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In service of two masters: the missionaries of Ocopa, Indigenous resistance, and Spanish governance in Bourbon Peru

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BOOK REVIEW

In service of two masters: the missionaries of Ocopa, Indigenous resistance, and Spanish governance in Bourbon Peru, by Cameron D. Jones, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2018, 352 pp., US\$65.00 (cloth), ISBN: 9781503604315

In Service of Two Masters shifts our attention away from the well-known borderlands of New Spain to the edges of the Spanish and Portuguese empires in South America. Jones concentrates on the missions that Franciscans of the Apostolic Institute established in the Peruvian Amazon and southern Chile between 1709 and 1824. Instead of offering an ethnohistorical study of mission Indians, he looks at the missionaries of Santa Rosa de Ocopa – who were primarily peninsular Spaniards – to illuminate the larger transatlantic context of the Bourbon Reforms. With one foot in the Peruvian jungle and the other alternating between the royal and viceregal courts of Madrid and Lima, Jones argues that processes of reform in the Spanish empire were “negotiated at all levels of society” (p. 5). In his assessment, changes in the Atlantic world influenced Ocopa missionaries, natives, Africans, and local officials as much as they “shaped the politics of the empire” (p. 191).

Jones divides his study into three major parts. The first (ch. 1) is an overview of the origins and early history of Ocopa missionaries in the Jauja, Tarma, and Huánuco frontiers. We learn that two important challenges led to the instability of their missions: (1) the fierce resistance of natives and (2) the unwillingness of viceregal authorities to administer the total sum of crown funding allotted to Ocopa. These difficulties, Jones argues, contributed to the outbreak of the Juan Santos Atahualpa rebellion (1742–1752), the major subject of the second part (chs. 2–3). Juan Santos, a mestizo, forged alliances with local caciques by calling for an end to slavery, *obrajes* (workhouses), and the *mita* (a corvée labor draft) in the new kingdom he was seeking to establish for himself and his followers. His rebel force, comprised of both natives and Africans, took over most of the Ocopa missions. Jones, however, suggests that the viceroy halted military efforts against the rebels because he saw the Franciscans as a threat to royal authority and as an obstacle to reform. In response, Ocopa missionaries lobbied the crown to force the viceroy to retake the lost missions, establish military forts, and deliver royal payments in full.

Ocopa lobbying, combined with the ascension of Charles III to the throne, led to a period of renewed expansion between 1761 and 1787, the focus of the third part (ch. 4). During this time, the largest influx of missionaries arrived to Ocopa, which was fueled by increased financial aid, new business ventures, and gains from the Jesuit expulsion. As the Franciscans increased their operations, however, Jones notes that they still had to deal with yet another uprising, the Manoa rebellion (1767), and the royal promotion of a “new method” of strengthening the frontier that emphasized commerce over evangelization. The final part (chs. 5–6) traces the decline of the Ocopa missions, especially the major shifts in missionary practice in the wake of the contentious guardian election of 1787. Jones explains that several Franciscans began to embrace the economic and political agenda of the Bourbon Reforms, engaging more increasingly in trade and the promotion of scientific exploration to protect Spanish territories from Portuguese encroachment. Their missionary labors came to end, however, with the outbreak of war in Spain and the struggle for independence. Simón Bolívar ordered their complete suppression in 1824.

An important feature of *In Service of Two Masters* is its transatlantic focus. Older mission histories and ethnohistorical studies tend to concentrate on missionary–native interactions within a local mission context. Jones complicates this picture by highlighting the ways in which Ocopa missionaries hiked into the jungle in search of natives, frequented the royal court in Madrid, and even chased down the king en route to the Escorial. He also looks at the Franciscans as political and economic actors within the empire. In his study, friars engage in commercial ventures in the salt mines of Cerro de la Sal, hold meetings with business and Indigenous leaders in their cells, encourage the study of cartography, and debate reform as it relates to their missionary strategies. While Jones rightly highlights the secular activities of missionaries, at times he overlooks some of their religious duties. After the first chapter of *In Service of Two Masters*, friars rarely study theology, pray, perform penance, read scripture and hagiography, recite mass, and engage in other priestly duties.

In Service of Two Masters is a well-researched study rooted in several archives on both sides of the Atlantic. Jones displays his findings in many helpful figures, both historical and contemporary maps of the Ocopa missions and Lima and charts documenting population trends, missionary origins, baptisms, and mission finances. *In Service of Two Masters* is suitable for seminars at both the undergraduate and graduate levels, with a helpful appendix of brief biographies covering the most important people mentioned in the study. Scholars researching both Catholic global missions and the Bourbon Reforms will be interested in this work.

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