. Meinig, "The Mormon Cultural Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of American West, 1847-1964," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LV (June, 1965), 191-220.

areas must be viewed not as static uniform patterns but as dynamic areal growths.¹¹

Meinig proposes a method of geographical analysis in a cultural area based on the use of certain generic terms

which can express the areal dimensions of significant gradations in the content and situation of the culture under study. . . . the terms core, domain, and sphere will be defined and used for that purpose. . . . A core area, as a generic term, is taken to mean a centralized zone of concentration, displaying the greatest density of occupance, intensity of organization, strength, and homogeneity of the particular features characteristic of the culture under study. . . . It qualifies by all the obvious measures of density, intensity, and nodality. . . .

The domain refers to those areas in which the particular culture under study is dominant, but with markedly less intensity and complexity of development than in the core, where the bonds of connection are fewer and more tenuous and where regional peculiarities are clearly evident. . . . The sphere of a culture may be defined as the zone of outer influence and, often, peripheral acculturation, wherein that culture is represented only by certain of its elements or where its peoples reside as minorities among those of a different culture. Sphere boundaries are often less easy to define because there may be fine gradations of culture differences and the limits of influence may be rapidly changing. . . . There is . . . a fourth category but it is not of the same kind, that is, it does not represent simply a gradation outward from the other three. . . .¹²

In the Kwayker cultural area, it is possible to see these cultural gradations, but they appear as cultural stages, given the multiple-cultural relations among the Indians and between the Indians and non-Indians. Meinig

¹¹Ibid., p. 195.

¹²Ibid., pp. 214-216.

explains cultural gradations as a cultural diffusion process when he states that

Because cultures are areal growths such gradations are also likely to represent a sequential spread from a locality of origin or heart. . . .¹³

Among the Kwaykeres, the stages core, domain, and sphere express intensity of contact with the outsiders and not a diffusional process from the "heart." In Ribeiro's words the stages reflect various "grades of cultural integration."¹⁴ The stages are "areal growths," but directed by the outside colonizers from the sphere toward the core in a process of spatial reduction, absorbing first the people living in the domain, and subsequently absorbing the core itself, into their own culture. At this time, the cultural area reaches its total integration and loses its identity. Hence, it becomes a part of another cultural area.

In the geographical-space-reduction process the people who occupy the sphere are those who receive the most intensive contact with the outsiders. They are in permanent contact. Those living in the domain are in less intensive contact or in intermittent contact, and those living in the core may be in sporadic contact or perhaps totally isolated from outsiders. Today, each

¹³ Ibid., p. 214.

¹⁴ Darcy Ribeiro, Fronteras indígenas de la civilización (México, D.F.: Siglo XXI Editores, 1971), pp. 12-13.

Kwayker Indian occupies one of the three stages, but there are no Kwaykeres who are either totally isolated or totally integrated (see Figure 2).

There is a direct relationship between the geographical-space-reduction process and grades of cultural integration. The process of spatial reduction is progressive. It increases in speed and intensity as it reaches a new stage frontier. When it reaches the core, cultural integration will be completed within a short time. Ribeiro found in his analysis of the Brazilian Indian integration process that:

The isolated Indian groups were reduced from 105 (45.6%) in 1900 to 33 (23%) in 1957; those Indian groups that maintained intermittent contact from 57 (24.7%) to 27 (18.8%), while those that were living in permanent contact increased from 39 (16.9%) to 45 (31.4%), and those that were integrated, from 29 (12.6%) to 38 (26.5%). . . . From the 230 tribes referred, 87 - or 37.8% - disappeared in these last fifty years. . . .¹⁵

In 1900 the isolated Indians in Brazil comprised 45.6 per cent of the total Indian population, which made them the predominant group. The least numerous at that time were the integrated Indians, 12.6 per cent. In 1957 the figures were almost reversed. The change from one stage to another expresses the intensity and force with which the Indian lands were occupied, rather than the Indians' cultural resistance or their receptivity to

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 49-50.

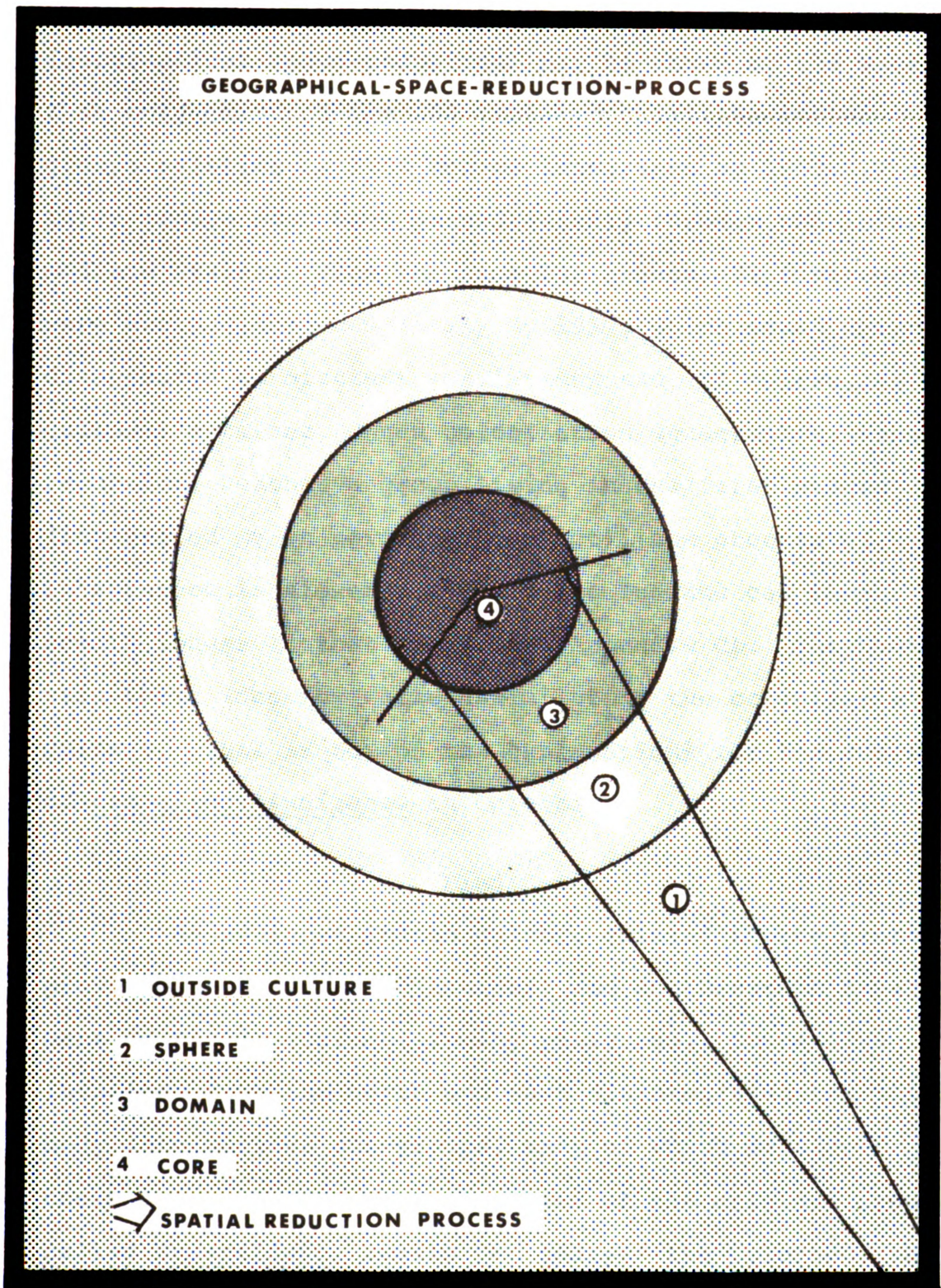


Figure 2.--Geographical-Space-Reduction-Process (after
D. W. Meinig)

integration.¹⁶ The progressive intensity of colonization (geographical-space-reduction) may be shown by the fact that only three of the 105 isolated Brazilian Indian groups existing in 1900 became integrated by 1957. Those three groups must have passed quickly through the intermediate stages. From the same 105 groups, 31.4 percent were extinguished completely by 1957, which means they disappeared as distinct populations and, of course, as cultural entities. When colonization (geographical-space-reduction) reaches a group living in the first stages (integrated or in permanent contact), the process of integration is slower in time. The Indians can thus remain longer in that stage (see Appendix C). They maintain their identity while assimilating the colonizer's culture. This is one of the explanations for the survival of campesinos indígenas in Colombia.

Findings

An advanced Indian culture existed in the present province of Esmeraldas (Ecuador) and southwestern department of Nariño (Colombia) many years ago. Successive invasions from the north and east disintegrated the total body into various sub-groups, many of which developed their own culture. Three examples of the original group, called Esmeraldeño, remain yet today: the Colorado, the Cayapa and the Kwayker. The Kwayker group had its golden

¹⁶Ibid., p. 50.

age during the sixteenth century A.D. Since that time the Kwaykeres have known only retreat. Today, they seem likely to become another extinct Esmeraldeño group. Colonization is increasing sporadically, and the Kwaykeres are changing their cultural and social patterns to those of the colonizers. In response to the penetration in their cultural area the Kwaykeres manifest three stages of cultural integration. Each level shows differences in material culture, social structure, and way of thought. The Kwaykeres living in permanent contact with the colonizers are located in the sphere of their area. They are, generally speaking, culturally integrated but socially discriminated against per se as Indians. Indians in intermittent contact inhabit the domain. The Kwaykeres living in this stage are involved especially in deforestation and manifest a mixed culture. The Kwaykeres living in the core are those in sporadic contact with the colonizers, but who still retain their aboriginal customs.

Colonization is progressing at a faster rate than ever before. The core of the Kwayker area is being reached, and with it the end of the Kwayker culture as now organized can be confidently predicted.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

The research for this thesis was organized in three steps. The first was to collect bibliographical data, general information, census reports, cartographic works and other written materials at Michigan State University, in Bogotá and Pasto, Colombia, and in Quito, Ecuador. The second involved field work, in two different time periods, August-September, 1972, and July-September, 1973. In this step some of the most important visits were those to the Instituto Colombiano de la Reforma Agraria (INCORA), Instituto de Desarrollo de los Recursos Naturales Renovables (INDERENA), Servicio Colombiano de Meteorología e Hidrología (SCMH), División Operativa de Asuntos Indígenas, Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, Instituto Geográfico Agustín Codazzi (IGAC), Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (DANE), Servicio de Erradicación de la Malaria (SEM), and Instituto Colombiano Agropecuario (ICA), in Colombia, and the Instituto Ecuatoriano de Antropología y Geografía (IEAG), Planeación Nacional, Instituto

Ecuatoriano de Reforma Agraria y Colonización (IERAC), Servicio Nacional de Meteorología e Hidrología, and Instituto Geográfico Militar, in Ecuador. The field work, step two, was divided into three major activities: collection of documental data on landholdings, land grants, taxation, population, baptisms and marriages from the area; short recorded interviews with Indians and colonizers; and a period of residence in three areas representing the three cultural stages: sphere, domain, and core. The latter experience was necessary to determine co-parenthood relations among the Indians, make local maps, record cultural features, learn the native language, record altitudes, and conduct a local census.

The third main activity in the research procedure was to process the available data to delineate the Kwayker cultural area and calculate its extension and population. Five sources were important in delimiting the Kwayker area: 1) maps and descriptions concerning the area, 2) the Kwayker surnames, 3) the Kwayker language, 4) altitude above sea level, and 5) places visited by the author, other writers and missionaries in the Kwayker area.

Maps and Descriptions of the Area

Written descriptions and both old and modern maps helped to locate, broadly, the Kwaykeres in

southwestern Colombia, and more specifically in the southwestern part of the Department of Nariño. No writer, however, identifies a specific, well-defined area for the group. Most provide only the name of the group and some very general indication of the area occupied by the Kwaykeres. The map "Ethno-Linguistic Distribution of South American Indians" places the Kwaykeres (coaquieres) in a part of the larger Chibcha area.¹ The Atlas histórico-geográfico del Ecuador also places the Kwaykeres on a map that represents "Grupos idiomáticos aborígenes contemporáneos del Ecuador" as part of Colombia and Ecuador.² The closest approximation to the correct location is, perhaps, the area delineated by Ferdon in his map of "Ethnic Groups of Ecuador," where the boundaries coincide with Lehmann's geographical delimitation of the zone:³

The Kwaiker lives South of a line that goes from Piedrancha in the East, to the junction of the Mira and Güiza rivers in the West. The

¹Cestmir Loukotka, "Ethno-Linguistic Distribution of South American Indians," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LVII, No. 2 (June, 1967), map supplement number 8.

²República del Ecuador, Ministerio de Educación Pública, Atlas histórico-geográfico del Ecuador (Quito: Ediciones M.A.S., 1960), map 11, p. 36.

³Edwin N. Ferdon, Ethnic Map of Ecuador (Quito: Instituto Ecuatoriano de Antropología y Geografía, 1947).

San Juan or Mayasquer river, which separates Colombia and Ecuador, limits the expansion in the South. . . .⁴

The Kwayker Surnames

Studies in Guatemala confirm that surnames are usually related to geographical location. Horst shows that in a contact area of two or more cultures it is possible to differentiate each by family names. Referring to Ostuncalco, Guatemala, he states:

. . . It became evident that there was a distribution of names spatially unique to rural political subunits (aldeas) as well as the village (cabecera) of the municipio . . . Certain names appeared in the cabecera rather than in the rural aldeas of the community and in fact, here too, individual surnames might appear in one barrio of the cabecera but not in the remaining three. The localization of names would appear to identify, as Wagley has suggested, the locale of kinship groups.⁵

Márquez describes endogamy among the Kwaykeres and Osborn shows how difficult it is for a Kwayker to marry a member outside of his or her own kin group.⁶ Osborn explains the phenomenon by the intimate relationship

⁴Henri Lehmann, "Contribution a l'ethnographie Kwaiker, Colombie," Journal de la Société des Américanistes, LII (1964), 256.

⁵Oscar H. Horst, "A Preliminary Report on the Utility of Surnames as an Investigative Aid in Field Research," Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers (1970), 73-74. See also, Charles Wagley "The Social and Religious Life of a Guatemalan Village," American Anthropologist, LI, No. 4 (October, 1949), 1-50.

⁶Marceliano Márquez Rivera, "Diccionario histórico-geográfico del departamento de Nariño: COAIQUER," Cultura Nariñense, III, No. 27 (Septiembre, 1970), 28, and Ann Osborn, "Notas informativas de un estudio sobre los Coaiquer," Sur, II (Octubre, 1970), 67.

between land possession and religious effects on their souls.⁷ According to her:

There is a kin system among the Coaiquer society called in anthropology alternated generations or cycles of three generations. . . . In this system there is a marked identification between the grandfather and grandson, the basic function of which is the inheritance and maintenance of land in reserve for agriculture. . . . The last basic level of this kin system is that one that divides the community into two groups: consanguineous and collateral families; and relating to this system there are bigger groups that extend out of the community, and whose function is to maintain social relations among communities. The Coaiquer have such a kin system, and there is a considerable number of these groups, but only eight family names remain among them. They are: Bisbicus, Cantikus, Cuasalusan, Gwanga, Nastaquas, Pai, Paskal and Taikus. . . .⁸

Despite the endogamic nature of this society, various colonizers have entered into some Indian kin groups. Therefore, today, mixed marriages and co-parenthood relationships are common.

Lehmann, in his attempt to classify the Sindagua language, includes a set of surnames from Barbacoas and vicinity found in a 1635 document. He comments:

These are the nine present Kwaiker names: Taikus, Kantikus, Bizbikus, Nastakwas, Kwasxalusan, Paskal . . . , Kwastumal and Wanga. . . .⁹

⁷Ann Osborn, "Compadrazgo and Patronage: A Colombian Case," Man, III, No. 4 (December, 1968), 606, footnote 4.

⁸Osborn, Notas informativas, p. 68.

⁹Henri Lehmann, "Les indiens Sindagua (Colombie)," Journal de la Société des Américanistes, XXXVIII (1949), 81. Lehmann points out that the surname Kwastumal is an old Kwayker family name. During the present study such a name was not so common in the area.

The two sets of names, one collected in 1635 and the other in 1970, are the same except for the spelling. This coincidence helps to identify which names really belong to Kwaykeres and which might be a result of the historical process of miscegenation.

The numerical taxonomy technique is a useful tool to classify the Kwayker and non-Kwayker surnames. This technique considers that:

. . . members of a natural taxon are more similar to the other members of the taxon than they are to nonmembers. Another way of saying this is to say that once objects or events are assigned to classes, the variation among individuals within each class is minimized and the variation between each group and members of the other groups is maximized. . . .¹⁰

The technique has been used to classify a wide variety of things such as soils and diseases, politicians and plant communities, archeological artifacts and oil-bearing strata, socio-economic neighborhoods and psychological types, languages and television programs, to mention just a few.¹¹ In geography, numerous regionalization schemes and other studies use numerical taxonomy.¹² The

¹⁰Ronald Abler, John S. Adams and Peter Gould, Spatial Organization: The Geographer's View of the World (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), p. 158.

¹¹Robert R. Sokal, "Numerical Taxonomy," Scientific American, CCXV, No. 6 (December, 1966), 116.

¹²P. J. Taylor, "The Location Variable in Taxonomy," Geographical Analysis, I (1969), 181-195.

technique, moreover, is being improved to be more applicable to many other disciplines.¹³

Given the tendency of endogamy among the Kwayker Indians, their surnames should be more related to each other than with other surnames in the area. Since the missionaries keep records of marriages and baptisms within the Kwayker zone, a high correlation among the Kwayker surnames in such records should be found. The present study includes a review of all of the records of baptisms and marriages from 1960 to 1973 in the thirteen existing churches where the Kwaykeres could be living according to the maps and descriptions reported earlier. The churches, each of which serves a parroquia, are: Altaquer, Barba-coas, Candelillas, Cumbal, Chiles, Espriella, Guachavez, Guachucal, Maldonado, Mallama, Ricaurte, Samaniego and Tumaco (see Figure 3).¹⁴ A previous study of these archives indicates that eleven surnames are common in the area. Therefore, the following family names were taken to identify groupings: Bisbicús (BI), Canticús (CA), Cuasalusán (CU), Gwanga (GW), Nastacuás (NA), Paf (PA), Paskal (PS), Taicús (TA), Garcia (GA), Enríquez (EN), Ortiz (OR), and all other surnames (WW).

¹³Robert R. Sokal and Peter H. A. Sneath, Principles of Numerical Taxonomy (London: W. H. Freeman and Company, 1963), pp. 123-215.

¹⁴Data for Mallama and Maldonado are taken from the records kept by the local alcalde (mayor) and teniente político (mayor), respectively.

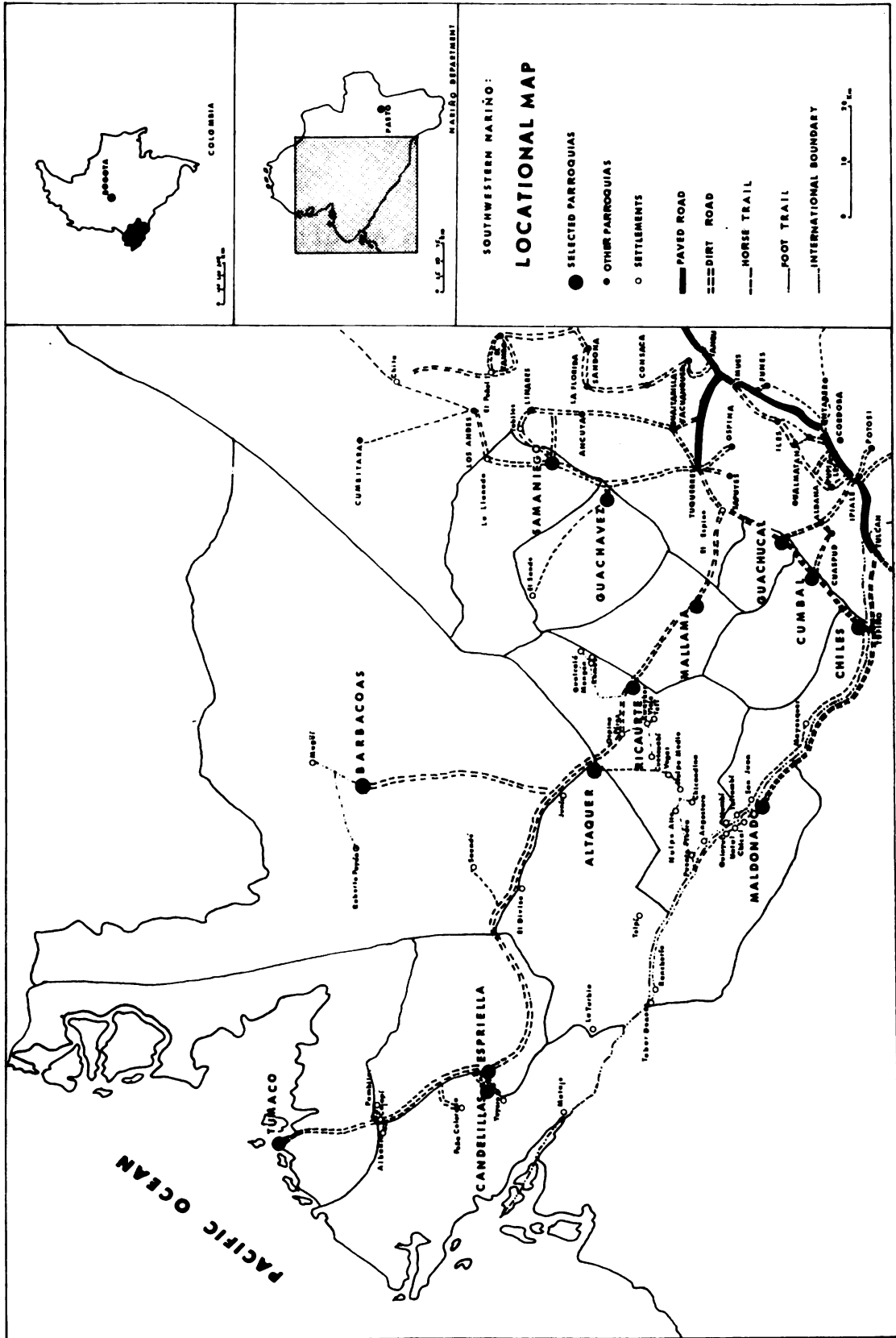


Figure 3.--Locational Map

Source: Servicio de Erradicación de la Malaria, DANE and Church Records

The percentages in Tables 1 and 2 illustrate the extent to which a surname relates viz-z-viz another. In some cases, such as in the baptisms CA and PS (12.8/12.8), the two percentages are equal. In this case 12.8 percent of the Canticús children have Paskal as their other family name and 12.8 percent of the Paskal children have Canticús as their other family name. In other cases there is an unequal proportion such as in the marriages GW and PS (7.1/14.6), where 7.1 percent of the members of the Gwanga group have Paskal as a partner, while 14.6 percent of the Paskal group have Gwanga as a partner. In other cases the relationships are completely unilateral, for example, in the marriages EN and WW (92.8/.4), where 92.8 percent of the members of the Enríquez group have partners belonging to the WW group and only .4 percent of the WW group have partners of the EN group. The percentages relating to the first eight surnames are highly concentrated, demonstrating the endogamous character among them. EN and OR are almost completely unilaterally related with WW, in baptisms as well as in marriages, while WW is almost completely related to itself (Baptism: 94.9, marriages: 93.6).

The addition of each coupled percentage shows the degree of relationship of each surname with all others, in baptisms as well as in marriages (Tables 3 and 4).¹⁵ In

¹⁵ If two surnames are related exclusively with each other the two percentages must be 100.0/100.0. In that case, only, the addition reaches 200.0. Such cases, however, are essentially hypothetical. In this study, no combination reaches even 100.0.

TABLE 1
ALL POSSIBLE COMBINATIONS OF SURNAMES IN BAPTISM RECORDS,
KWAYKER AREA, 1960-1973 (PERCENTAGES)

Father's Name	Mother's Name												T.P.C.*
	BI	CA	CU	GW	NA	PA	PS	TA	GA	EN	OR	WW	
BI	1.6	1.6/.5	2.9/2.6	7.8/1.4	17.0/3.2	15.0/2.5	10.0/3.0	7.0/2.3	12.8/2.2	.0/.0	4.5/.7	19.8/.1	100
CA		2.0	1.8/5.3	11.7/6.9	19.5/12.1	17.7/9.8	12.8/12.8	10.8/11.4	9.0/5.1	.0/.0	1.1/.6	13.1/.2	100
CU			4.5	19.3/3.8	23.9/5.0	4.2/.8	6.1/2.0	9.8/3.5	5.7/1.1	4.2/3.9	.4/.1	14.0/.1	100
GW				11.1	23.8/25.1	15.5/14.5	5.6/9.4	8.0/14.3	8.1/7.8	.0/.0	2.2/1.9	13.6/.3	100
NA					5.8	13.5/12.0	4.2/6.7	9.8/16.6	7.5/6.8	.9/3.9	2.4/2.0	10.5/.2	100
PA						3.9	17.8/32.1	8.8/16.8	9.9/10.1	.3/1.4	2.7/2.5	17.0/.4	100
PS							1.4	8.1/8.6	12.8/7.2	.0/.0	2.7/1.4	9.0/.1	100
TS								2.5	14.6/7.8	.0/.0	.8/.4	8.6/.1	100
GA									2.1	.7/3.5	1.2/1.1	47.9/1.1	100
EN										1.1	.0/.0	86.2/.4	100
OR											2.3	87.0/2.1	100
WW												94.9	100

Source: Baptism and marriage records: Parroquias of Altaquer, Barbacoas, Candelillas, Cumbal, Chiles, Espriella, Guachavez, Guachucal, Maldonado, Mallama, Ricaurte, Samaniego and Tumaco, Colombia-Ecuador, 1960-1973.

*Total possible combinations: Refers to all of cases in which a surname is involved, e.g., CA=100=[CA&CA)+(CA&BA)+(CA&CU)+(CA&GW)+(CA&NA)+(CA&PA)+(CA&PS)+(CA&TA)+(CA&GA)+(CA&EN)+(CA&OR)+(CA&WW)].

TABLE 2
ALL POSSIBLE COMBINATIONS OF SURNAMES IN MARRIAGE RECORDS,
KWAYKER AREA, 1960-1973 (PERCENTAGES)

Husband's Name	Wife's Name												
	BI	CA	CU	GW	NA	PA	PS	TA	GA	EN	OR	WW	T.P.C.
BI	.0	3.1/1.2	.0/ .0	6.2/ 1.2	6.2/ 1.4	12.5/ 2.8	21.9/ 8.5	6.3/ 2.8	15.6/ 3.0	.0/ .0	9.4/1.1	18.8/ .1	100
CA		.0	2.4/5.9	15.7/ 7.6	19.3/11.7	13.3/ 7.8	4.8/ 4.9	8.4/ 9.6	8.4/ 4.2	.0/ .0	1.2/ .4	25.3/ .3	100
CU			5.9	32.4/ 6.4	14.7/ 3.6	2.9/ .7	2.9/ 1.2	14.7/ 6.8	.0/ .0	.0/ .0	2.9/ .4	17.7/ .1	100
GW				11.2	21.8/27.0	12.9/15.6	7.1/14.6	8.8/20.6	5.3/ 5.4	.0/ .0	.6/ .4	17.1/ .4	100
NA					6.4	13.1/12.8	2.2/ 3.7	9.9/17.8	2.9/ 2.4	.7/2.4	2.9/1.5	18.2/ .3	100
PA						7.8	12.1/20.7	6.4/12.3	9.9/ 8.5	.0/ .0	2.1/1.1	22.0/ .4	100
PS							.0	10.1/12.3	24.4/12.0	1.2/2.4	.0/ .0	9.8/ .1	100
TA								4.1	6.8/ 3.0	.0/ .0	2.8/ .8	4.1/ .0	100
GA									1.2	.0/ .0	1.8/1.1	58.5/ 1.2	100
EN										2.4	.0/ .0	92.8/ .4	100
OR											3.2	90.4/ 3.1	100
WW												93.6	100

Source: Baptism and marriage records: Parroquias of Altaquer, Barbacoas, Candelillas, Cumbal, Espriella, Chiles, Guachavez, Guachuca, Maldonado, Mallama, Ricaurte, Samaniego and Tumaco, Colombia-Ecuador, 1960-1973.

TABLE 3
DEGREE OF RELATIONSHIP AMONG ALL SURNAMES IN BAPTISMS,
KWAYKER AREA, 1960-1973

	BI	CA	CU	GW	NA	PA	PS	TA	GA	EN	OR	WW
BI	1.6											
CA	2.1	2.0										
CU	5.5	7.1	4.5									
GW	9.2	18.6	23.1	11.1								
NA	20.2	31.6	28.9	48.9	5.8							
PA	17.5	27.5	5.0	30.0	25.5	3.9						
PS	13.0	25.6	8.1	15.0	10.9	49.9	1.4					
TA	9.3	22.2	13.3	22.3	26.4	25.6	16.7	2.5				
GA	15.0	14.1	6.8	15.9	14.3	20.0	20.0	22.4	2.1			
EN	.0	.0	8.1	.0	4.8	1.7	.0	.0	4.2	1.1		
OR	5.2	1.7	.5	4.1	4.4	5.2	4.1	1.2	2.3	.0	2.3	
WW	19.9	13.3	14.1	13.9	10.7	17.4	9.1	8.7	49.0	86.6	89.1	94.9

Source: Table 1.

TABLE 4
DEGREE OF RELATIONSHIP AMONG ALL SURNAMES IN MARRIAGES,
KWAYKER AREA, 1960-1973

	BI	CA	CU	GW	NA	PA	PS	TA	GA	EN	OR	WW
BI	.0											
CA	4.3	.0										
CU	.0	8.3	5.9									
GW	7.4	23.3	38.8	11.2								
NA	7.6	31.0	18.3	48.8	6.4							
PA	15.3	21.1	3.6	28.5	25.9	7.8						
PS	30.4	9.7	4.1	21.7	5.9	32.8	.0					
TA	9.1	18.0	21.5	29.4	27.7	18.7	22.4	4.1				
GA	18.6	12.6	.0	10.7	5.3	18.4	36.4	9.8	1.2			
EN	.0	.0	.0	.0	3.1	.0	3.6	.0	.0	2.4		
OR	10.5	1.6	4.9	1.0	4.4	3.2	.0	3.6	2.9	.0	3.2	
WW	18.9	25.6	17.8	17.5	18.5	22.4	9.9	4.1	59.7	93.2	93.5	93.6

Source: Table 2.

both tables the relationships among the first eight surnames are almost equal. Therefore, those surnames should constitute only one group. EN and OR are highly related with WW and therefore belong to the WW group. GA is almost equally related with WW, and with the others, in baptisms and marriages. Therefore, this surname should constitute a distinct group. Table 5 shows the new groups taking the first eight surnames as one group (K), GA as another, and EN, OR and WW as yet another (C). Following the same procedure, Table 6 shows that in baptisms the degree of relationship of GA with K is 63.1, against 50.9 with C, while in marriages the relationship is essentially reversed, 51.2 with K, against 61.4 with C. In both cases the degree of relationship maintained by GA with itself is very low, indicating that this family name is common among K and among C. Therefore, the name is considered mixed but given less weight in the analysis, because in some parroquias GA is highly related with K, but in others it is highly related with C.

The final groups are K, C, and GA. The K group includes the surnames Bisbicús, Canticús, Cuasalusán, Gwanga, Nastacuás, Paí, Paskal and Taicús. The people having two of these family names should be considered pure Kwayker. The C category contains all of the other surnames except GA (Garcia). The people with two of these names should be considered as colono, or not belonging to the

TABLE 5

EXISTENT AND POSSIBLE COMBINATIONS OF SURNAMES IN
BAPTISM AND MARRIAGE RECORDS IN THE KWAYKER
AREA, 1960-1973 (GROUPED DATA) *

Baptisms					
<u>Father's Name</u>		<u>Mother's Name</u>			TOTAL
		K	GA	C	
K	2,731	311	459	3,501	
GA	359	29	369	759	
C	591	324	59,718	60,633	
TOTAL	3,681	664	60,546	64,891	
<u>All Possible Combinations</u>					
	K	GA	C	T.P.C.	COMBINATIONS
K	2,731	670	1,050	4,451	[(K&K) + (K&GA) + (K&C)]
GA		29	693	1,392	[(GA&GA) + (GA&K) + (GA&C)]
C			59,718	61,461	[(C&C) + (C&GA) + (C&K)]
Marriages					
<u>Husband's Name</u>		<u>Wife's Name</u>			TOTAL
		K	GA	C	
K	293	25	62	380	
GA	33	2	48	83	
C	84	50	7,915	8,049	
TOTAL	410	77	8,025	8,512	
<u>All Possible Combinations</u>					
	K	GA	C	T.P.C.	COMBINATIONS
K	293	58	146	497	[(K&K) + (K&GA) + (K&C)]
GA		2	98	158	[(GA&GA) + (GA&K) + (GA&C)]
C			7,915	8,159	[(C&C) + (C&GA) + (C&K)]

Source: Baptism and marriage records: Parroquias of Altaquer, Barbacoas, Candelillas, Espriella, Chiles, Cumbal, Guachavez, Guachucal, Maldonado, Mallama, Ricaurte, Samaniego and Tumaco. Colombia-Ecuador, 1960-1973.

*16,949 "baptized" were excluded from the calculation because they had just one family name.

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGES OF ALL POSSIBLE COMBINATIONS AND DEGREE OF RELATIONSHIP
AMONG ALL SURNAMES IN BAPTISM AND MARRIAGE RECORDS IN THE
KWAYKER AREA, 1960-1973 (GROUPED DATA)

BAPTISMS									
Possible Combinations					Degree of Relationship				
K	GA	C	T.P.C.		K	GA	C		
K	61.4	15.0/48.1	23.6/ 1.7	100.0	K	61.4			
GA		2.1	49.8/ 1.1	100.0	GA	63.1	2.1		
C			97.2	100.0	C	25.3	50.9	97.2	
MARRIAGES									
K	58.4	12.7/38.6	28.9/ 1.8	100.0	K	58.4			
GA		1.2	60.2/ 1.2	100.0	GA	51.2	1.2		
C			97.0	100.0	C	30.7	61.4	97.0	

Source: Table 5.

Kwayker group, and GA contains the surname Garcia. The people having Garcia as one or both of their family names should be considered cholo, or mixed Kwayker and colono.¹⁶ The people with one Kwayker family name and the other colono should also be considered as cholo. Of the 81,915 names registered in marriages and baptisms in the thirteen churches from 1960 to 1973, 4.3 percent were Kwaykeres, 3.1 percent cholos, and 92.6 percent colonos (Table 7).

TABLE 7
NUMBER OF PEOPLE BAPTIZED AND MARRIED IN THE
KWAYKER AREA, 1960-1973*

	Baptisms	Marriages	Total	%
Kwaykeres	2,731	790	3,521	4.3
Cholos	2,400	160	2,560	3.1
Colonos	59,760	16,074	75,834	92.6
Total	64,891	17,024	81,915	100.0

Source: Baptism and marriage records: Parroquias of Altaquer, Barbacoas, Candelillas, Chiles, Cumbal, Espriella, Guachavez, Guachucal, Maldonado, Mallama, Ricaurte, Samaniego and Tumaco. Colombia-Ecuador, 1960-1973.

*16,949 "baptized" were excluded from the calculation because they had just one family name.

¹⁶The term cholo, suggested by Osborn and the interpretation here ascribed to it, has to be taken with precaution. It is used as a methodological aid, but cholo does not have the same meaning in the whole area. In the southern part of the study area, for example, the people of mixed ancestry are called criollo. Cholo also refers to another group located in southwestern Chocó Department north of the Kwayker area.

Table 8 and Figure 4 show a higher concentration of Kwaykeres in the parroquias of Altaquer, Espriella and Ricaurte, while the parroquias surrounding these three have concentrations of cholos and colonos. Some (e.g., Guachucal) show concentrations of colonos almost exclusively in their records.

The Language

A number of minor studies refer to the Kwayker language. Walter Lehmann reproduced a vocabulary which was published by Triana in 1906 after a trip from Barbacoas to Altaquer.¹⁷ Andrée gives twelve words collected in Barbacoas in 1881.¹⁸ Hidalgo lists thirteen words collected in Muellamués in 1894.¹⁹ Gutiérrez, in his trip to Tumaco in 1893, noted some Kwayker words spoken in Altaquer.²⁰ Caldas published in 1946 a vocabulary collected in Ricaurte.²¹ Henri Lehmann includes some Kwayker

¹⁷Walter Lehmann, Zentral Amerika, Vol. I (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1920), p. 33; and Miguel Triana, Por el sur de Colombia: Una excursión pintoresca y científica al Putumayo (Bogotá, D.E.: Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 1950), pp. 73-75.

¹⁸E. Andrée, "L'Amerique Equinoxiale," La Tour du Monde, XLV (1883), 344.

¹⁹Tomás Hidalgo, "La historia del Ecuador por el Doctor González Suárez," La Revista Ecuatoriana, IV (1894), 295-299. Hidalgo believed there was a different language spoken in Muellamués, but his vocabulary shows only six Kwayker words, five of Quechua origin and two Spanish.

²⁰Rufino Gutiérrez, "Monografías," Biblioteca de Historia Nacional, XXVIII (1920), 153-155.

²¹A. J. Caldas, "Palabras del idioma Kuaiker," Revista de Historia, VII-VIII (1946), 136-137.

TABLE 8

DISTRIBUTION OF KWAYKERES, CHOLOS AND COLONOS ACCORDING TO MARRIAGE AND BAPTISM RECORDS OF EACH PARROQUIA IN THE KWAYKER AREA, 1960-1973

<u>Parroquia</u>	Kwayker	%	<u>Cholo</u>	%	<u>Colono</u>	%	Total	%
1. Altaquer	1,832	41.7	698	15.9	1,860	42.4	4,390	100.0
2. Barbacoas	67	.4	338	2.1	15,918	97.5	16,323	100.0
3. Candelillas	9	.3	65	1.7	3,698	98.0	3,763	100.0
4. Cumbal	5	.1	18	.2	7,158	99.7	7,181	100.0
5. Chile	79	2.7	58	2.0	2,770	95.3	2,907	100.0
6. Espriella	842	11.1	696	9.1	6,065	79.8	7,603	100.0
7. Guachavez	61	1.5	68	1.7	3,961	96.8	4,090	100.0
8. Guachucal	0	.0	8	.2	4,984	99.8	4,992	100.0
9. Maldonado*	30	4.9	46	7.6	531	87.5	607	100.0
10. Mallama	5	.3	16	.9	1,713	98.8	1,734	100.0
11. Ricaurte	558	15.7	289	8.2	2,698	76.1	3,545	100.0
12. Samaniego	2	.0	18	.2	8,355	99.8	8,375	100.0
13. Tumaco	31	.2	242	1.5	16,132	98.3	16,405	100.0
TOTAL	3,521	4.3	2,560	3.1	75,834	92.6	81,915	100.0

Source: Baptism and marriage records: Parroquias of Altaquer, Barbacoas, Candelillas, Cumbal, Chiles, Espriella, Guachavez, Guachucal, Maldonado, Mallama, Ricaurte, Samaniego and Tumaco, Colombia-Ecuador, 1960-1973.

*Records of Baptisms were available only since 1966.

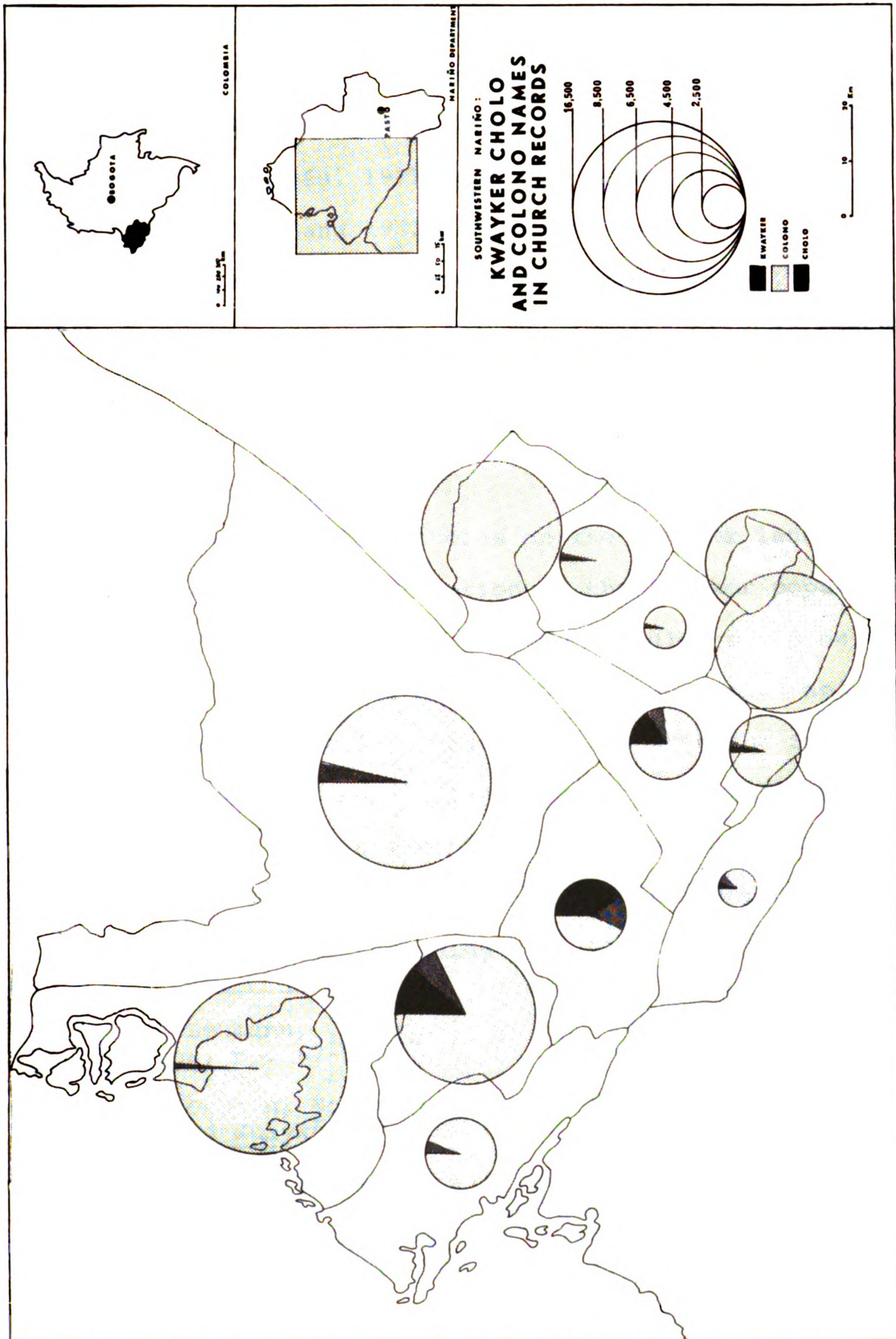


Figure 4.--Kwayker, Cholo and Colono Names in Church Records
 Source: Church records.

words in his ethnographical study in 1946, and gives a considerable number of surnames in his research on the Sindagua Indians in 1949.²² More recent sources, including Osborn, 1970, Cortés, 1971, and the author's own records (1969, 1970, 1972 and 1973), indicate that all of the vocabularies belong to a unique language.²³ In addition to the language records a list of surnames of Muellamués reported by Rosero in 1914, plus an 1843 list of names from Mayasquer and Maldonado, help to delineate the boundaries of the Kwayker culture.²⁴

Three important studies on the Kwayker language suggest the present distribution of the Kwayker population. Lehmann's "Les indiens Sindagua (Colombie)," based on surnames listed in archives dated in the seventeenth and eighteenth century A.D., indicates that when the Spaniards arrived there was a common language from the Telembí to San Juan rivers and from the Pacific coast to the Cordillera Occidental of Colombia. According to Lehmann the Kwayker is the only language remaining from the Sindagua.²⁵ Ortíz'

²²Lehmann, Contribution, pp. 255-270, and Lehmann, Les indiens, pp. 67-69.

²³Osborn, Notas, p. 72, and Cortés Moreno, Gerardo, La comunidad Kuayker (Pasto [n.d.], 1971), pp. 32-34.

²⁴Darío Alcides Rosero, San Diego de Muellamués, Manuscript, 1914, p. 13, and José Benjamín Arteaga, Apuntamientos sobre Mayasquer y Cumbal, 1910. A manuscript from the original by Alfredo Rosero Andrade, Chiles, 1948.

²⁵Lehmann, Les indiens, p. 80.

"La lengua Malla" suggests that the Sindagua language, which he calls Malla, is closely related to the Maya of Central America. According to him, on the Pacific coast there are some linguistic islands related to Polynesian and Central American languages.²⁶ An example is the Yurumangui language spoken until the eighteenth century in an area north of the Kwayker area. It belongs to the Hoka family, which includes both the Hawaiian of the Pacific and the Chontal of southern South America.²⁷ The extensively documented study on the Sindaguas and the author's own archival research in Barbacoas suggest that the Sindagua or an old Kwayker was the language spoken in the entire province of Barbacoas when the Spaniards arrived in the area.²⁸

The third and most important study is Jijón y Caamaño's "La lengua Coayquer."²⁹ It is a detailed analysis based on most of the vocabularies collected up to 1940. It includes phonetics, grammar, vocabulary, origin, and

²⁶ Sergio Elias Ortiz, "La lengua Malla," in Sergio Elias Ortiz, "Estudios sobre lingüística aborigen de Colombia" (Bogotá, D.E.: Editorial Kelly, 1954), pp. 19-35.

²⁷ Paul Rivet, "Un dialecto Hoka Colombien: Le Yurumangui," Journal de la Société des Américanistes, XXXIV (1942), 1-59.

²⁸ Many names given by Lehmann were found in marriage and baptism records in the archives of the church of Barbacoas dating from 1772.

²⁹ Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, "La lengua Coayquer," in Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, El Ecuador interandino y occidental antes de la conquista castellana (Quito: Editorial Ecuatoriana, 1940), V.I., pp. 152-234.

similarities with other languages. Caamaño classifies the Kwayker (Coayquer) as a dialect belonging to the Pasto, which belongs to the Chibcha family.³⁰ From this study it is possible to identify the most important phonetics. The phonetics, words and entire phrases, given by Caamaño are very closely related with modern records. Further studies, however, reveal that the phonetics KER and AL belong to another dialect and that these were introduced to the Kwayker language through early invasions by other Indians.³¹

Having a list of phonetics and the names of the present settlements in the Kwayker area, one can identify which settlements have a Kwayker name and compare their distribution with the Kwayker concentration indicated by marriage and Baptism records. Settlements with Kwayker names are listed in Appendix B. Their distribution by parroquia is shown in Table 9.

Comparing the concentration of present day Kwaykeres and Indian-named settlements, it is not difficult to determine the general pattern of Kwayker distribution.

Altitude

As altitude increases the concentration of Kwaykeres decreases. But, near the coast, where the lowest

³⁰Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, El Ecuador interandino, V.I., pp. 150-151.

³¹Luis T. Paz y Miño, "La lengua Pasto," in Luis T. Paz y Miño, Lenguas aborígenes del Ecuador (Quito: Litografía e Imprenta Romero, 1940), pp. 1-18.

TABLE 9
DISTRIBUTION OF KWAYKER-NAMED SETTLEMENTS
BY PARROQUIA, 1973

<u>Parroquias</u>	Number of Settlements	Percent
Altaquer	18	7.1
Barbacoas	116	45.4
Candelillas	14	5.5
Cumbal	--	--
Chiles	4	1.6
Espriella	25	9.7
Guachavez	4	1.6
Guachucal	--	--
Maldonado	5	2.0*
Mallama	4	1.6
Ricaurte	26	10.2
Samaniego	3	1.2
Tumaco	36	14.1
TOTAL	255	100.0

Source: Servicio de Erradicación de la Malaria, Map, Zona IX, 1973. Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, La lengua Coayquer, 1940.

*Author's records.

altitudes are registered, the Kwayker concentration also decreases. This means that the Indians inhabit primarily the hill zone of the Llanura del Pacífico.³²

Other Visits to the Area

The missionaries kept records of the places they visited and the names of people they married or baptized in each place. The places where the missionaries married or baptized cholos and/or Kwaykeres tend to be located in the central part of the area. The settlements visited by writers such as Lehmann, Gutiérrez and Andrée, who reported concentrations of Kwaykeres, are also centrally located.

Boundaries of the Kwayker Cultural Area

The various factors studied reflect collectively a central concentration of Kwaykeres. These exclude the parroquias of Guachucal and Cumbal and the eastern portions of Mallama, Guachavez and Samaniego, plus the northern part of Barbacoas and western Candelillas and Tumaco, as part of the present Kwayker cultural area. Thus, the Kwayker settlements are distributed from the Telembí-Saundé-Saspí rivers in the north to the Mataje-Mira rivers and the southern limits of the parroquias of Tobar Donoso and Maldonado, Ecuador, in the south. On the west the

³²The Llanura del Pacífico refers to the entire Pacific area, from the coast to the western slopes of the Cordillera Occidental and Ecuadorian Andes (see Chapter III).

boundary includes the headwaters of the Rosario, Mexicano and Guelmambí rivers, while the 2,000 meter contour line marks the eastern boundary. The area thus delimited covers an area of about 10,000 square kilometers (see Figure 5).

The Present Kwayker Population

The exact population of a forest people, or even a good approximation, is not easy to ascertain. Difficulties such as cultural rules of the group, scattered settlements, and the lack of penetration roads make the collection of accurate data almost impossible. Estimates of the Kwayker population, therefore, differ widely. Ortiz calculated 2,000 in 1936, and West cited the same figure in 1957, but noted the possibility of other Indians inhabiting "the headwaters of the Guelmambí and its tributaries south of Barbacoas and the upper reaches of the Río Rosario to the west."³³ Lehmann counted the Kwaykeres in 1946, obtaining the results indicated in Table 10.

Lehmann, considering possible migration and uncounted houses, concluded:

. . . It seems that the figure of 3,000 Kwaiker Indians is closer to reality than the figure proposed by Ortiz. . . .³⁴

³³Sergio Elias Ortiz, "Notas sobre los indios Koaikeres," Idearium, I, No. 1 (1937), 25, and Robert C. West, The Pacific Lowlands of Colombia: A Negroid Area of the American Tropics (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957), p. 96.

³⁴Lehmann, Contribution, p. 259.

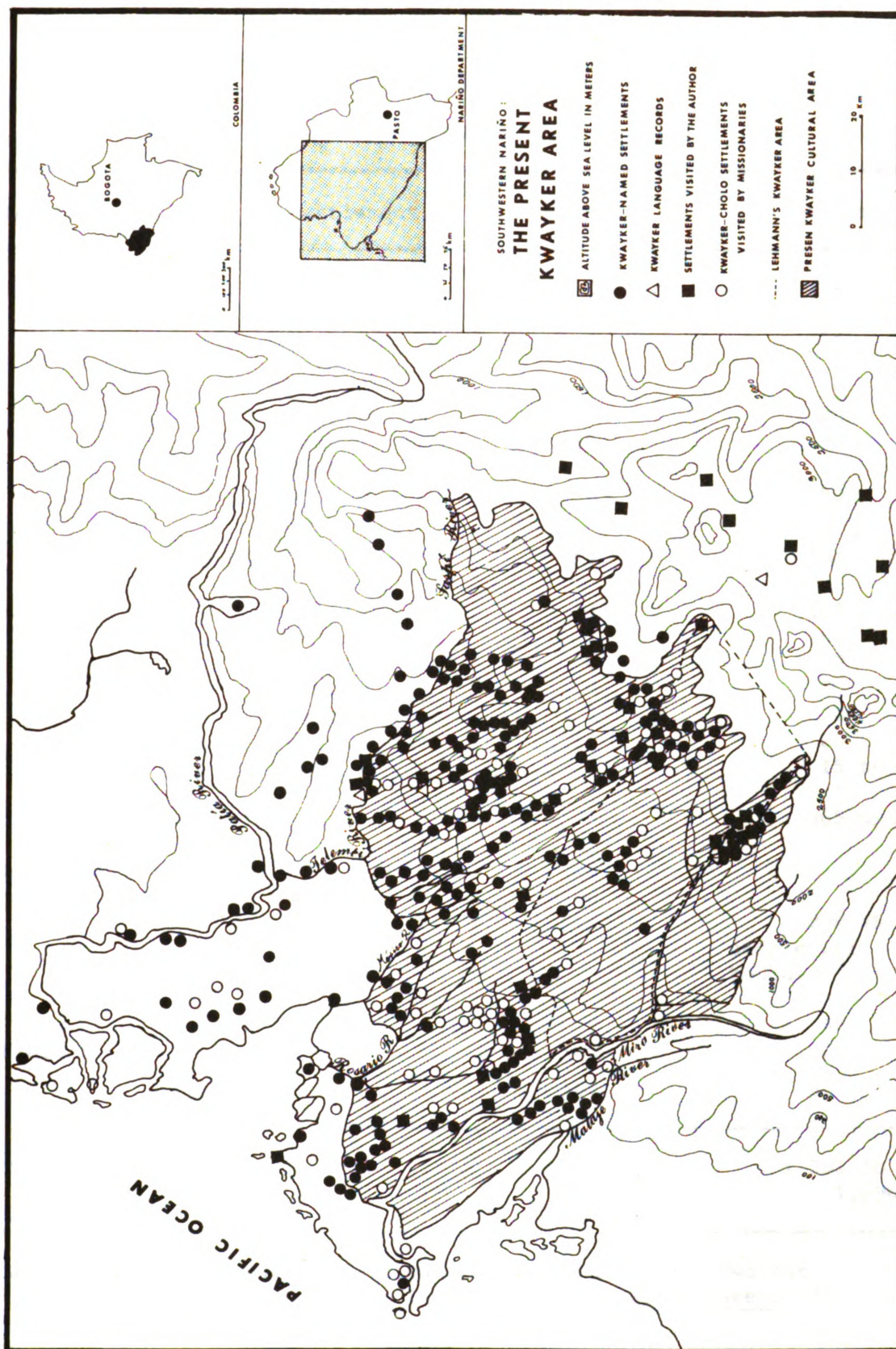


Figure 5.--The Present Kwayker Area

TABLE 10
THE KWAYKER POPULATION IN 1946

Region	Settlement	Houses	People
Río Vegas	Chimbusa	2	8
	Kwasker	8	50
	Karlambi	4	15
	Kelbi	1	8
	Chanul	4	25
	Guadual	10	80
	Kwmbas	15	90
	Imbina	10	60
	Arrayan	8	50
	Aguacate	5	20
	SUBTOTAL	67	406
Río Nulpi	Nulpe Medio	24 + 12	160
	Nulpe Arriba	5 + 5	60
	Yaslambi	6	30
	Kembi	7	30
	Mayasquer	2	10
	Chicandina	11	60
	Kembi	4	15 to 20
	SUBTOTAL	76	365 to 370
Kwaskwabi		15	
Kwezbi and Paldubi		40	
		55	275 (5 people per house)
Vegas		9	45
Pialapi		100	500
	SUBTOTAL	164	820
TOTAL		307	1,591 to 1,596

Source: Henri Lehmann, "Contribution a l'ethnographie Kwaiker, Colombie," Journal de la Société des Américanistes, LIII (1964), 258.

Unfortunately such a population estimate covers just part of the region. Therefore, a greater Kwayker population probably exists today. Osborn, in taking the rural population of the area, estimated 3,500 Kwayker Indians in 1962, while Cortés Moreno estimated 10,000 for 1971.³⁵ Knowing the present total population of the area, and of each parroquia in particular, it may be valid to calculate the percentage of Kwaykeres, cholos and colonos, according to their concentration in each parroquia, as recorded in church marriage and baptism records during the past fourteen years. The formula to calculate the Kwayker population should be:

$$P_k = P_t - (P_{ch} + P_c)$$

Where,

P_k = Kwayker population
 P_t = Total population
 P_{ch} = Percentage of cholo population
 P_c = Percentage of colono population

In this way a total of 6,500 people with Indian heritage (Kwaykeres and cholos) is estimated for 1973.³⁶ Table 11 shows the Kwayker, cholo and colono population calculated to be living in the Kwayker area today.

The statistical method used has certain limitations and should be tested to be accepted as valid. In this case no complex computations are needed to show that

³⁵Osborn, Compadrazgo, p. 594, and Cortés Moreno, La comunidad Kuayker, p. 25.

³⁶The exact calculated figure is 6,971, but because the name Garcia was included as cholo the figure should be somewhat reduced.

TABLE 11
 KWAYKER, CHOLO AND COLONO POPULATION, 1973^a

<u>Parroquias</u>	Present Population	% Kwayker in Church Records	Calculated Kwayker Population	% Cholo in Church Records	Calculated Cholo Population	% Colono Church Records	Calculated Colono Population
Altaquer	1,903	41.7	794	15.9	303	42.4	806
Barbacoas	28,035	.4	112	2.1	589	97.5	27,334
Candelillas	11,208	.3	34	1.7	190	98.0	10,984
Chiles	642 ^b	2.7	17	2.0	13	95.3	613
Espriella	8,968	11.1	996	9.1	816	79.8	7,156
Guachavez	1,528	1.5	23	1.7	26	96.8	1,479
Maldonado	3,000 ^c	4.9	147	7.6	228	87.5	2,625
Mallama	2,798	.3	8	.9	25	98.8	2,764
Ricaurte	5,437	15.7	854	8.2	446	76.1	4,137
Samaniego	7,223	.0	--	.2	14	99.8	7,209
Tumaco	78,616	.2	157	1.5	1,179	92.6	77,280
TOTAL	149,357		3,142		3,829		142,387

Source: Servicio de Erradicación de la Malaria. Estadísticas, Pasto-Tumaco, 1973, and Table 8.

^aThe parroquias of Cumbal and Guachucal were excluded.

^bA local census in this parroquia conducted by the author indicated 784 people, 1973.

^cFigure given by the teniente político (mayor) of that parroquia, 1973.

6,500 is a close approximation to the current Kwayker population. Several assumptions must be granted to accept the method. The first and most important is that the records kept in the churches are accurate enough to estimate surname groupings.³⁷ To calculate a population without having essential coefficients such as natural increase and migration is to risk a low degree of validity. In the calculations of this study it is assumed that all of the people are Catholic.³⁸ In some settlements there may be no registration in the churches because the distances and lack of penetration roads have thus far precluded the entrance of missionaries. Despite this inconvenience the 6,500 figure seems to be logical and is supported by other sources. Lehmann calculated 3,000 "Indians" in the southern part of the Kwayker area. In his calculations he presumably included the cholo population, and so have other writers. The figure calculated in the present study is not much at variance with theirs, but has been more

³⁷The missionaries spell names differently, but the body of the whole name never changes. The name Gwanga, for example, was spelled Wanga, Huangá, Guanga and Gwanga; Canticús was spelled Kantikuz and Cantincús. Bisbicús was spelled Bibicús, Bishbikuz; Taikús was spelled Jaicús and Taicús; Cuasalusán as Cuasalusano, Casaluzán and Cuazaluzán; and Paí as Paib, Paí and Pay.

³⁸There are only Catholic missionaries in the area, and a Concordato (agreement) exists between the Colombian government and the Vatican limiting evangelism to Catholic missionaries. See, D.A.N.E., Ayer y hoy de los indígenas, pp. 55-58.

objectively obtained. An estimate of the present total population was made by the Servicio de Erradicación de la Malaria, including every settlement below an elevation of 2,500 meters. The Kwayker area as previously defined is completely covered in that estimate. Thus, some areas not reached by priests may have been included in the Malaria Service census, and some areas with people living above 2,500 meters should not have been included. But, only Samaniego, Guachavez, Mallama, and Chiles include land higher than 2,500 meters. Some other areas such as the Pacific litoral and northern Barbacoas, where there are no Indians, were included.

Using the formula, $P_k = P_t - (P_{ch} + P_c)$, to calculate the total population, with the total percentages based on church records, the figure is different than that calculated by adding the percentages obtained for each single parroquia.

$$P_k = P_t - (P_{ch} + P_c)$$

$$\text{or } P_k = 149,357 - (3.1\% + 92.6\%)$$

$$P_k = 149,357 - (4,630 + 138,305)$$

$$P_k - 6,422 = 4.3\%$$

The difference between the total Kwayker population calculated from the percentages in each parroquia (3,142) and that calculated from regional church records as a whole (6,422) indicates different conclusions in each parroquia. The ranks for church registration do not always

coincide with the ranks for the present population in each parroquia as shown in Table 12. If the same area were included, the natural increases were the same in each parroquia, and the people did not migrate, the parroquias should rank the same in both the church records and the present population, and the percentages would likewise be equal. However, such is not the case. The Servicio de Erradicación de la Malaria census did not include the areas of altitudes above 2,500 meters, but these areas are included in the church records. In addition, people registered in other churches, even in areas not included in this research, could migrate into the area and increase the population of these parroquias more than the proportion related to the people registered in them. Also, the natural increase is not necessarily equal in each parroquia.

As the population figure derived in this study was based on the Kwayker area specifically, and the Kwaykeres do not have permanent settlements above 2,000 meters, the calculation obtained by adding the percentages calculated for each parroquia should be more accurate than the one based on taking the total population of those parroquias in which some Kwaykeres are known to live.

TABLE 12

COMPARISON OF THE RANKS OF EACH PARROQUIA AS DERIVED FROM
CHURCH RECORDS AND THE MALARIA CENSUS

Rank Derived From Church Records		<u>Parroquias</u>		Rank Derived From Malaria Census	
1	20,423	Barbacoas	Tumaco	78,616	1
2	20,005	Tumaco	Barbacoas	28,035	2
3	10,375	Samaniego	Candelillas	12,208	3
4	8,603	Espriella	Espriella	8,698	4
5	5,090	Guachavez	Samaniego	7,223	5
6	4,763	Altaquer	Ricaurte	5,437	6
7	4,647	Candelillas	Maldonado	3,000	7
8	4,015	Ricaurte	Mallama	2,798	8
9	3,344	Chiles	Altaquer	1,903	9
10	2,064	Mallama	Guachavez	1,528	10
11	701	Maldonado	Chiles	642	11
TOTAL				149,088	

Source: Servicio de Erradicación de la Malaria, 1973, and Baptism and Marriage Records, 1960-1973.

*All people are included, even those having only one surname.

CHAPTER III

THE HABITAT

The Kwayker area is just one part of the Llanura del Pacífico, which extends from Darién in Panamá to Esmeraldas, Ecuador, and from the Pacific coast to the western slope of the Andean Cordillera Occidental, thus measuring 600 miles long and fifty to 100 miles wide.¹ All of the features that characterize the region are seen in the Kwayker micro-region.

Physical Features

The Department of Nariño (32,473 square kilometers) can be divided roughly into two major physical units: the Pacific coastal plain (Llanura del Pacífico) in the west and the Andean region (Región Andina) in the east. The Andean region extends from the western foothills of the Cordillera Occidental at 5,000 feet above sea level to the same level in the Amazonian forest to the east. The Kwayker group inhabits a substantial part of the Pacific coastal plain, and a special analysis is therefore appropriate for this physical unit.

¹West, The Pacific Lowlands, p. 1.

The Pacific coastal plain in Nariño is the southern extension of a longer structural depression known as the "Bolívar geosyncline," which extends about 900 miles from the Gulf of Urabá in northwestern Colombia to the Gulf of Guayaquil in southern Ecuador.² According to geologic composition and surface features the plain may be divided into three main longitudinal zones: (1) flattish plains of recent alluvium, (2) a hill section formed by recent stream dissection of Tertiary and Pleistocene elements, and (3) a transitional zone between the plain and the Andes Mountains, which has a basic Mesozoic formation. The plains extend inland from the coast about five to thirty-five miles, the latter at the Río Patía delta. The Quaternary sediments carried by the rivers characterize the geologic composition of this zone. The hills, however, present a different geomorphology. Terraces are common here, where human settlements, primitive agriculture, and heavier rainfall continuously exhaust the fertility of the soils. In the transitional zone, there are higher altitudes and heavier precipitation than in the hill section. Frequent landslides and subsequent impoverishment of the soils often occur in this section, due to torrential streams descending from the snow-covered Andes (see Figure 6).³

²Ibid., p. 5.

³Ibid., pp. 20-21, see also Ministerio del Trabajo, Estudio socio-económico de Nariño (Bogotá, D.E.: Editorial Agra, 1959), p. 31.

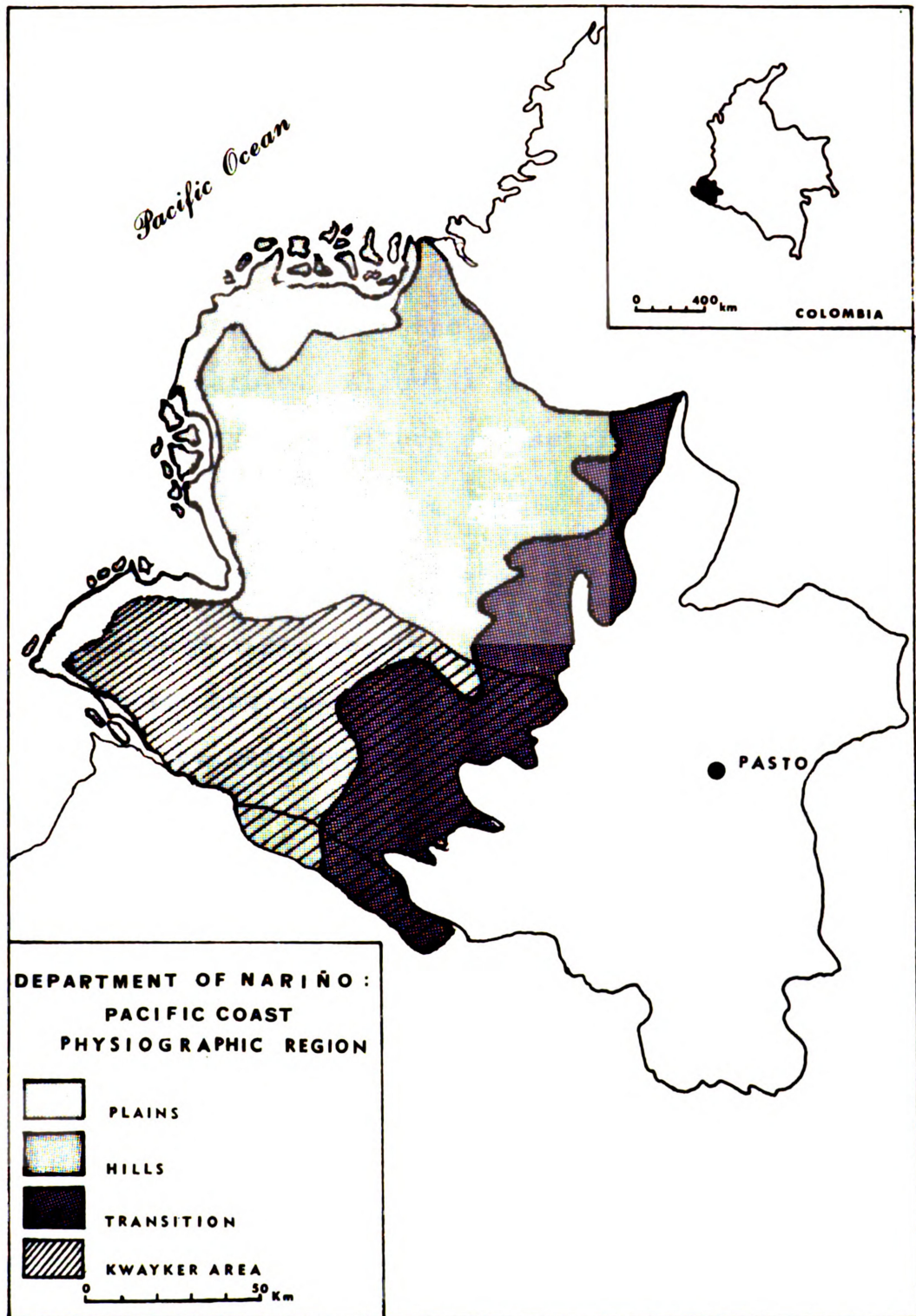


Figure 6.--Department of Nariño: Pacific Coast Physiographic Region

Source: Instituto Agropecuario Colombiano

Although an immense evergreen rain forest prevails in the region, the Pacific coastal plain possesses only small areas with good soils for agriculture. With the exception of 113,000 hectares, mainly along the Río Mira, where the soils are rich for "intensive agriculture and cattle," the plain is covered by latasol soils and mangrove. Alluvial soils cover those spots where migratory agriculture and settlements are concentrated.⁴

Climate

The Pacific coastal plain includes the tierra caliente and the lower parts of the tierra templada, and is one of the wettest areas in the world.⁵ Heavy precipitation and high temperature throughout the year are the essential characteristics of the Af-tropical rainforest climate regime in this Colombian region. Tumaco, nearby, experiences a short dry season from September to November, making a moderate Am-tropical

⁴Información básica del departamento de Nariño para programas de desarrollo agropecuario, Documento ICA-DP-T-019 (Regional 5: Unidad Técnico Administrativa Obonuco, 1971), pp. 7-8.

⁵Ernesto Guhl, Colombia: Bosquejo de su geografia tropical (Bogotá, D.E.: Departamento de Geografía, Universidad Nacional de Colombia [n.d.]), pp. 114-122.

rainforest climate, monsoon type.⁶ The differences in precipitation at all other places of the region can be generalized as "wet" and "wetter" months:

The high precipitation of the central portion of the lowlands appears to be associated with the presence of the zone of equatorial convergence, which extends across the Pacific Ocean at 5°N. latitude to Southeast Asia. Being a zone of convergence with moist, unstable air rising over the warm equatorial counter current, the entire zone is one of the heavy oceanic rainfall. The Pacific lowlands of Colombia lie at the eastern end of this zone and form its rainiest section. . . . The greater precipitation of the Colombian section is due probably to local conditions, among which the most significant is the highly heated land surface (leading to strong convection) combined with an orographic rise of air up the lower slopes of the western cordillera . . .⁷

⁶ . . . most of the area falls under Koeppen's Af classification . . . Two periods of minimum rainfall, however, usually prevail, although they are hardly discernible . . . South of 2°N the two minimum seasons are reversed [from north of 2°N], indicating the influence of the southern hemisphere climatic regime. Beginning around Tumaco the least rainy period corresponds to the months of September, October and November, while the second minimum period comes in February and March. . . . Notwithstanding these minimum rainfall periods, the evergreen forest continues without any changes--a basic characteristic of the Am climate.

Af climate, in Koeppen's classification corresponds to those areas with an average temperature of every month above 64.6°F and no month averages less than 2.4 inches of rainfall. In the Pacific coastal plain, the monthly average temperature is above 64.4°F everywhere, annual average rainfall goes from 121 inches in Tumaco to 314 inches in Mongón. No place in the Pacific plains has a monthly average lower than 2.4 inches of rainfall. In the whole plain the mean temperature range never exceeds 3°F. See West, The Pacific Lowlands, pp. 22-39, and Arthur N. Strahler, Introduction to Physical Geography (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1973), pp. 162-187.

⁷ West, The Pacific Lowlands, p. 28.

Relative humidity in the zone is "depressingly excessive. Dampness prevails even on clear, sunny days."⁸ Percentages show that humidity is higher during the mornings (91 percent), decreases at noon (83 percent), and rises again during the nights (87 percent).⁹

Vegetation

As a result of the two basic conditions, high temperature and excessive precipitation throughout the year, a varied vegetation grows on the Pacific coastal plain. A study of the Tumaco-Barbacoas-Guapí area, which includes most of Nariño department's Pacific coastal plain, reveals a vegetation pattern of longitudinal zones, corresponding broadly to the physiographic zones previously described.¹⁰ The plains zone covers the cinturón del mangle, or mangrove belt (Rhizophora mangle), along the coast. Within the zone, several palm trees (Euterpre sp.) and Sajo (Camptosperma panamensis) prevail in the areas with less drainage. The area most important to the timber industry lies in the alluvial zone. The species

⁸ Ibid., p. 25.

⁹ Instituto Colombiano Agropecuario, I.C.A., Proyecto de desarrollo rural de la llanura del Pacífico-Nariño ([n.p.]: Dirección de planeación, 1972), pp. 18-19.

¹⁰ Gerardus Sicco Smit, Aplicaciones de las imágenes de radar en la fotointerpretación de bosques húmedos tropicales: Región de Tumaco-Barbacoas-Guapí, departamento de Nariño (Bogotá, D.E.: Centro Interamericano de Fotointerpretación, 1971), pp. 5-8.

Cungare (Iryanthera jouruensis), Sajo (Campnosperma panamensis), tangare (Carapa guianensis), virola (Virola sp.) and numerous kinds of palm trees correspond to the alluvial zone. In the low Patía and Telembí rivers, however, few commercial trees grow, e.g. Sande (Brosimum utile), Chanun (Humeria procera), chaquiro (Phyllanthus sp.) and chaviande (Virola sp.). The transitional zone includes, but in smaller volume, the same species as the alluvial zone. However, it has higher concentrations of cedar or mahogany (Cedrela odorata), oak (Terminalia amazonia Excell.), and the medical-industrial cinchona (Cinchona calisaya, Cinchona pillayenses, and Cinchona barbacoensis).

Stratigraphically, the Pacific coastal plain presents three broad vegetational strata. The tallest strata comprises gigantic evergreen broadleaf trees of numerous species, sixty to 100 feet high. The major species belong to the Lauraceae family (Chachajo: Aniba perutilis; jigua: Nectandar, sp.), the Bombacaceae family (Ceibo: Ceiba pentandra), the Moraceae family (Sande: Brosimum utile; higuerones: Ficus, spp.; Majagua: Poulsenia armata), the Bignonaceae family (Guayacana: Tabebuia, spp.); and the Meliaceae or mahogany family (Cedro: Cedrela odorata).¹¹

¹¹West, The Pacific Lowlands, pp. 40-43.

A second stratum often occurs in a rainforest as an intermediate link between the highest and lowest strata, but is extremely difficult to define in the Pacific coastal plain. "Richard states that in most normal primary rain forest communities three strata exist, though they are often ill-defined."¹²

The lowest stratum is formed by a considerable variety of scattered slender trees, including palms shorter than those in the upper stratum. In this stratum, trees twenty and thirty feet high are encountered. The most important species belong to the Piperaceae and Rubiaceae families. The palms, milpeso (Jessenia polycarpa) and palma amarga (Welfia regia) are the most common. In the southern part of Tumaco and in Esmeraldas the industrial tagua (Phytelphas, spp.) is commonly found, while in the southeastern part coca (Erythroxillum coca) is significant.

Within the forest, "a luxuriant array of shade-tolerant climbing vines (lianas) and epiphytic shrubs that grow on the trunks and branches of the taller trees" complement the tall stratified vegetation.¹³ Orchids (Orchidaceae) and pineapple plants (Bromeliaceae) are the most visible epiphytes. Some lianas are poisonous, but most of them are used as rope for tying all kinds

¹²P. W. Richard, The Tropical Forest: An Ecological Study, as cited by West, The Pacific Lowlands, p. 43.

¹³West, The Pacific Lowlands, p. 43.

of things. They are especially used in the construction of houses and bridges (see Figures 7-9).

The region's natural vegetation has suffered from the actions of nature and from cultural factors through time. Erosion and landslides swiftly destroy considerable areas of primary vegetation. Migratory aboriginal agriculture, the adaptation of land to extensive agriculture, the cattle of the colonizers, and intensive timber exploitation during recent years are the most important cultural factors in the replacement of primary vegetation by secondary and cultural types. Only in the very remote areas far from rivers has the rain forest remained free from human influence. Therefore, much of the so-called original vegetation of the Pacific coastal plain is now "a man-made secondary forest."¹⁴

Population Distribution and Settlement

Within the Pacific coastal plain a close relationship has existed between population distribution and physical conditions since time immemorial. The 200,000 persons inhabiting the region today are concentrated in a riverine pattern.¹⁵ Such settlement patterns differentiate, culturally, the plains region from the Andean region

¹⁴Ibid., p. 50.

¹⁵The exact figure in the Erradicación de la Malaria records is 206,348, for 1973.



Figure 7.--Rainforest Vegetation



Figure 8.--The Cinchona Tree



Figure 9.--Kwayker House

where Spanish and feudal settlements characterize the landscape. The rivers are the highways of the plains region, and the terraces are the most suitable places to settle. Large isolated areas exist between the streams, where it is impossible to communicate by foot. Therefore, close socio-anthropological relationships exist within each of the settlements.¹⁶ The settlement pattern can be defined as a long line of houses along each side of the rivers. As agricultural land can be found just on the terraces, the river banks are densely populated. Some other areas such as near Tumaco and the Río Mira have better living conditions and a more prosperous economy, based on extensive agriculture and cattle, and therefore include larger centers of population. The settlements located on the coast are based on the exploitation of tanin from the mangrove and sea fishing. The occurrence of gold is another important factor in population distribution. Barbacoas has been since the seventeenth century one of the main areas of gold exploitation in the entire country.¹⁷ The opening of new routes of penetration is today yet another factor of population distribution. Construction of the road connecting Pasto and

¹⁶West, The Pacific Lowlands, p. 50.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 95.

Barbacoas, during the 1920's, converted the eastern part of the region into a new highly populated zone.¹⁸

Along the San Juan, Mira and Mataje rivers, a new colonization frontier is being opened by the road that connects the Ecuadorian towns of Tulcán and Maldonado and the few lateral Colombian roads adjoining the Río Mira. The road just completed on the Ecuadorian-Colombian border will have a major impact, given the abundant timber in the area and easy adaptability of the land for agriculture and cattle. The colonization frontier began slowly here toward the end of the past century.¹⁹

At least three ethnic groups compose the population of Nariño department's Pacific coastal plain. The Negroid group, the mestizo group (locally called "Blancos"), and the Indian group (cholos and Kwaykeres). Percentage records of ethnic concentration are extremely limited. An estimate for 1958 for Nariño department's coastal plain gives .3 percent Indians, 17.2 percent Mestizos, 3.1 percent Whites and 79.4 percent Blacks.²⁰ The Negroid

¹⁸ José Rafael Zarama, Geografía del departamento de Nariño (República de Colombia) Pasto: Imprenta del Departamento, 1927), pp. 18-22.

¹⁹ Manuel Burbano Rueda, Folklore correspondiente a las parroquias Maldonado y Tobar Donoso, Municipio de Tulcán, Provincia Carchi, exhibido por el expositor Sr. Manuel Burbano Rueda en la feria nacional de 1948 - Ecuador de hoy y del mañana, organizada por la U.N.P., verificada en Quito, Manuscript, 1949, pp. 1-11.

²⁰ Percentages calculated from the absolute figures given by Ministerio del Trabajo, Estudio socio-económico, Table "Población y Trabajo," between pp. 185-186.

population, mostly associated with gold and timber exploitation, is found along the large streams and where gold is located. The mestizo population is composed largely of persons coming from the mountains as colonos who settle along the penetration routes and on land being adapted for agriculture and cattle. The 6,500 Kwaykeres and cholos live near the headwaters of the rivers.

The Kwaykeres are located on the latosol soils, surrounded by the black and mestizo population with its stronger economy of cattle, extensive agriculture, and forestry. With these conditions, plus the sparse population and increasing level of miscegenation, the Kwaykeres are rapidly losing their identity as a cultural and demographic group.

CHAPTER IV

THE COLONO-INDIAN CONTACT

It is difficult to determine when the first stranger arrived in the Kwayker area. The question relates to the origin of the Indians themselves, and this is as yet unknown. Nevertheless, some attempts at explanation can be made to help solve the problem. Physically, the Kwaykeres represent an old group in Colombia. Blood and somatic samples differentiate them from other Colombian Indians and show closer relationships with Asiatic people.¹ The Yurumanguies behaved in many ways as the Tahitians, Maoris and Samoans.² The present Kwaykeres manifest some Yurumanguí customs, although their language is quite different.³ Folkloric and religious similarities between the groups of Eastern Asia and the aborigines living in

¹Paulette Marquer et Henri Lehmann, "Les indiens Kwaiker du sud-ouest de la Colombie," Journal de la Société des Américanistes, LII (1964), 297.

²Sergio Elias Ortiz, "Los indios Yurumanguies," Acta Americana, IV, Nos. 1-2 (Enero-Junio, 1964), 24.

³Rivet, Un dialecto Hoka, pp. 1-59.

the Pacific lowlands of Colombia support to some extent the theory of trans-oceanic migrations.⁴ These first groups developed so slowly on the Colombian Pacific coast that the primitive settlers were easily conquered by the Chibchas, who had a superior culture and came from the north imposing their language over a considerable part of the present Colombian territory.⁵ Archeology offers little information about the area. Similarities in grave mounds, or tolas, built along the river banks and old beaches; experiencially molded clay figures; and well-made pottery and fine gold, copper and platinum metal work suggest a homogeneous culture living in the provinces of Esmeraldas (Ecuador), and Barbacoas (Colombia).⁶ Grammar, vocabulary and word structure of the language among modern aborigines living in the same area reveal a common old pattern, that Jijón y Caamaño calls the Grupo Esmeraldeño.⁷

⁴Edward Norbeck, "Trans-Pacific Similarities in Folklore: A Research Lead." Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, XII (1955), 62-69.

⁵Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, "Una gran marea cultural en el noroeste de Sud América," Journal de la Société des Américanistes, XXII (1930), 107-108.

⁶Raoul d'Harcourt, "Archeologie de la province d'Esmeraldas," Journal de la Société des Américanistes, XXXIV (1942), 62-200, and Henry Reichlen, "Contribution a l'etude de la metallurgie precolombienne de la province d'Esmeraldas (Equateur)," Journal de la Société des Américanistes, XXXIV (1942), 201-228.

⁷Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, Antropología prehispánica del Ecuador (Quito: La Prensa Católica, 1951), pp. 94-95.

Successive invasions from the north by Chibchas and from the east by Tukanos disorganized the first culturally higher group. After that, numerous independent groups developed their own cultures.⁸ Some of these groups migrated south and eastward, such as the Karankis who reached the Ecuadorian Andes around the ninth century A.D.⁹ A long period of dispersion and frequent contacts with other peoples differentiate such groups in language and customs. Today, only three groups remain of the old Esmeraldeño: the Cayapa, the Colorado and the Kwayker.¹⁰ Many contacts characterized the Kwaykeres as a different group from their brothers the Cayapa and Colorado. Their culture and language amalgamate, today, features of several extinct groups.

Pre-Columbian Invasions

Two basic pre-Columbian invasions shaped the present Kwayker culture and geographical area, that of the Pastos and the Incas. The Pastos, a Chibchan-speaking

⁸ H. Beauchet et P. Rivet, "La famille Betoya ou Tucano," Memories de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, XXII (1911), 117-136, 1622-1690, and Paul Rivet, "Les familles linguistiques du nord-ouest de L'Amérique du Sud," Extrait de L'Annee Linguistique, IV (1912), 117-154.

⁹ Luis T. Paz y Miño, "La lengua Kara," in Luis T. Paz y Miño, Lenguas indígenas del Ecuador (Quito: Litografía e Imprenta Romero, 1940), p. 24.

¹⁰ Jijón y Caamaño, El Ecuador interandino, pp. 154-234.

group, dominated the primitive highlanders in about the second century B.C., in the present department of Nariño.¹¹ Strongly warlike, they began quickly an expansion to the south and west. Some centuries after they arrived, their territory extended from the Cordillera Central of Colombia on the east, to the Pacific Ocean on the west; and from the Patía river in the north to Imbabura and the Gulf of Guayaquil (Ecuador) on the south.¹² No one, except some Tukanos, contested their conquests until the Inca invasion of the sixteenth century A.D.¹³ The Pasto acculturated several groups from the original Esmeraldeño and introduced their language and customs to those survival groups during the long centuries of dependence. The Kwayker language is more closely related today to the Pasto than that of the Cayapa and Colorado. The Colorado and the Cayapa are more closely related with each other than with the Kwayker and Pasto.¹⁴ The name Kwayker, by which the group is known nowadays, was probably inherited from the Pastos. The Kwaykeres do not know why they are so called, and insist to be termed AWA, which means GENTE or people. The name Kwayker suggests it was given

¹¹Paz y Miño, La lengua Pasto, p. 17.

¹²Jijón y Caamaño, El Ecuador interandino, Map V.

¹³Beauchet et Rivet, Betoya ou Tucano, pp. 117-136, 162-190.

¹⁴Jijón y Caamaño, La lengua Coayquer, p. 177.

by someone other than themselves. The phonetic structure may be compounded of a Kwayker and a Pasto character to mean PUEBLO ALTO, or town in the hills; from KWAY, Alto, or hill, in Kwayker; and KER, pueblo, or town, in Pasto.¹⁵

The Incas coming from the south halted the Pasto conquests. After seventeen years of war the Inca Huayana-Capac dominated the Pastos at the Yahualcocha lake, northern Ecuador, around 1510.¹⁶ Huayana-Capac reached the Patía river and limited his empire at the Angasmayo (present Guaitara) river to the north. The Inca, however, stayed only a short time in the Pasto-Kwayker lands. Viewing "the lack of importance and war-like character of the Pastos, after he ordered the construction of a fort at Guaca, he returned to Quito."¹⁷ There, he learned about Pizarro's arrival in Lima, but when he started his return to the heart of his empire, a

¹⁵ Authors have interpreted the word KWAYKER in different ways. Márquez, COAIQUER: Pueblo Fuerte, or strong people. Jijón y Caamaño, Koaiker: Kua-jh-ke-r, "Ser haciendo de continuo ejecutando lo varonil," or Where men are always working as men.

¹⁶ Eduardo N. Martínez, Carchi: Problema y posibilidad (Quito: "Vida Católica," 1970), p. 43.

¹⁷ Sergio Elias Ortiz, "Familia lingüística Kechua o Runa-Simi," in Sergio Elias Ortiz, Estudios sobre lingüística aborigen de Colombia (Bogotá, D.E.: Editorial Kelly, 1954), p. 253.

smallpox epidemic killed about 200,000 people, including himself.¹⁸

Quechua words are deeply ingrained among the Nariñenses today. A Quechua-speaking group still lives in the eastern part of Nariño Department.¹⁹ Words such as taita (father), churta (hat) and auca (unbaptized), plus some Kwayker-Quechua geographical names, reveal the Inca influence on the Kwayker group. How could such influence be so strong if the Incas lived here such a short time? The Incas had a custom of imposing their language as soon as they conquered a new group. They sent yanakonas or trainers to teach the Quechua and Inca customs among the new groups.²⁰ Although it is not yet known for certain, several yanakonas may have taught Quechua in the Pasto-Kwayker area. The Spanish conquerors and missionaries learned how to speak Quechua and introduced that language among the groups even partially conquered or not conquered at all by the Incas, following the same method used by the yanakonas. Missionaries and conquerors reached the Pasto territory during the 1530's and started Christianizing the Indians using the Incas' language.²¹ Geographical

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 354.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 349-372.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 349-372.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 354-355.

conditions isolated the Kwaykeres in places where neither the Incas nor the Spaniards were encouraged to come early. During this time of Inca and Spanish occupation of the Pasto territory, the Kwaykeres as a Sindagua group expanded greatly their area. From the 1500's to the 1630's Sindaguas and Kwaykeres occupied the area from the Pacific Ocean on the west to the Cordillera Occidental on the east, and from the Patía in the north to the southern side of the Río San Juan on the south (see Figure 10).²²

The Spanish Conquest

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the Kwayker-Sindaguas came into their golden age, the Spaniards conquered the surrounding areas. Although breakthroughs in the north were the first, they were not the most definitive ones relative to the Kwayker decline. Pizarro and Almagro report serious difficulties and defeats in the province of Barbacoas during the 1500's.²³ Nevertheless, the continuous battles weakened the Kwayker-Sindaguas, who started a migration to the east and south.²⁴ By 1535 Diego de Tapia reached the Carchi river in the

²²Lehmann, Les indiens Sindagua, pp. 67-89.

²³Kathleen Romoli, "Apuntes sobre los pueblos autóctonos del litoral colombiano del Pacífico en la época de la conquista Española," Revista Colombiana de Antropología, XII (1965) 259-292.

²⁴Lehmann, Les indiens Sindagua, pp. 67-89.

Figure 10.--The Kwayker Area: 1500's-1630's

south and dominated the already weakened Pasto.²⁵ As a consequence the Kwaykeres left the Cordillera Occidental and penetrated the most rainy areas in the middle of the forest. Only for a short time were the Kwaykeres secure. Garcia Tulcanaza, a Pasto working for the Spaniards, conquered the whole province at the end of his cacigazgo (chiefdom).

In 1587, he [Tulcanaza] made his first journey to the Western region. As a result the caciques of the Malabas and Esmeraldeños, and some other Indians came to Tulcán to be baptized. . . . Because of this the Real Audiencia de Quito knew, for the first time, about the Barbacoas, who later yielded to the king of Mallama, . . . as well as other Indian groups, facilitating the Spanish foundation of towns in those areas. . . .²⁶

In 1599 Hernán González de Saa, Garcia Tulcanaza, the priest of Tulcán, and 100 Indians journeyed westward in their second effort to find the Pacific Ocean. During this time they established San Felipe de Mayasquer, Todos los Santos de Huntal, San Juan de Tasombí, and Chucos.²⁷ By 1601 Garcia Tulcanaza controlled politically and religiously the southern and eastern part of the entire province of Barbacoas, with headquarters in Mallama, Abades and Guacal. His last annexations were San Felipe de Mayasquer (present Mayasquer), San Juan de Tasombí (present

²⁵Gregorio Hernández de Alba, "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," Handbook of South American Indians, II (1946), 923, 931.

²⁶Martínez, Carchi, pp. 50-51.

²⁷Carlos Emilio Grijalva, Datos biográficos del capitán Hernán González de Saa, as cited by Martínez, Carchi, p. 52.

San Juan), Los Santos de Huntal (present Untal), Santiago de Chical (present Chical), La Natividad de Nuestra Señora de Quinchul (present Quinyul), Nuestra Señora de Cuaiquer (present Kwayker Viejo), Cocales (not yet identified), Abades (with Don Juan Childipaz as cacique), and Guacal (present San Gabriel?, where Don Diego Nastaquezán [Nastacuás?] was the cacique).²⁸ By 1767 San Juan de Mayasquer and Untal figured as resguardos of the Provincia de los Pastos.²⁹ By the end of the eighteenth century all of the eastern area, from Mayasquer to Yascual was devoted to various resguardos, private Spanish properties, or to the Church.³⁰ The Kwaykeres were, however, not included as part of any resguardo (see Figure 10, page 68).

External pressures pushed the Kwaykeres to the west, the only land yet untouched by Spaniards. Here, with the Sindaguas, they started their last attempt to reconquer their territory, but during the 1630's the Spaniards entered officially to exploit gold from the Telembí

²⁸ Joel J. Monroy, "El convento de la Merced de Quito, 1537-1611," Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia, XI (1930), 205.

²⁹ Manuel Fernando Zarama, Cartaquenda, 1767, as cited by Sergio Elias Ortiz, "Sobre la antigua provincia de los Pastos," Idearium, I (1937), 260-263.

³⁰ J. C. Mejía y Mejía, Geografía pastusa de la Fé (Bogotá, D.E.: Editorial Pax, Limitada, 1961), 1-152.

river.³¹ With a series of Spanish towns founded during this time along the Telembí river, and in the northeastern part of the region, the Sindaguas were completely destroyed as a cultural group and as a political power.³² Some of them migrated southward, still living there in the most remote spot of the forest. They are the present Kwaykeres. The extinction of the Indians in the exploitation of gold obligated the introduction of Negro slaves into the area. By 1684:

. . . numerous Indian and Negro labor gangs were working gold in twenty-eight camps strung along the Telembí above Santa María del Puerto [Barbacoas] and along the Maguí, Telpí, and Tembí rivers. . . .³³

Until the seventeenth century the Kwaykeres approached the Pacific but, because of the increasing Spanish ocean traffic between Panama and Peru, they subsequently preferred to stay away from the coast. The Spanish contacts increased when the missionary Francisco Rugi moved Santa Bárbara, near Barbacoas, to the present site of Tumaco in 1640.³⁴ He brought there 1,900 people

³¹Lehmann, Les indiens, p. 69.

³²Ibid., pp. 67-89.

³³Robert C. West, Colonial Placer Mining in Colombia (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1952), p. 18.

³⁴Lehmann identifies Santa Bárbara with the present Isla del Gallo.

whom he "caught in the forest . . ."³⁵ The same missionary started a shipyard in 1644 which increased the importance of Tumaco as a Spanish port.³⁶ Rugi intended to join Tumaco and Ibarra (Ecuador), through a trail connecting the Mira, the Coaiquer (present Güiza) and other smaller rivers. He commented to his superior:

Now, I surely can refer to you about the trail from this river of Mira to the village of San Miguel de Ibarra, because on the 15th of October, 1644, . . . we met each other, those that were ascending by this river, and those that were coming from that village, who entered by Lita [present Lita, Ecuador]. We ascended with the assistant Juan de Molina and the Sargent Rodrigo de Quiñones with his Indians; and other twenty Sindaguas and guides; and I with some of my friends. Coming were Juan Silva, Embipe [Kwayker name], the Indian most skilled of the Indians of Telembí in the mountains, and other guides. . . . With them came seven Indians of the most skilled in these lands. . . .³⁷

Such a trail was, however, never completed. In 1651 the Spanish government conferred the job to Justiniani de Chávarri for two terms of government in the province of Esmeraldas, but his death impeded completion of the project.³⁸

³⁵ Letter, Padre Francisco Rugi a su superior P. Rodrigo Barnuevo, Santa Bárbara, 13 de Julio, 1644, Archivo Provincial de Quito, leg. 3.

³⁶ Letter, Padre Francisco Rugi a su superior P. Rodrigo Barnuevo, Santa Bárbara, 10 de Septiembre, 1644, Archivo Provincial de Quito, leg. 3.

³⁷ Letter, Padre Francisco Rugi a su superior P. Rodrigo Barnuevo, Río Mira, 16 Octubre, 1644. Archivo Provincial de Quito, leg. 3.

³⁸ Neftalí Zúñiga, "El camino de Quito a tierra firme," Revista de Indias, VIII (1948), 903-904.

Never again did the Kwaykeres expand their territory, except by the reoccupation of some of their old lands in Mayasquer and Maldonado, in the southeast, around 1832.³⁹ Here, the Kwaykeres experienced friendly relations and miscegenation with the Pastos and Spaniards still living there.⁴⁰ The Contincuses have continued the process. A new migration of Kwaykeres into this area was reported during the 1900's. In 1946 Lehmann saw a migratory trend to the south, and in 1962 Osborn described a spatial distribution of the Kwayker generations, explaining the tendency of a continuous southward migration.⁴¹

Present Colonization

The Spanish Pasto-Barbacoas trail initiated the present colonization. In 1644 Rugi describes the trail as follows:

This, although opened, is not traversable by mules. If something must be transported it is done on the back of Indians. It is a steep hill, full of mud, in some parts to the belt; it lacks of pure water and stops but has abundant precipices that go to hell . . .⁴²

³⁹Arteaga, Apuntamientos, p. 8.

⁴⁰Paul Rivet, "Les indiens de Mallasquer," Bulletin et Memoires de la Soci  t   d'Anthropologie, V (1904), 145-148.

⁴¹Lehmann, Contribution, p. 258; and Osborn, Compadrazgo, p. 603.

⁴²Letter, Padre Francisco Rugi a su superior, 13 de Julio, 1644, Santa B  rbara, Archivo Provincial de Quito, Leg. 3.

Despite such conditions, the trail served to bring goods and tools for the exploitation of gold at Barbacoas.

During the 1850's slaves were emancipated and spontaneously moved over the northern and western parts of the Kwayker country. Today, very sporadic Indian settlements, if any, remain in this area. The Kwaykeres visited the Pacific coast until the eighteenth century. Malespino reported then that the tip of Ostiones, south of Tumaco, was "inhabited by Indians."⁴³ The extermination and isolation of Kwaykeres were so drastic during the nineteenth century that Andrée counted only 300 along the Río Telembí in 1881.⁴⁴

By the middle of the nineteenth century Barbacoas was still the main attraction for the colonos who used the same trail, which was in the same condition as in 1644. In 1854, colonos walked from San Pablo (present Ricaurte) to Barbacoas

. . . in back of cargueros coalqueres [Kwayker porters], through a jungle infested with snakes and repugnant frogs, crossing muddy swamps, deep precipices and incredible bridges. . . . under a terribly hot and incessant rain. . . .⁴⁵

⁴³ Pedro Malespino, Navegación frente a las costas del Cauca, as cited by Ignacio Rodríguez Guerrero, Estudios geográficos sobre el departamento de Nariño (Pasto: Imprenta Departamental, 1959), p. 160.

⁴⁴ Andrée, L'Amerique, p. 344.

⁴⁵ José María Cordovez Maure, Reminiscencias de Santa Fé y Bogotá, as cited by Rodríguez Guerrero, Estudios geográficos, p. 269.

For many years the Kwaykeres were employed as cargueros for those first colonos. The Indians were appreciated as skilled guides and careful assistants in the journeys by those incredible roads. How many Kwaykeres died in this traverse we do not know, but one assumes many.

The importance of Barbacoas and Tumaco increased by the end of the nineteenth century and the government, seeing to some extent the possibilities of the region, ordered by law in 1863 the adaptation of the old Pasto-Barbacoas trail to be used by mules. But it was not until 1891 that the first horse traversed the road.⁴⁶ Large numbers of Kwaykeres were employed to build the road. therefore, a considerable number of them became accustomed to this new situation of salary and never returned to the forest. Their descendants are working as peons for the colonos along the road today.

Another trail from Chiles to Altaquer, in the south, was long ago reported. Arteaga suspects that even in 1600 Indians from Mayasquer and Altaquer traveled by a road that crossed Quinyul.⁴⁷ Such a road, however, was not highly used until the 1900's when the first colonos came into this area. At that time a trail for foot travel was open to Tallambí and later adapted for oxen. Today,

⁴⁶Rodríguez Guerrero, Estudios geográficos, p. 271.

⁴⁷Arteaga, Apuntamientos, p. 18.

horses can reach this point. Ecuadorians, as well as Colombians, expanded the agricultural exploitation of the zone. This resulted in the foundation of Maldonado and Tobar Donoso on the Ecuadorian side, during the first two decades of the present century.⁴⁸ By the same time three Kwayker families, the Canticuses, the Gwangs and the Paskales, came from the north pushed by colonization there. They were dispossessed of land in the settlements of Yacula, Cuesbí and Altaquer and decided to explore these empty lands. A miscegenation process between these Kwaykeres and the colonizers coming from the mountains at the same time, produces today an equality of opportunities and social conditions among Kwaykeres (called locally Cantincuses) and colonos here. They, Indians and colonos, legalized their lands by official grants and private purchases during the 1930's and 1950's (see Figure 3, page 21).

More recent trails now connect some previously very isolated Indian settlements with the main roads and towns. The Ricaurte-Ramos-Gualcalá trail was built during the 1940's. During 1972-73 this trail was being adapted for mules and oxen to exploit timber along the route. Another trail connected Saundé and other settlements in the northwest with the railroad during the 1940's. Considerable Indian population is now migrating southward, using this trail, because of the pressure of timber exploitation

⁴⁸ Burbano Rueda, Folklore, p. 5.

by blacks in the western part. The northeast was opened at the same time. During the 1940's many colonos were working in agriculture and lumbering at El Sande, where Indians were used as peons. The Kwayker families, Paf (called locally Paib), Gwanga (called locally Huanga), and Nastacuás are common here.

Roads for trucks have continued the movement toward extinction of Kwaykeres during the present century. The Pasto-Barbacoas trail was adapted for trucks during the 1920's.⁴⁹ This road was the only one between the Pacific Ocean and the highlands, hence, its importance and use. People coming from Tumaco had to navigate along the coast, then into the Río Patía, and arrived in Barbacoas to take the road to Pasto. A plan to connect Tumaco and Pasto by train was designed by Daniel F. Wright in 1920.⁵⁰ The railroad was built only to El Diviso, a distance of ninety kilometers. In 1950 the government decided to convert this segment to a road for trucks, which was opened during the 1960's.⁵¹

Also during the 1920's, construction of the Tulcán-Tufiño-Maldonado road near the Ecuadorian border was

⁴⁹Zarama, Geografía, p. 19.

⁵⁰Rodríguez Guerrero, Estudios geográficos, p. 296.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 316.

begun. After many interruptions, the road reached Maldonado in September, 1973. Since completion of this road, the old Colombian trail between Chiles and Mayasquer has been almost abandoned. Given its physical conditions and natural resources, this region seems to be potentially one of the most prosperous in the whole Pacific coastal plain.

Land Occupation Since 1960

Triana projected in 1906 that:

The Pacific will be the first coast that people from overpopulated towns, anxious for fertile lands, discover. The empty forest of coconuts, taguales, rubber, and other fine and colorful trees, will be crowded by intelligent colonos from everywhere. . . . The fertile and overpopulated cool plateau will have to multiply its agriculture, using scientific methods to supply the demand for those products here. The trains will be routed in order to reach quickly those food provisions. . . . In a word, the imagination can not view the benefits that the reality promises to these regions, so prepared as they are to receive the vivid spirit of life. This department before forgotten or unknown . . . possesses in fact all of the advantages to receive the next visit of progress.⁵²

Triana foresaw the progress that would ensue when automobiles would reach the lowlands. He understood that colonization would exterminate the Indian population, slowly or rapidly, according to the intensity of the occupance and penetration of this empty land. From the

⁵²Triana, Por el sur, p. 45.

huge area that the Kwaykeres had at one time, they now own no more than 6,800 hectares, located in the south and northwestern part of the Kwayker area (see Table 13).⁵² Land is cheap but rich in timber and cattle, major incentives for migration from the highlands. People from all the various municipios of Nariño and from other departments come to exploit these lands. The Kwaykeres, reduced in population, cannot now occupy effectively nor exploit the forest where they live. Thus, they prefer to sell it to colonos who, aided by some extra Indian labor, continue the exploitation of both forest and Indians. Few land transactions have been registered in the Kwayker area since 1960, but even fewer were registered before that date.

Analysis of land transactions in which Indians are involved (1960-1973 period) shows that at the beginning colonos bought more land from Indians than the amount Indians bought from them. Later the process was reversed, colonos selling more land to Indians than they bought from them. Some time after, the process was again reversed, in that Indians sold more land to colonos than colonos to Indians, and the process seems to continue at present. This indicates that colonos buy land from the Indians and then sell it back again, while

⁵³Oficina de Catastro, Estadísticas, Pasto, Cumbal, Tulcán, 1973.

TABLE 13

PROPERTIES REGISTERED ACCORDING TO KWAYKER SURNAMES, EFFECTIVE TO 1973^a

Region	Plots	Percent	Hectares	Percent	Assessed Value ^b	Percent
Tumaco	2	.5	4-2,500	.10	650	.02
Río Mejicano	8	1.9	153-8,500	2.30	18,500	.80
Cabo Manglares	2	.5	4-0,000	.05	2,000	.10
Espriella	49	11.4	912-4,440	13.60	127,450	5.40
La Turbia	5	1.2	23-0,230	.34	3,600	.15
Saundé	6	1.4	9-0,000	.13	4,710	.20
El Diviso	25	5.8	297-2,940	4.43	25,290	1.06
Nulpe Medio	9	2.1	241-0,040	3.60	13,010	.50
La Babosa	2	.5	30-0,000	.44	2,000	.10
Río Telpí-Las Cruces	3	.7	6-0,000	.10	1,300	.05
Altaquer	71	16.6	1,102-1,270	16.43	63,565	2.70
Ricaurte-Kwayker						
Viejo-Vegas	163	38.1	1,899-5,000	28.32	1,699,790	71.86
Nulpe Alto-Quinyul						
Maldonado	55	12.8	1,690-2,420	25.20	285,830	12.08
Ramos-Gualcalá	7	1.6	41-0,047	.61	8,100	.34
Chucunés-Piedrancha	4	.9	90-0,000	1.34	10,000	.42
Mayasquer-Tallambí	17	4.0	202-1,669	3.01	99,850	4.22
TOTAL	428	100.0	6,705-9,056	100.00	2,365,645	100.00

Source: Oficina de Catastro, "Lista de declarantes de la propiedad," Pasto, Cumbal, 1973. Municipalidad del Cantón Tulcán. "Impuesto a la Propiedad Rural, Quinquenio 1962-1967," Tulcán, 1973.

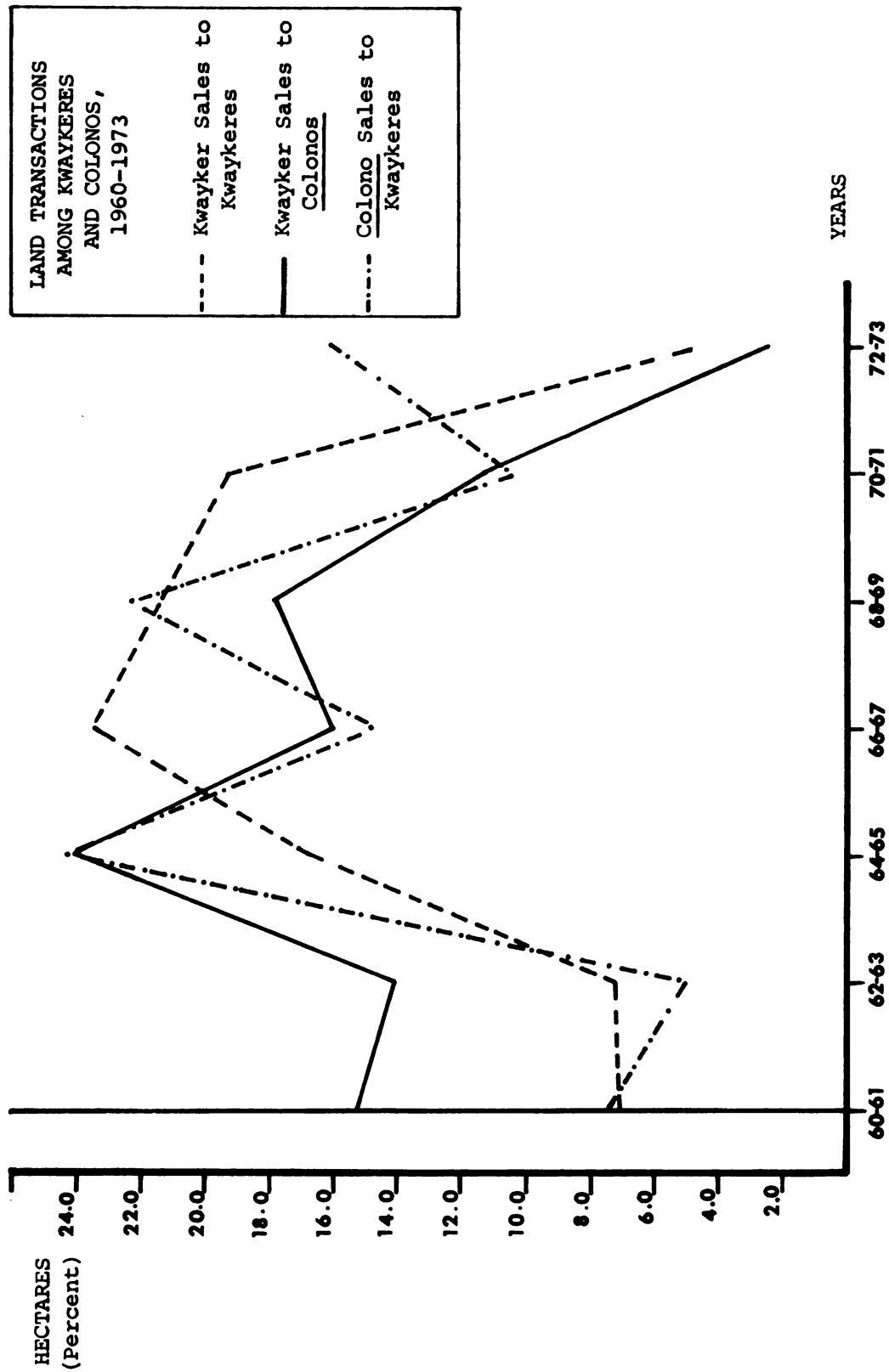
^aThe surname GARCIA was excluded. As the lists are ordered by one family name only, people with one Kwayker family name were considered Indians.

^bValue in Colombian pesos (1 peso = U.S. .042¢, 1973).

deforestation continues by both groups. During the period 1960-1973 the Indians sold more land to colonos than was transacted among themselves. But more land was bought and sold among the Indians than was purchased from colonos. For a short time the transactions among the Indians were on the increase, but after the aforementioned time period, such transactions began to decline and the tendency was for the decline to continue. This means that Indians entered into land transactions with each other in order to sell it to the colonos (see Figure 11 and Table 14).

An examination of the transfer of property titles suggests that the lands Indians sell to colonos are those they clear, inherit or receive as grants, while the lands colonos sell to Indians are those mainly obtained by purchases among Indians themselves is almost exclusively obtained by clearing the forest. If Indians trade among themselves the land which they clear from the forest and sell a high percentage of it (plus that inherited and granted to them by the government) to colonos, they are losing their land (see Figure 12 and Tables 15 and 16).

The land that Indians purchased from other Indians was sold either to still other Indians or to colonos. However, the quantity of land transacted among Indians was greater than that sold to the colonos. This statement holds true for the case of cleared forest land. Therefore,



Source: Table 14.

Figure 11.--Land Transactions Among Kwaykeres and Colonos, 1960-1973

TABLE 14

LAND TRANSACTIONS AMONG KWAYKERES AND COLONOS, 1960-1973, IN HECTARES^a

Years	KK ^b	Percent	KC ^c	Percent	CK ^d	Percent	Total	Percent
1960-1961	179	7.1	237	15.3	73	7.4	489	9.7
1962-1963	183	7.3	217	14.1	48	4.9	448	8.9
1964-1965	422	16.7	373	24.1	238	24.2	1,033	20.4
1966-1967	591	23.4	248	16.1	145	14.7	984	19.5
1968-1969	542	21.5	274	17.7	220	22.3	1,036	20.4
1970-1971	487	19.3	157	10.2	102	10.4	746	14.8
1972-1973	120	4.7	38	2.5	159	16.1	317	6.3
TOTAL	2,524	100.0	1,544	100.0	985	100.0	5,053	100.0
Percent	50.0		30.5		19.5		100.0	

Source: Notaries of Ricaurte, Samaniego, Cumbal, Barbacoas, Tumaco, Túquerres, and Tulcán. Colombia-Ecuador, 1960-1973.

^aThe surname Garcia was excluded from these calculations.

^bKK: Kwayker sales to Kwaykeres.

^cKC: Kwayker sales to colonos.

^dCK: Colono sales to Kwaykeres.

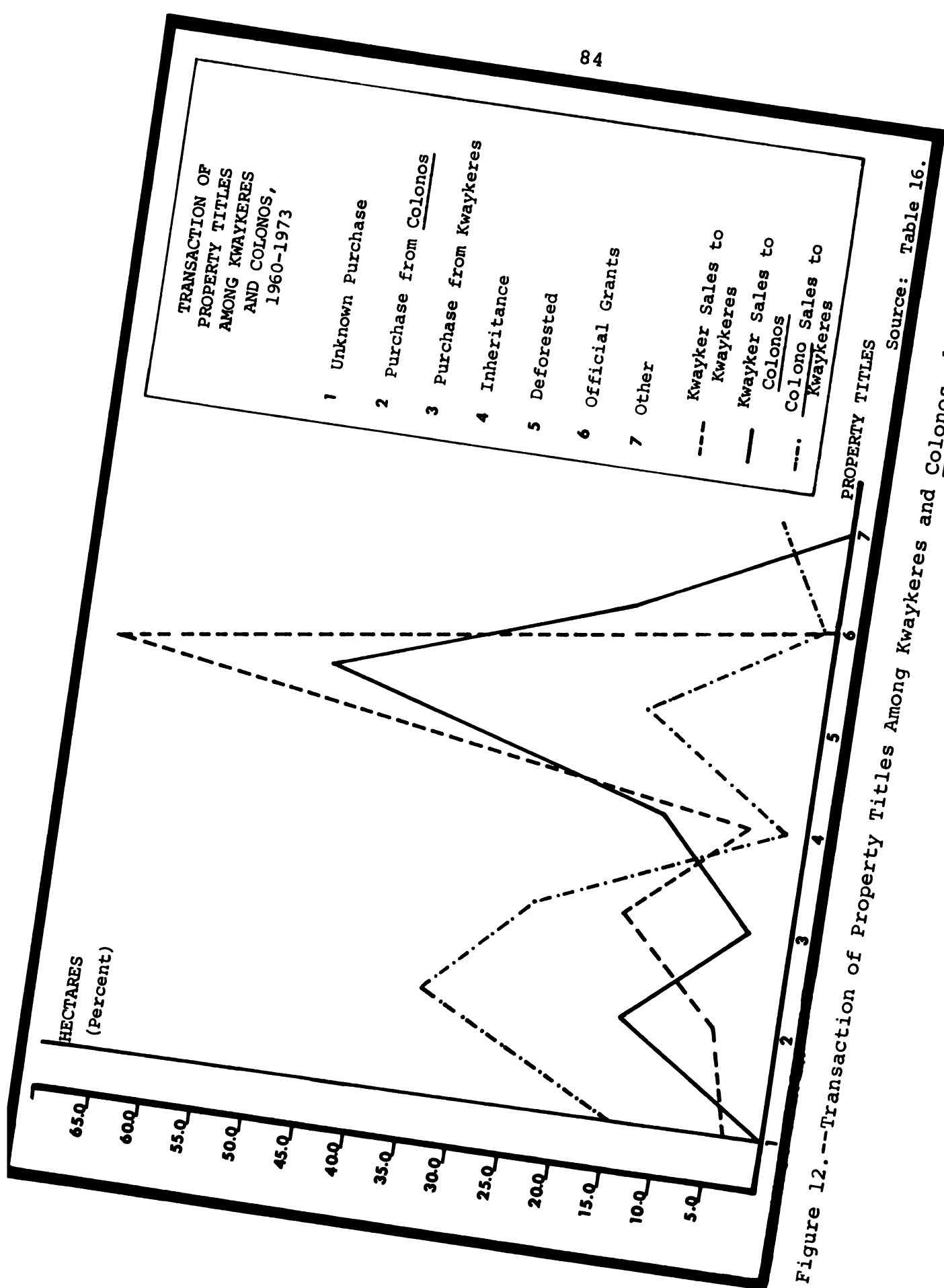


Figure 12.---Transaction of Property Titles Among Kwaykeres and Colonos, 1960-1973

Source: Table 16.

the land that Indians trade among themselves is presumably located in the remote areas. When the colonos approach these areas, the Indians probably will sell the land to them, while they continue to exploit the remaining forest, and the process will continue. Most of the land that colonos sell to Indians is obtained by purchases from other colonos or from Indians, rather than being land they obtained from clearing the forest. This indicates that the land colonos sell to the Indians is located in already cleared areas.

Indians sell land to colonos simply because the latter pay more for it than do other Indians. Indians can sell to the colonos smaller plots for more money. The average plot sold by Indians to colonos during the 1960-1973 period was 16.2 hectares for 1,508 pesos, while the average plot the Indians sold to other Indians was 18.4 hectares for 1,334 pesos. Indians paid to other Indians 78 pesos per hectare, while colonos paid 105 pesos per hectare. Indians sold to other Indians, on the average, more hectares than they sold to colonos. The Indians divided the land that they sold to other Indians into more plots than they did with the land sold to colonos. In other words, Indians exploit the forest and sell the land in low cost plots to other Indians. The latter Indians, in turn, combine their newly-purchased land with that which they themselves obtained by clearing the forest and sell all of it to the colonos in smaller and more expensive plots.

Colonos sold to Indians little land from 1960 to 1973. On the average, 70.4 hectares were sold by colonos to Indians at 27.8 hectares per plot. Similarly, Indians had to pay 134 pesos per hectare or 2,004 pesos per plot (see Tables 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20).

Since the Indians have to pay higher prices for the land bought from colonos than from other Indians, and this land is located in the cleared areas, Indians who buy such land must have been living here long enough to save the money, perhaps as salaried workers.

In summary, when the colonization process approaches a new cultural stage (the domain here), the Indians will sell the land to colonos. The Indians now have two choices--either labor as salaried workers for the colonos or continue deforesting--but as the forest is becoming completely cleared, Indians will have to work as salaried laborers only, because they do not have the money to buy land from the colonos.

Colonization soon will extend beyond the second stage and reach the real heart of the only Indian area now free from the colonization process. Colonos as well as Indians from the domain will take these yet uncleared lands, and the Indians living there, who are older and few in number, will have to work for colonos. They lack both the money to buy land from colonos and the technique to exploit their own plots.

TABLE 15
AVERAGE OF LAND TRANSACTIONS AMONG KWAYKERES AND COLONOS, PER YEAR, 1960-1973

Transactions	Pesos	Hectares	Plots	Hectares per Plot	Pesos per Hectare	Pesos per Plot
Kwayker to Kwayker	13,124.1	180.3	9.0	18.4	77.9	1,334.4
Kwayker to <u>Colono</u>	9,570.7	110.3	6.2	16.2	104.7	1,508.6
<u>Colono</u> to Kwayker	9,307.8	70.4	4.1	27.8	133.8	2,003.9

Source: Tables 17, 18, 19.

TABLE 16
TRANSACTION OF THE PROPERTY TITLES AMONG KWAYKERES AND COLONOS,
1960-1973: PERCENTAGES (in Hectares)

Transactions	Unknown Purchase	Purchase From <u>Colono</u>	Purchase From Kwayker	Inheritance	Deforested	Grant	Other
Kwayker to Kwayker	3.5	6.3	16.1	5.6	68.5	--	--
Kwayker to <u>Colono</u>	.2	15.0	4.1	13.5	47.6	19.4	0.2
<u>Colono</u> to Kwayker	15.1	34.5	24.8	2.0	16.5	.6	6.4

Source: Table 20.

TABLE 17

LAND TRANSACTIONS: SALES BY KWAYKERS TO KWAYKERES, 1960-1973

Years	Pesos Transacted	Hectares Transacted	Plots Transacted	Hectares per Plot	Pesos per Hectare	Pesos per Plot
1960	5,760.0	114	7	16.8	50.5	822.8
1961	2,180.0	65	5	13.0	33.5	436.0
1962	2,000.0	19	3	6.3	105.3	666.7
1963	9,050.0	164	9	18.2	55.2	1,005.5
1964	5,100.0	91	7	13.0	56.0	728.8
1965	38,000.0	331	14	23.6	114.8	2,714.3
1966	2,300.0	133	6	22.2	17.3	383.3
1967	28,400.0	458	20	22.9	62.0	1,420.0
1968	26,400.0	305	18	16.9	86.5	1,466.7
1969	16,500.0	237	12	19.7	69.6	1,375.0
1970	20,000.0	302	10	30.2	66.2	2,000.0
1971	15,300.0	185	8	23.1	82.7	1,912.5
1972	7,000.0	92	4	23.0	76.1	1,750.0
1973	6,000.0	28	3	9.3	214.3	2,000.0
TOTAL	183,990.0	2,524	126	258.3	1,090.0	18,681.6
AVERAGE	13,124.1	180.3	9.0	18.4	77.9	1,334.4

Source: Notaries of Ricaurte, Samaniego, Túquerres, Tumaco, Barbacoas, Cumbal and Tulcán, Colombia-Ecuador, 1960-1973.

TABLE 18

LAND TRANSACTIONS: SALES BY KWAYKERES TO COLONOS, 1960-1973

Years	Pesos Transacted	Hectares Transacted	Plots Transacted	Hectares per Plot	Pesos per Hectare	Pesos per Plot
1960	4,860.0	220	6	36.7	29.1	810.0
1961	1,700.0	17	3	5.7	100.0	566.6
1962	2,080.0	24	4	6.0	86.7	520.0
1963	9,450.0	193	10	19.3	49.0	94.5
1964	6,600.0	142	8	17.7	46.5	825.0
1965	14,000.0	231	14	16.5	60.6	1,000.0
1966	2,700.0	94	5	18.8	28.7	540.0
1967	10,100.0	154	9	17.1	65.5	1,166.0
1968	26,000.0	179	9	19.9	145.2	2,888.9
1969	23,000.0	95	6	15.8	244.1	3,833.3
1970	15,000.0	94	5	18.8	159.5	3,000.0
1971	13,500.0	63	4	15.8	214.3	3,375.0
1972	3,000.0	28	2	14.0	107.1	1,500.0
1973	2,000.0	10	2	5.0	200.0	1,000.0
TOTAL	133,990.0	1,544	87	227.1	1,536.3	21,120.0
AVERAGE	9,570.7	110.3	6.2	16.2	104.7	1,508.6

Source: Notaries of Ricaurte, Samaniego, Cumbal, Barbacoas, Túquerres, Tumaco and Tulcán, Colombia-Ecuador, 1960-1973.

TABLE 19

LAND TRANSACTIONS: SALES BY COLONOS TO KWAYKERES, 1960-1973

Years	Pesos Transacted	Hectares Transacted	Plots Transacted	Hectares per Plot	Pesos per Hectare	Pesos per Plot
1960	200	2	1	200.0	100.0	200.0
1961	3,560	71	5	14.2	50.1	712.0
1962	3,500	13	3	4.3	269.2	1,166.7
1963	3,000	35	3	11.7	85.7	1,000.0
1964	6,500	104	6	17.3	62.5	1,083.0
1965	11,650	134	6	22.3	85.8	1,916.6
1966	10,500	56	3	18.7	187.5	3,500.0
1967	12,700	89	7	12.7	142.7	1,814.3
1968	16,200	177	8	14.6	138.5	2,025.0
1969	7,500	43	4	10.7	174.4	1,875.0
1970	2,000	34	2	17.0	58.0	1,000.0
1971	22,000	68	3	22.7	323.5	7,333.3
1972	31,000	159	7	22.7	195.0	4,428.6
1973	--	--	--	--	--	--
TOTAL	130,310.0	985.0	58.0	388.9	1,872.6	28,054.5
AVERAGE	9,307.8	70.4	4.1	27.8	133.8	2,003.9

Source: Notaries of Ricaurte, Samaniego, Barbacoas, Túquerres, Tumaco, Cumbal and Tulcán, Colombia-Ecuador, 1960-1973.

TABLE 20

TRANSACTIONS OF LAND PROPERTY TITLES AMONG KWAYKERES
AND COLONOS, 1960-1973

Years	Unknown Purchase	Purchase From Colono	Purchase From Kwayker	Inheritance	Deforested	Grants	Other	Total	
1960	-	-	40	70	4	-	-	114	KK: KWAYKER SALES TO KWAYKER
1961	33	-	-	-	32	-	-	65	
1962	-	-	-	3	16	-	-	19	
1963	22	20	-	-	122	-	-	164	
1964	-	-	-	-	91	-	-	91	
1965	-	90	-	-	235	-	-	331	
1966	-	-	-	-	133	-	-	133	
1967	-	14	160	-	284	-	-	458	
1968	-	35	33	28	209	-	-	305	
1969	-	-	-	-	237	-	-	237	
1970	30	-	72	30	170	-	-	302	
1971	3	-	30	12	140	-	-	185	
1972	-	-	50	-	42	-	-	92	
1973	-	-	15	-	13	-	-	28	
SUBTOTAL	88	159	406	143	1,728	-	-	2,524	
PERCENT	3.5	6.3	16.1	5.6	68.5	-	-	100.0	
1960	.5	11	8.5	-	-	200	-	220	KC: KWAYKER SALES TO COLONO
1961	-	1	8	-	8	-	-	17	
1962	-	-	12	-	12	-	-	24	
1963	-	12	2	60	119	-	-	193	
1964	-	6	-	19	117	-	-	142	
1965	-	111	-	4	116	-	-	231	
1966	-	-	4	-	90	-	-	94	
1967	3	10	3	100	38	-	-	154	
1968	-	38	-	6	135	-	-	179	
1969	-	-	18	-	57	20	-	95	
1970	-	-	8	-	3	80	3	94	
1971	-	30	-	-	33	-	-	63	
1972	-	-	-	20	8	-	-	28	
1973	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	10	
SUBTOTAL	3.5	229.0	63.5	209.0	736.0	300.0	3.0	1,544	
PERCENT	.2	15.0	4.1	13.5	47.6	19.4	.2	100.0	
1960	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	CK: COLONO SALES TO KWAYKER
1961	46	25	-	-	-	-	-	71	
1962	3	10	-	-	-	-	-	13	
1963	-	10	10	-	15	-	-	35	
1964	-	24	6	-	74	-	-	104	
1965	20	68	36	-	10	-	-	134	
1966	-	30	20	-	6	-	-	56	
1967	40	5	20	-	24	-	-	89	
1968	-	73	100	-	4	-	-	177	
1969	40	-	-	-	-	-	3	43	
1970	-	-	4	-	30	-	-	34	
1971	-	65	3	-	-	-	-	68	
1972	-	28	45	20	-	6	60	159	
1973	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
SUBTOTAL	149.0	340.0	244.0	20.0	163.0	6.0	63.0	985	
PERCENT	15.1	34.5	24.8	2.0	16.5	.6	6.4	100.0	
TOTAL	240.5	728.0	713.5	377.0	2,627.0	306.0	66.0	5,053	
PERCENT	4.8	14.4	14.1	9.4	52.0	6.0	1.3	100.0	

Source: Notaries of Ricaurte, Samaniego, Túquerres, Cumbal, Barbacoas, Tumaco and Tulcán, Colombia-Ecuador, 1960-1973.

CHAPTER V

EXISTING CULTURAL STAGES AMONG THE KWAYKERES:

ADAPTATION OF THE D. W. MEINIG MODEL

The previous chapters depict a changing cultural distribution, by gradation, among the Kwaykeres. Their gradual retreat to their present settlements modified in different intensity their original cultural patterns. The process is increasing in tempo and holds tragic consequences for the Indians. To better explain the present situation and identify some possible consequences, it is necessary to see the gradation of culture which occurs among the Indians in relation to distance from the colonization frontiers.

The present situation and relationships between the two basic groups in contact, the Kwaykeres and the colonos, result from the gradual, but constant, reduction of the Kwayker geographical space. After the Spanish conquest, the Kwayker territory was invaded by various other people. As a result, the Kwaykeres were reduced to living not in a continuous territory but in scattered settlements. Such successive penetrations caused changes

in the Kwayker economy based on agriculture and hunting to an economy based on commerce and labor. When the Indians were employed as cargueros, they began preparing themselves as skilled guides on the roads. Therefore, new elements came to the Kwayker culture: Spanish was indispensable, new practical clothes were needed, and new technology was developed. They had to produce more than they needed to supply the market with pigs, chickens and agricultural products. At the turn of the nineteenth century explorers reported differences in clothing, labor, family structure and technology among the Kwaykeres as they penetrated into the forest.

As colonization increased, more Indians were needed to work on the roads and to deforest, so the Kwaykeres were beginning to live more as salaried people than as primitive agriculturalists. This progressive reduction of their geographical space has divided the Kwaykeres into three visible cultural stages. Each stage reflects different degrees of change in material culture, social structure, and way of thought.

Kwaykeres in Permanent Contact: The Sphere

Those Kwaykeres descendant from cargueros, plus those who prefer to work for colonos rather than retreat to the forest, comprise the sphere of the Kwayker cultural area. Small numbers of Indians among a large population of colonos is the most common feature in this stage.

Because the Indians do not have enough money to buy land from the colonos, few transactions with them occur here. Indians just work for the colonos. Mixed marriages are common. Indians are adopting the colono's culture as quickly as possible. The Indian language is not spoken any more in this stage. Clothing is the same as that used by the colonos, except for quality. Material culture is the same as that of the colonos, but social structure is different. Generally speaking, the Indians are culturally integrated but socially they are discriminated against and occupy the lowest social class in this new society. It seems that as colono cultural features become accepted by the Kwaykeres, they are increasingly discriminated against by the colonos. They cannot return to the forest because they no longer retain their old cultural patterns. Their work is mainly agricultural and domestic service, but the products are not theirs. They receive only a salary. Indians are, nevertheless, so accustomed to this economy that they prefer to live here rather than return to clearing the rainforest. Kwayker generations have lived with this way of thought, and their perceptions and ambitions are not merely to hunt and gather. They have visited larger towns and have met different people. They demand schools, medical care and better treatment.

According to land transactions, marriages and baptism registrations, and land declared in tax records,

the sphere covers the areas around the main penetration roads, the whole eastern part of the region, and large areas in the north. Population reaches 2,500 Kwaykeres and cholos, a considerable number relative to the total Kwayker population but a very small minority compared with the colonos living in this stage.

Kwaykeres in Intermittent Contact:
The Domain

Kwaykeres living farther from the colonization frontier behave as their ancestors did in 1893, when Rufino Gutiérrez walked from Altaquer to Barbacoas. There are Indians in permanent contact along this road today. The same road was populated by Indians in intermittent contact during the first decades of the present century.

Those Indians living in Ramos, Vegas, Kwayker Viejo, Tefí, or Cuescuabí, still reveal their old customs when they are among themselves. Here,

. . . the most important industry is to grow pigs (Cuyu), whose fat they bottled in containers of guadúa . . . to sell in Barbacoas, and chickens (Arall); and in some plots they maintain some cattle. . . .¹

Today the market places are concentrated in the middle of the region, in the settlements of Ricaurte, Altaquer and La Guayacana, and Barbacoas has been left permanently. Indians visit the market weekly to sell

¹Gutiérrez, Monografías, p. 319.

their goods, and buy indispensable things, such as salt and panela.² Spanish is essential to them. Mixed material manifestations are seen when they are in town, such as colono clothes, liquor, bags, and many others. Land transactions with colonos are the most numerous here. The main activity of the Indians is cutting the forest and selling the cleared land to colonos or to other Indians. After colonos reach these settlements, Indians move in or out of this stage. This movement confirms or changes their culture. They will continue living their ancestors' customs and moral patterns, or they integrate the colono's culture. Inside the forest their own language is the more often spoken, but as they come in contact with colonos the Kwayker customs seem to be forgotten or at least unused. Their "clothes are for the jungle not for the town," they say. Socially they are even in worse condition than the Indians living in the sphere. They are just waiting for the colono's arrival to give the land to them, and some land has been already sold. They live in the same geographical conditions as did the Indians living in the domain during the eighteenth century. They concentrate along the trails, which in most cases are in conditions similar to those described by Triana, Cordovez and Gutiérrez. Victims of innumerable intimidations, they

²A type of brown sugar.

leave the domain, through acculturation or migration. Their aspirations cannot go farther than to exploit the forest and feed their animals, selling some small surpluses in the town. Many migrate to work for colonos before they reach their land, but others wait for them to arrive.

Resentment against colonos is a peculiar psychological manifestation in the domain:

"Blanquito ["White"] cheats native [Indian]; Fajardo gave a dead, rotten cow to Taikus to clear the forest to grow two 'quintales' of corn," says Teodoro Pascal, a Cuaiquer, explaining in his limited Spanish the situation of the Indians living in the south of the country. . . .³

Cases like this are quite common among the Indians living in the domain, and often among those living in the sphere too, except that, in the sphere, Indians are more aware of their rights.

Kwaykeres, living in the domain are waiting for colonos, who are quickly reaching these lands. Trails are now being adapted for mules and oxen, and very soon roads will be opened to that area too. Sick from alcohol, malnutrition and dependency, the Indians of the domain are seeing the final line of their existence. Population in this stage is still predominantly Kwayker. Although the Indians are more numerous than the colonos living here, culturally and politically they are enormously

³Pilar Lozano de Aguilera, "Los Cuaikeres, fin de una raza," El Tiempo, 11 de Diciembre, 1972, p. 10A.

weaker. The Kwayker-cholo population of this area totals about 3,000 persons.

Kwaykeres in Sporadic Contact: The Core

Indians living in the core stage are those who still retain their primitive customs, moral rules and social structure. In agriculture they keep the same techniques as in 1893.

. . . they clear the forest, spread the grain, and then cut the bigger trees with machetes, but never burn . . . they don't take care of the cultivation again . . . until the harvest after eight or nine months. . . .⁴

In settlements such as Gualcalá, La Babosa, Telpí, La Turbia, or Chicandina, the Indians do not know any other technique for agriculture. Hunting and gathering are also important economic activities. They rule their lives according to their own moral laws and family traditions. They do not understand why they must register the land as their own. They believe they were born joined to their land and that it is impossible to separate them from it. The person who seeks to separate them, or invade their properties, will be terribly punished after they die. Land takes care of them and their family with its products, but they must live on it and take care of it. They have to defend their lands to avoid punishments. They cannot separate themselves from their land,

⁴Gutiérrez, Monografías, p. 318.

but cannot exploit someone else's land either. Even when they die, they have to be buried in their own lands, in the ground under their own homes. Economic, social and moral structures are organized according to this natural law, for the mutual dependency of land and life. They speak their own language and wear their own clothes everywhere. This is true when they are in contact with colonos, as during celebrations in their old settlements, even in areas entirely populated by colonos or Indians of the sphere. In the celebrations, the three stages can be easily differentiated by the clothing and language. There is a complete gradation in the fluency of Spanish among the Kwaykeres during the celebrations. In cloth, Indians from the core keep their ancestral white short pants and white shirt, while those from the domain put on the colono's cloth of intensive colors. Indians from the sphere cannot be differentiated from the colonos by clothes or language, but purely by physical features and discrimination.

Land transactions among Kwaykeres themselves are frequent in the domain, while the percentage of transactions with colonos is low. They purchase land obtained from the forest, to buy some necessary things during the celebrations. Indians and colonos living in the domain are today reaching this stage. The core itself, and with

it the last vestige of the Kwayker culture, will disappear. Old people are living in this stage, which includes no more than 1,000 people (see Figures 13, 14, 15 and 16).

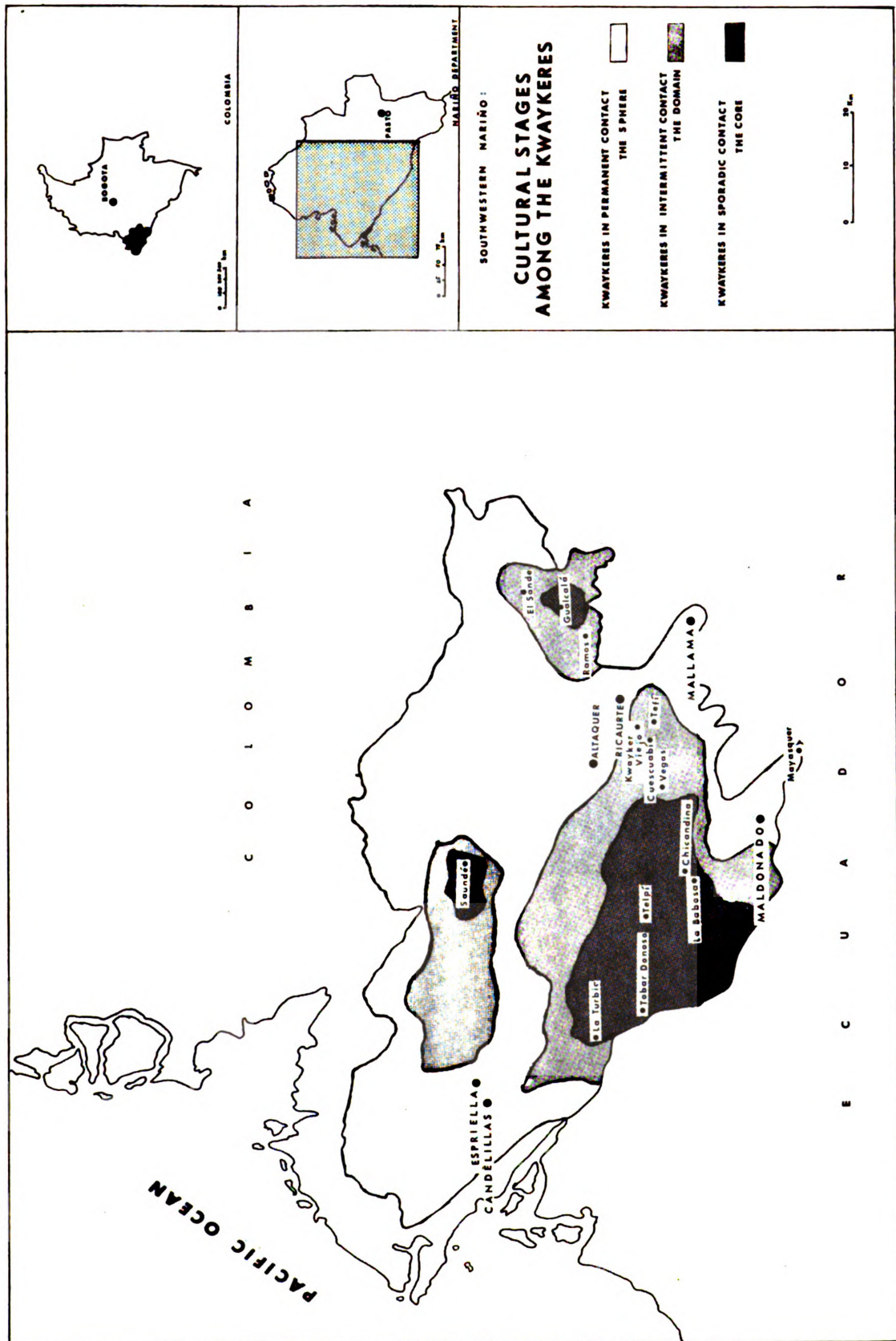




Figure 14.--Kwayker of the Sphere



Figure 15.--Kwayker of the Domain



Figure 16.--Kwayker of the Core

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Another Esmeraldeño Indian group is close to extinction. The reduced Kwayker population cannot retreat any further. The geographical space reduction process has reached the core of the culture. The last chapter of Kwayker history is reduced to:

. . . move with their children . . . penetrate into the jungle, clear the forest again and again, build a rustic house . . . from which they will run as soon as they perceive the presence of blancos ["whites"]. . . .¹

Today, both Indians and colonos are clearing the forest, but Indians sell the land to colonos, while colonos keep it for themselves. If the process continues, as seems likely, the Kwaykeres will eventually be only servants to the colonos.

This thesis constitutes a case study, difficult to generalize to other situations. Nevertheless, monographs report similarities with other groups living on

¹Lozano de Aguilera, Los Cuaikeres, p. 10A.

colonization frontiers in Colombia.² Many groups have disappeared and others, like the Kwaykeres, are in the process of disappearing. Still others, living in the core of their culture, will eventually disappear. Mixed marriages, co-parenthood relations and other social ways of integration prepare the groups to leave their cultures and fit into new cultural areas. Among the Kwaykeres, the core does not include more than 1,000 people. Colonization is reaching this stage for the first time. The Pastos, the Incas, and the Spaniards were not here. Today, the last refuge is disappearing. Official programs dealing with these kinds of Indians are far short in practicality.³ People ignore the Kwaykeres' culture and future. Colonos ignore the Kwaykeres or keep them working because the Indians lack sufficient official assistance to better exploit the forest.

This study shows that as Indians integrate into the colono culture, their awareness of their rights

²Antonio Gómez Gómez. Contactos con la civilización de los indios Yuko de la Sierra de Perijá, Colombia (Tunja: Publicaciones de la Universidad Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia, Ediciones La Rana y El Aguila, 1970), pp. 1-57.

³Ministerio de Gobierno, Dirección General de Integración y Desarrollo de la Comunidad, División Operativa de Asuntos Indígenas. Prospecto general de los centros de capacitación. Bogotá, D.E.: Ministerio de Gobierno, 1972, pp. 1-32, and Ministerio de Gobierno, Marco conceptual para el desarrollo e integración de la comunidad en Colombia: La política indigenista, Bogotá, D.E.: Dirección General de Integración y Desarrollo de la Comunidad, 1971, pp. 1-74.

increases. Indians living in the domain labor mainly deforesting the land to sell it to the colonos, while those living in the core are waiting for the arrival of the colonization frontier. Indians are exchanging their primitive agriculture and hunting for an economy based essentially on wages.

This study reveals that Indians sell to colonos considerable amounts of the land they receive as grants. In other words, they are selling all of the land they obtain by any means to the colonos. If the destiny of the Indians living in these colonization frontiers is to disappear as cultural entities, it does not necessarily mean they must disappear as human beings.

Colonization is increasing sporadically. INCORA (Instituto Colombiano de la Reforma Agraria) and INDERENA (Instituto de Desarrollo de los Recursos Naturales Renovables) have been involved in grants and credit for timber exploitation since the 1960's. Except for small plots, the Indians have not received any aid from these institutions. This study has found that Indians sell the land to colonos because the colonos pay more for it than do other Indians. Other variables more difficult to measure, but easier to perceive in the field, have considerable relationship to land transactions between Indians and colonos. Social conditions, such as alcoholism, discrimination and intimidation by colonos

against the Indians, facilitate the subjugation of Indians by colonos.

The conclusions of this thesis do not lend themselves to easy solutions. Historical review and statistical analysis can only suggest further studies, complete enough to devise an operational plan to improve development in the Kwayker area, in particular, and in the frontier areas in general.

The present process of land occupation in the Kwayker area would be changed if the Indians had their own plots as official grants. They do not occupy a large area, and culturally they are accustomed to having their own individual plots. These legal possessions, however, must be protected against the colonos, who might intimidate the Indians into selling their plots. This should be a kind of resguardo (or reservation, ruled by the Indian laws in Colombia).⁴ Since the Kwaykeres have no centralized organization and communal tradition, land has to be given to each individual family according to how that family will use it. In the southern part a considerable area is retained by the government as national property. Part of it must be reserved for future adjudications to the Indians. The plots they receive must be under official

⁴Ministerio de Gobierno, Dirección General de Integración y Desarrollo de la Comunidad, Legislación nacional sobre indígenas (Bogotá, D.E.: Imprenta Nacional, 1970), pp. 1-133.

control. The Institute of Colombian Indian Affairs should decide what to do with plots left by Indians who migrate or die. These lands might be given to other Indians, especially to the descendants of the former family. Careful studies concerning the relationship between land and Indians must be conducted to decide which land belongs to each family among the Kwaykeres living in the core. Most of the Indians living in the domain have their land registered in the tax office. A careful delimitation of such plots would help considerably in making the adjudications.

The author concludes that as colonization increases, miscegenation and acculturation increase, as does the Indians' awareness of their rights. With justice, Indians can have economic conditions equal to those of the colonos. Therefore, they as well as colonos can continue exploiting the forest but in better conditions than they now enjoy and in any direction.

Equal benefits through education, credit and technical aid to both Indians and colonos will improve their social status and development of the zone. As individual Indians can increase their plots by exploiting or purchasing land from their own reservation, they will be encouraged to exploit more forest. If colonos and Indians have enough resources, the area can be developed for agriculture, cattle-raising and timber exploitation.

To promote technical colonization, the adaptation for trucks of the Chiles-Mayasquer-Numbí-Altaquer trail must be one of the first priorities. Indian and colono land will then be connected with the national economy. Schools and medical care will be introduced to the Indians, as well as the colonos, via the road.

The adjudications deal with equality in socio-economic conditions of the Indians in relation to the colonos. With the officially protected grants to the Indians, technical colonization and operational education, Colombians can confidently predict the end of the Kwayker culture.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

FIELD WORK SHEETS

APPENDIX A

REPUBLICA DE COLOMBIA



SUPERINTENDENCIA
DE NOTARIADO Y REGISTRO

SECCION: **Vig. Notarial**


NUMERO: **1937**

BOGOTA, D. E., **Junio 30 de 1.973**

Señor
NOTARIO 2o. DEL CIRCULO
TURQUERRES (NARIÑO)

Atentamente solicito a usted facilitar
al Doctor Luis E. Aragón el protocolo a su digno cargo
para que adelante su Trabajo de Tesis, sin sacarlo de -
la Notaría.

Seguro servidor,


RODRIGO MARIN ROJAS
Abogado - Especializado
Jefe Encargado de la División



RMR/hoh.-

Note: This letter was given to the notaries of Ricaurte,
Samaniego, Ipiales, Cumbal and Barbacoas.

**INSTITUTO GEOGRAFICO "AGUSTIN CODAZZI"**

CATASTRO No. 06-5287

Bogotá, D.E. Julio 3 de 1973

Señor Director
SECCIONAL CATASTRO NARIÑO
Pasto.-

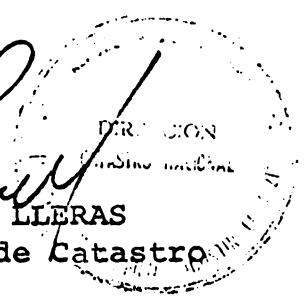
Por medio de la presente solicito a usted, se sirva dar toda la información existente de catastro, al señor LUIS E. ARAGON, quien está haciendo la tesis de grado para obtener el título de Master en Geografía Humana en la Universidad del Estado de Michigan.

No sobra advertirle que la información debe ser tomada dentro de la Oficina Seccional.

Atentamente,


ERNESTO PARRA LLERAS

Director Nacional de Catastro


/ybv.
7-4-73
Catastro

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

BAUTISMOS

PARROQUIA _____

FECHA _____

AÑO _____ TOTAL _____

No.	Fecha de Bautismo	Sexo		Fecha de Nacimiento	Apellidos		Padrinos (Apellidos)	
		Mujer	Hombre		Padre	Madre	Padrino	Madrina
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								
10								
11								
12								
13								
14								
15								
16								
17								
18								
19								
20								

BI = Bisbicús / CA = Canticús / CU = Cuasalusán / GW = Gwanga /

NA = Nastacuás / PA = Paí / PS = Paskal / TA = Taicús / EN = Enríquez /

GA = Garcia / OR = Ortiz / WW = Otros.

Investigador _____

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

MATRIMONIOS

PARROQUIA _____

FECHA _____

AÑO _____ TOTAL _____

No.	Fecha del Matrimonio	Apellidos		Lugar de Nacimiento*		Testigos (Padrinos)	
		Esposo	Esposa	Esposo	Esposa	Padrino	Madrina
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							
11							
12							
13							
14							
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16							
17							
18							
19							
20							

BI = Bisbicús / CA = Canticús / CU = Cuasalusán / GW = Gwanga /
 NA = Nastacuás / PA = Paí / PS = Paskal / TA = Taicús / EN = Enríquez /
 GA = Garcia / OR = Ortiz / WW = Otros.

*En ausencia de lugar de nacimiento se puede tomar el lugar de bautismo.

Investigador _____

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

NOTARIAS

NOTARIA _____

FECHA _____

AÑO _____ TOTAL _____

No.	Fecha	Apellidos		Valor	Extensión	Tradición	Nombre Predio	Ubicación
		Vendedor	Comprador					
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								
10								
11								
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BI = Bisbicús / CA = Canticús / CU = Cuasalusán / GW = Gwanga /
 NA = Nastacuás / PA = Paí / PS = Paskal / TA = Taicús / EN = Enríquez /
 GA = Garcia / OR = Ortiz / WW = Otros.

Investigador _____

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

CATASTRO

MUNICIPIO _____

FECHA _____

TOTAL _____

No.	Número Predio	Apellido Declarante	Nombre Predio	Ubicación Predio	Extensión Predio	Avaluo Predio
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						
12						
13						
14						
15						
16						
17						
18						
19						
20						

BI = Bisbicús / CA = Canticús / CU = Cuasalusán / GW = Gwanga /
 NA = Nastacuás / PA = Paí / PS = Paskal / TA = Taicús / EN = Enríquez/
 GA = Garcia / OR = Ortiz / WW = Otros.

Investigador _____

APPENDIX B

SETTLEMENTS WITH KWAYKER NAMES IN THE KWAYKER AREA

APPENDIX B

SETTLEMENTS WITH KWAYKER NAMES IN THE KWAYKER AREA¹

PARROQUIA	NAME OF THE SETTLEMENTS
Altaquer	1) Pambí lo, 2) Nembí, 3) Boca de Albí, 4) Pipiguay 5) La Guaña, 6) Pambil 2o, 7) Pialux, 8) Chapilar, 9) Nalbú [Nalbí], 10) Cunguandé, 11) Cuambia, 12) Yaslambí, 13) Albí, 14) Imbapí, 15) Pialquer, 16) Imbapí 2o, 17) Pisdé, 18) Quelbí.
Barbacoas	1) Papí, 2) Pumoldé, 3) Yalté, 4) Guañambí lo, 5) Nereté, 6) Pambí, 7) Guañambí 2o, 8) Laguna Nereté, 9) Laguna Pití, 10) Boca Telembí, 11) Laguna Piraimbí, 12) Piscuandé, 13) Guañambí 3o, 14) Guagaipí, 15) Chafaloté, 16) Río Telembí, 17) Yacún, 18) Saundé, 19) Alcalbí, 20) Río Ispí, 21) Isnumbí, 22) Sulldé, 23) Indún, 24) Boca Iguambí, 25) Gualpí, 26) Inguambí, 27) Albí 2o, 28) Alto Albí, 29) Cuimbí, 30) Río Gualpí, 31) Río Saundé, 32) Quefalpí, 33) Boca Guelmambí, 34) Yaguapí, 35) Chalalbí, 36) Mullandé, 37) Naispí, 38) Pimbí, 39) Albí Arriba, 40) Yasnumbí, 41) Cuasalbí, 42) Munambí, 43) Indú 2o, 44) Tepipán, 45) Río Guelmambí, 46) Palbí, 47) Ulbí, 48) Pilvicito lo, 49) Guagalpí, 50) Pilvicito, 2o, 51) Pilcuán, 52) Ulí, 53) Alto Ulbí, 54) Alto Nonelbí, 55) El Maré, 56) Yaguapí, 57) Chapilar, 58) Nonalbí, 59) Nambí lo, 60) Guimul, 61) Nembí, 62) Tambubí, 63) Cuiambé, 64) El Gualte, 65) Cuilví, 66) Yacula,

¹The spelling is as appears in the Malaria service's files. As there are several repeated names they were enumerated, e.g., Chilví lo, Chilví 2o, or Chilví 3o.

67) El Pundé, 68) Ñambí 1o, 69) Ñambí 2o,
 70) Pulgandé, 71) Guapilpí, 72) Peña Bí, 73) Chanul,
 74) Quembí, 75) Taimbí, 76) Cumaindé, 77) Pimbí,
 78) Pimbí 2o, 79) Teraimbé, 80) Painandá, 81) Isdé,
 82) Chalchal, 83) Yasmandé, 84) Pambinal,
 85) Peundé, 86) Chilví, 87) Ñambí 3o, 88) Piaguí,
 89) Boca Ulí, 90) Yalaré, 91) Quesuí, 92) Río Ñambí,
 93) Río Telpí, 94) Boca Yacula, 95) Pañambí,
 96) Piaguán, 97) Cusmandé, 98) Guaña, 99) Yalaral,
 100) Pianulpí, 101) Palí, 102) Quebrada Guasé,
 103) Guasé, 104) Guinulté, 105) Salí, 106) Quebrada
 Yaré, 107) Río Quembí, 108) Chimbildé, 109) Pispían,
 110) Río Yulí, 111) Yalaré 2o, 112) Palí,
 113) Imbapí, 114) Piscuandé, 115) Pimbí,
 116) Nonsalbí.

Candelillas

1) Gualte, 2) Cajapí, 3) Imbilí, 4) Pambilar,
 5) Imbilí 2o, 6) Quebrada Cuespí, 7) Curay,
 8) Panambí 1o, 9) Paisudero, 10) Sandamia,
 11) Pañambí 2o, 12) Estero Sandé, 13) Pusbí,
 14) Buipí.

Chiles

1) Tallambí, 2) Numbí, 3) Chucán, 4) Cungupí.

Espriella

1) Guilpicito, 2) Río Nulpí, 3) Guapilpí,
 4) Chilví 1o, 5) Bajo Pianulpí, 6) Río Pianulpí,
 7) Pianulpí, 8) Cajapí, 9) Pambilar, 10) Río
 Caunapí, 11) Caunapí-Tangareal, 12) Pulgandé,
 13) Gualtal, 14) Caunapí 1o, 15) Caunapí 2o,
 16) Hinda Arriba, 17) Pilví 1o, 18) Hinda, 19) Nueva
 Hinda, 20) Pulgandé Abajo, 20) Chimbildé, 21) Palay,
 22) Alcalbí, 23) Guacaray-Guacaraycito, 24) Ambupí,
 25) Chapilar.

Guachavez	1) El Sande, 2) Chapilal lo, 3) Pigualtal, 4) Pambilal.
Maldonado	1) Chical, 2) Quinyul, 3) Imbú, 4) Gualcambí, 5) Gualte.
Mallama	1) Guapilar, 2) Pilvales, 3) Chucunés Viejo, 4) Chucunés.
Ricaurte	1) Palpis, 2) Chambú, 3) Pilispí, 4) Piguantís, 5) Planada Cuesbí, 6) Isipú, 7) Gualtal, 8) Tefí, 9) Ispí, 10) Cuescuabí, 11) Paldubí, 12) Yaré, 13) Chanul, 14) Quemí, 15) Imbiná, 16) Nulpe Medio, 17) Guandé, 18) Chical, 19) Quebrada Chical, 20) Telpí, 21) Cuasbí, 22) Palpes, 23) Chicandina, 24) Piguantís, 25) Cumbas, 26) Nulpe alto.
Samaniego	1) Saspi, 2) Carmen del Telembí, 3) Tanamá.
Tumaco	1) Pildé, 2) Quinul, 3) Palay, 4) Guandapí, 5) Quebrada Salisbí, 6) Salisbí, 7) Pilbí, 8) Hindú, 9) Palambí, 10) Palambicito, 11) Imbilpí, 12) Pilvicito, 13) Pilví, 14) Guacaray, 15) Estero Hidú, 16) Iscuandé, 17) Iscuandecito, 18) Bajo Chilví, 19) Chilví-Linea, 20) Cucupí, 21) Tamillo, 22) Pambilar, 23) Inguapí-Linea, 24) Inguapí del Carmen, 25) Pindo, 26) El Pindo, 27) Alambique, 28) Inguapí-Guayabo, 29) Inguapí-Tulpas, 30) Iguapí- Guadual, 31) Chilví, 32) Pindales, 33) Chilvicito, 34) Selva Palay, 35) Pildé, 36) Chimbuzal.

Source: Servicio de Erradicación de la Malaria. Estadísticas and map, Zona IX, Tumaco and Pasto, 1973.

APPENDIX C

INDIGENOUS GROUPS IN VARIOUS STAGES OF INTEGRATION,
IN RELATION TO THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE
SAME GROUPS IN 1900 (BRAZIL)

APPENDIX C

INDIGENOUS GROUPS IN VARIOUS STAGES OF INTEGRATION, IN RELATION TO THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAME GROUPS IN 1900 (BRAZIL)

Grades of Integration	Total in 1900	1957				
		Isolated	Inter- mittent Contact	Permanent Contact	Integrated	Extin- guished
Isolated	105	33	23	13	3	33
Intermittent Contact	57	-	4	29	10	14
Permanent Contact	39	-	-	3	8	28
Integrated	29	-	-	-	17	12
TOTALS (1957)	230	33	27	45	38	87

Source: Darcy Ribeiro, Fronteras indígenas de la civilización,
México, D.F.: Siglo XXI editores, 1971, p. 59.

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