

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
LATIN AMERICA

❖ VOLUME II ❖

From Colonies to Independent Nations
(1550s to 1820s)

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❧ *For Faith and Hunter* ❧

Encyclopedia of Latin America
Volume II: From Colonies to Independent Nations

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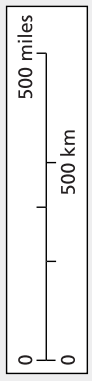
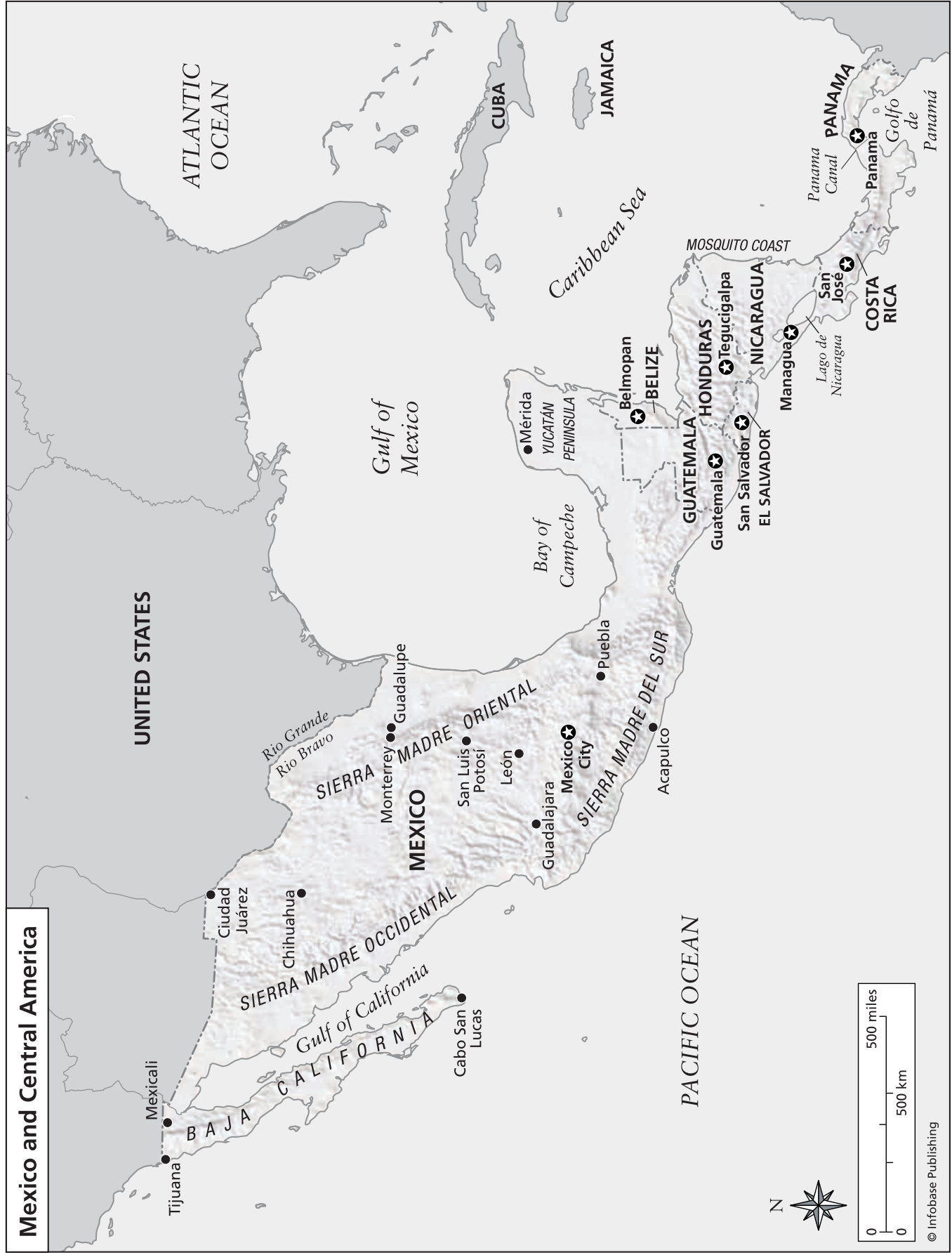
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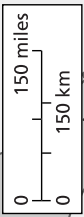
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Mexico and Central America



The Caribbean



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South America



❁ PREFACE TO THE SET ❁

How does one define Latin America? Geographically, Latin America stretches from the Rio Grande River on the U.S.-Mexican border and Cuba, bordering the Caribbean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, to Tierra del Fuego at the southern tip of South America. The area is two and one-half times the size of the United States. Brazil alone is slightly larger than the continental United States. Within this vast geographic region there is enormous human and physical variety.

In historical terms, Latin America includes those parts of the Americas that at one time were linked to the Spanish, Portuguese, and French Empires and whose people speak a Romance language (a language derived from Latin, such as Spanish, Portuguese, French, and the derivative Creole). When Napoleon III popularized the term *Latin America* in the 1860s, he implied a cultural relationship between France and those countries of the Western Hemisphere where these language traditions existed: Mexico, most of Central and South America, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Haiti, Martinique, Guadeloupe, and French Guiana. A literal interpretation of Napoleon III's definition would also include portions of the Southwest United States, Florida, and Louisiana; Quebec in Canada; and the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon off of Newfoundland's coast. English is the first language of most Caribbean islands, and Papiamentu, a form of Creole, is predominant in the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba. Amerindian dialects remain the primary languages in parts of Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia.

The mixture of languages illustrates the diversity of race and culture across Latin America. The Amerindians, or Native Americans, dominated the pre-Columbian time period. In the 21st century, their descendants are still prevalent in Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and the upper reaches of the Amazon River in the Andes Mountains. Latin America was colonized primarily by the Spanish and to a lesser degree by the Portuguese, first and foremost in Brazil. British, French, and Dutch interlopers followed, and in the 20th century,

the United States had a profound impact across the region. For economic reasons, slavery was practiced most notably in Brazil, along the Ecuadoran coast, and in the Caribbean Islands. Each of these ethnic groups—and the descendants of interracial relationships—produced its own culture with unique religious traditions, family life, dress styles, food, art, music, and architecture. With accelerated globalization throughout the 20th century, Western ideas and culture have had a significant impact upon Latin America.

Geography and climatic conditions also play a major role in the development of societies, their cultures, and economies. Latin America is no exception. For example, the Andes Mountains that traverse the west coast of South America served as the centerpiece of the Inca Empire in the pre-Columbian period, the source of gems and ores during the Spanish colonial period, and the ores and petroleum essential for modern-day industries. The Andes westward slopes and coastal plains provided agricultural products since the earliest of times. The rolling plains, or pampas, of north-central Argentina, southern Brazil, and Uruguay coupled with a Mediterranean-type climate turned those areas into highly productive cattle and grain centers. In contrast, the Amazon rain forest in Brazil, while still home to undiscovered Native American groups, offered little economic advantage until the 20th century, when the logging industry and land clearing for agricultural expansion cut deep into the rain forest's expanse. The tropical climate of the Caribbean and the coastal areas of Central America offered fertile ground for sugar, tobacco, and tropical fruits.

People, geography, language and culture, and economic pursuits transformed Latin America into one of the world's most diverse regions. Yet, the 41 countries and foreign dependencies that make up Latin America share four distinguishable historical time periods: the pre-Columbian period, followed by nearly three centuries of colonial rule; the struggle for national identity during the 19th century; and the quest for modernity since 1900.

The *Encyclopedia of Latin America* takes a chronological approach to the examination of the Latin American experience. Divided into four volumes, each devoted to one of the four time periods that define Latin American history, this unique reference work contrasts sharply with traditional encyclopedias. It provides students and general readers the opportunity to examine the complexity and vastness of the region's development and culture within a given time period and to compare the time periods.

Volume I, *Amerindians through Foreign Colonization*, focuses on the pre-Columbian period from the earliest Native American societies through the arrival of the Spanish conquistadores. Scholars continue to debate the number of Native Americans, or "Indians" as Christopher Columbus labeled them, who resided in the Americas when Columbus first reached the region in 1492. Estimates range from a low of 10 million to a high of slightly more than 100 million. While most scholars agree that the earliest waves of migrants came to the Americas across the Bering Straits land bridge as early as 40,000 years ago, there is continued debate over both the dates of settlement and descent of the earliest settlers. More recent scholarship in Chile and Brazil place the earliest New World migrants to 33,000 B.C.E. and suggest them to be of South Asian and Pacific Islander—rather than Eurasian—descent.

By the time of the European arrival on Latin America's mainland in the early 1500s, three highly organized Native American societies existed: Aztec, Maya, and Inca. Mexico's central valley was home to the rigidly stratified Aztec society, which by the time of the conquest reached southward and eastward to the Caribbean coast. The Aztecs had earned a reputation for their military prowess, for the brutal exploitation of the peoples brought into the empire, and for ceremonial city building, evidenced by its capital, Tenochtitlán, the site of contemporary Mexico City. From Peru's Cuzco Valley, the Inca Empire in South America stretched 3,000 miles (4,287 km) through the Andes mountain chain and inland to the east from Ecuador, in the north, to Chile, in the south. Through a tightly controlled bureaucracy, the Incas exercised control of the conquered communities. The Maya civilization began approximately in 1000 B.C.E. and, through a system of independent city-states, extended from Mexico's Yucatán Peninsula through Guatemala. For reasons not yet fully understood, Classic Maya civilization began its political collapse around 900 C.E., but Mayan society and culture remained intact. Aside from the three major groups, many other Native American societies existed throughout Latin America, such as the Arawaks and Tainos in the Caribbean and the Mapuche and the Guaraní in Argentina, Paraguay, and Chile.

Marked differences separated groups within the larger society and each group from the other. For example, even today, the Mexican government reports nearly 200 different linguistic groups; Guatemala, 26 different Mayan dialects; and an estimated 10 million Native Americans speak some form of the Quechua language in the high

Andes along South America's Pacific coast. Elaborate ceremonies that included human sacrifice characterized the Aztec, Inca, and Maya religions. Agriculture was the primary economic pursuit of all Native American groups, while hunting and fishing were pursued by some groups. Textiles and metalwork usually contained designs peculiar to each indigenous group.

Volume II, *From Colonies to Independent Nations*, focuses on the Spanish colonial period, from the early 16th century through the early 19th century. At the beginning of this time period, the Spanish explored the South and North American continents, laying out an empire in the name of the king and queen of Spain and the Roman Catholic Church. Despite the vastness of the empire, which stretched from Tierra del Fuego at the southern tip of South America to the far reaches of the northwest Pacific Coast, eastward to the Mississippi River and into the Floridas, the Spanish attention focused on the areas of modern-day Mexico and Peru. Both were home to significant Native American societies and rich in mineral wealth, particularly gold and silver. The colonies existed for the benefit of Spain, and the application of mercantilist economic policies led to the exploitation of natural resources, regulation of manufacturing and agriculture, and control of international trade, all of which contributed to a pattern of large land holdings and abuse of labor. In effect, the system drained the colonies of its specie and other wealth and negated economic development and the emergence of a significant entrepreneurial class in the colonies. The Spanish imposed their political and cultural systems on the colonies, including the Native Americans. A highly centralized governmental structure provided little opportunity for political participation by the Spanish colonial residents, except in matters at the local level. The colonial laws and rules were made in Spain and enforced in the New World by officials appointed by the Crown. During the colonial period, the Catholic Church became an entity unto itself. It administered education, hospitals, social services, and its own court system. It tithed its followers and charged fees for religious services. Because the church was exempt from taxes to the Spanish Crown, it emerged as a colonial banker and a benefactor of the Spanish colonial system. The church, therefore, was not anxious to see the system change.

In theory, the Brazilian colonial experience paralleled the Spanish model, but in application, the Brazilian model was much different. The states established on Brazil's Atlantic coast were administered like personal fiefdoms by the king of Portugal's appointed authorities. Because the colony lacked natural resources for mass exploitation and a Native American population to convert to Catholicism, Portugal gave little attention to its New World colony.

Latecomers to the New World, the British, French, and Dutch colonization schemes were confined to the Caribbean region. As with the Spanish and Portuguese,

each island fell victim to the political system of the mother country. Over time, the local governments of the British became more representative of the resident population. The economic focus on sugar production caused the importation of slave labor from Africa.

New World discontent in the mid-17th century led to reforms in the Spanish colonial system, but it took European events in the early 19th century to bring about Latin America's independence by 1826. Only Cuba and Puerto Rico remained under Spanish rule, and the British, French, and Dutch maintained control over their Caribbean island positions. Brazil received its independence on September 7, 1822, but continued to be governed by a member of the royal Portuguese family until November 15, 1889.

The legacies of colonial rule became evident immediately following independence. The establishment of governmental institutions and the place of each nation in the growing global economy that characterized 19th-century Latin America are the subject of volume III, *The Search for National Identity*. In addressing these issues, political and religious leaders, intellectuals, and foreigners who came to Latin America were confronted by the legacies of Spanish colonial rule.

The New World's Spanish descendants, the creoles, replaced the Spanish peninsulars at the apex of the rigid social structure and sought to keep political power confined to themselves. Only conflicting ideologies separated the elite. One group, the Conservatives, remained tied to the Spanish tradition of a highly centralized government, a privileged Catholic Church, and a hesitancy to reach out to the world. In contrast, the Liberals argued in favor of a greater decentralization of political power, the curtailment of church privileges, and greater participation in world affairs, particularly trade. Liberals and Conservatives, however, did not want to share political power or wealth with the laboring classes, made up of mestizos, Native Americans, or blacks. The dispute over the authority of central governments played out in different ways. In Argentina and Chile, for example, Conservatives Juan Manuel de Rosas and Diego Portales produced constitutions entrenching the Spanish traditions. In Central America, it signified the disintegration of the United Provinces by 1839 and the establishment of Conservative-led governments. The contestants for Mexican political power took to the battlefield, and the struggle produced 41 presidents from 1822 through 1848.

The Latin American world began to change in the 1860s with the emergence of Liberal leaders. It increasingly contributed raw materials to industrialized Europe. The heads of state welcomed foreign investment for the harvesting and processing of primary products and for constructing the supportive infrastructure. And, while the Liberals struck against church privileges, as in Chile during the 1880s, they still retained political power and continued to discriminate against the working classes.

Brazil and the colonized Caribbean Islands fell within the same purview as Spanish America. Although Brazil peacefully achieved independence in 1822, it continued its monarchical form of government until 1889. During that same time period, Brazil participated in the world economy through the exportation of sugar, followed by rubber and coffee. Meanwhile, the Caribbean Islands from Cuba southward to Trinidad and Tobago continued to be administered as part of European colonial empires. Administrators from Spain, Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands arrived to govern the island and to oversee the exportation of primary products, usually sugar, tobacco, and tropical fruits.

Latin America's participation in the global economy accelerated in the 20th century, but the new era also brought new players in the region's economic and political arena—the United States and Latin America's lower socioeconomic groups. These concepts form the basis for the entries in volume IV, *The Age of Globalization*.

The U.S. entry into Latin American affairs was prompted by the Cuban struggle for independence from 1895 to 1898 and the U.S. determination to construct a trans-isthmian canal. The U.S. three-month participation in the Cuban-Spanish War in 1898 and its role in securing Panama's independence in 1903 also confirmed long-standing assumptions regarding the backwardness of Latin American societies, owing to the legacies of the Spanish colonial system. More obvious was the need to secure the Panama Canal from foreign interlopers. U.S. policymakers combined the two issues—political and financial irresponsibility and canal security—to justify U.S. intervention throughout the circum-Caribbean region well into the 1920s. U.S. private investment followed the government's interventions and together led to the charge of “Yankee imperialism.”

The entrance or attempted entrance into the national political arena by the middle and lower socioeconomic groups remained an internal affair until after World War II, when they were considered to be part of an international communist movement and again brought the United States into Latin America's internal affairs. Argentina and Chile provide early 20th-century examples of the middle sector entering the political arena while the governments continued to suppress labor. The results of the Mexican Revolution (1911–17) provided the first example of a Latin American social revolution addressing the needs of the lower socioeconomic class at the expense of the elite. In the 1920s and 1930s, small Communist or communist-like political parties or groups emerged in several countries, including Costa Rica, Chile, Brazil, and Peru. While of concern at the time, the presence of communism took on greater importance with the emergence of the cold war in 1945, when the “generation of rising expectations” fused with the Communists in their call for a complete overhaul of the socioeconomic and political structures rooted in Spanish colonialism. In the ambience of the cold war, however, the 1954 presidential

election of Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala, Fidel Castro's actions in Cuba in 1959 and 1960, the 1963–65 political crisis in the Dominican Republic, the administration of Chilean president Salvador Allende from 1970 to 1973, and the Central American wars during the 1980s were intertwined into the greater context: struggles of freedom against international communism based in Moscow. To "save" these countries from communism, the United States intervened but in so doing restored and propped the old order. The struggle against communism also resulted in a generation of military governments across South America.

Beginning in the 1980s, democratic governments replaced military regimes across Latin America, and each

of the countries experienced the growth of new political parties, mostly left of center. The new democratic governments also accepted and implemented the neoliberal, or free-market, economic model in vogue at the time. By the mid-1990s, many of the free-market reforms were in place, and Latin America's macroeconomic picture had vastly improved. Still, the promised benefits failed to reach the working classes: Half of all Latin Americans remained poverty stricken. In response to their personal crisis, beginning in 1998 with the election of Hugo Chávez as president of Venezuela, the Latin American people started placing so-called leftists in their presidential palaces. Latin America may be at the precipice of another change.

❖ HOW TO USE THIS ENCYCLOPEDIA ❖

The *Encyclopedia of Latin America* explores broad historical developments within the context of four time periods that together make up the complete Latin American historical experience. For example, the student or general reader can learn about a given country, when it was a “location” during the pre-Columbian period (volume I), a part of the Spanish colonial empire (volume II), a new nation struggling for its identity (volume III), or in its search for modernity (volume IV). The same can be done with political ideas and practices, economic pursuits, intellectual ideas, and culture patterns, to mention just a few of the themes that are explored across the four volumes. To locate topics in each of the four volumes, the reader should utilize the list of entries in the front matter of each volume. Words set in SMALL CAPITAL LETTERS in the body of a text indicate that an entry on this topic can be found in the same volume. At the conclusion of each entry are cross-references to related entries in other volumes in the set. For further help with locating information, the reader should turn to the comprehensive set index that appears at the end of volume IV.

Within each volume, the entries focus on the time period at hand. Each volume begins with an introduction providing a historical overview of the time period, followed by a chronology. A glossary of terms can be found in the back matter of the book. Each entry is followed by a list of the most salient works on the subject, providing the reader the opportunity to further examine the subject. The suggested readings at the end of each entry are augmented by the select bibliography appended to each volume, which offers a listing of the most important works for the time period. The further readings for each entry and selected readings for the volume together form a comprehensive list of Latin America’s most important historical literature.

Each volume also includes a collection of documents and excerpts to illustrate the major themes of the time period under consideration. Offering eyewitness accounts of significant historical events and personages, they perhaps will encourage the user to further explore historical documentation.

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—Mark A. Burkholder

❖ INTRODUCTION ❖ TO THIS VOLUME

Between the 1550s and the 1820s, the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the Americas evolved from a small number of European municipalities into independent countries. Profound transformations in the size and composition of the population during these centuries affected society, land ownership, economic production, and trade. The introduction of European plants and animals permanently altered landscapes and diets. Long-standing loyalty to an Iberian monarch ultimately gave way to a stronger desire for home rule on the part of many American-born Spaniards and Portuguese.

By the end of the 1550s, Iberians had imposed their institutions on even the richest and most sophisticated indigenous civilizations of the Americas. With a few notable exceptions such as Caracas, São Paulo, and Buenos Aires, by the 1550s they had already founded the major cities present in 1825. Aside from the Tribunal of the Inquisition in Spanish America, the Catholic Church and nearly all institutions used to administer the colonies were in place. The Crowns of Spain and Portugal had established the principle of trade monopolies with profits going to their benefit. Immigrants from Iberia continued to arrive in the Americas, and the importation of African slaves was under way. By 1560, Iberians had identified bullion and sugar as the most valuable colonial exports. The former, in particular, aroused the cupidity of the French, English, and Dutch and expanded European rivalries to include the New World.

By 1560, Spain had the institutional bases for colonial rule in place in Mexico City and Lima, both viceregal capitals. High courts (*audiencias*) and advisory councils were present in these capitals as well as several lesser regional capitals, including Guatemala City and Guadalajara. Treasury offices marked locales that promised significant revenue. Municipal councils were present in Spanish towns wherever located.

Demographic disaster for the indigenous populations accompanied European conquest, settlement, and

rule. The overall decline of the Native American population was approximately 90 percent, with highland areas suffering less than coastal lowlands. The timing of the low points varied, occurring in the 1620s in New Spain and a century later in Peru. While some Amerindian populations subsequently increased, none returned to precontact size.

While indigenous populations plummeted and then slowly increased in some cases, non-native populations expanded almost continuously. Immigration from Iberia occurred throughout the colonial era, but the New World descendants of Iberians (*creoles* and *brasileiros*) soon outnumbered and eventually dwarfed the immigrants (*peninsulars*). The arrival of African slaves added a third distinct group to the colonial mix, particularly in Brazil, where blacks soon outnumbered the white and indigenous populations.

Consensual or forced unions among indigenous peoples, whites, and blacks produced usually illegitimate offspring in sufficient numbers that contemporary legislation classified them according to the type of racial mixture. *Mestizos*, *mulatos*, and *zambos* were the original combinations, but subsequent mixing resulted in others; broader terms such as *castas* and *pardos* for people of mixed race included these as well. Population estimates for the early 19th century reveal the consequences of nearly 300 years of racial mixing. In Spanish America, Native Americans, the most numerous group, numbered about 5.7 million; *castas* totaled about 4 million; whites were some 2.4 million; and blacks were about 500,000. In contrast, in Brazil, which had a total population of just over 2 million, black and mulatto slaves were most numerous; whites numbered about the same as free blacks and mulattoes; and Amerindians made up only about 5.7 percent of the population.

Colonial society was hierarchical. In Spanish America, whites placed themselves at the apex; next came *castas*, who were ordered largely on perceived degree

of whiteness; the indigenous were followed by African slaves at the base. Native Americans living in villages had their own hierarchy and did not consider themselves part of the Spanish-defined *sistema de castas*.

The papal donation giving the Spanish Crown title to the Indies required converting native peoples to Christianity. By the 1550s, all the major religious orders except for the Jesuits were present in New Spain, Central America (Kingdom of Guatemala), and Peru. The Jesuits arrived in Brazil starting in 1550 and subsequently reached the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru. The diocesan clergy was also present in both the Spanish colonies and Brazil, and a number of bishoprics had been erected. While the Spanish Crown wanted to shift established indigenous parishes, or *doctrinas*, from the control of the orders to the diocesan clergy by the late 16th century, it required another effort, begun in 1749, to effect the transition.

The number of clerics available to convert the indigenous population was small. Consequently, the clergy supported an initiative to combine small native villages into new, larger villages as a way to effect conversion more efficiently. Royal officials appreciated this consolidation, or *congregación*, in New Spain as a means to improved labor allocation and tribute collection. Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in Peru (1569–81) forced the relocation of well over 1 million Native Americans into new villages called *reducciones*. Jesuits in Brazil consolidated indigenous peoples into new villages termed *aldeias*. Clerics on the frontiers similarly brought Amerindians together in missions, the most famous of which were the Jesuit missions in Paraguay.

The Spaniards recognized native possession of land, provided the Indians were using it, but considered lands that were simply held by preconquest states and communities to be available for reassignment. Additionally, and especially after dramatic population decline, the consolidation of indigenous villages opened up lands in the native peoples' former locations for grants to Spaniards. While the growth in Spanish and *casta* land ownership and development of large estates, or haciendas, were important characteristics of the colonial era, indigenous peoples still held significant amounts of communal land at the time of independence in the early 1800s. Sugar planters and ranchers in Brazil also amassed substantial estates, or *fazendas*.

The introduction of European plants and animals altered the use of land, changed diets, and created new demands for labor. Spaniards considered wheat, wine, and olive oil essential for civilized life. They planted wheat wherever they settled, and the combination of climate and topography made it possible. Although Spain tried to prevent wine from being produced in New Spain, settlers and clerics grew grapes and made wine in the coastal valleys of Peru, central Chile, and other South American locations. Olives transplanted to Peru flourished, and producers supplied Lima and other coastal markets. The

indigenous remained wedded to maize, beans, and, in the Peruvian Andes, potatoes. Cassava (manioc) in Brazil persisted as the major source of flour used in bread for native, slave, and free black and mulatto consumers. Sugar had already emerged as an important export for Brazil by 1560 and dominated the economies of Pernambuco and Bahia at the end of the 16th century.

By the 1550s, cattle, sheep, goats, and chickens were enriching native diets and providing Spaniards with more meat than their contemporaries ate in Spain. Cattle were important both for beef and as a principal source of leather and tallow. Furthermore, New Spain and, in the last decades of the empire, Buenos Aires and Montevideo also exported hides to Spain. Similarly, hides were important in the Caribbean, where ranchers in Cuba and Hispaniola traded them illegally with English and other foreign merchants. Colonists valued sheep for both wool and mutton. The former enabled the emergence of cloth factories, or *obrajes*, in New Spain, the Kingdom of Quito, and Peru. The rapid increase in the number of sheep, in particular, caused serious ecological damage in some locations.

Horses, donkeys, and mules transformed transportation in New Spain as they replaced human carriers. Although llamas remained an important means of transportation in Peru and Charcas (Bolivia), mule trains transported mercury, wine, and a wide variety of imports to the great silver mining center at Potosí and carried tons of the precious metal back to the coast. Mule trains also transported bullion across the Isthmus of Panama to Nombre de Dios and, from 1597, Portobelo, where merchants held great trading fairs from the 1560s into the 18th century. Such fairs occurred regularly into the 1620s. Subsequently, they were less frequent until their demise as register ships replaced the fleet system for South America in 1740.

Aside from the Atlantic fleet system designed to transport bullion safely from the colonies to Spain and to deliver European goods for colonial consumers, regular trade between Acapulco and Manila began in the 1560s. Commerce between Acapulco and Lima's port of Callao quickly followed. By the 1590s, the annual galleon or galleons were carrying more silver to Manila than was flowing to Spain. The Crown and the wholesale merchants in Seville found this intolerable; successive monarchs imposed a growing number of restrictions until 1631, when Philip IV banned all trade between New Spain and Peru. Not until the 1770s did the Crown finally again allow limited trade between the colonies.

In the 1550s, Spaniards in the New World still depended heavily on imports from Spain that included textiles, wine, hardware, paper, glass, iron, and a variety of other merchandise. The immigration of artisans and subsequent training of indigenous and black artisans reduced the need to import many products; textiles remained the most important goods sent to the colonies from both Spain and East Asia via Manila. By the 1620s, the colo-

nies' growing self-sufficiency was apparent; contraband trade, which expanded rapidly from that date, further reduced the colonies' economic dependence on Spain.

Foreigners tried to breach Spain's monopoly in the New World trade from the time of John Hawkins in the 1560s and Francis Drake's exploits in the 1570s and 1580s. Conditions had changed by the 1650s. By that time Dutch, French, and English colonies in the Caribbean served as bases for both attacks on coastal settlements and contraband trade. After Henry Morgan's famed devastation of Portobelo and the city of Panama in the late 1660s and early 1670s, respectively, English authorities slowly shifted from allowing buccaneers' raids to encouraging contraband trade, using Jamaica as a warehouse for merchandise, including slaves.

Bullion was smugglers' preferred item of trade. While silver from Potosí made the Viceroyalty of Peru the most important source of registered American silver for roughly a century, in the 1670s, registered production from the Viceroyalty of New Spain surpassed it, establishing a lead that would continue for the remainder of the colonial era. During the half-century between 1660 and 1710, when overall registered bullion production was less in every decade than from 1590 to 1599, some evidence indicates that the amount of bullion reaching Europe from Spanish America had never been higher. If true, these numbers suggest an enormous contraband trade that included unregistered bullion sent on the fleets. They also suggest that the colonies needed Spain far less than Spain needed the colonies.

In Brazil, gold discovered in the 1690s in Minas Gerais fueled unprecedented exports into the 1750s. The discovery of diamonds in the 1720s complemented the gold boom. Between gold and diamonds, Portugal reaped a stunning bonanza in the first half of the 18th century.

In contrast, Spain in the late 17th and early 18th centuries was sufficiently penurious that in late 1687, the Crown initiated the systematic sale of appointments to positions on the colonial *audiencias*, a practice that would continue until 1750. Coupled with the sale of appointments to provincial officials (*corregidores* and *alcaldes mayores*) from 1678 and the sale of appointments to treasury officials, at least in Lima, from 1633, the Crown yielded considerable power to prominent colonial families that understood the benefits of having representation in important administrative institutions. The sales resulted in an unprecedented number of creoles holding *audiencia* and treasury appointments. In 1750, creoles held a majority of *audiencia* positions in the Americas. Royal authority had never sunk lower. Conversely, formal American participation in royal administration had never been greater.

By the mid-18th century, the Spanish Crown had created a third viceroyalty for New Granada. It also had authorized trading companies with monopoly privileges in legal trade between Cuba and Spain and Venezuela and Spain. The latter, created in 1728, had prompted a

rebellion in Venezuela in 1749. After suppressing it, the Crown imposed measures that anticipated the reforms Charles III ordered elsewhere during his reign. The termination of the sale of appointments and a reduction in the number of creoles named to the *audiencias* presaged a broader effort to renew royal authority. The long-desired secularization of parishes held by regular clergy similarly indicated a reassertion of regal power. Rising registered bullion production also signaled the availability of new resources to the Crown.

The British seizure of Havana in 1762 shocked the Spanish government into a flurry of actions designed to strengthen colonial defenses, improve tax collection, increase revenue, and tighten administration. The Crown sent regular army units from Spain to the colonies and reformed the colonial militias. Tax income increased, in part because of the introduction of tobacco monopolies but also because the Crown expanded a policy begun earlier in the century of replacing tax farmers with government officials to collect taxes. In addition, the phased introduction of *comercio libre*, or "free trade," within the empire between 1765 and 1789 resulted in a significant expansion of legal and, thus, taxed trade. While bullion remained the most important single export, colonies dependent on agricultural and animal products for exportation (including indigo in Guatemala, cacao in Venezuela and the Kingdom of Quito, tobacco and increasingly sugar from Cuba, and hides from the Río de la Plata) became more important contributors to the imperial economy.

Spain's almost continuous involvement in European wars starting in 1793 resulted in both insurmountable fiscal problems and an inability to maintain *comercio libre*. Neutral trade for the colonies initially authorized in 1797 proved impossible to reverse. Economic independence anticipated political autonomy.

The French invasion of Portugal in 1807 led to the Portuguese royal family and 10,000 officials, families, and others sailing under British escort to Rio de Janeiro, where they arrived in 1808. In Spain, the spring of 1808 brought the fall of royal favorite Manuel Godoy, the abdication of Charles IV, and the ascension of Ferdinand VII. With French troops in Madrid, Ferdinand and his father abdicated to Napoleon in Bayonne; their abdications provoked a constitutional crisis that affected both Spain and its American colonies.

Spaniards' immediate response was to create juntas claiming to exercise sovereignty during Ferdinand's absence. Thus began governments of resistance against French rule. In several colonies between 1808 and 1810, creoles seeking greater political autonomy likewise established juntas to rule until Ferdinand returned to the throne. By the time combined English and Spanish forces drove the French out of Spain and Ferdinand returned in 1814, the Cortes of Cádiz had promulgated the Constitution of 1812, a document that reneged on earlier

promises of equality for the colonies, and autonomists in several colonies had declared independence.

Ferdinand immediately nullified all actions taken by the governments of resistance and, insofar as possible, restored institutions to their 1808 status. He responded to the colonies with military force rather than attempting reconciliation. This approach drove more members of the creole elites to support independence or, at least, to stand aside while those who wanted independence pursued it. The Riego Revolt not far from Cádiz restored constitutional government in 1820 and ensured that Spain would send no further reinforcements to the rebellious colonies. Armies under José de San Martín, Simón Bolívar, and Antonio José de Sucre conquered those areas in South America still under royalist control. In New Spain, a brilliant compromise embodied in the Plan of

Iguala brought independence in 1821 without any major battles.

Independence in Brazil grew out of the Portuguese monarch agreeing to return to Lisbon but leaving behind crown prince Pedro. When also ordered to return to Portugal, Pedro accepted the arguments of Brazilian autonomists, declared an independent empire of Brazil, and became Emperor Pedro I.

By the mid-1820s, Brazil and the former Spanish colonies on the American mainlands were independent. Brazil emerged with a political stability based on monarchy that the former Spanish colonies could only envy. Economic trauma dominated much of Spanish America; loans secured from British investors were quickly in default. While the euphoria of independence originally prompted great optimism, the reality was sobering.

❖ TIME LINE ❖

(1550s TO 1820s)

1550s

- Introduction of amalgamation process in New Spain
- Indigenous labor drafts initiated in New Spain

1556

- Abdication of Charles I of Spain

1556–98

- Reign of Philip II of Spain

1557–78

- Reign of Sebastião I of Portugal

1559

- Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis
- Sale of offices begins in Spanish Empire.
- Audiencia of Charcas established

1560

- Philip II marries Elizabeth of Valois, his third wife.

1561

- Madrid becomes the capital of Spain.

1562

- John Hawkins's first voyage to Caribbean islands

1563

- Discovery of mercury at Huancavelica in Peru
- Audiencia of Quito created

1564

- Miguel López de Legazpi expedition reaches Philippines.
- French attempt to establish a colony in Florida.

1564–66

- Definitive organization of fleet system between Spain and Americas

1565

- St. Augustine, Florida, founded by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés

1566

- First trading occurs between New Spain and Philippines.

1567

- Caracas, Venezuela, founded

1568

- John Hawkins's fleet largely destroyed at San Juan de Ulúa
- Bernal Díaz del Castillo completes *True History of the Conquest of New Spain* (published in 1632).

1569

- Jesuits arrive in Peru.

1569–81

- Viceroy Francisco de Toledo holds office in Peru.

1570

- Tribunal of Inquisition established in Lima

1571

- Tribunal of Inquisition established in Mexico City

1572

- Jesuits arrive in New Spain.
- Execution of Inca Túpac Amaru in Cuzco
- Francis Drake seizes treasure at Nombre de Dios, Panama.

1572–75

- Viceroy Francisco de Toledo establishes *mita* for mines at Potosí, in Charcas.

1574

- Ordenanza del Patronazgo seeks to subordinate religious orders to the bishops and viceroys and to replace regular clergy with secular clergy in rural areas.
- Introduction of *alcabala* in Viceroyalty of New Spain

1576–79

- Devastating epidemic in New Spain with high indigenous mortality

1578–80

- Cardinal Henry rules Portugal.

1580

- Permanent foundation of Buenos Aires
- Philip II annexes Portugal and its colonies; becomes Philip I of Portugal.

1583

- First founding of Audiencia of Manila

1585–86

- Francis Drake destroys Santo Domingo and Cartagena.

1588

- English defeat the Spanish Armada.

1592

- Foundation of the General Indian Court in New Spain
- Highest registered silver yield at Potosí (7.1 million ounces)

1596

- Spanish Crown's third bankruptcy

1597

- Acapulco-Manila trade exceeds official transatlantic trade.
- Portobelo established to replace Nombre de Dios as terminus for galleons

1598–1621

- Reign of Philip III of Spain (Philip II of Portugal)

1604

- Treaty of London ends 20 years of war between Spain and England.

1605

- Tribunal of Accounts established in Lima, Mexico City, and Bogotá

1606

- Salable offices in Spanish America granted in perpetuity
- Definitive establishment of Audiencia of Chile
- First Jesuits reach Paraguay.

1607

- English found Jamestown.

1608

- French found Quebec.

1609

- Santa Fe, New Mexico, established
- Twelve Years' Truce between Spain and the United Provinces
- Expulsion of Moriscos from Spain
- *Relação* established in Bahia

1610

- Tribunal of Inquisition established in Cartagena de Indias
- First Jesuit mission established among Guaraní

1612

- English colonize Bermuda.

1613

- Dutch establish a post on Manhattan island.

1618

- Fall of royal favorite (*válido*) duke of Lerma in Spain

1618–48

- Thirty Years' War in Europe

1620

- Pilgrims arrive at Cape Cod.

1621

- End of Twelve Years' Truce in Netherlands
- Dutch charter the West India Company.

1621–65

- Reign of Philip IV of Spain (Philip III of Portugal)

1622

- Count (later count-duke) of Olivares becomes *válido* of Philip IV in Spain.

1624

- Dutch capture Bahia and hold it until 1625.

1628

- Piet Heyn and Dutch West India Company fleet seize Spanish silver fleet off Cuba.

1630–54

- Dutch occupy Pernambuco, Brazil.

1631

- *Media anata* introduced as a new tax in Spain and its colonies
- Legal trade between New Spain and Peru ended

1632

- French settle Antigua and Monserrat in Caribbean.
- *Repartimiento* officially ends in New Spain, with a few exceptions.

1633

- Spain begins sale of appointments to treasury positions.

1634

- Dutch seize Curaçao.

1635–59

- France and Spain at war

1638

- Stamped paper required in Spain and the Indies for official business

1640

- Revolts of Catalonia and Portugal
- Combined Spanish and Portuguese fleet defeated by Dutch at Itamaracá off Pernambuco

1640–56

- Rule of John IV, first Braganza monarch of Portugal

1643

- Fall of count-duke of Olivares
- Spanish defeated by French at Rocroi

1648

- Spain recognizes independence of United Provinces in Treaty of Münster.

1652–54

- First Anglo-Dutch War

1654

- Dutch driven out of Recife, Pernambuco, Brazil

1655

- English take Jamaica as token result of Oliver Cromwell's "Western Design."
- Spain and England go to war.

- Robert Blake seizes part of Tierra Firme silver fleet near Cádiz, taking booty of some 2 million pesos.

1656

- Robert Blake seizes most of New Spain silver fleet at Santa Cruz de Tenerife.

1659

- Peace of the Pyrenees ends war between Spain and France.

1660

- End of ad valorem levies on trade; lump sum system introduced

1665–67

- Second Anglo-Dutch War between England and Holland with France entering in 1666

1665–1700

- Reign of Charles II, last Habsburg monarch in Spain

1667

- England receives Antigua, Monserrat, and St. Kitts from France and New Amsterdam from Holland, which gets return of Suriname by Treaties of Breda.

1668

- Spain recognizes Portugal's independence.
- Henry Morgan's buccaneers take Portobelo.

1668–1706

- Peter II serves first as regent of Portugal (1668–83), then as king until 1706.

1670s

- Registered Mexican silver production exceeds that of Peru and continues to do so for remainder of colonial era.

1670

- Treaty of Madrid, in which Spain recognizes effective English settlement in Americas

1671

- Henry Morgan's buccaneers attack Portobelo and capture Panama.

1672–78

- Third Anglo-Dutch War with England and France

1678

- Spanish Crown begins sale of appointments to provincial administrative posts.

1680

- Major monetary devaluation in Spain paves way for monetary stability.
- Portuguese establish Colônia do Sacramento.
- Pueblo revolt in New Mexico

1683

- Buccaneers successfully raid Veracruz.

1686

- Devaluation completed in Spain

1687

- Systematic sale of *audiencia* appointments begins.

1690s–1750s

- Gold boom in Minas Gerais

1700–46

- Reign of Philip V, first Bourbon monarch in Spain

1701–24

- In South America, 150 French ships trade on Pacific coast.

1702–13

- War of the Spanish Succession

1703

- Methuen Treaty between Portugal and England

1704

- English seize Gibraltar.

1706–50

- John V, king of Portugal

1713

- Treaty at Utrecht confirms Philip V on Spanish throne.
- British gain *asiento* and annual ship for American trade.

1714

- Creation of Ministers of the Indies, War, Navy, Grace and Justice, Finance, and State
- Philip V marries Elizabeth Farnese.

1716

- *Nueva planta* ends *fueros* in Crown of Aragon.

1717

- Council of the Indies reduced in size to match reduced responsibilities
- Casa de Contratación (Board of Trade) moved from Seville to Cádiz

1720s

- Diamonds discovered in Brazil

1721–35

- Comunero Revolt in Paraguay

1724

- Abdication of Philip V to Louis I; Philip returns to throne after Louis's death.
- Spanish Crown assumes direct collection of *alcabala* and commercial taxes in Lima.

1728

- Creation of Real Compañía Guipúzcoana de Caracas

1739

- English admiral Vernon takes Portobelo; no further trading fairs
- Definitive creation of Viceroyalty of New Granada

1739–48

- War of Jenkins' Ear

1740

- Creation of Havana Company
- Use of register ships for Spanish South America begins.

1746–59

- Reign of Ferdinand VI in Spain

1749

- Intendant system established throughout Spain

1750

- Treaty of Madrid between Spain and Portugal on boundary of Río de la Plata
- End of systematic sale of *audiencia* and other royal appointments

1750–77

- Joseph I reigns in Portugal.
- Marquês de Pombal is secretary of state to Portugal's Joseph I.

1751

- Abolition of Audiencia of Panama
- Creation of *Relação* of Rio de Janeiro

1754–56

- Guaraní war in Paraguay

1755

- Lisbon earthquake

1755–77

- Companhia Geral do Comércio do Grão-Pará e Maranhão (General Commercial Company of Grão-Pará and Maranhão)

1756–63

- Seven Years' War

1759

- Portugal expels Jesuits from kingdom and colonies.

1759–88

- Reign of Charles III of Spain

1761

- Third Family Compact between Spain and France

1762

- Spain enters Seven Years' War as ally of France against Britain.
- British capture Havana.

1763

- Peace of Paris restores Havana to Spanish, but British get Florida; Colônia do Sacramento is returned to Portugal.
- Spain receives Louisiana from France.
- Rio de Janeiro becomes viceregal capital of Brazil.

1764

- First intendant for Cuba is named.

1765

- Initiation of *comercio libre*

1765–71

- José de Gálvez's *visita* to New Spain

1766

- Motín de Esquilache in Madrid forces Charles III to leave city.

1767

- Spain expels Jesuits from motherland and New World.

1773

- Council of the Indies declared equal in rank to Council of Castile

1776

- Creation of Interior Provinces in New Spain

1776–87

- José de Gálvez is minister of the Indies.

1777–99

- Maria I reigns in Portugal.

1777

- Pedro de Cevallos captures Colônia do Sacramento.
- Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata established, with capital in Buenos Aires

1778

- Expansion of *comercio libre*

1779

- Spain joins France in war against Britain.

1780–81

- Comunero Rebellion in New Granada

1780–83

- Túpac Amaru revolt in Peru

1783

- Treaty of Paris recognizes independence of United States of America; Spain regains Florida and Minorca.
- Creation of Audiencia of Buenos Aires and intendencies in Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata

1784

- Intendant system introduced in Peru

1786

- Intendant system introduced in New Spain and Central America
- Creation of Audiencia of Caracas

1787

- Creation of Audiencia of Cuzco and intendant system in Chile

1788–1808

- Reign of Charles IV of Spain

1789

- French Revolution begins.
- New Spain and Venezuela included in *comercio libre*

1791–1804

- Slave revolt in Saint Domingue leads to independent Haiti.

1792

- Royal favorite Manuel Godoy becomes secretary of state in Spain.

1793

- Execution of Louis XVI

1793–95

- Spain and revolutionary France at war

1795

- Peace of Basel ends war; France receives Santo Domingo.

1796

- Treaty of San Ildefonso between Spain and France provokes war with Britain.

1797

- British seize Trinidad.
- Spain initiates neutral trade.

1797–1800

- British blockade Cádiz.

1798

- *Consolidación de vales reales* begins in Spain.

1799

- Spain ends neutral trade.

1799–1804

- Napoleon is first consul in France.

1799–1826

- John VI serves first as regent of Portugal (1799–1816), then as king until 1826.

1801

- Spain restores neutral trade.

1802

- Treaty of Amiens brings peace to Europe.

1804

- Spain and Britain resume war.
- *Consolidación de vales reales* extended to colonies
- United States annexes Florida.

1804–14

- First Empire in France; Napoleon is emperor.

1805

- British defeat combined Franco-Spanish fleet at Trafalgar.

1806–07

- Two British invasions of Buenos Aires; both defeated

1807

- Treaty of Fontainebleau allows French troops to cross Spain to reach Portugal.
- French capture Lisbon.
- Royal court and 10,000 Portuguese go to Brazil.

1808

- Riot at Aranjuez topples Manuel Godoy and Charles IV.
- Ferdinand VII becomes king of Spain.
- Rising in Madrid against French
- Abdications of Ferdinand VII and Charles IV to Napoleon
- Joseph I named king of Spain by Napoleon
- Juntas created throughout Spain
- British announce support of Spanish patriots; send army to Portugal.
- Spanish victory over French at Bailén
- Viceroy José de Iturrigaray ousted by peninsular coup in Mexico City
- Junta Central meets at Aranjuez; later flees to Seville.

1808–21

- Rio de Janeiro is capital of Portuguese Empire.

1809

- Junta Central calls for American representation.
- Creoles in Quito establish short-lived junta.

1810

- Junta Central abandons Seville; appoints Council of Regency
- Creation of juntas in Caracas, Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile
- Grito de Dolores begins Miguel Hidalgo's revolt in New Spain.
- Second rebellion in Quito
- American deputies present grievances to Cortes of Cádiz.

1810–12

- French siege of Cádiz

1810–13

- Cortes of Cádiz meets.

1811

- Call to revolt in Banda Oriental
- Republic of Cundinamarca established in New Granada
- Miguel Hidalgo executed
- Paraguay declares independence.
- Venezuela declares independence and First Republic.

1812

- Constitution of 1812 promulgated
- Collapse of First Republic in Venezuela
- Royalists reestablish control in Quito.
- Insurgents under José María Morelos take Oaxaca, Mexico.

1813

- Joseph I and last French troops leave Madrid.
- Simón Bolívar declares war to the death on peninsulars.
- Second Republic established in Caracas
- Treaty of Valençay ends Spain's war with France.

1813–14

- Peruvian force reestablishes royalist control in Chile.

1814

- Ferdinand VII returns to Spain, nullifies all actions since 1808, and restores institutions of old regime.
- José Tomás Boves drives Simón Bolívar from Caracas.

1815

- Pablo Morillo and Spanish army begin reconquest of Venezuela and New Granada.
- José María Morelos captured and executed

1816

- Dr. Francia (José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia) named perpetual dictator of Paraguay
- United Provinces of the Río de la Plata declare independence.
- Pablo Morillo completes reconquest of New Granada.

1817–18

- José de San Martín and Army of the Andes defeat royalists in Chile.

1819

- Battle of Boyacá ensures New Granada's independence.
- Congress of Angostura proclaims Republic of Colombia.

1820

- Riego Revolt in Spain restores Liberals and constitutional monarchy.
- José de San Martín lands army in Pisco, Peru.

1821

- Plan of Iguala in New Spain results in independent Mexico.
- Lima citizens declare independence of Peru.
- Superior Political Chief Juan O'Donojú recognizes Mexican independence.

1822

- Agustín de Iturbide proclaimed emperor of Mexico
- Antonio José de Sucre defeats royalists at Pichincha and secures independence in Kingdom of Quito.
- Guayaquil interview between Simón Bolívar and José de San Martín
- San Martín resigns positions in Peru and leaves for Europe.
- Brazil declares independence from Portugal.

1823

- Abdication of Agustín I of Mexico
- French invasion restores Ferdinand VII to full power.

1824

- Patriots defeat royalists at Battles of Junín and Ayacucho in Peru.
- Execution of Agustín I of Mexico
- Federal constitution enacted for Republic of Mexico

1825

- Antonio José de Sucre secures independence of Upper Peru.

1826

- Capitulation of Callao ends Spanish resistance in Peru.

1830

- Collapse of Gran Colombia
- Death of Simón Bolívar

✿ ENTRIES A TO Z ✿



Abascal y Sousa, José Fernando de (b. 1743–d. 1821) *Spanish army officer and viceroy of Peru* Born in Oviedo into a noble Asturian family, José Fernando de Abascal y Sousa entered the Spanish army as a cadet in 1762 and served tours of duty in PUERTO RICO, BUENOS AIRES, SANTO DOMINGO, and CUBA. His service was rewarded with a knighthood in the Order of Santiago in 1795.

On March 20, 1799, Abascal was named INTENDANT of GUADALAJARA and president of NEW GALICIA'S AUDIENCIA. Although named VICEROY of RÍO DE LA PLATA on May 15, 1804, he never served in the post, being appointed viceroy of PERU on November 10, 1804. Captured by the British while on route to this post, Abascal was released in the Azores, sailed to Buenos Aires, and then traveled by land to LIMA, where he arrived in July 1806 and served for 10 years.

Viceroy Abascal supported the introduction of the smallpox vaccine to Peru, prohibited burial in Lima's churches and created a public cemetery outside the city walls, rebuilt a school (Colegio of San Pablo) for Indians and mestizos, oversaw the establishment of a guild for attorneys (Colegio de Abogados), and set up a medical school (Colegio of San Fernando) (see COLEGIO; COLEGIO MAYOR). Additionally, he strengthened the MILITARY, increasing its size and improving training.

Abascal maintained Spanish control over the VICEROYALTY OF PERU at a time when advocates of autonomy and independence were overthrowing the viceroys of RÍO DE LA PLATA and NEW GRANADA. Abascal, an absolutist, believed that steadfast opposition to both the changes represented by AUTONOMISTS on the one hand and the CONSTITUTION OF 1812 on the other was the best way to stay the course.

Abascal put down revolts in southern Peru, sent troops to QUITO and CHILE to quash autonomist movements, and annexed the Audiencia of CHARCAS to the Viceroyalty of Peru and retained it against rebels in LA PLATA and invading armies sent by the successive insurgent governments in Buenos Aires. He was a determined royalist and sought to undermine the Constitution of 1812, considering it a threat to viceregal authority and continued Spanish rule. Ironically, his decision not to implement the constitution helped to cause an uprising in CUZCO. In Lima, Abascal sought to control the implementation of the constitution and intervened in the selection of officials and representatives. He recognized, however, that the constitutional era had destroyed the authority he had previously enjoyed, making reliance on military force the only, and much less effective, course of action for maintaining royal rule. By 1816, Abascal was anxious to retire.

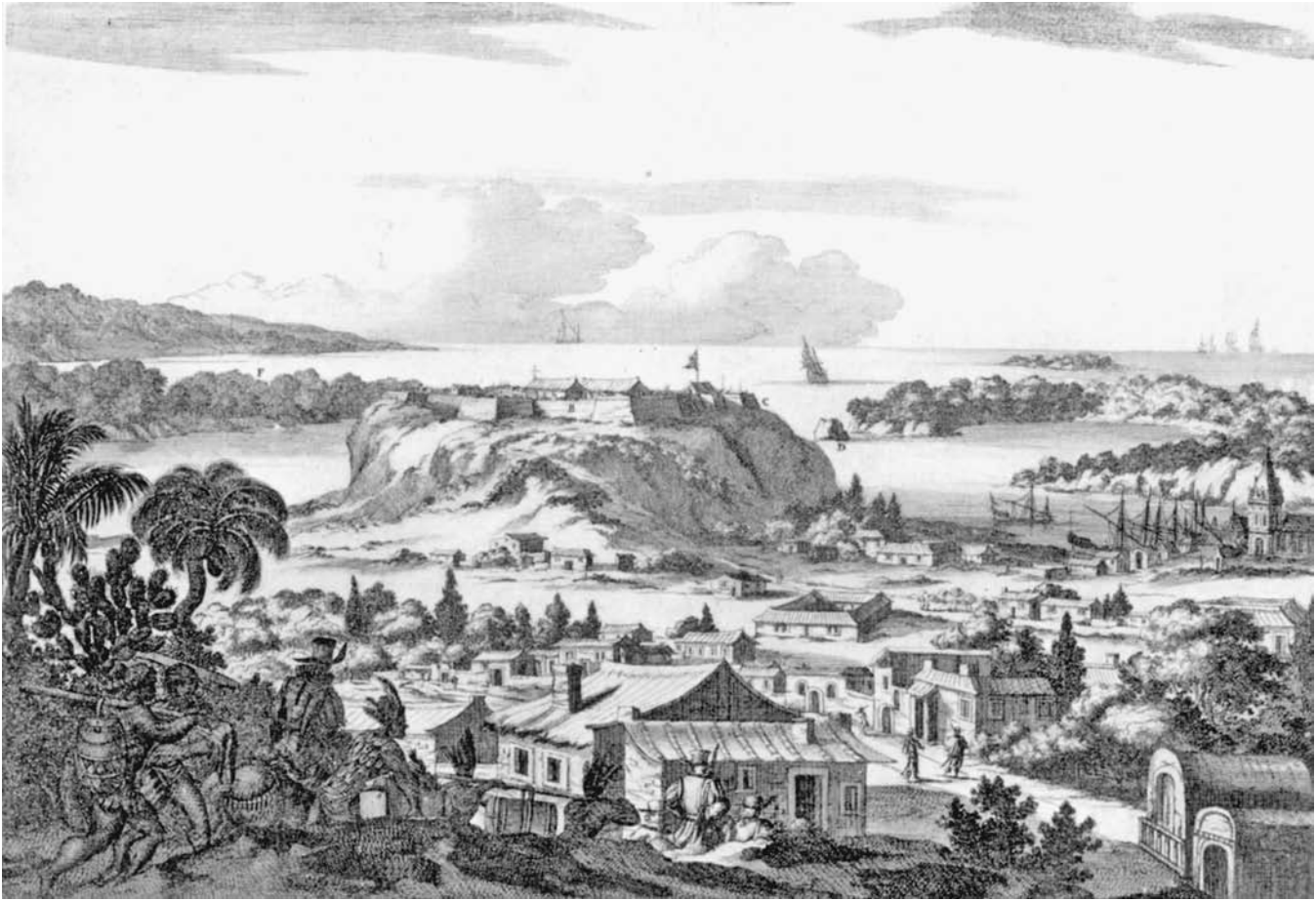
As a result of his efforts, Abascal turned over a viceroyalty still under royalist control to his successor, JOAQUÍN DE LA PEZUELA. Returning to Spain, he died in Madrid as the marqués de la Concordia, a title granted to him in 1812.

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Acapulco Located in the modern state of Guerrero, 190 miles (306 km) south of MEXICO CITY, Acapulco



The port of Acapulco, in New Spain, was the American terminus for trade with Manila. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

became the VICEROYALTY OF NEW SPAIN'S most important Pacific coast port. Returning from the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS in June 1565 with silks from China, Andrés de Urdaneta discovered the northern Pacific trade winds. This led to annual sailings of the MANILA GALLEONS, one or sometimes two ships that conveyed silver from PERU and New Spain via Acapulco to the Philippines to exchange for East Asian products, including silks, porcelain, precious stones, ivory, copper and other metal pots, spices, and lacquered goods.

The Spanish Crown tried to limit the volume and value of the commerce, while merchants sought freedom to TRADE as they saw fit. Legislation in 1582 and 1583 put restrictions in place, which were added to particularly in 1593 and hardened in 1620. Specifically, the Crown limited the trade to two ships annually, of up to 300 tons each, carrying goods worth no more than 250,000 pesos from Manila and 500,000 pesos from Acapulco to Manila. Additionally, Philippine residents were to be the traders and beneficiaries, and none were to be representatives of Mexico City merchants; direct trade from Manila to the American colonies was restricted to Acapulco and reexporting goods from Acapulco to other colonies was prohibited; and the trade was subject to the customary

taxes levied on the Atlantic trade (see TAXATION). By the end of the 16th century, the value of the Manila trade exceeded that of the fleets from Spain.

Legislation in 1604 allowed merchants to use three ships no larger than 400 tons each in trade between Mexico and PERU, and only American products were to be transported. The maximum tonnage of the two ships sailing from Acapulco to Manila was reduced to 200 tons. In 1631, the Crown banned all trade between Mexico and Peru, a provision restated in 1634 and maintained into the 18th century.

The profits available through the Manila trade proved irresistible, and creative merchants and, at times, their allies in administrative offices (occasionally including a VICEROY) worked to circumvent the restrictive legislation. Private cargo shipped from Acapulco may have been worth as much as 6 million pesos on at least one occasion, and amounts of more than 2 million pesos were commonplace during the first half of the 17th century.

Restrictions on trade and their frequent circumvention persisted into the 18th century. PHILIP V prohibited trade in Chinese silks in 1718 and reiterated the ban in 1720. Nevertheless, colonial representatives suc-

ceeded in having the restriction lifted in 1724. As *COMERCIO LIBRE* took root in the CARIBBEAN colonies in the 1760s, individual ships were allowed from 1765 to sail from Spain to the Philippines. A new commercial code addressed Manila's trade in 1769 and allowed for the creation of a merchant guild (*CONSULADO*) with considerable authority over the trade. The decision to establish the Royal Philippine Company in 1785 regularized direct trade between Spain and the Philippines. Manila was opened to foreign shipping in 1789, provided the traders dealt only in Asiatic goods. The company was authorized to send 800 tons of Asiatic goods annually to New Spain but did not enjoy the advantages of the early Manila galleons. The last galleon from Manila reached Acapulco in 1811 and returned to its port in 1815.

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Acordada, Tribunal of the In a unique effort to deal effectively with crime and especially banditry in the VICEROYALTY OF NEW SPAIN, in 1722, VICEROY Baltasar de Zúñiga y Guzmán, marqués de Valero, established a new institution, the Tribunal of the Acordada (see CRIME AND PUNISHMENT). Miguel Velázquez de Lorea, an effective scourge of bandits and already known for zealously applying exemplary if irregular justice, headed the new tribunal. With the consent (*con acuerdo*) of the Audiencia of Mexico (hence the name *Acordada*), the Acordada authorized Velázquez to arrest and sentence malefactors without right of appeal. The Spanish Crown approved the viceroy's action, as well as Velázquez's appointment as judge and captain of the tribunal.

Aided by as many as 2,500 agents scattered irregularly across New Spain, in the years from its creation until 1810, the Acordada processed more than 62,900 prisoners. Of this number, 19,410 were sentenced to labor in the *PRESIDIOS*, and 888 were executed.

Unlike many colonial institutions, the Acordada arose out of the specific circumstances of New Spain. Unlike other colonial judicial institutions, it had jurisdiction throughout New Spain, NEW GALICIA, and New Vizcaya and lacked administrative responsibilities. Thus, it moved closer than other colonial institutions to the modern notion of a separate judiciary.

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Acosta, José de (b. 1540–d. 1600) *Spanish Jesuit author* The son of a successful merchant, José de Acosta was born in Medina del Campo, Spain, and entered the Society of Jesus in 1552 (see JESUITS). By the late 1550s, he had proven himself an excellent student, teacher, and writer. He spent eight years in the Jesuit *COLEGIO* at the University of Alcalá de Henares. After teaching assignments and his final profession of vows, he obtained an assignment in the VICEROYALTY OF PERU in early 1571.

Acosta reached LIMA on April 27, 1572. During his 14 years in PERU, he taught moral theology, preached, heard confessions, traveled widely, created new Jesuit *colegios*, served as provincial of the Society of Jesus in Peru, convoked its first provincial congregation, turned the *REDUCCIÓN* at Juli on the shore of Lake Titicaca into a model for the more famous Jesuit "reductions" in PARAGUAY, wrote and published, and participated in the Third Provincial Council of Lima of 1582–83 that created a catechism for the indigenous population still used after Peru's independence. Acosta's years in Peru overlapped to a large extent with the rule of VICEROY FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO, with whom he had a variety of conflicts.

Recalled to Spain, Acosta went via NEW SPAIN, where he spent nearly a year and consulted with colleagues, notably fellow Jesuit Juan de Tovar, about the pre-conquest civilization in Central Mexico. In 1587, he reached Spain, where he published works on theology and natural history, all related to his great passion, the salvation of the Amerindians. His most noted work, published in 1590, was *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, which appeared in multiple editions and numerous translations, including one in English (*Natural and Moral History of the Indies*) in 1604.

Acosta's *Historia* included detailed descriptions of the cultures, climate, geography, flora, fauna, minerals, and various natural phenomena including volcanoes and EARTHQUAKES of the New World, as well as the origins and arrival of NATIVE AMERICANS. He thought that small groups had traveled either by land or across a narrow and yet undiscovered strait far to the north or south linking the Americas with another continent. His originality lay not in the idea of a land bridge but in rejecting European legend as to what that other continent was (for example, Atlantis). He further believed that the migration would have adversely affected cultural development. All subsequent writers during the colonial era were familiar with Acosta's influential work. Acosta concluded his sometimes controversial career as rector of the Jesuit college at the University of Salamanca.

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adelantado The term *adelantado* originated in medieval Spain to refer to an office in which the incumbent

represented the king. The office still existed into the final stage of reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula from the Moors (the Reconquista), while its use in the colonies was confined to the 16th century, although occasionally the right to hold the title was hereditary.

The Crown employed the title irregularly in contracts (*capitulaciones*) with explorers and conquistadores, for example, Vasco Núñez de Balboa and Francisco Pizarro. Of some 70 *capitulaciones*, however, fewer than half granted the title to an expedition's leaders. Typically, men named *adelantado* were also appointed governor of the region to be settled.

Adelantados enjoyed administrative, legislative, and judicial authority. Their usual responsibilities included securing financing; overseeing the wide range of activities associated with discovery, exploration, conquest or "pacification," and settlement; and ensuring that the Crown received relevant taxes. The individual contracts spelled out the specific charges for each region and the time period within which they were to be accomplished. An *adelantado* received a salary from income drawn from the region assigned to him but also enjoyed the right to its choicest *ENCOMIENDA* and land.

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agriculture Most of colonial Latin America's settled population labored in farming: planting, tending, and harvesting crops, and maintaining the tools used in these activities. In addition to a variety of garden plants, the most important sources of food were MAIZE and beans in NEW SPAIN, potatoes and maize in PERU, and manioc in BRAZIL. Iberians, however, introduced an extensive variety of plant foods, as well as metal tools. Spaniards considered WHEAT, WINE, and olive oil essential to civilized life and quickly introduced grains, grape vines, and olive trees wherever the right growing conditions existed. Climate, altitude, availability of water through rain or irrigation, soil conditions, fertilizer, labor supply, and TRANSPORTATION either fostered or prevented the success of particular crops. Longer growing seasons than in Europe, staggered growing seasons as a result of diverse geographical and climatic conditions, and the rich soils of many locations enabled two or three crops to be grown a year in some areas, with a significantly higher seed-yield ratio.

By the 1550s, European crops had taken root in most important centers of Spanish settlement except POTOSÍ in CHARCAS, whose high elevation precluded all agriculture. Wheat production was well established in New Spain, notably in the Valley of Mexico, where by 1563, at least 114 farms produced the grain, and in the region surrounding PUEBLA. By the 1580s, Mexican merchants were transporting wheat, flour, and other agricultural products

to VERACRUZ for shipment to HAVANA. The development of mining districts in ZACATECAS and later GUANAJUATO, northwest of MEXICO CITY, stimulated wheat production in the BAJÍO and farther north. Since wheat would not grow at more than 12,000 feet (3,658 m) above sea level, conditions were not as favorable in Andean regions. Nonetheless, valleys near QUITO, CUZCO, and AREQUIPA, among many others, produced enough wheat to ship a surplus elsewhere. The Cochabamba Valley in Charcas supplied the Potosí market, as well as Oruro and La Paz.

In 1687, a devastating earthquake damaged the irrigation systems in valleys around LIMA. Soon the Peruvian capital was heavily dependent on wheat imports from CHILE, creating an important export market for its southern neighbor. Although some wheat was produced in Central America, most was consumed in Santiago de Guatemala and a few other Spanish towns; exports to Mexico, PANAMA, and Peru were modest.

In BRAZIL, some wheat was grown for local consumption by Portuguese immigrants and local elites, especially in BAHIA. More important, however, was the widespread cultivation of cassava (manioc) to be made into flour (*farinha de mandioca*), the staple of the Bahian diet.

The beverage of choice among most whites in the colonies was wine. No ships left Spain without wine for the crew, and many carried wine for the growing colonial market. Although colonists in Central Mexico, notably around Puebla, planted thousands of vines, the Spanish Crown responded with prohibitions rather than encouragement in order to maintain the tax-bearing TRADE in wine from Spain.

From at least the early 1540s, *encomenderos* and other landowners in Arequipa began growing grapes, and from the late 1550s, commercial viticulture was under way in coastal valleys west of the city (see *ENCOMIENDA*). The city's location on the main route between Lima and the Potosí mining district in Charcas was an advantage, and growers generally did well despite greater competition from producers in Ica, Pisco, and Nazca, a loss of control over marketing, overall declining prices as a consequence of overproduction, a scarcity of labor, and increased TAXATION until a volcanic eruption in 1600 covered fields for nearly 50 miles with ash. Wine production in 1601 plummeted by 95 percent, and the remaining 5 percent was not potable. Also about this time, Arica replaced Arequipa as the major waystation on the route from Lima to Charcas. Although production had largely recovered by the 1630s, the loss of markets in Lima and farther north forced producers to focus on buyers in Cuzco and Charcas. At the turn of the 18th century, producers in Arequipa turned to brandy, the higher-alcohol-content cousin of wine, as a way to turn a surplus of wine into a more profitable beverage. By the end of the century, they were distilling nearly all of their wine and sending brandy in large quantities to Charcas and Cuzco, although Moquegua and Lacumba dominated the Potosí market.

By the late 16th century, wine from Peru dominated the tables of Spaniards in GUATEMALA. The Crown forbade Guatemala to import Peruvian wine from 1615 to 1685, then relented in 1685, when limited amounts were permitted until 1713. The second ban was not removed until 1774.

Estate owners (*estancieros*) near SANTIAGO DE CHILE produced wine for their own needs and other consumers in the capital. By the late 16th century, producers in Mendoza (Argentina) were shipping wine to BUENOS AIRES and in the following century their wine displaced Paraguayan wine in the RÍO DE LA PLATA market.

Whites also wanted olive oil, a product imported from Spain from the beginning of colonization. Although the Crown rejected proposals to grow olive trees in Mexico, some landowners planted them and by the 1560s, were producing oil. Continued royal prohibitions, however, resulted in the continued importation of oil from Spain throughout the colonial period.

Settlers in the Arequipa region planted olive groves in the coastal river valleys and sent both olives and olive oil to Lima and farther north to Ecuador, Panama, and Central America; the travelers JORGE JUAN Y SANTACILIA and ANTONIO DE ULLOA noted in the mid-18th century that the coasts of Nazca and Pisco sent olives and oil to the capital. Olive production spread from Peru to Chile.

Farmers near CARACAS began exporting wheat to CARTAGENA DE INDIAS in the 1580s in response to demand from the SILVER fleet (see FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM). The discovery of CACAO trees in the 1620s, however, led entrepreneurs to focus on growing cacao beans to meet demand from indigenous consumers in New Spain. For labor, growers quickly turned to African slaves, which affected the composition of the colony's society (see SLAVERY). Although cacao would be produced elsewhere, notably in the GUAYAQUIL region of the AUDIENCIA district of Quito in the 18th and early 19th centuries, the beans remained the heart of VENEZUELA's exports.

SUGAR was the most important agricultural export of the colonial era. Originally transported from the Canary Islands to HISPANIOLA, by the 1550s, sugarcane was an established crop in numerous New World locations. (Hernando Cortés may have introduced it into New Spain.) Sugar refining in Cempoala was already significant before 1535, for example. Inland production in the modern-day state of Morelos expanded notably between 1580 and 1630. Although the principal market was Mexico City, and access to credit there was critical for successful sugar estate ownership, until about 1650, Morelos sugar also competed at times in the international market. Stagnation and decline occurred after 1630, but another period of growth was seen after 1760. Although CUBA would become almost synonymous with sugar later on, its role as an important producer dates to the second half of the 18th century.

Sugar production in Peru began about 1540 and became common in coastal valleys, especially those in

which more profitable vineyards would not succeed. By 1800, nearly every valley between Lima and Lambayeque had one or more sugar estates. As in New Spain, Peruvian sugar was affected by international competition, especially after the mid-17th century. Local and regional consumption, however, remained high.

BRAZIL was the colony in which sugar was king. First in PERNAMBUCO, then in the region around SALVADOR DA BAHIA, and later in RIO DE JANEIRO, it was the dominant export to Europe. Sugar production in Brazil outstripped that of the Spanish colonies, although by 1650, it was suffering from competition by producers on Dutch, English, and French islands in the Caribbean. Brazilian planters persisted, however, and in the late 18th and early 19th centuries again enjoyed great prosperity.

INDIGO was a specialized agricultural product particularly important in Central America. Used by NATIVE AMERICANS prior to the arrival of Spaniards, the blue dye became the region's most profitable export between 1580 and 1620. Although the trade then stagnated for more than a half century, European demand for the dye formed the foundation of merchant fortunes in Central America during the second half of the 18th century.

TOBACCO was sold legally in the colonies and in Spain, yet there was also an illicit market marked by smuggling to other countries. Unlike sugar production, which required considerable capital, tobacco was a crop for the small producer. Cuba was the initial beneficiary. As European demand for smoking tobacco and snuff expanded in the late 16th century, Cuban production increased. Rising consumer demand provoked increased taxation by the Crown, and contraband sales rose as well. The creation of a royal tobacco monopoly in Spain in 1717 to benefit from the addictive weed failed to stem, and perhaps even increased, illegal sales. Since all of the Spanish colonies grew tobacco, intercolonial trade was unnecessary. At the same time, the widespread demand for a product whose use was optional made tobacco an ideal candidate for taxation. Accordingly, between 1717 and 1783, the Crown established ROYAL MONOPOLIES over tobacco in every colony. In Mexico City, this meant the construction of the largest manufactory in the colony, with almost 9,000 workers in 1796; the seven manufactories in the colony had a total of 13,316 workers in 1809.

Brazilians also grew tobacco for a domestic and, from the early 17th century, an export market. Grown in Bahia, where it on occasion surpassed sugar, in the late 17th century, it had gained importance in the trade between Salvador da Bahia and Lisbon. It also became significant as an item traded for African slaves. Although Bahia had a monopoly on legal tobacco production until the mid-18th century, subsequently the Portuguese Crown encouraged the spread of the industry. Pernambuco benefited from this change of policy, although the Crown taxed tobacco. It even exported some to Spain.

Initially, colonial agriculture in the Spanish colonies relied on indigenous laborers assigned in *encomiendas*

or enslaved and sometimes complemented with African slaves (see *MITA*; *REPARTIMIENTO*). By the eve of independence, workers included indigenous communities that tended communal holdings, self-employed owners or renters of small plots of land devoted to subsistence farming, residential and seasonal workers on *HACIENDAS*, and slaves who could number in the hundreds on the largest *PLANTATIONS* producing sugar for exportation. In the sugar-producing regions of Brazil, African slaves had replaced the native population as the dominant labor force by the early 17th century.

The types of landholding also varied. Into the 19th century, indigenous communities throughout the Spanish colonies retained significant amounts of land used for growing basic foodstuffs. Private holdings ranged from small plots used in subsistence farming and modest properties used for growing tobacco, vines, and olives to larger landholdings devoted to producing grains—wheat, barley, and oats—sugarcane, and cacao. In addition, domestic animals for food, breeding, or transportation were often raised on these holdings. Although some properties focused on production for export, most notably sugar plantations, owners of all large agricultural properties (*haciendas* and *fazendas*) sought to monopolize the local market (see *FAZENDA/FAZENDEIRO*).

See also *AGRICULTURE* (Vols. I, III, IV).

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aguardiente de caña Cane liquor, or *aguardiente de caña*, is a distilled alcohol made from sugarcane. For most of the colonial era, consumers in *NEW SPAIN* depended on wholesale importers for the beverage or drank an illegally produced version called *chinguirito*, which was smuggled into the capital from factories in nearby jurisdictions. After domestically produced *aguardiente* was legalized and taxed in 1796, *MEXICO CITY* had a consumption rate for persons 15 years or older of between 2.5 and 4 gallons (9.5–15 l) annually between 1797 and 1804.

Although *CHARLES II* had prohibited the production and sale of *aguardiente* in 1693, arguments that this would affect the prosperity of *SUGAR PLANTATIONS* on the one hand and that a tax on the beverage would be a source of royal income on the other led him to relent. In *NEW GRANADA*, the Crown created an *aguardiente* monopoly in 1700, issuing franchises to distillers who paid a tax (see *MONOPOLIES, ROYAL*). A change in 1736 granted one individual in a specified locale the right to produce the liquor. The Crown sought 40 years later to eliminate private distillers and create royal distillers and sales outlets.

In 1780, it doubled the retail price of *aguardiente* and turned the monopoly offices into targets of destruction during the *COMUNERO REBELLION OF NEW GRANADA*. In 1765, *QUITO* had already had a popular revolt related to the manufacture and sale of *aguardiente*.

In the city of Santiago de Guatemala, one *aguardiente* producer was granted a monopoly in 1753, and from 1755, the distilled drink was legally available in only four taverns. Illegal stills continued to operate. The city council briefly enjoyed a monopoly over the production and sale of *aguardiente*, but in 1766, the Crown created a royal monopoly, a step that provoked antipathy from producers, retailers, and consumers alike and further stimulated the illegal production and sale of the beverage.

For Cuba, in 1764, the Crown imposed a tax of two pesos per barrel of *aguardiente*. The same year, Cuban producers sought authorization to ship the beverage to Louisiana and Yucatán. In 1768, the Crown granted Cuba the right to ship it to Louisiana.

Cane liquor was also produced in Brazil, where it was known as *cachaça*. While the elite enjoyed port wines from Portugal, commoners drank sugarcane brandy from small distillers.

See also *ALCOHOL* (Vol. I).

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Allan J. Kuethe. *Cuba, 1753–1815: Crown, Military, and Society* (Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Press, 1986).

alcabala A sales tax dating back to medieval Castile during the reign of Henry III (1390–1406), the *alcabala* became a royal tax of 10 percent paid by the seller, although monarchs could exempt particular products, persons, and municipalities from paying it (see *TAXATION*). *PHILIP II* extended the tax to *NEW SPAIN* at a rate of 2 percent in 1574. Except for items produced by indigenous people, most merchandise was taxed, although some groups, notably the *JESUITS*, were not required to pay it. The *alcabala*’s introduction into the *VICEROYALTY OF PERU* in 1591 provoked riots, notably in *QUITO* in 1592–93, where the local elite confronted royal officials for a year and, as a consequence, lost the right to elect their municipal councilors for a century. The tax remained in effect throughout the colonial period. Basic foodstuffs in Peru—*MAIZE*, potatoes, and *WHEAT*—were exempt, as were items produced by artisans. In Peru in 1756, *corregidores* were to pay an *alcabala de tarifa* of 4 percent on goods distributed through the *REPARTO* (see *CORREGIDOR/CORREGIMIENTO*). Viceroy *MANUEL DE AMAT*

Y JUNYENT, in 1772, increased the *alcabala* from 2 to 4 percent. In 1780, JOSÉ ANTONIO DE ARECHE Y SORNOZA ordered the *alcabala* increased from 4 to 6 percent in the newly established customs house in AREQUIPA, an action that led to a short-lived revolt but not the abolition of the tax. For much of colonial history, however, towns and guilds often agreed to pay the Crown a fixed amount (*encabezamiento*) for the *alcabala* and then collected the tax themselves, a solution that reduced the effective rate.

See also *ALCABALA* (Vol. I).

Further reading:

C. H. Haring. *The Spanish Empire in America* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963).

alcalde del crimen An *alcalde del crimen* was a minister of the Audiencias of Mexico and LIMA assigned to handle criminal cases that came to the court on appeal from lower magistrates or that arose within a restricted jurisdiction encompassing the capital cities and their immediate environs (see *AUDIENCIA*). Modeled on posts of the same name in Spanish chancelleries and some *audiencias*, the position was created in 1568 for both Mexico and Lima. On the remaining *audiencias*, *oidores* had responsibilities for both civil and criminal cases (see *OIDOR*). In 1808, there were five *alcaldes del crimen* on the Audiencia of Mexico and four on the Audiencia of Lima.

Where it existed, the position of *alcalde del crimen* served as a stepping-stone for advancement to the post of *oidor*, or civil judge, on the same courts.

Further reading:

Mark A. Burkholder and D. S. Chandler. *From Impotence to Authority: The Spanish Crown and the American Audiencias, 1687–1808* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1977).

alcalde mayor In NEW SPAIN, *alcaldes mayores* were provincial administrators for territorial units known as *alcaldías mayores*. Their counterparts in PERU were known as *corregidores* (see *CORREGIDOR/CORREGIMIENTO*). Normally, men in Spain were granted five-year terms, while those already in the colonies served three-year terms.

In the 16th and much of the 17th centuries, VICEROYS appointed most *alcaldes mayores* within their jurisdictions. Thus, the position was an important source of patronage that enabled viceroys to reward both retainers brought from Spain as well as men already in the colonies; unscrupulous viceroys sold appointments as a source of personal gain. In 1678, however, the Spanish Crown began to sell appointments, restricting the viceroys to naming only a dozen each, aside from interim appointees.

Added to the costs of travel, purchasing an appointment meant that many *alcaldes mayores* reached their posts in debt. Anxious to pay off the obligation as well as make a profit, they resorted to a variety of means, including the

reparto de mercancías to extort either cash or goods from indigenous people in their district (see *REPARTO*). In some cases, however, their advances proved advantageous to native individuals who needed access to credit.

In the middle of the 18th century, there were 116 *alcaldes mayores* in the Audiencia of Mexico and another 33 in the Audiencia of New Galicia (see *AUDIENCIA*). About 300 lieutenants assisted them. The establishment of the intendancy system in New Spain replaced the *alcaldes mayores* with *SUBDELEGADOS* (see *INTENDANT*).

Further reading:

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Brian R. Hamnett. *Politics and Trade in Southern Mexico, 1750–1821* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1971).

Christoph Rosenmüller. *Patrons, Partisans, and Palace Intrigues: The Court Society of Colonial Mexico, 1702–1710* (Calgary, Canada: University of Calgary Press, 2008).

aldea The first JESUITS, six in number, arrived in BRAZIL with the first royal governor, Tomé de Sousa, in 1549. Sent by the Portuguese Crown to convert and pacify the NATIVE AMERICANS, they quickly decided that this could be done best if the indigenous were moved into new villages, or *aldeias*, under Jesuit supervision. Father MANOEL DE NÓBREGA outlined the idea in 1550, and the first *aldeia* was established near BAHIA two years later. It was during the governorship of MEM DE SÁ (1557–72) that the Jesuits' use of *aldeias* reached full flower. By 1562, there were 11 *aldeias* averaging some 2,000 inhabitants in Bahia.

The Jesuits saw their efforts as saving the indigenous population from enslavement by colonists. They sought to indoctrinate their charges in a Christian way of life, creating villages with a central plaza, church, and houses in rows, an organizational form vastly different from that of the native peoples.

Ironically and unintentionally, the governor's declaration of a "just war" in 1562 against the Caeté damaged the *aldeias*, as colonists seized indigenous residents in the Jesuit villages. Although the declaration was soon retracted, its results combined with EPIDEMICS in 1562 and 1563 to reduce the number of Jesuit villages to five. The Indians' conditions worsened when the Crown placed lay captains in charge of the *aldeias* and again in 1570 authorized the enslavement of indigenous people captured in a just war or considered cannibals. By the time this law was modified, in 1574, the Jesuits' efforts, coupled with the actions of governors and settlers, had irrevocably damaged traditional native culture.

Nonetheless, the Jesuits continued to create *aldeias* with their own lands. By 1600, as many as 50,000 Indians resided in the villages and were thus available to work for the Jesuits and colonists. While native workers were to

be paid for their labor, the amount was typically less than pay received by whites, free blacks, or *MULATOS*.

In addition to the Bahia region, the Jesuits created *aldeias* in MARANHÃO, as did the FRANCISCANS. Following the expulsion of the Jesuits in the years 1755–58, their *aldeias* were turned into parishes, and parish priests replaced the missionaries.

In the Spanish colonies, the institutions analogous to the *aldeias* were the *reducciones* and *congregaciones* (see CONGRAGACIÓN; REDUCCIÓN).

Further reading:

Bailey W. Diffie. *A History of Colonial Brazil, 1500–1792* (Malabar, Fla.: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Co., 1987).

Aleijadinho (Antônio Francisco Lisbôa) (b. ca. 1738–d. 1814) *Brazilian architect and sculptor* Considered colonial BRAZIL's most outstanding architect and sculptor, Antônio Francisco Lisbôa was born in VILA RICA DO OURO PRÊTO (see ARCHITECTURE; ART). The illegitimate *MULATO* son of Portuguese architect Manuel Francisco Lisbôa and an African slave named Isabel, Antônio learned architectural design and construction from his father. Francisco Xavier de Brito, a Brazilian sculptor, taught him to carve soapstone; João Gomes Batista trained him in painting.

Because of his origins, the artisans' guild in Ouro Prêto, MINAS GERAIS, denied him membership, and Lisbôa had to rely on intermediaries for commissions. Nonetheless, he prospered in the region of Vila Rica and became recognized as Brazil's leading rococo artist prior to contracting probably either leprosy, syphilis, or a viral infection in 1777. As his afflictions worsened, he acquired the nickname *Aleijadinho* (little cripple). Despite reportedly losing fingers and toes and eventually his sight, he continued to work, being carried to the site and proceeding with tools tied to the stumps of his hands.

Aleijadinho's accomplishments include designing the churches of San Francisco in Ouro Prêto, Nossa Senhora do Carmo in Sabará, and Bom Jesus do Matosinhos in the town of Congonhas do Campo; carving magnificent 10-foot- (3-m-) high soapstone statues of the 12 prophets and 66 wooden figures at Bom Jesus do Matosinhos; and designing numerous chapels, doors, retables, statues, and altars. He worked repeatedly with painters Manoel da Costa Ataíde and Francisco Xavier Carneiro. Aleijadinho died in Brazil. His son Manuel Francisco Lisbôa was born of a slave and was also an artist.

Further reading:

James E. Hogan. "Antônio Francisco Lisboa, 'O Aleijadinho': An Annotated Bibliography." *Latin American Research Review* 9, no. 2 (Summer 1974): 83–94.

Almadén Mines at Almadén, Spain, about 165 miles (266 km) northeast of SEVILLE, were the most important

source of MERCURY, or quicksilver, used in processing SILVER ore in NEW SPAIN (see MINING). Mercury was used in the amalgamation, or patio process, which was introduced and perhaps invented at the mining site of Pachuca in the mid-1550s by the Spanish merchant Bartolomé de Medina. With modifications, the process was extended to POTOSÍ in the 1570s. Its advantage over smelting was that it enabled miners to process lower-grade ore.

Between 1646 and 1799, Almadén's mines produced just over a million registered quintals (hundredweight) of mercury. Output expanded in the 18th century as a result of improved administration and development of a new mine discovered in 1699. From 1700 to 1760, Almadén produced 331,430 registered quintals of mercury, a sum almost 90,000 quintals greater than at HUANCAMELICA, the mercury mining center in PERU. Production at Almadén was even greater between 1760 and 1799. In those four decades, Almadén produced 580,930 quintals of mercury compared to Huancavelica's approximately 167,000 quintals.

The major American consumers of mercury from Almadén were in New Spain, although some quicksilver went to miners in colonial Peru, especially in the first half of the 17th, the late 18th, and the early 19th centuries. Greater TAXATION and higher production expenses at Huancavelica explain, at least partly, the consistently higher price of mercury, regardless of provenance, the royal monopoly charged in Peru (see MONOPOLIES, ROYAL).

The decision to divert Almadén mercury from Mexico to Peru in the early 17th century was an important cause of a temporary decline in Mexican silver production. Increased amounts of mercury from Almadén were central to increasing Mexican silver production in the 18th and early 19th centuries and contributed to increased production in Peru and Upper Peru in the later 18th century. The Crown's reduction of the price of mercury it sold in New Spain by 50 percent (82 to 41 pesos) between 1767 and 1778 also stimulated unprecedentedly high levels of silver production.

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Kendall W. Brown. "The Spanish Imperial Mercury Trade and the American Mining Expansion under the Bourbon Monarchy." In *The Political Economy of Spanish America in the Age of Revolution, 1750–1850*, edited by Kenneth J. Andrien and Lyman L. Johnson, 137–167 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994).

almojarifazgo Spain taxed colonial TRADE from the time of Columbus. Initially, the *almojarifazgo* was a customs duty of 7.5 percent levied on goods imported at American ports. In 1543, the Crown reduced this tax to 5 percent but began to collect a tax of 2.5 percent on goods exported from SEVILLE. Duties were doubled in 1566, and exports from American ports were taxed at

a rate of 2.5 percent. These assessments were levied on the basis of merchants' sworn declarations, rather than inspection of goods. In 1624, appraisals based on weight and sometimes size of boxes and bales began to be made on different kinds of exports to the colonies.

Extensive fraud led the Crown in 1660 to accept an annual lump sum of 790,000 ducats in lieu of the *almojarifazgo*. Volume, number of pieces, or size was used from 1680. In addition, in 1720, specified exported and imported articles were taxed according to a rate schedule. A 2 percent tax was levied on GOLD sent to Spain, and 5 percent was charged on SILVER. The *almojarifazgo* itself was abolished on Spanish goods traded between Spain and the colonies with the introduction of *COMERCIO LIBRE*, although it remained on foreign goods and intercolonial trade.

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C. H. Haring. *The Spanish Empire in America* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963).

Alzaga, Martín de (b. 1755–d. 1812) *Spanish merchant and politician in Buenos Aires* Martín de Alzaga was born in the Valley of Aramayona, Alava, Spain. He left for the RÍO DE LA PLATA in 1767 and initially worked for the highly successful PENINSULAR merchant Gaspar de Santa Coloma. A decade later, he began setting up his own commercial ventures. He prospered and added service in municipal posts to his record.

Alzaga vigorously supported monopolistic trade with Spain and fervently opposed any trade with foreigners. Chairman (*alcalde del primer voto*) of the BUENOS AIRES *cabildo*, or MUNICIPAL COUNCIL, when the second British invasion took place in 1807, he organized a successful defense that contributed significantly to the surrender of General John Whitelocke on July 7, 1807, after the invaders had suffered heavy losses. Reelected *alcalde del primer voto* on January 1, 1808, he presided when the city council rejected the scheme to make Spanish princess Carlota, sister of FERDINAND VII, regent and also when it recognized the JUNTA SUPREMA DE SEVILLA.

On January 1, 1809, Alzaga led an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow Viceroy SANTIAGO LINIERS Y BREMOND and was exiled from Buenos Aires. After his return to the capital, he oversaw a plan to overthrow the First Triumvirate on July 10, 1812. Discovery of the conspiracy resulted in his arrest, along with that of some associates, and his execution in Buenos Aires.

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Tulio Halperín-Donghi. *Politics, Economics and Society in Argentina in the Revolutionary Period* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

John Lynch. *The Spanish American Revolutions, 1808–1826*, 2d ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1986).

Alzate y Ramírez, José Antonio de (b. 1737–d. 1799) *Mexican writer and publisher* Born in Ozumba de Alzate, NEW SPAIN, Alzate studied at the Colegio de San Ildefonso in MEXICO CITY, receiving a baccalaureate in theology in 1756. Although he was an ordained cleric, his many interests included science and medicine, and his importance rests on his popularization of modern, and especially applied, science through a series of periodicals. In 1768, he began publication of a weekly *Diario literario*, but it faltered by the end of the year. Likewise, *Asuntos varios sobre ciencias y artes* was published only briefly, in 1772–73. Alzate's most successful periodical was *Gaceta de literatura*, which was published between 1788 and 1797.

Alzate's encyclopedic interests focused in particular on scientific knowledge that could be useful in solving contemporary problems. This emphasis on useful knowledge characterized the ENLIGHTENMENT in Latin America, as did the dissemination of such knowledge through periodicals. Providing information about his home region, for example, its geography, also was typical of publications elsewhere in Spanish America at the time. Similarly, Alzate shared a disdain for Aristotelian philosophy and sought to publish news of scientific developments from Europe and even the United States, although Alzate mentioned only the scientist Benjamin Franklin from the latter.

Medicine, applied science, agronomy, general science, MINING, botany, geography, and chemistry were the areas covered most frequently in the articles and notes in Alzate's periodicals. Medicine received the greatest emphasis because it offered practical knowledge about improving health that readers could put into practice.

Alzate's interest in the history of New Spain documented a growing CREOLE self-awareness and pride in being creole that also was seen in other parts of the empire. Alzate died in Mexico City.

Further reading:

W. F. Cody. "An Index to the Periodicals Published by José Antonio Alzate y Ramírez." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 33, no. 3 (1953): 442–475.

Amar y Borbón, Antonio (b. 1742–d. 1826) *Spanish viceroy of New Granada* Born in Zaragoza, Spain, Antonio Amar y Borbón was a professional soldier who held the rank of captain when he entered the Order of Santiago in 1767 and that of field marshal when he was named VICEROY OF NEW GRANADA by royal order of July 26, 1802, to replace Pedro Mendinueta. He took office on September 17, 1803, and has been described as "indecisive, unimaginative, and probably too old for the job."

The Spanish government's decision to resume neutral TRADE in 1805 did little in New Granada other than strengthen contraband trade with British merchants. Amar's limited efforts failed to solve the problem of

Spain's inability to provide either the goods colonists sought or an adequate market for New Granada's exports. In late 1808, when the JUNTA CENTRAL in Spain and the government of England were allies, Amar agreed to open trade with England, even when the Junta Central disallowed it.

Amar had the misfortune to be viceroy when CHARLES IV and FERDINAND VII abdicated and juntas emerged in Spain and some colonies. Although QUITO was the first city in the viceroyalty to establish a short-lived junta, the collapse of the Junta Central and creation of a COUNCIL OF REGENCY in Spain in January 1810 had repercussions in New Granada. A coup in CARTAGENA DE INDIAS removed the governor there on June 14, 1810, and anti-government revolts took place in Cali, Pamplona, and Socorro in early July. Following a riot fomented by some prominent CREOLES in BOGOTÁ on July 20, Amar, who already knew that the Regency had named his replacement, abdicated to an OIDOR of the Audiencia of Santa Fé de Bogotá the following day, after temporarily presiding over the newly created junta. Briefly imprisoned by rioters, the viceroy and his wife were released by the junta and sent to Cartagena. Amar eventually reached Spain, where he died.

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Anthony McFarlane. *Colombia before Independence: Economy, Society, and Politics under Bourbon Rule* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Amat y Junyent, Manuel de (b. 1704–d. 1782) *Spanish viceroy of Peru* Born in Barcelona, Spain, Manuel de Amat y Junyent followed a military career and saw action in North Africa and Naples, rising to the rank of field marshal. Named governor and president of the Audiencia of Chile in 1755, he assumed his post on December 28.

In CHILE, Amat oversaw the construction of fortifications and founded towns near them. He created a police force in SANTIAGO DE CHILE and undertook public works, including a market in the Plaza de Armas. He also facilitated the opening of the Royal University of San Felipe in 1758. His arrogant and arbitrary style of rule, however, antagonized some Chileans, and no tears were shed when in 1761 he sailed north from Valparaiso after being appointed VICEROY of PERU, replacing the long-serving count de Superunda.

Amat entered LIMA on October 12, 1761, and held his post there until July 17, 1776, when Manuel de Guirior, viceroy of NEW GRANADA, replaced him. Amat brought

with him from Chile relatives and clients, including José Perfecto de Salas as his legal adviser. Aided by Salas, Amat became associated with corruption throughout the viceroyalty. When the celebrated traveler JUAN DE ULLOA returned to Peru as governor of HUANCANELICA and refused to pay him an annual bribe of 10–12,000 pesos, Amat left Ulloa to his enemies.

Soon after his arrival in Lima, Amat received notification that Spain had renewed the Family Pact with France and was at war with Britain. He immediately took steps to strengthen Peru's defenses, concentrating initially on the defense of CALLAO and Lima. He expanded the number of men in arms by requiring all able-bodied males from 14 to 60 to report for duty, oversaw the completion of the fortress Real Felipe at Callao, built a new seawall, and secured the construction of an artillery factory. Amat's reorganization resulted in the militia of Lima growing from 6,643 to 16,784, and the total size of the militia for Lima, its vicinities, and the coastal provinces reached nearly 50,000. While the militia was not put to the test against the British, Amat's efforts and support of rewards for cooperative males of the CREOLE elite, such as membership in military orders and access to the military FUERO, elevated the status of the militia. Militiamen accompanied regular troops from Callao in arresting and expelling the JESUITS.

The expulsion of the Jesuits enabled Amat to create the Convictorio Carolino, an educational institution that became known for its modern curriculum (see EDUCATION). During Amat's long tenure as viceroy, he oversaw improvements in the cleanliness, lighting, and public order of Lima and of the important road to Callao. He also promoted the construction of a bullring and a new facility for cockfights in Lima and a new mint in POTOSÍ.

Amat sought to reduce tax evasion and soon after his arrival in Lima demanded that merchants pay back taxes owed on ALCABALAS; by the time he left office nearly half a million pesos had been collected. He also created a customs house, which opened in 1773, and raised the amount of revenue collected.

Amat's arbitrary approach and the rapacity that contemporaries thought he shared with his immediate supporters resulted in a RESIDENCIA with serious charges that included corruption, although Amat was ultimately absolved.

Unmarried while viceroy, Amat had a lengthy affair with the actress Micaela Villegas, better known as "La Perricholi." He married the Catalan María Francesca de Fivaller i de Bru after returning to Barcelona in 1777. He died there, leaving his widow the celebrated Palace of the Vicereine (Palau de la Virreina) on the Ramblas.

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Rubén Vargas Ugarte. *Historia general del Perú*, Vol. 4: *Virreinato (1689–1776)* (Barcelona, Spain: Editor Carlos Milla Batres, 1966).

amigos del país, societies of Spanish and Spanish-American economic societies often known as *amigos del país*, or “friends of the country,” were the descendants of the Basque Society of Friends of the Country that first met in Vergara, Guipúzcoa, in 1765. Between 1770 and 1820 about 70 economic societies were established in Spain; between 1780 and 1822, no fewer than 14 were founded or suggested in the overseas territories.

The first economic society in the empire was created in Manila in 1781. Others suggested or established in the 1780s were in MOMPONA, NEW GRANADA; Santiago de Cuba, CUBA; and VERACRUZ, NEW SPAIN. In the 1790s, societies appeared in LIMA, QUITO, HAVANA, and GUATEMALA, and a society was proposed in Mérida, Yucatán. In the early 19th century, societies were established or proposed in BUENOS AIRES, BOGOTÁ, CARACAS, PUERTO RICO, and Chiapas. Governmental favor, for example, by the count of Floridablanca, the count of Campomanes, and, later, the royal favorite MANUEL DE GODOY benefited the societies in Spain from the 1770s to 1808, although enthusiasm lessened after the outbreak of the French Revolution. Royal recognition of the overseas societies also stimulated membership, and some prominent royal officials assumed important roles.

As their Iberian counterparts, the American societies often focused on economic problems in their immediate region. Typically, they employed the ideas of the ENLIGHTENMENT and the use of critical reason, observation, exact data, and useful knowledge. They were concerned with poverty and prosperity, wanted improved TRANSPORTATION and better use of labor, and emphasized science, medicine, and EDUCATION for the benefits they conveyed.

The American societies were small in size. Perhaps a total of 600 to 700 persons, almost all males, participated, and well over half of them were in Havana and GUATEMALA. Literate and often well educated, members were associated with colonial elites and professions. While a majority were CREOLES born in the city of the society, PENINSULAR civil, ecclesiastical, and military officials also belonged.

The societies often published, at least for several years, periodicals containing information about the colony’s geographic conditions, ECONOMY, and population and disseminated helpful articles on medical issues and scientific discoveries. Together the societies and their publications helped promote a greater sense of local pride and awareness, or *conciencia de sí*.

Further reading:

Robert Jones Shafer. *The Economic Societies in the Spanish World (1763–1821)* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1958).

Andrada e Silva, José Bonifácio de (b. 1763–d. 1838) *Brazilian naturalist and statesman* Born in Santos, SÃO PAULO, José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva received his early EDUCATION in BRAZIL, but the lack of a university in the colony forced him to go to Portugal for higher education. In 1783, he matriculated at the University of Coimbra and soon demonstrated his knowledge of major European intellectuals and publicists ranging from John Locke to Voltaire and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. In 1790, the Portuguese government sent him to Paris, Freiburg, and other European sites to study mineralogy. Traveling and studying for a decade, on his return he was named general intendant of mines and metallurgy in Portugal and taught at Coimbra. He married a Portuguese woman and remained in Portugal until 1819, when he returned to São Paulo and became involved in politics.

A man of exceptional talent and self-confidence, Andrada represented the junta of São Paulo in petitioning that prince-regent Pedro remain in Brazil. He quickly became Pedro’s leading minister. A monarchist who opposed the idea of popular sovereignty and initially wanted autonomy for Brazil within a larger Portuguese nation, Andrada carefully guided the prince through a shifting political morass, changing his own position to favoring independence along the way. By early September 1822, he responded to the Portuguese Cortes’s opposition to self-government in Brazil by urging Pedro to declare independence, which he did.

Undisputed first minister when PEDRO I was acclaimed emperor on October 12, 1823, Andrada’s fortunes soon waned. On July 16, 1824, both he and his brother Martim Francisco resigned from Pedro’s government after the emperor prepared decrees to free political prisoners, end ordered deportations, and terminate an inquiry into sedition in São Paulo.

Andrada went into exile in Europe but returned to Brazil in 1829, regaining influence with Pedro I and being named mentor to the future Pedro II.

See also PEDRO I (Vol. III).

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Neill Macaulay. *Dom Pedro: The Struggle for Liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798–1834* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1986).

Angostura, Congress of (1819–1821) The Congress of Angostura was convened by South American independence leader SIMÓN BOLÍVAR in 1819. Its purpose

was to consolidate independence for the Andean region of South America by creating a large, unified republic of Colombia. The congress laid the foundation for a new constitution that established a system of government and a series of social reforms for the new nation.

The Congress of Angostura met after a series of victories by independence forces over the Spanish royalist army. Bolívar called the congress together in February 1819 with instructions to begin drafting a new constitution to unite the Andean region under one strong, centralized government. He also encouraged delegates to consider the failures of earlier attempts at establishing a republic in VENEZUELA. Venezuela's First Republic had been ruled under a triumvirate, and Bolívar believed the three-man rule had significantly weakened that initial attempt at securing independence. He also urged delegates to consider social reforms that had not been addressed earlier, such as agrarian reform and the abolition of SLAVERY.

In August of that year, Bolívar led his army to victory in the Battle of Boyacá, effectively securing independence for NEW GRANADA (present-day Colombia and PANAMA). Leaders from New Granada joined the Congress of Angostura, and the assembly proclaimed the creation of Gran Colombia, formally known as the Republic of Colombia or Greater Colombia. The legal basis for the union was articulated in the Fundamental Law of the Republic of Colombia, promulgated on December 17, 1819. Delegates had heeded Bolívar's wishes for a strong centralized government and included measures that called for a powerful executive; Bolívar was elected president of the new republic. The law called for the new republic to be divided into three departments—Venezuela, Cudinamarca, and QUITO—each to be governed by a vice president. It also provided a rough delineation of the territorial boundaries of the new republic and stipulated that debts from the component regions would be consolidated under one national treasury.

In a final measure, the Congress of Angostura called for the General Congress of Colombia to meet in Villa del Rosario de Cúcuta on January 1, 1821, to draft a new constitution for the republic. The Congress of Cúcuta met as stipulated and formalized the union of regions that made up Gran Colombia in the Constitution of 1821. The document spelled out the centralized form of government that Bolívar had advocated and called for progressive social reform. It allowed for slavery to be gradually eradicated by guaranteeing freedom to all children born of slaves and eliminated the indigenous labor and TRIBUTE system under the MITA. It also included provisions to limit the authority of the CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The experiment of creating a unified Gran Colombia failed, and the republic had disbanded by 1831. Nevertheless, the Congress of Angostura still holds importance as the first formal articulation of Bolívar's vision of a unified American nation after independence.

See also GRAN COLOMBIA (Vol. III).

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Apodaca, Juan Ruiz de (b. 1754–d. 1835) *Spanish viceroy of New Spain* Born in CÁDIZ, Spain, Juan Ruiz de Apodaca entered the navy as a *guardiamarina* in 1767, advanced through the ranks, and entered the Order of Calatrava in 1783. Promoted to lieutenant general on August 23, 1809, in November he was sent to London to negotiate an alliance against the French. Named captain general of CUBA by title of February 11, 1812, he succeeded FÉLIX MARÍA DE CALLEJA DEL REY as VICEROY of NEW SPAIN, replacing him on September 19, 1816.

Apodaca traveled in an armed convoy from VERACRUZ to MEXICO CITY in August and early September 1816. Attacks by rebel cavalry en route made the new viceroy aware that guerrilla bands dogged even the most important highway in New Spain and that the insurgency was not over.

At the same time, Apodaca wanted peace rather than war. He published announcements of royalist victories and issued pardons. Indeed, he went so far, in 1819, as to assure FERDINAND VII that he needed no reinforcements. The viceroy's "victory," however, was a delusion. Rebels had gone underground or moved to havens, but they had not disappeared.

The RIEGO REVOLT restored constitutional government, and Apodaca, now as *jefe político superior* rather than viceroy, led royal and local officials in Mexico City in swearing allegiance to the Spanish CONSTITUTION OF 1812 on June 1, 1820. Apodaca subsequently ordered elections, as specified in the constitution, and allowed freedom of the press. Only after the PLAN OF IGUALA was published in February 1821 did Apodaca, at the urging of PENINSULAR military officers, ban the free press. Refusing to endorse the plan, he belatedly tried to oversee a military response against its adherents but never sent an army against the rebels, for he could not count on the loyalty of the royal soldiers and officers. On July 5, 1821, hardline officers mutinied, and Apodaca resigned his position and turned power over to Field Marshal Francisco Novella.

Apodaca was able to leave New Spain only after it had become independent Mexico, departing from Veracruz in October 1821 (see MEXICO, INDEPENDENCE IN). Previously honored with the title count of Venadito in 1818, he received the Great Cross of Carlos III by decree on December 1, 1829. Named to the Spanish

legislature of 1834–35, Apodaca died shortly afterward in Madrid.

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Araucanians (Mapuche) Known to the Spaniards as the *araucanos*, or Araucanians in English, the indigenous peoples now referred to as Mapuche inhabited CHILE south of the Mapocho River, which flows through the city of SANTIAGO DE CHILE. The founding of Concepción, some 300 miles (483 km) to the southwest by Pedro de Valdivia in 1550, was the first Spanish effort to colonize Araucania. Valdivia's death in 1553 at the hands of his former groom, the famed Mapuche CACIQUE Lautaro, foreshadowed the resistance seen from 1554. Conflict punctuated with temporary peace characterized the remainder of the colonial era and beyond.

The Mapuche and other peoples in Araucania readily adopted Spanish plants, animals, and technology. For example, they grew WHEAT, peas, and apples; raised SHEEP and horses, which they quickly learned to ride and use in guerrilla warfare; and placed steel tips from Spanish swords on lances. They also learned to use nooses to pull Spanish soldiers from their horses.

A major revolt in 1598 followed the Spaniards' effort to place a garrison in support of the JESUITS south of the Bío-Bío River. The Mapuche captured and enslaved numerous Spanish women and children and destroyed all Spanish settlements between the Maule River, which runs east and west through present Talca, founded in 1692, and Osorno, south of Valdivia. For the remainder of colonial rule, the Bío-Bío south and southeast of Concepción marked the southern extension of colonial authority.

A state of perpetual WAR limited Spanish settlement and left the Mapuche south of the Bío-Bío free of the labor and tribute obligations that weighed on NATIVE AMERICANS north of the river and throughout much of Spain's empire. Ongoing war, however, brought advantages to some colonials. Beginning in 1600, the treasury in LIMA was required to send a financial subsidy (*situado*) to Chile to support the military effort. In 1608, PHILIP III authorized the enslavement of rebellious indigenous in Chile, thus legitimating a practice employed routinely from the 1570s. Selling Mapuche captured in war became a source of income for soldiers and unscrupulous bureaucrats alike. The Spaniards paid dearly for their incomplete conquest and continued wars against the Mapuche. Between 1541 and 1664, some 20,000 to 30,000 Spanish soldiers and settlers died in the wars.

Starting in 1716, the Spaniards tried to quell uprisings in western Araucania through formal treaties agreed to at meetings known as *parlamentos*. As many as 4,000 people participated, and the government assumed the

expense of feeding them and providing various TRADE items, for example, iron tools, as a means of securing peace. Repeated on a number of occasions, this approach maintained a reasonable level of peace on the western frontier for the remainder of the colonial era. In the war against Spain in the 1810s, Mapuche warriors sided with the royalists in the hope of keeping their territory.

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architecture Spanish and Portuguese settlement in the Americas was intimately tied to the location and construction of buildings. New churches, government buildings, and private shops and residences were built in each municipality founded in the aftermath of conquest. Their construction implied the destruction or replacement of earlier indigenous buildings or spaces, when they existed, sometimes by building on top of razed constructions, as was most spectacularly done in MEXICO CITY. New buildings looked European, their design being derived largely from European models as constructed in Spain and Portugal. In NEW SPAIN and PERU, in particular, the influence of indigenous workers can be seen in the decoration of the facades and interiors of churches.

The conquistadores and settlers consciously tried to replicate desirable characteristics of an urban environment from Iberia, while at the same time informing the Amerindian population about sacred and secular space. Sixteenth-century churches had arched doorways and classical facades with pilasters and moldings facing the street, whereas preconquest architecture lacked arches; secular buildings used horizontal lintels for doorways. Church bell towers also designated European origin. The quality of construction materials was important. Spaniards had only contempt for houses made of straw, while in the stone buildings of the Incas they saw great skill. Nonetheless, they considered true architecture to be classical, with columns, capitals, and arches.

Although not codified until 1573, the grid pattern around a central plaza with a building for municipal government, a church, royal offices as needed, a portico with commercial space, and straight streets intersecting at right angles was firmly established by 1560. The most desirable properties, those given to the first settlers, were the ones closest to the central plaza. The central plaza itself required a pillar of justice (*picota*) symbolizing the start of civil government and a cross either in the square

or where the church would be built; together, they symbolized Spanish order and justice.

The wealth of a region, the type of building materials available, population density, the mix of Europeans and non-Europeans, and geography and climate affected the size and appearance of buildings. The level of interaction with Spain or Portugal also affected the appearance of public buildings. Thus, LIMA was more Spanish than CUZCO; SALVADOR DA BAHIA, more Portuguese than VILA RICA DO OURO PRÊTO in MINAS GERAIS. Styles changed in belated response to architectural changes in Europe but also benefited from local experience and need. Originally, a severe and rational style was employed. By the late 17th and early 18th centuries, exuberance had taken over, with extensive and often exquisite decoration of both interiors and facades. The establishment of a school of architecture, the Royal Academy of San Carlos in Mexico City in 1785, saw the introduction of neoclassical rationalism, which replaced the previously freer approach.

By 1560 in Mexico, many friars were esconced in parishes (*DOCTRINAS DE INDIOS*), which typically included several indigenous villages or pueblos; native-built open-air churches with rectangular sanctuaries, usually with a single nave but some with three aisles; a residential area for the friars; and an expansive open area (*atrio*) with a large cross and enclosed only by walls, where religious services were held for the indigenous population. Some churches were very large, for example, the interior of one in Huejotzingo measures 203 by 50 feet (62 × 15 m). Church walls three feet (1 m) thick were usually constructed of adobe or a mixture of stone rubble and cement. Decoration on the facades was often a mixture of Christian and pre-Christian symbolism. In Oaxaca by 1600, there were 500–600 churches in at least 110 parishes that included an average of five villages. The AUGUSTINIANS typically built more ornate facilities than the other orders and followed European models most closely. Friars rather than trained architects designed most churches.

The cathedrals erected in every bishopric were monuments of the secular clergy. The cathedral in Mexico City was begun in 1563 and not completed until 1813. Lima's cathedral was begun in 1572, and PUEBLA's probably by 1575. The facades on later cathedrals such as that in ZACATECAS, completed in 1761, were completely covered with ornamentation. The interiors displayed a profusion of elaborate decoration.

Church architecture in Peru differed from that in Mexico because of more frequent and sometimes intense EARTHQUAKES. Walls were thicker, and buttresses were stepped; roofing was made of woven canes or reeds covered by plaster or stucco. As in Mexico, indigenous sculptors inserted preconquest references, although probably this was more common before 1560.

JORGE JUAN Y SANTACILIA and ANTONIO DE ULLOA commented both positively and negatively on the religious buildings in QUITO in the mid-18th century, noting,

for example, that the Convent of San Francisco, “being wholly of free-stone, must have cost a prodigious sum; and indeed the justness of the proportions, the disposition of the parts, the elegant taste and execution of the work, render it equal to most of the admired buildings in Europe.” The cathedral of Quito had rich furniture and was “splendidly adorned with tapestry hangings and other costly decorations.” Parish churches, in contrast, lacked paved floors in some cases and displayed “every other mark of poverty.”

Brazilian architecture lacked preconquest references because there was no indigenous labor force with an artistic tradition, as in Mexico and Peru. The carvers and painters of the main altar in the Jesuit Collegiate Church in SALVADOR DA BAHIA were all JESUITS.

The architecture of royal and municipal buildings was utilitarian and usually solid but uninspired. The two most obvious examples are the viceregal palaces in Mexico City and Lima. The former was replaced after its destruction in the riots and fire of 1692. The latter suffered significant damage in the earthquake of 1687, and repairs were not completed until the 18th century.

See also ARCHITECTURE (Vols. I, III, IV).

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Areche y Sornoza, José Antonio de (b. 1728–d. 1798) *Spanish visitor general of Peru* Born in Valmaseda, Vizcaya, Spain, José Antonio de Areche y Sornoza spent 11 years at the University of Alcalá de Henares and received a doctorate in canon law in 1756. A *colegial* of Los Verdes, he did some teaching while at Alcalá.

Although named *OIDOR* of the Audiencia of Manila in 1765, Areche never served in the post (see *AUDIENCIA*). As he was passing through NEW SPAIN, the VICEROY drafted him to fill a vacancy as criminal *FISCAL* on the Audiencia of Mexico, and in 1767, CHARLES III formally named him to this post. In 1774, Areche advanced to the position of *fiscal* for civil affairs. His position in Mexico enabled him to impress Visitor General JOSÉ DE GÁLVEZ. Weeks after becoming Minister of the Indies, on March 25, 1776, Gálvez secured a royal appointment for Areche as visitor general of PERU with instructions to examine, among other things, the administration of finances and justice, to improve MINING production, to end corruption and reform tribute collection, and to investigate the use of the notoriously abusive *REPARTO*.

During the late 1770s and early 1780s, Areche attempted to carry out his assignment. In the process, he

alienated nearly all authorities in Peru. His controversies with Viceroy Manuel de Guirior, whom he considered pro-CREOLE, and Agustín de Jáuregui, whom he considered inept, led to their replacement. Areche's anti-creole attitudes also alienated many local notables in LIMA.

Coupled with long-standing abuses of the *reparto de mercancías* by *corregidores*, Areche's implementation of fiscal reform—including the creation of new customs houses in the interior of the viceroyalty and an increase in the sales tax (*ALCABALA*) from 4 to 6 percent—and his order to register free persons of African descent as tributaries provoked local revolts, most notably in AREQUIPA in January 1780 and the more general and threatening TÚPAC AMARU II revolt, which began on November 9 that same year.

Replaced by Jorge de Escobedo as visitor general in 1781, Areche returned to Spain in 1783 and assumed his seat on the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES. Following the death of his patron, Gálvez, the former visitor general was retired and ordered to leave Madrid following the Council's conclusion that charges he had made against Viceroy Guirior had been false. Areche died in Bilbao in disgrace.

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Arequipa A municipality in PERU founded by Spaniards on August 15, 1540, Arequipa was located about 80 miles (129 km) from the Pacific Ocean on a fertile plain more than 7,700 feet (2,347 m) above sea level, at the foot of El Misti. The town was laid out adjacent to the Chili River, with the central plaza including royal and city offices, a cathedral, and a market. The first of numerous convents was founded in 1579, six years after the arrival of the JESUITS. The most significant municipality in southern Peru, Arequipa served as the major stop on the road from the MINING districts of CHARCAS to LIMA until the port of Arica replaced it as a way station about 1600.

By the mid-1550s, residents of Arequipa, including a number of *encomenderos*, had taken control of farmland near the municipality and were producing marketable livestock and European crops (see *ENCOMIENDA*). From the 1560s to the 1580s, commercial AGRICULTURE focused heavily on viticulture. By the end of the 16th century, production of WINE in the coastal valleys west of Arequipa was considerable. Markets included Charcas and Lima.

Through intermarriage, the descendants of *encomenderos* were at the apex of Arequipa's society in 1600. Wealth was important in identifying social status, and



Arequipa, Peru, was a major producer of wine and brandy for Peru and the mining districts of Charcas. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

in the 17th century, the elite expanded to incorporate immigrant nobles and officials. Fine urban residences, significant land ownership, and offices were signs of elite status.

By the end of the 16th century, Arequipa's wine producers had lost northern markets, including Lima, to producers in Ica, Pisco, and Nazca. Increased TAXATION and a shortage of workers were additional burdens. An earthquake and accompanying volcanic eruptions on February 18, 1600, were a further blow, reducing the wine yield in 1601 to only 5 percent of its previous annual level. Despite subsequent EARTHQUAKES in 1604 further damaging the industry, some producers remained. Debt, lower wine prices with few exceptions until the 1660s, competition, and taxation weakened the viticulturists. Landholdings became smaller, as the inheritance system divided properties not protected by entail (*MAYORAZGO*). Labor, however, was generally available during the 17th century. The 18th-century solution to overproduction of wine was to turn it into brandy, a fortified beverage in high demand in the mining districts of Upper Peru and an additional source of tax revenue for the Crown.

Although a few of the 40,000 or so Arequipans demonstrated autonomist and even pro-independence sentiments in the 1810s, the city was pro-royalist until independence became a reality following the BATTLE OF AYACUCHO in late 1824. Arequipans then joined other Peruvians in pledging allegiance to the republic in January 1825.

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Argentina See BUENOS AIRES; RÍO DE LA PLATA, VICEROYALTY OF; UNITED PROVINCES OF THE RÍO DE LA PLATA.

Army of the Three Guarantees Created in Mexico in 1821, the Army of the Three Guarantees was the combined forces of Agustín de Iturbide and Vicente Guerrero. Established by the PLAN OF IGUALA, issued on February 24, 1821, the army was to protect an independent Mexico marked by Catholicism as its only religion, a constitutional monarchy as outlined in the plan, and the equality of Spaniards and all Mexicans (*Unión*). The Three Guarantees, thus, were religion, independence, and union.

Iturbide promised that the army's officers would retain their prior ranks and welcomed volunteers. Unlike

patriot armies in South America, the Army of the Three Guarantees had to fight no major battles, and its ranks expanded as former royalists and patriots joined. By the end of July 1821, the army controlled almost every important site in Mexico; the exceptions were MEXICO CITY, VERACRUZ, ACAPULCO, and Perote. After the incoming captain general and superior political chief (the reduced, constitutional title of the office previously known as VICEROY) Juan O'Donojú and Iturbide signed the Treaty of Córdoba on August 24, 1821, the army accompanied the triumphant Iturbide into Mexico City on September 27, 1821.

Victory stimulated expectations in the army. In the months following the publication of the Plan of Iguala, some officers had received three or more promotions. The career officer Iturbide appreciated that support of the army was critical for his success.

Maintaining the army required financial resources. By spring 1822, these were unavailable, and the Mexican congress authorized reductions of 8 to 20 percent in the salaries of officers, soldiers, and civilian government employees. Only Iturbide, his father, and O'Donojú's widow were exempt from this decree.

After the elevation of Iturbide as Emperor Agustín I in May 1822, the Army of the Three Guarantees was known as the Imperial Army.

See also GUERRERO, VICENTE (Vol. III); ITURBIDE, AGUSTÍN DE (Vol. III).

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art The use of visual images was important to Europeans in America from the time of the conquest. Hernando Cortés distributed images of the Virgin Mary and crosses on his way to Tenochtitlán. Given the importance of visual images in 16th-century Catholicism, it is not surprising that the friars who followed the conquistadores used them in their efforts to convert the indigenous population.

The Spanish solved the immediate problem of supply of images by training NATIVE AMERICANS to paint them, employing Spanish artists who came to the colonies, and importing prints from Spain. FRANCISCAN and AUGUSTINIAN friars established schools for the indigenous that included instruction in painting using European prints as models and European equipment and techniques. Colonial painting of religious figures and scenes was established by the 1560s when the first significant European painter reached NEW SPAIN in the entourage of VICEROY Gastón de Peralta. Other immigrant paint-



An example of sculpture in New Spain, this equestrian statue of Spanish king Charles IV was cast by Manuel Tolsá in Mexico City in 1802. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

ers arrived subsequently, providing a pool of professional instructors as well as paintings in varied styles. The importation of European prints was also important in introducing particular styles. Some artists in Seville, for example, Juan de Luzón, painted exclusively for the American market, often producing at least 99 copies of a single work to be rolled up for shipping. A shipment of canvases he made in 1660 reveals the subjects he thought would sell: famous men (12), virgin saints (18), angels (24), child martyrs (36), and fruit still-lives (9). The emphasis on religious subjects was standard at the time. Copies of paintings by Francisco de Zurbarán, who also exported copies of his work to the colonies, Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, and Peter Paul Rubens were among the most influential that reached the INDIES, but colonial artists picked, chose, embellished, omitted, and otherwise modified European models in painting for their local audiences.

The presence of painters and sculptors was most visible in CITIES with enough wealth to support them. These included MEXICO CITY, LIMA, PUEBLA, QUITO, CUZCO, POTOSÍ, SALVADOR DA BAHIA, RIO DE JANEIRO, and, in the 18th century, VILA RICA DO OURO PRÊTO. Patronage by CATHOLIC CHURCH authorities was of particular importance, and painters and other artists benefited from the

widespread desire to avoid undecorated space (*horror vacui*). By 1556, painters in Mexico City had established a guild; 32 painters in Lima tried unsuccessfully in 1649 to do so, but the effort documents a significant number of artists in the viceregal capital. Cuzco, known for its painters, in the 1680s had at least 47, of whom 35 were Andeans, seven were CREOLES OR MESTIZOS, four were PENINSULARS, and one was Italian. Until about 1650, Cuzco's painters used the techniques of the Renaissance; subsequently, they adapted baroque style to their work, although the subjects could be thoroughly local. In the 18th century, workshops in Cuzco produced large numbers of paintings by employing artists who specialized in particular features, for example, faces, hands, and landscapes. The statue of Charles IV in Mexico City is a fine example of locally produced sculpture.

Casta paintings became popular in NEW SPAIN in the 18th century; only one set is known for PERU (see *CASTAS*). Although the backgrounds changed over time, these paintings represented family scenes with parents of different racial lineages and the resulting child.

Decorative arts built upon preconquest and European skills and techniques and the commercial exchange with East Asia through Manila. The results were of such beauty that some found not only local and regional markets but also purchasers in Europe. By the early 17th century, Puebla replaced Mexico City as a major producer of ceramics. Blue and white ceramics inspired by Chinese imports appeared by 1630 and complemented the architectural tiles produced in Puebla from the 16th century onward. *Búcaros de Indias*, a type of earthenware that preserved scents and was even ingested in small amounts by women who could afford them, became extraordinarily popular among females of Spain's high nobility in the 17th century. Decorative screens modeled after Japanese folding screens became prominent in the same century. The use of mother-of-pearl in oil paintings (*enconchados*) was a unique contribution of artists in New Spain in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Lacquerwares produced in limited regions of New Spain and Peru grew out of indigenous traditions using New World organic materials rather than the resin employed in East Asia. Pasto in present-day Ecuador was a major center for the production of lacquerware. A different set of materials was used in Pátzcuaro and at other Mexican sites.

Items made of silver were another form of art in colonial Latin America. Preconquest artists made decorative items of both GOLD and SILVER of such quality that an early friar in New Spain wrote, "they are better than the Spanish silversmiths." Early examples of indigenous craftsmanship similarly astonished viewers in Europe. The discovery of vast quantities of silver by the mid-16th century at ZACATECAS and Potosí soon resulted in its widespread use for both decorative and utilitarian purposes in churches and well-to-do secular society. Organized silversmiths were at the top of colonial guilds.

Drinking cups, monstresses, tableware, salvers, and other items were among the products made throughout the colonial period.

See also ART (Vols. I, III, IV).

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Artigas, José Gervasio (b. 1764–d. 1850) *creole leader of independence movement in Banda Oriental* Born in MONTEVIDEO, José Gervasio Artigas attended a Franciscan school in Montevideo and learned the skills of a GAUCHO. He rode horses, hunted cattle on his family's rural properties, and smuggled hides and other cattle products from the interior of the BANDA ORIENTAL for sale in Montevideo. In 1797, he joined a military unit (Cuerpo de Blandengues) charged with eliminating outlaws from the region, quickly winning promotion and becoming recognized as a prominent CREOLE soldier.

Artigas contributed little either when Montevideo became the base for SANTIAGO LINIERS Y BREMOND'S attack on the British forces that had taken BUENOS AIRES in late June 1806 or during Montevideo's unsuccessful defense against General Samuel Auchmuty's reinforcements in early February 1807. The British proceeded to occupy the city until September 1807. The long-standing rivalry between Montevideo and Buenos Aires intensified after word arrived on August 1, 1808, of the popular uprising in Spain against the French the preceding May. Under the leadership of Governor FRANCISCO JAVIER ELÍO of the Banda Oriental, Montevideo created a short-lived junta on September 21, 1808, and took a pro-Spanish position against Liniers's alleged pro-French sympathies; Liniers responded by sending an expedition to invade the capital (see JUNTAS). Newly arrived VICEROY BALDASAR HIDALGO DE CISNEROS removed Liniers from office, and the junta in Montevideo dissolved. Elío was rewarded with a promotion to inspector and second-in-command of the troops in the VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA, although Cisneros sent him to Spain in 1810. When Buenos Aires created a junta on May 26, 1810,

and called for Montevideo to recognize it, the *CABILDO ABIERTO* of the city chose to recognize the government in Spain.

Between late 1807 and his long-delayed promotion as captain of the Blandengues in September 1810, Artigas devoted himself to dealing with outlaws in the interior of the Banda Oriental. Elío followed his return as governor with a declaration of war on February 12, 1811, against the junta of Buenos Aires. On February 15, 1811, Artigas, now a respected gaucho leader, abandoned his post at COLÔNIA DO SACRAMENTO, went to Buenos Aires, and promoted independence of the Banda Oriental. Named a lieutenant colonel by the junta of Buenos Aires and given 150 men, Artigas went to Entre Ríos, adjacent to the Banda Oriental, and gathered supporters. By May 1811, his forces of about 1,000 men had surrounded Montevideo. On May 18, they defeated a Spanish army at the Battle of Las Piedras in a victory that, nonetheless, left Elío with his naval forces in Montevideo, a base from which he negotiated an alliance with the Portuguese army in nearby Rio Grande.

The Portuguese invasion threatened both Montevideo and Buenos Aires; a treaty signed on October 20, 1811, brought a Portuguese withdrawal and a return of the Banda Oriental and part of Entre Ríos to Elío. When Artigas led a withdrawal of his forces, an estimated 80 percent of the population of the rural districts of the Banda Oriental gathered their possessions, scorched the earth behind them, and followed his 4,000 men to Entre Ríos. The arrival in Artigas's camp in June 1812 of Manuel de Sarratea of the First Triumvirate in Buenos Aires forced the incorporation of the patriot leader's forces into the Army of the North. Artigas almost immediately clashed with Sarratea, and over the succeeding months the centralist ambitions of Buenos Aires became unmistakable. Ordered to lead his men in support of the siege of Montevideo in December 1812, Artigas broke with Sarratea.

The government in Buenos Aires convoked a General Constituent Assembly of the UNITED PROVINCES OF THE RÍO DE LA PLATA for January 30, 1813. The assembly sought to impose centralist authority, but Artigas convoked his own congress for the Banda Oriental that met near Montevideo on April 5, 1813, to provide instructions for deputies to the assembly. The congress, with Artigas as president, established the Provincia Oriental made up of the people of the Banda Oriental. The congress also claimed the seven MISSIONS, as well as four more east of the Uruguay River, opened the ports of Maldonado and Colônia to free trade (Montevideo was still under Spanish control), and set forth a federalist system of government. In short, the congress called for independence from Buenos Aires and sought a complete break with Spain.

Not surprisingly, the General Constituent Assembly refused to seat the deputies from the Banda Oriental. On January 20, 1814, Artigas and more than 1,000 troops

abandoned the siege of Montevideo to the forces from Buenos Aires. In response, the Supreme Directorate that assumed authority in Buenos Aires on January 22, 1814, declared Artigas an outlaw. The surrender of Montevideo to the forces of Buenos Aires on June 23, 1814, ended Spanish rule in the Banda Oriental. It meant, however, that the Banda Oriental was divided between Montevideo under the rule of Buenos Aires and the rural areas. The rapaciousness of the new overlords soon led to renewed support for Artigas and fighting in the Littoral Provinces between his federalists and supporters of Buenos Aires. The latter gained the upper hand and in December launched a campaign to drive the federalists out of the Banda Oriental. A federalist victory at Guayabos in January 1815, however, drove the Argentine forces into Entre Ríos. On February 25, the *porteño* forces in Montevideo set sail for Buenos Aires. The Banda Oriental was independent, and the period known as the *Patria Vieja* began.

The *ECONOMY* of the Banda Oriental was moribund as a consequence of the civil war and *porteño* occupation. Royalists in general and *PENINSULARS* in particular were subjected to discrimination and confiscation of property then granted to patriots. Despite his proposals to restore prosperity to cattle raising and *AGRICULTURE*, Artigas, then at the height of his success, found the task impossibly difficult, even before the Portuguese invasion of August 1816.

Artigas's strong federalist stand gained support outside the Banda Oriental from other regions determined to avoid *porteño* domination. Buenos Aires, however, agreed to the Portuguese invasion of the Banda Oriental. In January 1817, the Portuguese entered Montevideo. In January 1819, Artigas's forces were defeated and crossed the Uruguay River into Entre Ríos. Defeat at the hands of erstwhile ally Entre Ríos in July 1820 definitively ended Artigas's years as an important federalist leader. He went into exile in *PARAGUAY*, where he died many years later.

Artigas was a strong leader whose federalism served as a counterpoint to the centralism of politicians in Buenos Aires desirous of controlling the old Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata. He gave the Banda Oriental a taste of independence but was unable to withstand the enmity of Buenos Aires on the one hand and the Portuguese army on the other.

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asiento The term *asiento* refers to a long-term, monopolistic contract between the Spanish Crown and an individual or company for the sale of licenses to export African slaves to Spanish America (see *SLAVERY*). The recipient of the contract (*asentista*) paid the Crown

an agreed sum and then sold licenses for amounts that together exceeded the payment the Crown received. Thus the *asentista* worked with both the Crown and slave merchants.

The Crown tried and then gave up the use of an *asiento* in the early 16th century. The union of the crowns of Castile and Portugal (1580–1640) provided another opportunity, for the Portuguese were the primary exporters of slaves from Africa. Licenses directed slave merchants to overseas regions that needed labor. The use of an *asiento* also provided predictability of income to a crown invariably facing serious fiscal problems. Nonetheless, the system had problems. The four *asientos* issued between 1595 and 1622 failed to provide either the contractors or the Crown the benefits anticipated; the next two were better but proved incapable of restraining slave merchants from exporting contraband slaves and *TRADE* goods. A 1663 *asiento* with the English joint stock company, the Royal Adventurers, failed miserably as the company could not provide the promised annual quota of 3,500 slaves. In 1701, the Spanish Crown agreed to a 10-year *asiento* with the French Guinea Company for 4,800 *piezas de Indias* (the standard slave unit). Although the agreement angered the English, it was never fully implemented.

The *asiento* included in the *TREATY OF UTRECHT* authorized the British to enjoy monopoly rights to export 4,800 *piezas de Indias* to Spain's overseas territories for 30 years upon payment of a specified tax to the Spanish Crown. The British also received permission to send an annual ship laden with merchandise to each of three colonial ports in order to ensure against financial losses resulting from the slave trade. On September 7, 1713, the British queen awarded the right to conduct the trade to the South Sea Company.

This *asiento* and the accompanying annual ships resulted in extensive contraband trade and Spanish recriminations. Three separate wars between 1718 and 1748 reduced the number of slaves legally exported. After 1719, Kingston, *JAMAICA*, became the principal entrepôt for slaves subsequently sent to the Spanish colonies. The South Sea Company ultimately created factories, or trading posts, at *CARTAGENA*, *BUENOS AIRES*, *VERACRUZ*, *HAVANA*, *SANTIAGO de Cuba*, *CARACAS*, *PORTOBELLO*, and *PANAMA*; all of these except Buenos Aires received slaves who had previously been sent to Kingston. Because of its location, Buenos Aires received slaves up to 1,200 *piezas de Indias* directly from Africa; many of the slaves it received were then sent to *CHARCAS*, and some were sent to *CHILE*. Abuses of the British *asiento* were such that they became a major source of antipathy between Great Britain and Spain. In 1750, the two governments agreed to end the *asiento*.

Following the demise of the *asiento* with the South Sea Company, the Spanish Crown kept slave trade contracts separate from international diplomacy. Instead, it made limited monopolies available to Spanish joint

stock companies, for example, the REAL COMPAÑÍA GUIPÚZCOANA DE CARACAS, to supply a specified region, in this case VENEZUELA. Finally, as part of *COMERCIO LIBRE*, in 1789, the Crown authorized Spaniards to purchase slaves for resale from any ally or neutral nation.

See also *ASIENTO* (Vol. I).

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Colin A. Palmer. *Human Cargoes: The British Slave Trade to Spanish America, 1700–1739* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981).

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Asunción Founded on August 15, 1537, by Juan de Salazar y Espinosa, the “Mother of Cities” was the base for the resettlement of BUENOS AIRES in 1580 and other municipalities including Corrientes, Santa Fe, and Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Located on the Paraguay River some 950 miles (1,530 km) from BUENOS AIRES, it served as the capital of PARAGUAY, covered a region of about 60,000 square miles (155,400 km²), and was home to the provincial governor, a MUNICIPAL COUNCIL, and a bishop. Its population numbered a little more than 3,500 by 1565, about 6,500 in 1761, and more than 7,000 when independence was declared on May 14, 1811.

Within two years of Asunción’s founding, GUARANÍ leaders planned an uprising against the Spaniards as a result of mistreatment. The plot was foiled after a Guaraní woman informed a Spaniard, and Governor Domingo Martínez de Irala hung 10 CACIQUES. Acting on royal orders, the governor subsequently assigned Indians in *ENCOMIENDAS* to Spanish settlers. In 1556, some 20,000 indigenous people, most in villages near Asunción, were held by 320 *encomenderos*. After the FRANCISCANS resettled the NATIVE AMERICANS in reductions, most of the Indians in *encomiendas* lived in the new villages (see *REDUCCIÓN*).

The JESUITS established their first secondary school (*COLEGIO*) in their province of Paraquariae—which included Paraguay, Buenos Aires, Tucumán, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and part of Peru—in Asunción. They also established 30 MISSIONS along the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers, a source of conflict and rivalry with the notables of Asunción who came to the fore during the COMUNERO REVOLT OF PARAGUAY in the early 18th century. It took the expulsion of the Society of Jesus in 1767 to end the conflict.

With the creation of the intendency of Paraguay in 1783, the INTENDANT resided in Asunción and promoted an improvement program. The cathedral was restored, a public elementary school for Spanish and indigenous youth and a new hospital were constructed, streets were repaved and lit with lamps, and flood protection was erected.

When the crisis of empire began after the abdications of FERDINAND VII and CHARLES IV, Intendant Bernardo de Velasco convoked on July 24, 1810, a *CABILDO ABIERTO* of some 200 notables, who agreed to recognize the COUNCIL OF REGENCY in Spain. This provoked a military response by the junta of Buenos Aires, but, after two defeats, the invading army left Paraguay in 1811. On May 14, 1811, the CREOLE elite named two associates as cogovernors and three days later declared that Paraguay would not join with Buenos Aires or any foreign country. This de facto independence was confirmed with the creation of an independent republic on October 12, 1813, and ultimately led to the long dictatorship of José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia.

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Atahualpa, Juan Santos (b. ca. 1710–d. ca. 1756) *indigenous guerrilla leader in Peru* In 1742, Juan Santos Atahualpa began an insurrection from the jungle region (*montaña*) on the eastern side of PERU’s central highlands that initiated what has been called the Age of Andean Insurrection (1742–82). Declaring himself a descendant of the executed Inca ruler Atahualpa, Juan Santos Atahualpa led guerrilla forces made up of both jungle peoples and migrants from the highlands in attacks that forced Spanish colonizers out of the area.

In his messianic mission, Atahualpa proclaimed himself Sapa Inca, or ruler of the Inca people; announced he was beginning a new era that would free the indigenous from Spanish rule and oppression; and set about trying to regain his ancestors’ kingdom. Starting from the *montaña*, he proposed to gain control of the highlands and then proceed to LIMA for coronation. He enjoyed success in the *montaña*, driving out FRANCISCANS and overcoming their MISSIONS and restored the area to indigenous control. Using highlanders who had fled Spanish rule as contacts, he appealed to other Indians living in the highlands. Although the rebels made forays into the highlands, ultimately, they were restricted to the *montaña*.

The rebellion alarmed authorities in Lima, but four military expeditions in 1742, 1743, 1746, and 1750 did not succeed in quashing it. Finally, the Spanish authorities decided to establish forts and a mobile sentry system along the border between the highlands and the jungle to keep rebel forces from penetrating the highlands.

Spanish authorities had reason to worry about the rebellion’s appeal in the highlands. Some highlanders had already joined the rebel forces, and others were interested in the messianic movement. For example, conspirators in

Huarocharí who wanted to restore Inca rule sought contact with the rebel leader. With the threat of a violent uprising in the highlands, colonial authorities worked to maintain tranquillity. The failure of the rebels to create a permanent base in the highlands after taking Andamarca in 1752 brought an end to military conflict. Several years later Juan Santos Atahualpa vanished.

The rebellion led by Atahualpa demonstrated the strength and weakness of anti-Spanish sympathies and the continued attractiveness of the idea of Inca rule among the indigenous peoples. That the movement restored control of the jungle region east of the central highlands to NATIVE AMERICANS and that this lasted into the mid-1750s confirm its strength. That it could not advance successfully into the highlands reveals its weakness in the face of Spanish determination to maintain the domination established in the 16th century.

See also ATAHUALPA (Vol. I).

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audiencia *Audiencias* were both regional tribunals and the name given to the areas of their jurisdictions. During their reign, Ferdinand and Isabella strengthened royal authority in Castile partly by improving the administration of justice and utilizing Roman law. They employed regional courts known as chancelleries in Valladolid and Granada and *audiencias* in Seville and La Coruña. Staffed with university-trained lawyers who served as judges and crown attorneys, these primarily appellate tribunals had overwhelmingly judicial responsibilities. As the tribunals were demonstrating their utility in Spain, the conquest and colonization of the New World was under way. In order to establish authority in the emerging colonies, the Crown turned again to *audiencias*, but distance and long delays in communication forced it to give the colonial tribunals significantly more authority than their Iberian counterparts.

Between 1511 and 1606, the Crown established the following colonial *audiencias*: SANTO DOMINGO, 1511, moved to Puerto Príncipe in 1799; MEXICO, 1527; PANAMA, 1538, reestablished in 1564; GUATEMALA, 1543; LIMA, 1543; GUADALAJARA, 1548; Santa Fe de BOGOTÁ, 1548; CHARCAS, or LA PLATA, 1559; QUITO, 1563; CHILE, 1563, reestablished in SANTIAGO DE CHILE in 1606; and Manila, 1583. *Audiencias* were usually referred to by the name of the capital city where the tribunal resided.

These tribunals had 76 authorized positions of *OIDOR*, *ALCALDE DEL CRIMEN*, and *FISCAL* in the late 17th century. In 1776, the Crown added the position of regent to each court and a second *fiscal* to those tribunals lacking one. Between the creation of the first *audiencia* in 1511 and 1821, more than 1,400 men were named judges and crown attorneys on the courts.

A court established in BUENOS AIRES in 1661 was abolished in 1672. In the 18th century, the Crown eliminated the Audiencia of Panama in 1751 and created new courts in Buenos Aires (1783), CARACAS (1786), and CUZCO (1787).

As the highest-ranking civil institution under the district's chief executive (VICEROY, president, or captain general), *audiencias* held power in judicial, executive, and legislative matters. They enjoyed first-instance jurisdiction for cases involving the royal treasury (REAL HACIENDA) and certain cases in their cities of residence. In addition, they were courts of appeal with final authority over criminal and most civil cases within their jurisdictions.

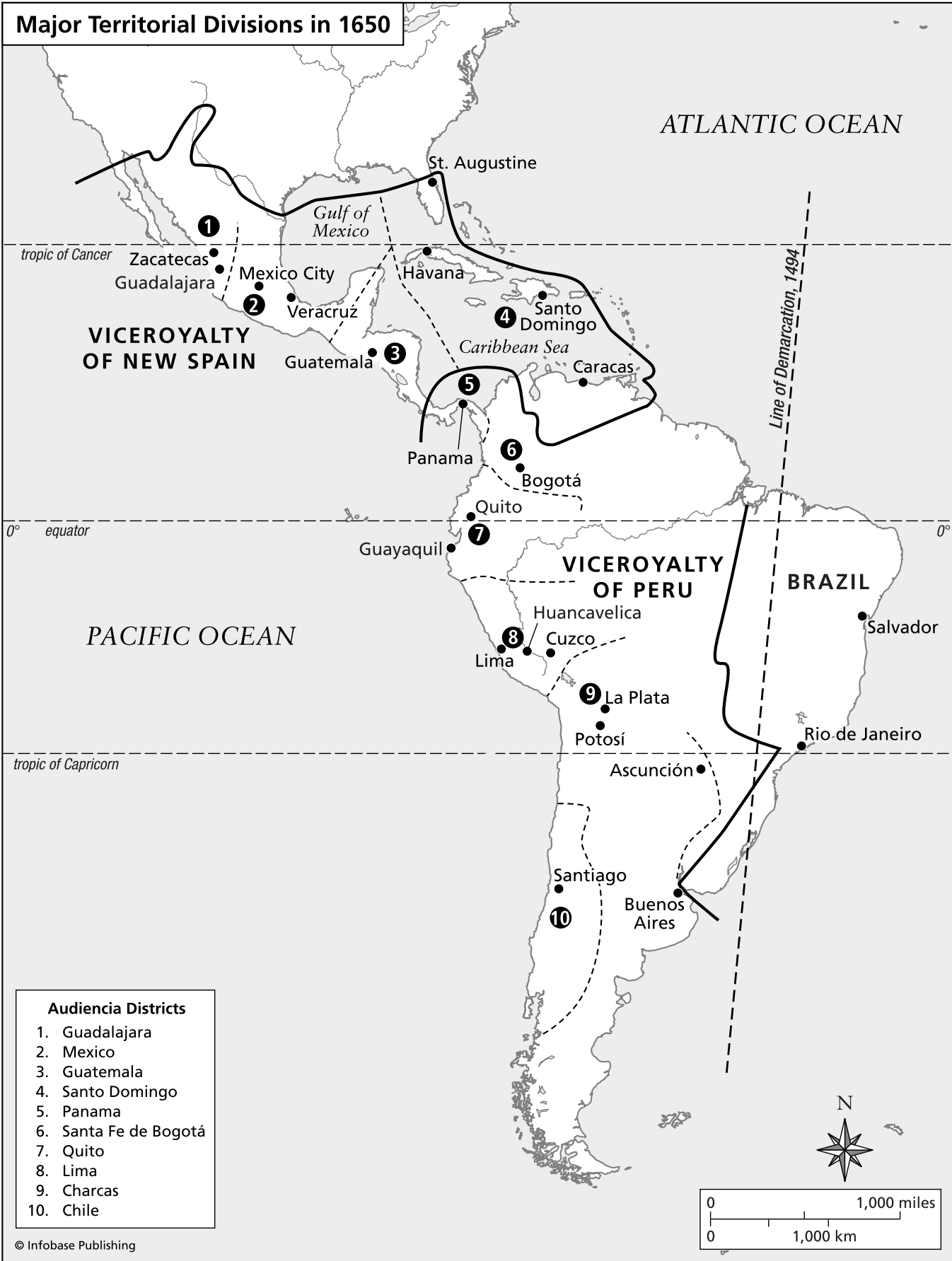
The tribunals also had legislative and executive responsibilities. They advised the chief executive on important questions, assumed his duties during his absence, and enforced laws. Ministers often were assigned to inspect conditions within their districts, and frequently a judge sat with corporate bodies, for example, the Consulado of Lima (see *CONSULADO*).

With rare exceptions, *audiencia* ministers held baccalaureate or higher degrees in civil law, canon law, or both. They served for life or at the pleasure of the king and thus often had longer tenure in a capital city than the chief executive, who, consequently, could ignore them only at his peril. With their far-reaching authority, the *audiencias* thus served, always in theory and often in fact, as an important check on other institutions of government. They also often served as a mouthpiece for important factions of local elites.

Although initially ministers named to *audiencias* in the INDIES were of PENINSULAR birth, CREOLES (American-born Spaniards) obtained a substantial number of appointments from the early 17th century. When the Crown began to sell appointments systematically in 1687, creoles rushed to purchase them, especially if available to the court in the district of their birth. When sales ended in 1750, native sons held more than 20 percent of the posts, and long-serving ministers (*radicados*) accounted for nearly 60 percent. For decades the Crown sought to reduce this direct and indirect local influence in the *audiencias*. With the expansion of the tribunals in 1776 and the accompanying appointment of almost exclusively peninsular ministers, local influence reached its nadir in 1777 and never again rivaled that which followed the sale of appointments.

In the latter part of the 18th century, promotion of ministers with extensive experience on American *audiencias* to the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES became routine. The creation of the office of regent for each tribunal in 1776 resulted in their incumbents regularly gaining advancement to the Council from 1783.

As symbols of royal authority, *audiencias* were targets for AUTONOMISTS in the crisis of authority that arose in 1808. By the end of 1810, *audiencia* ministers had been expelled from tribunals in Buenos Aires, Caracas, Santiago, and Bogotá. The wars of independence brought



an end to the *audiencias* of the American mainlands. In the new states, supreme courts were restricted to judicial matters as one branch of divided government.

See also *AUDIENCIA* (Vol. I).

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Tamar Herzog. *Upholding Justice: Society, State, and the Penal System in Quito (1650–1750)* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004).

Augustinians The third mendicant order to reach NEW SPAIN, seven Augustinians arrived in MEXICO CITY on June 7, 1533, behind the FRANCISCANS and the DOMINICANS. By 1559, there were 212 Augustinians in New Spain, distributed principally among convents located south of Mexico City, in the present state of Hidalgo and the northern parts of present-day Puebla and Veracruz, and westward in Michoacán.

The Augustinians allowed Amerindians to receive mass prior to baptism, which they administered to adults only four times a year. Unlike the Franciscans and Dominicans, they had considerable confidence in the indigenous peoples' ability to comprehend Christianity.

The Augustinians proved particularly adept at founding "villages of evangelization" organized in the Spanish manner around a central plaza that served as a market area and site for a fountain as well as frontage for a church, schools, and a municipal building. These congregations of individuals from various Indian villages enabled more efficient instruction and provision of the sacraments (see *CONGREGACIÓN*). Friars lived in the new villages and typically planted gardens and orchards that included plants and trees of Spanish origin; they also raised domestic animals.

Large and well-appointed churches and convents, complete with organs, were characteristic of the Augustinians, although not all of their buildings achieved this high standard (see *ARCHITECTURE*; *ART*). NATIVE AMERICANS provided the labor for churches and convents, large and small. Talented indigenous musicians were even sent to Mexico City for training at the expense of the order. Nonetheless, the Augustinians, like the Franciscans and the Dominicans, did not train Amerindians for the clergy.

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auto de fe (auto-da-fé) The *auto de fe* (act of faith), rendered *auto-da-fé* in Portuguese, was either a private or public event that resulted from a guilty verdict by a bishop

in the role of inquisitor or the Tribunal of the INQUISITION after its introduction in LIMA in 1570, MEXICO CITY in 1571, and CARTAGENA DE INDIAS in 1610. The *auto de fe* made public who—other than NATIVE AMERICANS who were exempt from the tribunal's jurisdiction—threatened the morality and religious beliefs of the righteous. It was the occasion at which the Inquisition decreed penance, that is, punishment, for the guilty, and publicly demonstrated its hatred of heresy in its many forms.

Public *autos de fe* were enormously popular spectacles. Between 1574 and 1596, seven important ones were held in Mexico City. The first was on February 28, 1574. At this event, 74 convicts wearing the yellow garb (*san benito*) that identified them heard their punishments. Included in their number were a number of the English corsairs captured with JOHN HAWKINS in 1568. Their crime was heresy, specifically Protestant beliefs. As Protestants, French Huguenots captured during a piratical raid received similar treatment by the inquisitors.

As in Mexico City, public *autos de fe* in Lima were held in the central plaza. Invitations were sent in advance to the VICEROY and to the *AUDIENCIA*, city council, university, and other corporate bodies. Public criers made the general populace aware of the event. A mass opened the ceremony at 6:00 A.M. at the offices of the Inquisition. Joined by the corporate bodies, the inquisitors went to the *PLAZA MAYOR* as part of a great procession, which included the convicts. Following a sermon, penance was announced for each convict, male and female. The convicts then had the opportunity to abjure their transgressions before penance was administered. For nonrepentant heretics, the punishment was death by burning, a sentence administered by a civil official. This sentence, however, was highly unusual; not infrequently, the effigy of a deceased convict was burned.

The public *autos de fe* reminded viewers of the values the CATHOLIC CHURCH sought to inculcate while also warning them of the consequences of ignoring them. The largest *autos de fe* were in the late 16th and the 17th centuries. Thereafter, they were infrequent and smaller. The CORTES OF CÁDIZ abolished the Inquisition by decree on February 22, 1813. Although FERDINAND VII reestablished the tribunals soon after his return to the throne in 1814, the age of large, public *autos de fe* was over.

Although representatives of the Inquisition were occasionally sent from Portugal to Brazil, no Tribunal of the Inquisition was established in the colony. Arrested persons were sent to Lisbon for trial. Thus Brazil was spared the spectacle of *autos de fe*.

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autonomists In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the call from particularly CREOLES in Spain's colonies

for equality with PENINSULARS in terms of income, office, social status, and influence became more strident. The number of these autonomists increased as Spain's European wars and alliances drained colonial financial resources while returning no discernible benefits. Still loyal to the Spanish Crown, the autonomists wanted greater local participation in determining the economic and social policies that affected their native regions, for example, CHILE, VENEZUELA, and NEW SPAIN.

The extension of the consolidation of royal bills (*CONSOLIDACIÓN DE VALES REALES*) to the colonies in 1804 explicitly and expensively made the autonomists' point. The Crown's demand for cash threatened serious economic damage to property owners with outstanding loans from ecclesiastical bodies. Thus, it clearly and adversely affected residents in the colonies, regardless of place of birth, and underscored the second-class status of the colonies.

Again, the Crown's vacillation between allowing and prohibiting neutral trade starting in 1797 emphasized its willingness to favor merchants in Spain at the expense of producers and merchants in the colonies, such as, for example, INDIGO producers in GUATEMALA.

The constitutional crisis following the abdications of FERDINAND VII and CHARLES IV in 1808 turned autonomists into identifiable political groups. The response to the crisis in Spain was the rapid appearance of JUNTAS claiming to represent a region, for example, Seville, Murcia, and Oviedo, in the absence of the legitimate monarch. In a number of colonies, Spaniards, mostly of American birth, quickly sought to emulate their peninsular cousins. Thus, in Mexico, an autonomist group based primarily on the capital's city council argued that the absence of the monarch meant that sovereignty returned to the people, that is, themselves as the people's representatives. The argument was similarly employed in CARACAS, BUENOS AIRES, SANTIAGO DE CHILE, QUITO, La Paz, and elsewhere.

The call by the JUNTA CENTRAL in Spain for elected representatives from the colonies encouraged autonomists to believe that real change was possible within the empire. The COUNCIL OF REGENCY's proclamation calling for the election of deputies to the Cortes from the colonies as part of a "Spanish nation" suggested that the day of a new equality was at hand and resonated favorably with autonomists.

Although the formula employed to determine the number of deputies from the overseas territories revealed the distance from true equality, the very presence of American deputies documented progress. Similarly, how the term *citizen* was defined in the Spanish CONSTITUTION OF 1812 testified to peninsular unwillingness to grant equality based on total population, an unwillingness grounded in the smaller population in Spain. This carefully worded discrimination against persons who *originated* in Africa, however, did have support from some overseas deputies.

The implementation of constitutional provisions for the establishment of constitutional MUNICIPAL COUNCILS and PROVINCIAL DEPUTATIONS furthered the cause of autonomists. Their ephemeral existence frustrated this tangible move toward greater local and regional autonomy.

More than anything else, Ferdinand VII's nullification of all acts taken by the governments of resistance in Spain, including the Constitution of 1812, and his resort to military force, most notably in the expeditionary force led by PABLO MORILLO to Venezuela and NEW GRANADA, turned autonomists into supporters of political independence. Although the restoration of the Constitution of 1812 in 1820 resulted in the election of American deputies to the Cortes, it was quickly apparent that the limitations placed on the overseas territories and an unwillingness to consider seriously the possibility of separate monarchies within the Spanish nation meant they were wasting their time. Persons interested in greater autonomy decided political independence was the only remaining course of action for achieving home rule.

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Avis dynasty The House of Avis ruled Portugal from 1385 to 1580, when PHILIP II of Spain became Philip I of Portugal. Under the Avis dynasty, Portugal emerged as a leader in exploration. Its expeditions followed the Atlantic coast of Africa, encountered and colonized the Madeira Islands, Azores, and Cape Verde Islands, established factories and a trade in slaves, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and reached and established bases in India and Southeast Asia, as well as a major colony in BRAZIL.

The marriage of the aged Portuguese monarch John II (r. 1481–95) to Juana of Castile, the daughter of Castilian monarch Henry IV, according to her supporters, but of a royal favorite to her opponents, briefly provided an opportunity to unite Portugal and Castile. Yet, the success of Ferdinand and Isabella and John II's death left the two monarchies independent.

Although Portugal had established a base at Ceuta in 1415 and subsequently at other coastal sites in Morocco, its hold was tenuous. By 1550, it retained only Ceuta, Tangier, and the fortress of Mazagão. The final Avis monarch, Sebastian I, was declared of age in 1568. Obsessed with WAR and RELIGION, he combined them in a fatal crusade in Morocco launched in 1578. His death opened the way for Philip II of Spain to assume the Crown of Portugal in 1580 through a claim based on his mother Isabella, eldest daughter of Manuel I.

See also MONARCHS OF PORTUGAL (Vol. I).

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Ayacucho, Battle of (December 9, 1824) In June and July 1821, VICEROY José de la Serna moved the royalist army and all of the SILVER he could obtain from LIMA into the interior of PERU. This allowed JOSÉ DE SAN MARTÍN to lead his army into the city, to finance and supply his army, and to intimidate Lima's inhabitants into a declaration of independence, signed in July 1821. The viceroy used Huancayo as his headquarters at first but moved to CUZCO in December. General José Canterac, whom La Serna had sent from Lima in June 1821, moved near to the city in September but then withdrew. For his part, San Martín met with SIMÓN BOLÍVAR and then left Peru in September 1822. On June 18, 1823, Canterac moved his army into Lima but remained only until July 16.

Royalist forces returned to the capital in February 1824 and remained until December. However, it was battles in the Andes rather than possession of the capital that determined independence. On August 6, 1824, Canterac's army was defeated at the BATTLE OF JUNÍN; he was able to lead his forces to Cuzco, however, where he joined de la Serna and his army.

The defeat of the combined royalist forces of some 9,300 men near Ayacucho on December 9, 1824, by a republican army of about 5,800 men led by Bolívar's celebrated lieutenant Antonio José de Sucre ensured that Peru and the rest of Spanish South America would be independent. Sucre's forces captured Viceroy de Serna, and royalist general Canterac surrendered unconditionally. While some staunch royalists remained in Upper Peru and the besieged royalists in the fortress at CALLAO did not surrender until January 23, 1826, the defeat at Ayacucho was irreversible. Spain's mainland empire had effectively come to an end.

Sucre's victory at Ayacucho and subsequent victories in Upper Peru resulted in his election as president of Bolivia, named in honor of Bolívar. Sucre's chief of staff at Ayacucho, General Agustín Gamarra, later became president of Peru, as did his general of the second division, José de la Mar.

See also SUCRE, ANTONIO JOSÉ DE (Vol. III).

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Aycinena y de Yrigoyen, Juan Fermín de (b. 1729–d. 1796) *Spanish merchant in Guatemala* Born in Ciga, Baztán, Navarre, as a young man Juan Fermín de Aycinena y de Yrigoyen left Navarre for MEXICO CITY, where he remained briefly before “running mules in Oaxaca” for some four years and emerging with the tidy sum of nearly 20,000 pesos. By 1754, he was in Santiago de Guatemala, where he remained until his death. In the next 20 years, he emerged as Central America's most important wholesale merchant and banker and an important officeholder. In 1783, he entered the Order of Santiago and acquired the title marquis of Aycinena, becoming the only titled noble in the Kingdom of GUATEMALA. He served as the initial presiding officer of the Consulado (merchant guild) of Guatemala following its creation in 1794 (see CONSULADO). Just prior to his death, he created an entailed estate (*MAYORAZGO*), a legal device for preserving the family's fortune.

Aycinena's marriage in 1755 to Ana María Carrillo y Gálvez brought him an enormous dowry of more than 178,000 pesos, as well as ties to a powerful FAMILY network long involved in offices and trade. The marriage underscored the importance of ambitious and successful PENINSULARS joining and rejuvenating established elite families. After Ana María's death in 1768, Aycinena married María Micaela Nájera Mencos in 1771 and, following his second wife's death, Micaela Piñol Muñoz in about 1785. These marriages and then those of his children placed his own extended family at the center of Guatemala's elite. Son José Alejandro went to Spain in 1813 after being appointed to the Council of State erected by the CONSTITUTION OF 1812. Subsequently, he was named to the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES.

Successful in all he touched, Aycinena amassed through TRADE and office a fortune of well over 1 million pesos, a sum placing him above contemporaries in Central America and on a par with many of the wealthiest families of NEW SPAIN. He was undoubtedly one of the most powerful men in colonial Central America.

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ayuntamiento See MUNICIPAL COUNCIL.

B

Bahia Originally a donatary province of BRAZIL, Bahia became a royal province with the arrival of Governor Tomé de Sousa in 1549. The lands surrounding the city of SALVADOR DA BAHIA and its bay were known as the Recôncavo and became the location of innumerable SUGAR PLANTATIONS that used water from the bay and the rivers that entered it.

The export market for sugar drove economic growth in the captaincy general of Bahia (see CAPTAINCIES GENERAL). By the 1580s, the province of Bahia had about 40 ENGENHOS and was second to PERNAMBUCO in sugar production. Production grew rapidly until the 1620s, when sugar prices declined briefly. Between 1630 and 1680, the sugar trade was sufficiently profitable that planters were able to continue to replace slaves, a major expense (see SLAVERY). In contrast, much of the century from the 1680s to the 1780s was marked by difficult times, although sugar, mostly grown on plantations, remained Bahia's dominant export.

TOBACCO became the second-ranking export crop. Bahia supplied about 90 percent of Portugal's tobacco in the 17th and 18th centuries and increased this share between 1796 and 1811. The lowest quality tobacco was used in the African slave trade. The local market for foodstuffs also became substantial; cassava (manioc) flour was the central staple in the region's diet. At the end of the 18th century, Bahia exported more sugar than any other captaincy and dominated tobacco sales to Europe as well.

The importation of African slaves profoundly affected the composition of the population of Bahia. By the 1570s, planters were shifting from indigenous to black labor, a shift completed by the 1620s. Between 1570 and 1630, some 4,000 African slaves were imported annually. This

increased to 7,000–8,000 annually until about 1680, at which time about 150,000 slaves were in the captaincy. The cumulative effect of slaves replacing the indigenous population on the sugar plantations was apparent at the end of the colonial period. Of nearly 360,000 persons, whites made up just under 20 percent and Amerindians less than 2 percent, while the remainder consisted of free MULATOS and blacks (about 32 percent), and black slaves (47 percent).

See also DONATARY CAPTAINCIES (Vol. I).

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Bajío The Bajío is the plain of the Lerma River at an altitude between 5,500 and 5,900 feet (1,676–1,798 m) above sea level and located between León and Querétaro in the modern state of GUANAJUATO, Mexico. The region was outside the Aztec Empire and inhabited by unpacified CHICHIMECAS prior to the arrival of the Spaniards. In popular colonial usage, the Bajío included the mountains to the north, home to the great MINING district of Guanajuato.

Most early Spanish settlement in the Bajío consisted of fortified towns established from the mid-1550s to the mid-1580s along the royal road that ran from Mexico City to ZACATECAS and beyond. Towns that would become most important included Querétaro, León, Celaya, San Miguel el Grande, and San Luis de La Paz. The mining camp of Guanajuato, founded in the 1550s, would ultimately surpass the region's other municipalities; the Crown elevated it to the rank of city in 1679.

Normally receiving adequate rainfall for crops, the Bajío became an important agricultural region (see AGRICULTURE). Its originally forested mountains were a critical source of timber and charcoal for the mines. The region also became a prominent location for *OBRAJES* producing woolen textiles.

By the 18th century, the Bajío had emerged as a region distinct from the relatively unpopulated areas to the north and without the majority indigenous population of the viceroyalty as a whole. The population had a mestizo majority and was predominantly located in the region's towns and cities (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*).

A diversified ECONOMY provided economic strength and employment opportunities. Guanajuato was NEW SPAIN'S most important SILVER producer. Woolen textiles were made in the *obrajes* of Querétaro and San Miguel el Grande, while residents of Celaya and Salamanca wove cotton cloth. León specialized in leather goods. Agriculture in the Bajío found markets in the towns of the Bajío as well as in GUADALAJARA.

Employment attracted workers from elsewhere in New Spain and added to a robust rate of reproduction, the population of the intendency of Guanajuato between 1742 and 1792 grew at a rate of over four times greater than the viceroyalty as a whole, despite periodic famines and EPIDEMICS. The availability of a larger workforce enabled property owners in the late 18th century to place more pressure on workers and families that rented land. One consequence was receptiveness to calls to rebellion, starting with MIGUEL HIDALGO Y COSTILLA'S revolt in 1810.

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Banda Oriental Situated along the eastern shore of the RÍO DE LA PLATA, the Banda Oriental was the colonial ancestor of the region that became Uruguay. The terrain offered outstanding pasture, and CATTLE left by early Spanish explorers flourished. In 1680, the Portuguese established COLÔNIA DO SACRAMENTO in a deliberate move to facilitate contraband trade, especially with the SILVER-producing region of CHARCAS. Growing concern over Portuguese expansion and a 1723 landing on the eastern shore provoked the governor of BUENOS AIRES, Bruno Mauricio de Zavala, to lead a small group of soldiers and a larger number of Indians there in 1724. The Portuguese withdrew, and Zavala ordered a fortress to be constructed. Two years later, Zavala returned with a small

group of families originally from the Canary Islands and in 1726 founded San Felipe y Santiago de MONTEVIDEO not far from the original fortress. Montevideo's MUNICIPAL COUNCIL began meeting in 1730.

The Spaniards founded several towns in the Banda Oriental. Montevideo was intended to provide a defense against the Portuguese; Spain constructed a large stone fortress with 300 cannon and a moat between 1742 and 1782. The first political and military governor of the Banda Oriental, José Joaquín de Viana, was appointed in 1749 and took up residence in Montevideo. The second Spanish town established in the Banda Oriental was Maldonado, the most eastern port of the estuary of the Río de la Plata, created between 1755 and 1757. A third Spanish town, Las Minas, was created in 1783.

When the VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA was created in 1776, the Banda Oriental was included in it as a governorship. The population of the Banda Oriental in 1810 was perhaps 60,000–70,000.

Montevideo became home to landowners who had grown wealthy by exporting hides and then salted beef prepared for export at processing factories, or *saladeros*, first introduced in 1780. Large estates were common, and by 1810, most of the Banda Oriental was privately held. The major landowners were also merchants in Montevideo. Their rural workforce included GAUCHOS and indigenous people.

See also BANDA ORIENTAL (Vol. III); URUGUAY (Vols. I, III, IV).

bandeiras Trailblazers and indigenous fighters from the small inland settlement of SÃO PAULO were known as *bandeirantes* because of their participation in armed quasi-military expeditions known as *bandeiras*, *entradas*, or *companhias*. These were undertaken to explore the interior of BRAZIL (*SERTÃO*), looking for Amerindians to enslave, GOLD, SILVER, and emeralds and other precious stones. Most *bandeirantes* were MAMELUCOS of both Portuguese and indigenous ancestry, could speak a form of Tupí-GUARANÍ known as *lingua geral*, and acquired native skills, dress, and weapons, which enabled them to survive in the wilderness. Some used guns, but spears and bow and arrows were more common.

Groups of *bandeiras* varied in size, ranging from less than 100 to some 3,000 men. One expedition in 1629 included 69 men from São Paulo (*paulistas*), 900 *mamelucos*, and some 2,000 NATIVE AMERICANS as both fighters and porters. A *bandeira* traveled on foot until the MINING boom of the first half of the 18th century forced the use of horses and mules and from 1720 brought regular river travel. Expeditions ranged from several months in length to several and sometimes many years; allegedly one continued for 18 years. *Bandeirantes* lived off the land, carrying only salt and sometimes flour with them. Occasionally, they planted seeds to harvest crops later and traveled with hogs and CATTLE. Leaders were often

from a single or extended FAMILY and on occasion worked for the Crown. Into the 18th century, participants shared in the expenses of a *bandeira* and expected a corresponding share of any profits.

The JESUIT MISSIONS that brought together thousands of indigenous people in the early 17th century were obvious targets for the *bandeirantes*. Missions established by 1610 in Guairá were struck repeatedly and destroyed between 1628 and 1632; reportedly one raid took more than 4,000 Indians. By 1641, *bandeiras* had driven the Jesuits into the region known as Misiones. These and related actions ended missionary activities east and north of PARAGUAY while undermining Spanish claims to Brazilian territory based on the Treaty of Tordesillas.

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Basques Persons born in or descended from persons born in the north-central Spanish provinces of Vizcaya, Guipúzcoa, Alava, and Navarre, as well as three adjoining French provinces—Basse Navarre, Soule, and Labourd—are known as Basques. Today, *Euskadi* is the Basque term applied to the autonomous region of Spain made up of these provinces. During the colonial era, Basques born in these Spanish provinces grew up speaking Basque (Euskera), although many became bilingual, speaking Castilian as well.

Experience in whaling, fishing for cod, and SHIP-BUILDING prepared Basques to participate in the early exploration of the Western Hemisphere. Basques sailed with Christopher Columbus and his successors and quickly engaged in conquest, settlement, missionary work, MINING, and commerce (see TRADE). Some returned home with MAIZE, which flourished and became a dietary staple in the Basque provinces. Others settled, prospered, and routinely attracted relatives, often nephews, to join them as wholesale and retail merchants. Between 1520 and 1580, Basques controlled a substantial majority of shipping between Spain and its overseas territories.

While regional origins were important for all immigrants in the New World, no group had more cohesion than the Basques. Common origin, ethnicity, and language were important, but Basques also claimed noble status by virtue of being Basque. CHARLES I in 1526 recognized the nobility of all Vizcayans; all Guipuzcoans were noble, and Navarrese and Alavans asserted that they were nobles as well. Noble status elevated them above those from elsewhere on the Iberian Peninsula and bestowed enviable rights related to TAXATION, military service, commercial activity, and access to office. In 1754, the privilege of those born in Vizcaya to be exempt from *penas infames* was reiterated in Spain and extended to Basques in the colonies.

Personal ties made a difference. The Basque bishop Juan de Zumárraga went to NEW SPAIN surrounded by relatives of compatriots. Two of his relatives, Diego de Ibarra and Juan de Tolosa, were cofounders of ZACATECAS, site of the most valuable SILVER mines in 16th- and 17th-century New Spain. Basques were also prominent at POTOSÍ in CHARCAS. Beginning in 1582, Basques at Potosí fought with Extremadurans, other Spaniards, and CREOLES in intermittent conflicts that lasted into the 1620s.

In 1728, the Spanish Crown established a joint stock trading company called the REAL COMPAÑÍA GUIPÚZCOANA DE CARACAS, which enjoyed a legal monopoly of trade with VENEZUELA into the 1780s. Merged with the Havana Company as the foundation of the Philippines Company, the new entity monopolized trade with the Philippines for nearly a quarter of a century. In its original form, however, the Basque presence in both the company and prominent administrative posts in Venezuela led to a rebellion against the company, focused on the Basques.

The importance of Basque merchants in New Spain was evident in the 18th-century division of the merchant guild (*CONSULADO*) of MEXICO CITY into parties of Basques and merchants of Santander (*montañeses*). Their confraternity of Our Lady of Aranzázu in Mexico City, established in 1671, completed a magnificent building in 1754 to serve as an orphanage for girls of Basque descent. Basques in LIMA, PERU, created a confraternity of Our Lady of Aranzázu in 1612 that existed until the mid-1860s.

Successful Basques in the New World occasionally returned to their homeland. More frequently, they sent money, sometimes large sums, that ultimately brought substantial change, as in the well-documented case of the Oiartzun Valley.

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Belgrano, Manuel (b. 1770–d. 1820) *creole insurgent general in Río de la Plata* Born in BUENOS AIRES, Manuel Belgrano studied at its Real COLEGIO de San Carlos and then at the University of Salamanca in Spain. During his years in Spain, he read widely authors of the ENLIGHTENMENT and followed the revolutionary events in France. He also published *Máximas generales del gobierno* (1794), a translation of the Physiocrat François Quesnay's *Maxime générales du gouvernement agricole le plus avantageux au genre humain*. Considered the first economist in the VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA, Belgrano was named permanent secretary of the new *CONSULADO* in Buenos Aires in late 1793 and returned to his natal city early the following year to assume the post.

When British soldiers landed near Buenos Aires on June 27, 1806, and captured its fortress, Belgrano sought to join the resistance. Unlike members of the Consulado of Buenos Aires who swore allegiance to Britain, however, he fled to the BANDA ORIENTAL, returning only after SANTIAGO LINIERS Y BREMOND had led a successful counterattack. When the second British invasion of Buenos Aires took place in June 1807, Belgrano quickly joined Liniers in the successful defense of the city.

The abdications of CHARLES IV and FERDINAND VII in May 1808 provoked a crisis in Buenos Aires, as elsewhere in the empire. At first Belgrano supported the idea of Princess Carlota Joaquina, sister of Ferdinand VII and resident in BRAZIL as the wife of Prince Regent John, becoming queen of an independent constitutional monarchy. With the failure of this scheme, he embraced the idea supported by the city council of a government ruling in the name of Ferdinand.

French military success in Spain forced the JUNTA CENTRAL to flee Seville to the Isle of León. On January 29, 1810, it named the COUNCIL OF REGENCY to oversee resistance to the French and to convoke the Cortes. The new government assumed power on February 1, 1810, and two weeks later instructed the “kingdoms” to elect representatives to the Cortes. News of the demise of the Junta Central reached MONTEVIDEO on May 13. VICEROY BALTASAR HIDALGO DE CISNEROS publicly announced the change of government on May 18, 1810. A week later, a CABILDO ABIERTO in Buenos Aires elected Belgrano to the seven-member Provisional Governing Junta of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata.

Although Belgrano lacked a formal military background, the Provisional Governing Junta named him, in August 1810, to lead a military campaign into PARAGUAY, where the MUNICIPAL COUNCIL of ASUNCIÓN had voted to recognize the Council of Regency as the legitimate government acting in the name of Ferdinand VII. Despite what appeared to be an early victory, Belgrano’s forces were defeated on January 15 and March 9, 1811, and the effort in Paraguay failed.

After a review cleared Belgrano of blame for the losses, he was named commander of the Army of the North in a second effort by Buenos Aires to gain control of CHARCAS. On September 24, 1812, Belgrano’s forces defeated PERU’s royalist army at Tucumán. In Charcas, however, the viceregal forces triumphed over the Army of the North on October 1, 1813, and again on November 14, 1813. These victories raised the specter of a royalist invasion from the north, and JOSÉ DE SAN MARTÍN replaced Belgrano in command. San Martín, however, believed that CHILE, not Charcas, was the route to liberating Spanish South America and resigned his appointment in April 1814.

Sent to Europe with Bernardino de Rivadavia in 1814 to ascertain British reaction to the idea of independence of the Río de la Plata, Belgrano’s proposal to place an Inca on the throne with a parliamentary form

of government fell on deaf, if not incredulous, ears. On his return to Buenos Aires, Belgrano was again given military commands, and he led the Army of the North to Tucumán, where on March 24, 1816, the Congress of the UNITED PROVINCES OF THE RÍO DE LA PLATA began meeting. There, Belgrano was a clear voice supporting an absolute declaration of independence. Many colleagues in the assembly, however, greeted with derision his recommendation of a constitutional monarchy with a parliament and a descendant of the Inca as monarch. Nonetheless, on July 9, 1816, the Congress agreed on a complete declaration of independence.

In June 1819, Belgrano turned over command of the Army of the North to General Tomás Godoy Cruz. In March 1820, he returned to Buenos Aires, where he died of dropsy, poor and virtually unnoticed on a day when the government of Buenos Aires changed hands three times.

In 1812, Belgrano designed the light blue and white flag now used by Argentina, although the smiling sun in the middle white stripe was added in 1818. In 1938, the anniversary of Belgrano’s death became the country’s flag day, a national holiday.

See also ARGENTINA (Vols. I, III, IV).

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Belize (British Honduras) Located on the CARIBBEAN Sea and extending into Yucatán to the north and GUATEMALA to the west, present-day Belize began to attract settlement by English sailors and BUCCANEERS no later than 1638. Initially, they used the coast of the Bay of Honduras as a base for raids on Spanish ships carrying dyewood, but by the 1650s, they had started cutting dyewood themselves for the woolen industry in Europe. By the last quarter of the 18th century, mahogany had replaced dyewood as the region’s most important export, a status it held into the early 20th century.

Although Spain recognized England’s occupation of JAMAICA and other West Indies islands in the TREATY OF MADRID (1670), it did not do the same for Belize and continued to consider the baymen, or English loggers, intruders. Moreover, as England and France joined Spain in ending the age of buccaneers, some erstwhile pirates and privateers went to Belize where they cut dyewood and joined in a generally disorderly existence. Beginning in 1724, the baymen imported slaves to provide the hard labor required in logging (see SLAVERY). Several times in the 18th century, the Spaniards expelled the loggers, but they invariably returned. The 1763 Treaty of Paris confirmed Spanish sovereignty over the region but allowed the British to cut and export dyewood. Expelled again during the Revolutionary War in the thirteen colonies,

the loggers returned after the Treaty of Versailles in 1783. After a final unsuccessful effort to expel the British and their slaves in 1798, the Spaniards gave up. Although Britain formally claimed the territory of Belize in 1828 and organized it as the Crown Colony of British Honduras in 1862, Guatemala continued to oppose British occupation of Belize.

See also BELIZE (Vols. I, III, IV).

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bienes de difuntos When a Spaniard died in the Americas or in transit to or from there, or a Spanish intestate left assets that needed to be sent to Spain for distribution to heirs or charitable foundations, an *OIDOR* of the *AUDIENCIA* in whose jurisdiction the death occurred was named probate judge and assigned to handle these cases. The property of the deceased in these cases was referred to as *bienes de difuntos*.

Funds of the deceased were sent to the *CASA DE CONTRATACIÓN* in Spain, where officials sought to contact and inform beneficiaries about legacies. In the 16th century, in particular, the sums remitted were often substantial. The aggregate amount of *bienes de difuntos* tempted the Crown to borrow from them repeatedly, an action that resulted in many testators leaving special instructions with trusted agents to oversee the remission of funds without involving the judiciary.

Numerous successful first-generation immigrants left legacies for relatives and various religious and charitable causes in Spain. For example, successful *BASQUES* from the Oiartzun Valley in Guipúzcoa sent funds home both while alive and through their wills. They contributed to hospitals, homes for orphans, chapels, and altarpieces, among other things. Emigrants from Brihuega, Spain, to PUEBLA, in NEW SPAIN, similarly remembered heirs in their original home.

The *bienes de difuntos* reveal both the Crown's acceptance of responsibility to provide an important service to those who went to the overseas territories and the strength of FAMILY and home ties among the emigrants.

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Black Legend The term *Black Legend* was employed by Julián Juderías in a 1914 book title. It refers to a body of LITERATURE that maintains Spaniards were uniquely

cruel, greedy, and fanatical in the conquest and colonization of the New World, as well as in their behavior in Europe. The origins of this anti-Hispanic propaganda lie in Spain's war against France fought in Italy during the 1490s, but a more generalized hostility toward Spain fueled its development elsewhere. The emergence of Protestantism, notably in England and the Netherlands, added anti-Catholicism to the mix. Spain's long preoccupation with the Revolt of the Netherlands and the overlapping conflict and competition with England spawned innumerable 16th- and 17th-century anti-Spanish publications that repeated and expanded on their predecessors' calumnies.

While English and Dutch propagandists outdid themselves in attacking Spaniards, the celebrated Spanish Dominican Bartolomé de Las Casas provided ammunition in his widely distributed condemnation of Spanish actions in the New World. His *Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (*Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*) was illustrated with engravings by the Dutch artist Theodor de Bry that purported to portray Spanish atrocities against the indigenous population.

ENLIGHTENMENT authors, including Voltaire, used Spanish culture as an example of national ignorance and superstition, and anti-Spanish propaganda was widely distributed during the Spanish-American War. Many negative stereotypes of Latin Americans grew out of the Black Legend.

See also LAS CASAS, BARTOLOMÉ DE (Vol. I).

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Bogotá Known in the colonial period as Santa Fe (or Santafé) de Bogotá or simply Santa Fe, Colombia's capital city is today called Bogotá, a name that gained favor after the success of republicans in New Granada's war of independence. The Audiencia of Santa Fe was the name of the territorial unit of which Bogotá was the colonial capital (see *AUDIENCIA*).

Located on a fertile plateau in the eastern cordillera of the Andes, nearly 8,700 feet (2,652 m) above sea level, Bogotá was formally established on April 27, 1539. Although difficult to access from the coast, the region of which it was a part was the most populous area of New Granada, and Bogotá emerged as the major city of the Kingdom of New Granada, an area roughly encompassing modern Colombia.

The principal lure of the district was GOLD, especially since indigenous people allocated by *ENCOMIENDA* could provide the labor to mine it (see MINING). Indeed, gold was New Granada's only significant export throughout the colonial era. The lands to the northeast around Bogotá were conducive to AGRICULTURE and livestock, but the market remained local due to the difficulties of TRANSPORTATION.

The Audiencia of Santa Fe was established at Bogotá in 1548. The city became the seat of a bishopric in 1553 and an archbishopric in 1564. A mint was established in 1620, and in 1653, the COLEGIO MAYOR del Rosario was founded as a complement to seminaries already present. Bogotá became a viceregal capital when the Spanish Crown definitively established the VICEROYALTY OF NEW GRANADA in 1739. The census of 1779 revealed a population of 16,420, mostly consisting of whites and freedmen of color. By the end of the 18th century, some 30,000 people, including about 1,200 clerics, resided within the city's jurisdiction.

Aided by its merchants, *encomenderos*, and *audiencia*, Bogotá emerged, despite its location, as the distribution center for imports funneled through the Caribbean port of CARTAGENA DE INDIAS and via the Magdalena River port of Honda. Travel from Cartagena to Honda easily took a month; several days to a week or more were then needed to reach Bogotá, which was about 75 miles (120 km) away. Merchants based in Bogotá and with representatives in Honda developed a trading network throughout the eastern cordillera, gaining access to the gold-producing regions of Antioquia and the CHOCÓ.

Despite its importance as a commercial, administrative, and ecclesiastical center, Bogotá lacked the wealth and prosperity of LIMA. Tailors, masons, cobblers, and carpenters were the most numerous groups of artisans in the late 18th century, but as a whole, artisans were not prosperous. VICEROY Manuel de Guirior in 1777 considered them almost beggars in appearance.

Narrowly escaping an attack by the *comuneros* in 1781, Bogotá was the location of one of the JUNTAS created in 1810 and became the capital of the short-lived Republic of Cundinamarca. Restored to royalist rule by PABLO DE MORILLO, the victory at nearby Boyacá by SIMÓN BOLÍVAR's forces in 1819 ended Spanish rule in the city and, with brief exceptions, effectively throughout the viceroyalty.

See also BOGOTÁ (Vols. I, III, IV).

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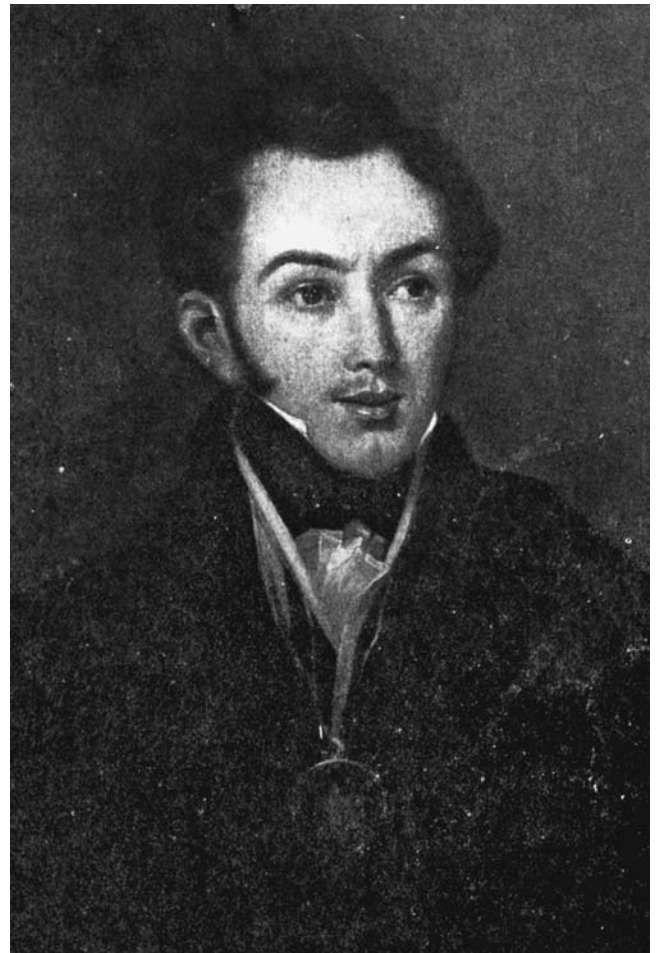
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Bolívar, Simón (the Liberator) (b. 1783–d. 1830) *creole hero of South American independence* Born in CARACAS into an aristocratic FAMILY (*mantuano*) that traced its

American origins back seven generations, Simón Bolívar lost his father at the age of two and his mother at the age of nine. Nonetheless, he had the advantages of wealth and important familial ties and added to them EDUCATION, social graces, and European travel that began when he was 15. In Madrid, he met María Teresa Rodríguez del Toro. After a rapid courtship, they wed in 1802 and took up residence in VENEZUELA. María Teresa died after eight months of marriage; the distraught widower would have numerous mistresses in future years but would never remarry.

Bolívar returned to Europe and completed his largely autodidactic education, reading widely in political philosophy and ENLIGHTENMENT thought, living in Paris, traveling in Italy, and vowing at Monte Sacro that he would not rest until he had “broken the chains with which Spanish power oppresses us.” In 1806, he left Europe, briefly stopped in the United States, and returned to Venezuela in 1807, convinced that it would inevitably become independent.

The political crisis that erupted with the abdications of CHARLES IV and FERDINAND VII in May 1808 stimulated some in Caracas to suggest the creation of a



Portrait of the Liberator, Simón Bolívar, hero of the wars of independence (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

junta to rule in Ferdinand's name until he returned to the throne (see *JUNTAS*). Bolívar refrained from supporting either the petition or two attempts to depose Captain General Vicente Emparán. When a junta was created on April 19, 1810, he offered to go to London at his own expense to seek British support and to find the aging advocate of independence FRANCISCO DE MIRANDA. He succeeded in the latter but did not win the support of the British foreign minister, Marquess Wellesley.

Back in Caracas, Bolívar worked to get the national congress that opened on March 2, 1811, to support independence, which it did on July 5. The republic (subsequently called the First Republic) had a short and inauspicious existence. Federalist and racist, it provided but a smidgin of equality for *pardos*, as *castas* were known in Venezuela, and nothing for slaves despite the junta's earlier abolition of the slave trade in 1810 (see *SLAVERY*). Controlled by the *creole* elite of Caracas, the republic's actions induced *pardos* to support the royalists and forces led by Domingo de Monteverde. Following an earthquake that struck Caracas on March 26, 1812, not even the appointment of Miranda as commanding general could resurrect the republican cause. After Bolívar's loss at Puerto Cabello and Miranda's treaty with Monteverde, Bolívar oversaw the general's delivery to the Spaniards, an action that resulted in the old man's transport to Spain and death in prison. The First Republic was over, and Bolívar fled to Curaçao, borrowed some money, and sailed in October to CARTAGENA DE INDIAS, one of the competing centers that had established its independence from Spain.

In Cartagena, Bolívar issued the first of his major pronouncements on revolution and government. The *CARTAGENA MANIFESTO*, dated December 15, 1812, and published in 1813, analyzed the reasons for the failure of the republic and warned the New Granadans to heed them. A weak federal republic, criminal clemency and toleration when the sword was needed, a lack of disciplined troops, a flawed electoral system, traitorous priests, and internal factions all bore responsibility, according to Bolívar. He also called for the reconquest of Caracas in order to secure the former VICEROYALTY OF NEW GRANADA from royalist reaction: "Thousands of valiant patriots await our coming in order to throw off the yoke of their tyrants and unite their efforts with ours in the defense of liberty."

The Cartagena junta gave Bolívar command of a small military unit, and he quickly opened the Magdalena River to navigation. Overcoming rivalries with other commanders and subordinates, he demonstrated his leadership skills, earned military credit, and was promoted to brigadier general. With a small army he left New Granada in May 1813, took Mérida on May 23 without a fight, and gained the name *El Libertador* (the Liberator). On June 15, he sought to terrorize *peninsulars* by issuing a decree ordering war to the death against them and Canarians if they did not actively collaborate with his

forces; Americans, however, would be spared even if they fought with the royalists. The consequence was increased violence. Bolívar's forces took Valencia on August 2, and four days later, he entered Caracas, a city ravaged by the depredations of Monteverde, as the culmination of the "Admirable Campaign" to restore republicanism and independence to Venezuela. This time the government, known as the Second Republic, was centralized, and Bolívar was, for the first but not the last time, effectively a dictator in command of the country's civil and military resources wherever his writ was obeyed. An assembly of notables in Caracas granted him the title *Liberator of Venezuela*. In February 1814, he responded to undoubted royalist atrocities by JOSÉ TOMÁS BOVES and others by ordering the execution of 800 peninsular and Canarian prisoners at La Guaira.

Civil war precluded victory in 1814. Venezuelans made up many, if not a majority, of the royalist forces. In the Llanos, Boves assembled into an effective cavalry black and *pardo* cowboys, bandits, and fugitives, Canarians, and others willing to fight for plunder taken from *creoles*. By December, he had an army of 7,000 men with no more than 50 white officers and 80 white soldiers. Although ostensibly fighting for the royalists, he and his army were fighting mostly for spoils and the joy of violence against the whites who disparaged them.

In addition, Bolívar had rivals within the republic. Defeated and desperate, in early September, he was allowed to leave for New Granada, where he was still respected. There, he received a command and fought his way into BOGOTÁ, which he occupied on December 12, 1814. Civil war scarred New Granada as well. An unsuccessful campaign to force Cartagena into a broader state failed, and Bolívar resigned his commission, departed on a British merchant ship, and arrived in JAMAICA on May 14, 1815, just 10 days shy of Ferdinand VII's return to Spain.

Ferdinand was determined to restore Spain as it was prior to his abdication. As for the colonies, he turned to military force rather than compromise or conciliation. On February 16, 1815, General PABLO MORILLO sailed from CÁDIZ toward Venezuela with a force of about 10,500 conscripts. He quickly took the island of Margarita and then moved to the mainland, where he entered Caracas in May. Turning west, he reestablished royalist authority by October. In 1816, the pacification program in New Granada had thoroughly dismembered the aristocratic elite that had supported independence. In Venezuela, the Sequestration Committee confiscated more than 200 *haciendas*, most of them belonging to elite families, including that of Bolívar.

While Bolívar's sword had again failed, his pen persisted. Dated September 6, 1815, his famous "Letter from Jamaica" was another effort to justify rebellion by analyzing what he considered Spain's unjust policies and practices in administration, TRADE, and other areas. In addition, the letter sought to explain the nature

of civil war as between “conservatives and reformers.” Once more, he argued for strong, centralized authority, concluding that Venezuela and New Granada were not ready for fully representative institutions as a result of the Spanish heritage. He did not release the letter to his compatriots, however; it appeared first in English in 1818 and then in Spanish in 1833.

International complications precluded using Jamaica as a base, so Bolívar went to HAITI where the mulatto president Alexandre Pétion agreed to provide arms, ammunition, transport, and cash for an invasion of Venezuela in return for the Liberator’s promise to abolish slavery there. Bolívar’s homeland was then under royalist rule, but José Antonio Páez in the western llanos and guerrilla leaders elsewhere had kept alive resistance to the royalists, as well as conflicts among themselves. In the absence of a national state to support him, Bolívar’s challenge was to gain the respect and allegiance of enough of these regional caudillos, or strongmen, to drive the royalists out of Venezuela. His first attempt to return from Haiti, however, was a disastrous failure that led two of the caudillos to declare him a deserter and traitor. Following a second failure, he gave up on taking Caracas and went to Guiana early in 1817, a leader without an army in an environment dominated by military strongmen.

The Orinoco plains offered advantages, including endless CATTLE and a river dominated by republican craft. Bolívar’s first challenge was Manuel Piar, a *pardo* caudillo who went out of his way to kill Spanish prisoners. The Liberator wooed other caudillos, gained control over the river, and defeated royalist forces at Angostura. When the moment was right, he charged Piar of conspiracy and ordered him captured, tried, and executed. As the Liberator knew, racial harmony was preferable to racial warfare. Emancipation was a reward for slaves who served him militarily, but few joined his campaign. Nonetheless, slaves no longer fought against the republicans as they had earlier.

Guiana offered Bolívar the time and space to turn the collection of caudillo forces into a professional army, and he sought to do so, creating a general staff that rewarded men of proven ability. Thus caudillos became generals, and their men, soldiers; at the top was the Liberator. Yet, the structure lacked one major caudillo—Páez, leader of a cavalry of LLANEROS in the west, until he, too, agreed to serve under Bolívar. The two men met on January 30, 1818, after the Liberator had marched his army of 3,000 men nearly 200 miles (322 km) from Angostura to the plains of Apure, only some 30 miles (50 km) from royalist forces. In return for his men receiving a share of properties taken from the royalists, Páez agreed to put his thousand *llaneros* into the combined force of some 4,000 or more, including some British volunteers. After a defeat by Morillo at La Puerta on March 16, Bolívar led his remaining army back to Angostura, where he set about calling a congress and planning his next offensive (see ANGOSTURA, CONGRESS OF).

The congress met at Angostura with 26 delegates on February 15, 1819. There, the Liberator presented his recommended constitution for a state that would have four powers: executive, legislative, judicial, and moral. The congress elected Bolívar president and adopted a constitution that omitted his proposed hereditary senate modeled on England’s House of Lords and the moral power. Only victory was lacking.

The Liberator’s army benefited from the arrival of enormous quantities of British weapons and ammunition, as well as some unemployed British veterans of the Napoleonic Wars and other foreigners. They proved valuable in the campaign that soon moved into New Granada. In August 1818, Bolívar sent General Francisco de Paula Santander to Casanare; in May 1819, he had cleared it of royalists. When the Liberator received the news, he decided to act on an earlier idea of moving into New Granada. Although Páez refused to participate, Bolívar led his army of 2,100 across the Andes in extremely difficult conditions. Having met with Santander’s forces before crossing the Andes, the army, augmented by some British reinforcements, defeated the royalists at Boyacá. The victory opened the way to Bogotá and independence for New Granada.

The congress at Angostura celebrated on October 17, 1819, by creating the Republic of Colombia, incorporating Venezuela, New Granada, and the Kingdom of QUITO as three departments, and electing Bolívar as president. Of course, the departments mentioned needed to approve the action, and a constituent congress was called to meet at Cúcuta on January 1, 1821.

Meanwhile the RIEGO REVOLT of January 1, 1820, reinstated constitutional government in Spain. Two consequences affected Bolívar. First, no reinforcements would be leaving Spain for America. Second, Morillo was ordered to negotiate with Bolívar on the basis of accepting the constitutional monarchy in Spain. A six-month armistice was arranged on November 25, 1820, and Morillo promptly retired to Spain.

The armistice broke down when Maracaibo revolted on January 28, 1821, and declared independence from Spain. The Liberator sent Antonio José de Sucre to take a small force to GUAYAQUIL and bring about the incorporation of the AUDIENCIA district of Quito into Colombia. Then he took advantage of the armistice to organize his army for the final march into Caracas. Victory at the BATTLE OF CARABOBO on June 24, 1821, opened the way to Caracas, where Bolívar was warmly received on June 29. The remaining centers of royalist resistance—Maracaibo, Coro, Cartagena, Cumaná, and Santa Marta—fell by the end of the year, and PANAMA declared its independence on November 28 as a province of Colombia.

The third department of Colombia, the *audiencia* district of Quito, was still to be liberated. In May 1821, Sucre reached an agreement with Guayaquil, which had declared its independence on October 17, 1820. This

enabled him to move toward the city of Quito while Bolívar headed toward the capital through Popayán and Pasto, winning a battle but with many losses near the latter. On May 24, 1822, Sucre defeated the royalists at the Battle of Pichincha, opening the way to the capital; the Liberator arrived on June 15, 1822. Only PERU and CHARCAS remained under Spanish rule.

Bolívar met with JOSÉ DE SAN MARTÍN at Guayaquil on July 26 and 27, 1822, to discuss a variety of political issues that resulted in the latter's withdrawal from Peru and self-exile to Europe. The Peruvians would have to convince the Liberator to bring an army to free them; moreover, there was no longer any question that a new government would be republican, albeit as seen through the eyes of Bolívar.

Recognizing their lukewarm support for independence, Bolívar made the creoles of LIMA beg for his assistance, first sending Sucre and an army in April 1823 and then, after the royalists had reoccupied the city for a month, finally arriving himself on September 1. Bolívar led the army of nearly 9,000 to Pasco. It met and defeated the royalist army in the Andes at JUNÍN on August 6, 1824. Turning command over to Sucre, the Liberator went to Huancayo, then to the coast and Lima. In the Andes, on December 9, Sucre defeated the remaining royalist army in Peru at AYACUCHO, between CUZCO and Lima. On August 6, 1825, Charcas, or Upper Peru, became independent.

Even before the victory at Ayacucho, Bolívar was faced with an order that congress had transferred to Santander the Liberator's extraordinary authority because he had accepted Peru's appointment as dictator. Another order required him to turn over command of Colombian troops to Sucre, which he did.

Following the victory at Ayacucho, Bolívar resigned as president of Colombia, only to have its congress reject it. He followed this by convening Peru's congress and resigning as dictator. This, too, was rejected. When Charcas's assembly declared independence, it named the Liberator its chief executive and asked him to write a constitution for the new republic named in his honor, subsequently changed to Bolivia. Bolívar journeyed to the new country, arriving at La Paz on August 18 and then proceeding to the city of LA PLATA, where he met with the assembly, delivered a draft constitution that assigned executive authority to a president for life who could also select his successor, and quickly delegated supreme executive authority to Sucre.

The Liberator spent most of the rest of his life trying to achieve transnational unity among the newly independent states and stability within them. In 1828, he escaped an assassination attempt in Bogotá. It was increasingly clear, however, that his dream of a united multidepartment Gran Colombia was not going to come to fruition. Regional sentiments, personal ambitions, fiscal woes, social divisions, and political differences all stood in the way. Resigning as president of Colombia on March 1,

1830, Bolívar left Bogotá in May in voluntary exile and died on December 17 near Santa Marta. By that time, Colombia had broken into its three constituent states of Venezuela, New Granada, and Ecuador.

Bolívar was the most important political and military leader in the wars of independence in Spanish America. More a political theorist than a practitioner, despite his many offices, he perceived the difficulties that the new states faced and believed only a strong executive could surmount them. Although a republican, he proposed a lifetime president who could select his successor as the supreme executive for Bolivia. The Liberator's lament of 1830 summarizes his frustration with the independent states he had helped to create: "Those who served the Revolution have plowed the sea."

See also PAÉZ, JOSÉ ANTONIO (Vol. III); SANTANDER, FRANCISCO DE PAULA (Vol. III); SUCRE, ANTONIO JOSÉ DE (Vol. III).

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Bolivia See CHARCAS.

Bonaparte, Joseph See JOSEPH I.

books Early explorers, conquistadores, and settlers traveled to the New World with books in their luggage. The reading populace was sufficiently large that an enterprising German printer and bookseller named Jacob Cromberger, who had set up shop in Seville in 1500, secured a monopoly on the sale of books in NEW SPAIN in 1525. His son Juan subsequently arranged for the first printing press in the colony, in about 1539. Bishop of Mexico Juan de Zumárraga amassed a library of some 400 volumes.

At least four men who accompanied Francisco Pizarro on his expedition of conquest in PERU carried books with them. In 1584, the first press in LIMA opened its doors. In both NEW SPAIN and Peru, clerics, lawyers,

students, and other literate colonists demanded books from Europe. Religious writings typically outnumbered other kinds of books, but romances of chivalry, including the popular *Amadis of Gaul*, plays, poetry, and nonfiction that included works of history and medicine and instructional manuals circulated as well. Indeed, the heroes of the romances of chivalry stimulated some young Spanish males to seek their fortunes through a life of adventure.

The erection of tribunals of the INQUISITION in Lima and MEXICO CITY in 1570 and 1571 led to the implementation of the *INDEX OF PROHIBITED BOOKS* (*Index librorum prohibitorum*, 1551, 1559, 1583, and so on), under which specific books could not be imported and read. Nevertheless, individual libraries not only owned prohibited books but also held New World editions of some, and pernicious works circulated throughout the colonial era. Heretical works were the Inquisition's primary concern, but its agents also censored books prior to publication in the colonies.

In 1605, the galleons sailing to CARTAGENA DE INDIAS and PORTOBELLO carried at least 184 copies, probably of the first edition, of Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quixote de la Mancha*. By June 1606, at least 72 copies were for sale in Lima, and soon afterward nine copies were on the way to CUZCO.

The high cost of books meant that primarily professionals, clerics, nobles, some merchants, *COLEGIOS*, and convents had libraries. In mid-17th-century Lima, cleric Dr. Francisco de Ávila had a library of more than 3,000 volumes, probably the most extensive colonial collection assembled to that time. An analysis of this library reveals works on "theology, law, and humanities; books on scientific and technological matters; and books on American and Peruvian topics in particular." Overall, probably 70 percent of books in the colonies before 1700 were religious in character. The remainder included fiction, poetry, drama, legal compilations, medicinal texts, and classical humanities.

The nature of individual collections varied. Jurists owned a variety of law books and legal compilations. Clerics collected the Scriptures, works of theology, catechisms, hagiographies, breviaries, books of hours, missals, and sometimes dictionaries and books of sermons in native languages. Physicians collected books on medicine and natural science. Books on MINING and defense found readers as well. Greek and Roman classics might appear in any collection, as might the extraordinarily popular novel *La Celestina* by Fernando de Rojas or, later, Cervantes's *Don Quixote* and Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache*.

Particularly after the mid-18th century, readers were able to obtain almost any book they wanted, despite the continued presence of the Inquisition. Thus, they read works by Montesquieu, Voltaire, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and other contemporary European writers. In the closing years of the colonial era, political writings such as the American Declaration of Independence and the French Rights of Man were also available.

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Bourbon dynasty At his death in 1700, CHARLES II left the realms associated with the Spanish monarchy to Philip of Anjou, grandson of France's monarch Louis XIV and Maria Theresa of Spain. Charles's action replaced the Habsburg dynasty with a Bourbon ruling family (see HABSBURGS). The WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION resulted in PHILIP V losing the monarchy's possessions in Italy and the Spanish Netherlands but retaining Spain and its overseas territories. His victory in the civil war in Spain, moreover, enabled him to eliminate the long-standing rights and privileges (*FUEROS*) enjoyed by the Kingdom of Aragon.

Philip V's marriage to Maria Louisa of Savoy in 1701 resulted in four sons, including Louis and Ferdinand, prior to her death in 1714. The king quickly married Elizabeth Farnese, with whom he had seven children. Philip abdicated to his son Louis in 1724 but returned to the throne following Louis I's death on August 31 of that year. Son FERDINAND VI succeeded Philip to the throne in 1746.

Following Ferdinand's death in 1759, his half brother Charles inherited the throne. CHARLES III, previously duke of Parma (1732–35) and king of Naples and Sicily (1735–59), served until his death in 1788. Married to Maria Amalia of Saxony in 1738, Charles left as heir their second son, CHARLES IV.

Charles IV married his cousin Maria Luisa of Parma in 1765. Seven of their children reached adulthood, including heir Ferdinand. Following an orchestrated riot at the royal residence at Aranjuez, Charles abdicated to FERDINAND VII on March 19, 1808. Lured to France by Napoleon, Charles abdicated to the French emperor on May 5, 1808, and Ferdinand VII abdicated to Charles on May 6, thus leaving the vacated throne of Spain in Napoleon's hands. Charles would die in exile in Rome in 1819.

Following the Spanish war of independence against the French, Ferdinand VII returned to Spain and his crown in 1814. Save for the years 1820–23, he ruled as an absolute monarch until his death in 1833. Despite some breaks in tenure, the Bourbon dynasty retains the Spanish throne today.

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Bourbon Reforms The term *Bourbon Reforms* is often applied to the administrative and economic changes decreed by the Bourbon monarchs of 18th-century Spain, especially those associated with the reign of CHARLES III (1759–88) (see **BOURBON DYNASTY**).

The Crown undertook reforms to secure additional revenue for remission to Spain and to strengthen defense in the Americas with funds resulting from more effective colonial administration, improved tax collection, and additional sources of revenue (see **TAXATION**). Among the best-known reforms were the creation of the **INTENDANT** system in all Spanish colonies in the Americas except **NEW GRANADA**; modification of taxes and their collection; regular mail service; introduction of **COMERCIO LIBRE**; establishment of **TOBACCO** monopolies; expansion of existing **AUDIENCIAS** and creation of new ones in **BUENOS AIRES**, **CARACAS**, and **CUZCO**; increased appointments of **PENINSULARS** to high office; expansion of royal authority over the **CATHOLIC CHURCH**; and the reform of militias and expansion of colonial armies.

The fiscal changes and modification of **TRADE** policy produced more income and enabled the expansion of colonial administration and the **MILITARY**. At the same time, greater emphasis on the appointment of high-ranking officials and military officers who had been born in Spain irritated many ambitious **CREOLES**. Many historians consider the vigorous demand for more native-son appointees to be an important component of the anti-peninsular sentiment fanned by supporters of political autonomy and independence in the years after 1808 (see **AUTONOMISTS**).

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Boves, José Tomás (b. 1782–d. 1814) *Spanish royalist leader of llaneros in Venezuela* An Asturian who had been a sailor and smuggler, José Tomás Boves moved to the Llanos (plains) of Venezuela, where he bought and sold horses and emerged as a powerful local leader. The Ordinances of the Plains issued by the First Republic in 1811 threatened the Venezuelan cowboys (**LLANEROS**) with fines and whipping for rounding up or hunting **CATTLE** without the owner's permission. This threat to their income and freedom galvanized their opposition to republicans.

In 1814, Boves and his mounted followers supported the royalist cause against the Second Republic and brought it success. Victorious in the Battle of La Puerta

on June 15 against the forces led by SIMÓN BOLÍVAR and Santiago Mariño, Boves's forces took Valencia on July 10 and then **CARACAS** from the republicans on July 16. This victory was the death knell of the Second Republic created by the Liberator Bolívar. With little but Margarita under republican rule on his arrival, General **PABLO MORILLO** was quickly able to lead the royalist army of reconquest into **NEW GRANADA**.

Boves and his men showed no compunction in terrorizing both republican soldiers and civilians. He followed victories by sacking conquered towns, making his name synonymous with savagery as his men executed prisoners. His death in Urica, Venezuela, by an enemy lance resulted in Francisco Tomás Morales assuming control of the *llaneros*.

Despite Boves's critical assistance to the royalist cause, Spanish authorities withheld the rewards the *llaneros* expected, even demoting some of their leaders. As a result, the *llaneros* shifted their support to the republicans.

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Braganza dynasty (Bragança) The Braganza dynasty originated in 1442 when Afonso, an illegitimate son of Portuguese monarch John I, received the duchy of Braganza. The House of Braganza ruled Portugal from 1640 to 1910 and Brazil from 1640 to 1889.

Under Spanish rule from 1580, the Portuguese followed the example of Catalonia, revolted against **PHILIP IV** on December 1, 1640, and proclaimed the duke of Braganza as King John IV. The Spanish Crown considered Portugal in revolt and only in 1668 recognized its independence. By this time, John IV's immediate successor, Afonso VI (1656–67), had been exiled and replaced by his younger brother Pedro as regent (1667–83) and then king, as Pedro II (1683–1706).

Pedro's son succeeded him as John V, ruling from 1706 to 1750. John's son Joseph inherited the throne in 1750 and reigned until 1777; during Joseph's reign, the dominant political figure was Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, **MARQUÊS DE POMBAL** from 1770. Joseph's insanity led to his wife, Mariana, becoming regent in 1774. Their daughter Maria served as queen from 1777, but her insanity led to her son John becoming regent in 1792 and then monarch, as **JOHN VI** from 1816 to 1826. Having fled to **BRAZIL** with the rest of the court in 1808, John departed for Portugal in April 1821, turning over Brazil to his son, Pedro I, who soon led the colony to independence.

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Brazil Reached initially by sailors under the Portuguese flag in 1500, Brazil was immediately claimed by Portugal as within its jurisdiction by the terms of the Treaty of Tordesillas. Brazil quickly became a source of dyewood, which was exported to Europe by both the Portuguese and French poachers, the latter proving to be a problem throughout the 16th century. Permanent Portuguese settlement of Brazil was slow. An effort begun in 1534 to promote settlement through the use of donatary captaincies, other than that of PERNAMBUCO, largely failed. Consequently, the Portuguese Crown turned to royal officials to colonize Brazil, starting with Tomé de Sousa, whom it sent to SALVADOR DA BAHIA as governor general in 1549 with a substantial expedition that included six JESUITS and some secular priests, 400 criminals (*degredados*), perhaps 600 soldiers, some artisans and officials, and livestock including CATTLE, horses, burros, SHEEP, goats, pigs, and chickens. On arrival, Sousa founded the city of Salvador and made it the capital of the captaincy general (see CAPTAINCIES GENERAL).

The immensity of Brazil, even before settlers crossed the line created at Tordesillas in 1494, and its system of rivers draining into the Amazon or, in the south, into the Paraná and Paraguay, deserve emphasis. Size and location affected TRANSPORTATION and communication; indeed, it was easier to communicate between Pernambuco's port of Recife and Lisbon than Recife and RIO DE JANEIRO. Size also left an enormous interior (*SERTÃO*) available to prospectors, cattle ranchers, and, beginning in the late 16th century, expeditions looking for indigenous people to enslave. Rivers made it possible to transport SUGAR economically to coastal ports.

Administration of Brazil rested with governors general starting with Sousa; by the early 17th century, all captaincies were directly administered by the Crown through a governor general for BAHIA and *capitães mores*, or governors for the other captaincies. Beginning in 1697, the title *governor* and *captain general* was being used for governors of Rio de Janeiro; its usage expanded so that by 1772 there were nine governors and captain generals. In 1720, the governor general in Bahia became a VICEROY, but the new title brought no additional major responsibilities. A high court of appeals, or *RELAÇÃO*, was established at Bahia initially in 1609; a second court was finally created in Rio de Janeiro in 1751. At the provincial level (*comarca*) and district or town level (*município*) were royal officials (*ouvidores* and *juizes de foro*) who, as in Spanish America, had a mix of judicial and administrative duties. Town councils (*senados da câmara*) dealt with local affairs.

In the absence of a native culture comparable to the Aztecs or the Incas in size or sophistication, colonists

started enslaving indigenous people to provide labor if they would not work voluntarily. Clerics, notably the Jesuits, tried to Christianize, resettle, and protect the NATIVE AMERICANS. Nonetheless, the indigenous population declined from diseases that were often more deadly because victims had suffered abuse at the hands of the Portuguese. Based on their prior experience with SLAVERY, the settlers turned to importing African slaves for labor. In 1559, the Crown allowed every owner of a sugar mill (*senhor de ENGENHO*) to import from Portugal's island of São Tomé off the African coast 120 slaves at a reduced rate of TAXATION. By 1580, slavery was the main form of labor on PLANTATIONS and in the mills, and by 1630, more African slaves were used than Indians.

What started as a trickle turned into the largest migration, involuntary to be sure, to the Americas prior to independence. By 1600, Brazil had an estimated 50,000 slaves; 560,000 more were imported in the 17th century, and almost 2 million between 1701 and 1810, the last figure representing about 19,000 annually.

The introduction and expansion of sugarcane starting in the early 16th century turned the sweetener into the colony's most important export. Produced particularly in the captaincies of Pernambuco and Bahia, sugar was responsible for the growth of Bahia's administrative and commercial center, Salvador da Bahia. The city also served as the most important port for the exportation of sugar and the importation of African slaves and Portuguese and European goods sent from Lisbon.

Legal TRADE with Portugal was handled by merchants in Lisbon working with their representatives in the colonies. British traders in particular sent goods via Lisbon to Brazil, some of which were reexported to the Spanish markets available through the RÍO DE LA PLATA. Having long been trading partners, the British and Portuguese tightened their bond with the METHUEN TREATY in 1703. Although the MARQUÊS DE POMBAL, Portugal's omnipotent minister from 1750 to 1777, tried to strengthen Portuguese and colonial trade and thereby reduce the British presence, his efforts were only partly successful. A fleet system operated until 1766, although joint stock trading companies operated from the 1750s until their abolition after the fall of Pombal (see FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM).

Brazil's sugar production came from 60 mills (*engenhos*) in 1570, 115 in 1583, and 346 in 1629, at which time 150 were located in the captaincy of Pernambuco, 80 in Bahia, and 60 in Rio de Janeiro. Although Pernambuco had more *engenhos*, Bahia produced more sugar, and by 1630, it had more slaves and had become the most important sugar-producing region in Brazil. In 1710, 528 *engenhos* produced more than 40,000 tons of sugar, but competition from the sugar islands of the Caribbean had reduced its value while rising prices for slaves further squeezed planters. Nonetheless, sugar remained an important Brazilian export, and toward the end of the century, SÃO PAULO became an additional major region of production.

The profits associated with sugar stimulated the Dutch to attack and capture Salvador in 1624, although they could hold it for only a year. They returned to Brazil in 1630 and occupied Recife and Olinda, making the former their capital until driven out of the captaincy of Pernambuco in 1654.

While sugar production dominated the 17th century, the discovery of GOLD in MINAS GERAIS in 1695 led to an unprecedented rush of miners and adventurers into the region and subsequently into MATTO GROSSO and Goiás. Gold production in Brazil far exceeded that in Spanish America. It also created another market for slaves and a new market for beef and, at the same time, created unheard-of wealth for the Portuguese Crown, which taxed registered gold at a rate of 20 percent. The expeditions of the *bandeirantes*, the expansion of MINING areas, and the need for beef and hides also strengthened Portugal's interest in expanding Brazil's borders to the estuary of the River Plate (see *BANDEIRAS*).

Lust for the SILVER of CHARCAS led the Portuguese to establish a fortified trading post and contraband center at COLÔNIA DO SACRAMENTO in 1680. Its presence also stimulated Portuguese expansion and settlement in Rio Grande do Sul. For nearly a century, the existence of Colônia plagued Spanish-Portuguese relations.

By the turn of the 19th century, Brazil was organized into nine captaincies general with a population of just over 2 million, a half million more inhabitants than in the mid-1770s. Minas Gerais, Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, and Bahia accounted for almost two-thirds of the population. The largest cities in the early 19th century were Salvador (51,000 in 1807), Rio de Janeiro (47,000 in 1803), Recife (25,000 in 1810), São Paulo (24,000 in 1803), and São Luís do MARANHÃO (20,500 in 1810).

The composition of Brazilian society varied substantially from captaincy to captaincy. In the four most populous captaincies general, whites made up 33.6 percent of the population in Rio de Janeiro; Bahia had 19.8 percent; São Paulo, the fifth-largest captaincy-general, had 56 percent whites. The free black and *MULATO* (mulatto) population varied from a high of 42 percent in Pernambuco to a low of 18.4 percent in Rio de Janeiro. The slave population ranged from 47 percent in Bahia to 26.2 percent in Pernambuco. Overall, the number of whites was approximately the same as the number of free blacks and mulattoes; black and mulatto slaves were significantly more numerous than either of the free groups; Amerindians made up a miniscule 5.7 percent of the population.

Brazilian society was hierarchical. At the top were successful white planters, merchants, and a small number of officials; most other whites formed a second group; a few whites and free persons of mixed racial background constituted a third group; slaves and indigenous people made up the final two groups. Unlike in Spanish America, however, colonial Brazil had neither a university nor a printing press. Ambitious young Brazilians of good fam-

ily had to go to the University of Coimbra or another European university for advanced EDUCATION.

While most of Europe was involved in the wars of the French Revolution, Portugal remained neutral, and thus, its trade with Brazil remained uninterrupted. The Haitian Revolution, moreover, had benefited sugar producers as it eliminated the single largest producer of sugar. Increased amounts of TOBACCO, cotton, coffee, rice, and some WHEAT were exported as well. British manufactures reached Brazil either through Lisbon or Oporto or illicitly by direct smuggling.

The flight of the Portuguese Court and some 10,000 other emigrants from Lisbon in November 1807 and their arrival in Rio de Janeiro in March 1808 created a new political environment in Brazil, which ultimately resulted in independence (see BRAZIL, INDEPENDENCE OF).

See also BRAZIL (Vols. I, III, IV); TORDESILLAS, TREATY OF (Vol. I).

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Brazil, independence of BRAZIL's independence was intimately linked with the French invasion of Portugal and the flight, long planned, of the royal family and Court to Brazil, recognized as more important than Portugal itself for the survival of the monarchy and empire. The arrival of Prince Regent John; his mentally disturbed mother, Queen Maria I; his wife, Princess Carlota Joaquina, sister of Spain's FERDINAND VII; 10,000 or more *REINÓIS*; and a printing press put extraordinary demands on the capital city of RIO DE JANEIRO, whose population doubled within a decade, and provoked an unprecedented amount of political discussion.

Unlike the Spanish colonies that together were substantially more populous than Spain, Portugal in 1808 was still larger than Brazil, although probably only by a million or so inhabitants. Its rate of growth, however, was slower, and Brazil was poised to overtake the mother country. The colonial heyday of Brazilian production of SUGAR and other agricultural exports as well as MINING of GOLD and DIAMONDS may have already passed, but they still provided Portugal with income to purchase primarily British textiles and other imports.

Ties between Brazil and Portugal were closer than those Spain had with its colonies. University-educated clerics and officials knew each other from their years at Coimbra, and not uncommonly, Brazilians married in Portugal and made a career there. Communication time was shorter from Brazil to Lisbon than from most of the Spanish colonies to Madrid. Governors communicated directly with Lisbon rather than through other execu-

tives. Even in the late 18th century, the number of regular troops in Brazil was more modest than that of Spanish troops in NEW SPAIN. Indeed, the scale of Portugal's entire colonial enterprise was more modest than Spain's. The fact that nearly 40 percent of Brazil's population was enslaved and nearly 30 percent more was free descendants of slaves made the elites in the few Brazilian CITIES nervous about any sudden political change, although there were only two significant conspiracies against Portuguese rule before 1808 (see SLAVERY).

As the Portuguese Court re-created the institutions of state in Rio de Janeiro, it became obvious that no Brazilians held office. No one could have doubted, however, that neither Rio nor the rest of Brazil would turn the clock back to before the arrival of the Court. State decisions were now made in Rio. Lisbon was no longer the major port for Brazilian goods. Since the government was dependent on revenue from TRADE, Prince Regent John immediately opened up Brazil's ports to commerce with all friendly nations, of which Britain was the most important. Trade with Portugal promptly plummeted; it remained dominant only in the slave trade.

The French withdrawal from the Iberian Peninsula and defeat of Napoleon cleared the way for John to return to Portugal. After six years in Rio, however, neither the prince regent nor many people who had arrived with him wanted to go back to the problems of war-ravaged Portugal. On December 16, 1815, John declared Brazil a kingdom equal in rank to Portugal. Upon the death of his mother in February 1816, the prince regent became JOHN VI, monarch of an empire centered in Brazil.

The monarch's interests did not always correspond with those of the Brazilian elite. The latter, although delighted to receive titles of nobility, grew increasingly resentful of the favors and offices granted to *rinóis*. Plantation owners were concerned that the monarch had sold out to the British in agreeing in 1815 to work to end the slave trade; the addition in 1817 of an agreement giving the British the right to search Portuguese vessels north of the equator for possible slaves was another aggravation. The only rebellion, however, was one in PERNAMBUCO, which was as much if not more against Rio than Portuguese rule.

Just as events in Portugal had triggered the transatlantic voyage of the Court in 1807–08, liberal military rebellions in Oporto and Lisbon in the summer and fall of 1820 initiated the chain of events that led to Brazilian independence. Modeled on events in Spain, liberals in Portugal created a governing junta to rule until John returned (see JUNTAS). The junta demanded that he return immediately and support the Spanish CONSTITUTION OF 1812 until a constituent Cortes in Portugal could write its own. The call for deputies gave Brazil a significant minority of seats, but clearly a minority. Although not fully revealing their plans, the liberals intended to turn the colonial clock back to 1807.

For members of Brazil's "co-kingdom" elite, the critical question had to do with where the monarch resided.

No change was far more preferable than acceding to the junta's demand. Since the transfer of the monarchy, Brazilians had received political equality (reversed in the call for elections to the Cortes) and free trade; John's return to Portugal could end both. Brazilians of a more liberal persuasion, however, wanted more changes than any monarchy would provide and thus saw some potential benefit in the monarch departing. As for John VI, habitually unable to make decisions, the choices were difficult. Leaving might cost Brazil; not leaving would cost Portugal. On March 7, 1821, he decided to leave; encouraged by a political crisis in Rio, he departed on April 26 with some 4,000 Portuguese and the treasury, arriving in Lisbon on July 4. Prince Regent Pedro stayed behind.

The Cortes meeting in Lisbon from late January 1821 failed to understand the changes wrought by the monarchy's 13 years in Brazil. In a series of ill-advised actions, many taken before a majority of Brazilian deputies assumed their seats, it sought to revoke the trade agreement with Britain, sent troops to Brazil, ordered that all government offices established in Rio from 1808 onward be closed and moved to Lisbon, and, on October 18, 1821, demanded that Prince Regent Pedro return to Portugal. The Cortes approved the Constitution in 1822, but Brazilian deputies started to flee rather than sign it.

When word reached Rio on December 11, 1821, that Pedro was to return to Portugal, Brazilian resistance was immediate. Several weeks of pressure from politicians, including JOSÉ BONIFACIO DE ANDRADA E SILVA, a Coimbra-educated member of a wealthy Santos family, followed. On January 9, 1822, Pedro announced he would stay in Brazil. A week later he named Andrada e Silva head of a new cabinet. On October 12, 1822, Pedro was acclaimed constitutional emperor and perpetual defender of Brazil. He was crowned in Rio de Janeiro on December 1, 1822. The new emperor's comment to his father is instructive: "Portugal is today a fourth-class state and needful, therefore dependent; Brazil is of the first class and independent."

See also PEDRO I (Vol. III).

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brazilwood Portuguese explorers who reached the lands soon known as BRAZIL found that the dense wood of the coastal trees (*Caesalpinia echinata*) yielded a valuable bright red or deep purple dye similar to that from an East Asian tree (*Caesalpinia brasiliensis*) responsible for the name *Brazil*. Pedro Álvares Cabral ordered numerous tree trunks immediately sent to Portugal. Christened

brazilwood, the trees were soon placed under a royal monopoly and harvested for exportable dyewood in the first great export boom in Brazil's history (see **MONOPOLIES**, **ROYAL**).

Initially, the Portuguese established fortified trading posts as bases for their **TRADE** with the indigenous people who conveyed the felled trees to them. Barter yielded to forced labor as the Portuguese sought to expand exports while the indigenous population was declining.

Prior to 1567, when Governor **MEM DE SÁ** expelled them, French merchants were active in obtaining brazilwood for shipment to textile producers at home. The market peaked by the end of the century, and exports by the mid-17th century had declined by about half. Illegal trade continued, as rich stands remained in Porto Seguro, Ilhéus, and Espírito Santo.

See also **DYES AND DYEWOODS** (Vol. I).

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buccaneers A synonym for European *pirates* in the 17th century and often applied to privateers licensed to attack Spanish settlements and shipping, the term *buccaneer* derives from the French word *boucanier*, meaning “one who hunts wild cattle.” *Boucanier*, in turn, comes from *boucan*, a Taino term referring to a wooden grill on which meat was dried and smoked. Unlike the corsairs who preceded them and typically returned to Europe after a successful expedition, the buccaneers who raided Spain's colonial ports, towns, and ships usually remained in the Americas.

Spain never effectively settled all of the **CARIBBEAN** islands. Nevertheless, by the middle of the 16th century, the indigenous populations had largely perished, while the large-scale importation of African slaves had not yet begun. Feral offspring of livestock, especially **CATTLE** and pigs, left by sailors from Europe provided food and hides for castaways, renegades, fugitives, and others seeking asylum or, increasingly, a base from which to raid, loot, and pillage towns along the Caribbean coast and sometimes beyond. England took St. Kitts in 1623, Barbados in 1627, and **JAMAICA** in 1655. French and English buccaneers turned Tortuga, a small island northwest of **HISPANIOLA** used as a base from the early 1600s, into a major center of operations from the 1630s into the 1670s.

Operating from Tortuga, Jamaica, and other islands, bands of 700 or more men wreaked havoc on hapless ships and coastal towns in the Caribbean, occasionally struck the Pacific coast of Spanish America, and sometimes moved inland. During the years 1665–71 alone, buccaneers assaulted 57 villages, towns, and cities. Some locations suffered repeatedly: Buccaneers struck Tolu eight times, Río de la Hacha five, and Maracaibo twice.

Among the more notorious buccaneers were the Frenchman Jean-David Nau (better known as François l'Olonnais), who in 1667 raided Maracaibo, and the Englishman Bartholomew Sharp, who plundered and sacked La Serena, **CHILE**, in 1680. The worst scourge of Spanish settlements was the Welshman **HENRY MORGAN**, who operated out of Jamaica in the 1660s and early 1670s. His capture of **PORTOBELLO** and the city of **PANAMA** were among the buccaneers' most celebrated successes.

The spoils seized by buccaneers, which included ransoms paid by captured and imprisoned victims and their families, could be substantial. L'Olonnais's expedition captured a Spanish ship carrying 50,000 pesos, jewels, and 120,000 pounds of **CACAO**. Morgan's expedition to Portobello seized plunder worth perhaps 250,000 pesos, a sum that gave each surviving buccaneer more than 600 pesos, about 10 times what a day laborer earned in a year and more than enough for gambling, drinking, and wenching in **PORT ROYAL**.

Although Anglo-American pirates remained, the age of buccaneers ended symbolically in 1692 when an earthquake literally carried their sanctuary of Port Royal into the sea. By the mid-1680s, however, the English government had already decided that it would benefit more from trading than raiding in the Spanish Empire and was actively involved in suppressing piracy.

See also **PIRATES AND PIRACY** (Vol. I).

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Buenos Aires Abandoned in 1541 by settlers who had arrived with Pedro de Mendoza, the present-day capital of Argentina was permanently refounded in 1580 by Juan de Garay and followers from **PARAGUAY**. Although the residence of government and ecclesiastical authorities from the creation of the governorship of Río de la Plata in 1618, Buenos Aires became the official capital only in 1695.

Located far from the route of the galleons sent to **CARTAGENA DE INDIAS** and **PORTOBELLO**, the municipality was irresistibly close to **BRAZIL**. Within the decade, ships were sailing from the new settlement to Brazil, carrying **SILVER** from **POTOSÍ** to exchange for **SUGAR** and merchandise that could be sold in Tucumán and the **MINING** camps of **CHARCAS**. This breach in the official monopoly was illegal, but the absence of regular **TRADE** with Spain left settlers without many of the necessities of civilized life.

Despite the opposition of the **Consulado** of Seville, in 1618 the Crown allowed two small ships a year to sail

from Spain to Buenos Aires and permitted reexport of part of the cargo to Charcas upon payment of a 50 percent additional customs duty at the *dry* port of Córdoba (see *CONSULADO*; *SEVILLE*). Spanish merchants made the best out of the two legal vessels, however, loading them with large quantities of contraband and thus untaxed merchandise. Portuguese merchants also engaged in clandestine trade, even erecting in 1680 a trading post at COLÔNIA DO SACRAMENTO on the RÍO DE LA PLATA to facilitate it. The primary lure for all concerned was access to silver from POTOSÍ and other mines in Upper Peru.

Buenos Aires and its hinterland benefited from the introduction in 1778 of *COMERCIO LIBRE*. Serving as a center for goods sent to Charcas in exchange for silver, the city's major export remained silver, although merchants also exported hides and later jerked beef.

The city's population grew substantially in the 18th century. In 1744, it numbered only 11,600; this increased to 26,125 in 1778 and 42,540 by 1810. While in 1744 almost 60 percent of white male heads of households were born in Buenos Aires, this number plummeted to 30 percent by 1810, at which time immigrants from Spain were slightly more numerous and the number of Spaniards from elsewhere in Spanish America was about the same.

Population growth was directly related to the arrival and success of a large army under PEDRO DE CEVALLOS in 1776, sent to address the Portuguese challenge in the borderlands and to eliminate Colônia do Sacramento; the elevation of Buenos Aires to capital and bureaucratic center of the new VICEROYALTY OF THE RÍO DE LA PLATA in 1777; and the commercial expansion that fol-

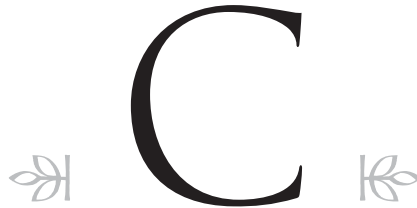
lowed the introduction of *comercio libre*. The population in 1810 included more than 1,900 artisans and skilled workers, almost 1,600 men involved in commerce, and nearly 1,600 professionals associated with the MILITARY, CATHOLIC CHURCH, and government. Two-thirds of the population was considered Spanish and one-third was of African ancestry (86 percent of them slaves). The number of Amerindians and mestizos was less than 1 percent (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*).

British invasions in 1806 and 1807 and the inhabitants' success in repelling them was quickly followed by the formation of a junta in 1810 to rule in the name of FERDINAND VII during his imprisonment in France (see *JUNTAS*). Accompanying this statement of autonomy, which amounted to de facto independence, the junta and its successors embarked on a series of unsuccessful military efforts to retain control over the entire viceroyalty. JOSÉ DE SAN MARTÍN, who had the backing of the government in Buenos Aires for his celebrated campaign that freed CHILE, achieved the one major victory. Although Buenos Aires was dominant in the misnamed UNITED PROVINCES OF THE RÍO DE LA PLATA, which declared independence from Spain in 1816, political stability was elusive prior to the emergence of Juan Manuel de Rosas as caudillo in the 1820s.

See also ARGENTINA (Vols. I, III, IV); BUENOS AIRES (Vols. I, III, IV); ROSAS, JUAN MANUEL DE (Vol. III).

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cabildo See *CABILDO* (Vol. I); MUNICIPAL COUNCIL.

cabildo abierto Modeled on precedents in Castile, the *cabildo abierto* was a meeting of a municipality's citizens (*VECINOS*) or a select portion of them to discuss with officials matters of general importance, for example, possible responses to a crisis. Thus, it could include government, ecclesiastical, and military officials; merchants; resident estate owners; lawyers; and others.

There are numerous examples of *cabildos abiertos* in the colonial era. In ASUNCIÓN, PARAGUAY, a *cabildo abierto* elected a governor when the incumbent died without royal provision of a successor. In 1590, the citizens of POTOSÍ met to vote an additional contribution to the treasury of PHILIP II. The citizens of Santiago de Cali in NEW GRANADA met in 1664 to protest the arrival of a commissioner sent to examine the royal accounts. QUITO used a similar meeting in December 7, 1764, to discuss the reorganization of the *AGUARDIENTE DE CAÑA* monopoly. The constitutional crisis that rocked the Spanish Empire in the aftermath of the abdications of CHARLES IV and FERDINAND VII in 1808 led to the most celebrated use of *cabildos abiertos*.

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cacao Probably domesticated by the Olmecs, cacao was consumed by nobles and warriors of Mesoamerica before the Spanish conquest as a beverage often mixed

with other ingredients, such as chili or MAIZE flour. The bean also served as a medium of exchange. While Spaniards originally scorned the beverages made from cacao, some entrepreneurs perceived the economic opportunities it offered and soon *encomenderos* required indigenous people to provide specified quantities as TRIBUTE (see *ENCOMIENDA*). Central American sources, for example, along the Pacific coast from Soconusco into NICARAGUA, were especially important in the 16th century, but as the consumption of chocolate by commoners in NEW SPAIN and elsewhere in the colonies grew, other colonial producers entered the market.

Spaniards started drinking substantial amounts of chocolate in the 1590s and preferred the flavor of Central American beans. Cacao produced in quantity in VENEZUELA from the 1620s was sent to VERACRUZ and from there into highland Mexico or to Spain or the Netherlands. Producers in GUAYAQUIL also entered the market, but the ban on trade between PERU and New Spain in 1634 meant that it went to the port of Acajutla and then to Mexico via mule trains. By the late 17th century, shippers in Guayaquil sent illicit cacao to Mexico via PANAMA, where it was transported by land to PORTOBELLO and then by sea to Veracruz.

Benefiting from plants native to the region around Caracas, Venezuela emerged as a prominent producer of cacao in the early 17th century, and by 1650, the bean had become its most important export. *Encomenderos* were early beneficiaries, but a modest and declining population stimulated them and other entrepreneurs to seek African slaves as a more productive and dependable form of labor (see SLAVERY).

The initial CARACAS boom in cacao ended around 1650 due to blight, a severe earthquake in 1641, and

a collapse in prices that probably reflected the rapid expansion of Guayaquil's production in the 1640s. By the 1670s, a second boom in Venezuelan production was under way, which included significant expansion in the Tuy River region in the south and east of Caracas. The number of cacao trees in the province exceeded 2 million in 1720 and more than 5 million in 1744; more than half were on HACIENDAS in the Tuy area.

The creation in 1728 of the REAL COMPAÑÍA GUIPÚZCOANA DE CARACAS, the first of several royally chartered companies to enjoy commercial monopolies in the empire, restricted the legal sale of cacao to company officials. Although the slave market collapsed in the 1730s, the expansion of cacao production continued until 1749, when pent-up hostility toward the company and its government allies burst into a short-lived rebellion. Subsequently, cacao production grew more slowly as cacao elites sought alternatives to slave labor.

From the mid-17th century, the province of Guayaquil in the Kingdom of QUITO benefited from the exportation of cacao, especially to the market of New Spain. The official opening of legal TRADE among colonies in the 1770s saw production in Guayaquil grow by 50 percent between the 1780s and the late 1790s. In 1822, it was nearly 250 percent greater than in the 1780s. While colonial connoisseurs preferred cacao from Venezuela and Central America, large numbers of consumers were content with that from Guayaquil.

When cacao was introduced in Spain is unknown, although verifiable evidence exists of its shipment from Veracruz to SEVILLE no later than 1585. In the first half of the 17th century, it was being served to a growing market as a hot chocolate drink that included vanilla, cinnamon, and SUGAR and was consumed in social settings. Its use subsequently spread among the well-to-do elsewhere in Europe and together with substantial colonial demand account for the expanding market for colonial production. Consumption in England grew rapidly after the English seized JAMAICA in 1655 and founded cacao plantations there.

See also CACAO (Vols. I, III).

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cacique Spaniards adopted the term *cacique* from the Arawak islands of the West Indies, where it referred to

a hereditary indigenous chieftain, and used it routinely (and interchangeably with *señor*) in Mexico instead of the Nahuatl term *tlatoani*. Early grants of Indians to provide labor and TRIBUTE (*ENCOMIENDAS*) were typically comprised of a cacique and the indigenous people under his rule.

Caciques and *principales*, the nobles and most important people under them, were central to Spanish rule. Their positions enabled Spaniards to use them as cultural brokers and middlemen with indigenous commoners. Caciques held traditional rights and exemptions that continued after the conquest, for example, the collection of tribute and use of labor. As leaders, they were the Indians most apt to learn Castilian, dress in European-style clothing, and adopt various Spanish customs. Their *cacicazgos* (rights and properties of the cacique) included land, often labor, and other resources.

By the middle of the 16th century, the wealth and power of many caciques was in rapid decline in many villages as recurring EPIDEMICS significantly reduced the number of Amerindians under their jurisdiction. The replacement of *encomenderos* by a provincial official (*ALCALDE MAYOR*) as recipients of tribute, however, did not improve the caciques' lot. They were personally responsible for turning over a specified amount of tribute to Spanish recipients; at the same time, they derived income from the difference between what they collected and what they paid to the *alcaldes mayores*. Since readjustment of assessed tribute lagged behind changes in population, declining numbers of tributaries meant that caciques had to raise the amount collected from each tributary, reduce the amount they retained, or both. Failure to provide Spanish officials with the assessed amount could lead to the loss of property and imprisonment. Thus, the position of cacique carried potentially serious liability during a time of declining population. Within a diverse colonial setting, however, some caciques retained considerable land and wealth.

Despite caciques' often deteriorating financial circumstances and sometimes outward appearance of being indistinguishable, to Spaniards, from indigenous Indian commoners, the title of *cacique* retained some value at the village level in parts of NEW SPAIN. In indigenous villages in Cuernavaca, for example, caciques or caciques and *principales* regularly held municipal governorships from the 16th into the 18th century and continued to enjoy use of the title *don*, a Spanish term recognizing nobility, into the 19th century. Caciques were also often leaders in *COFRADÍAS*, or religious confraternities. Thus, there was an identifiable link between social status and political rank.

The meaning of *cacique* changed over the colonial era. Originally applied only to a sole possessor of a *cacicazgo*, in the 18th century, all children of a cacique might claim the title. In Santiago Tecali, located not far from PUEBLA, the percentage of persons identified as caciques and *principales* at the time of marriage increased more than tenfold between 1672–1715 and 1767–1823 as the older

terms, *don* and *doña* and *principal*, disappeared from the records. More important, the absolute number of indigenous nobles in Tecali had grown substantially. While some were, in fact, mestizos, the caciques were anxious to preserve access to *cacicazgos* that was dependent on their legal recognition as Indians (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*).

See also *CACIQUE* (Vol. I).

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Cádiz Located on an island in the Bay of Cádiz, the Andalusian city of Cádiz became increasingly important as the colonial era progressed, especially as the silting and sandbars of the Guadalquivir River and increased size of transatlantic ships made SEVILLE and, later, SANLÚCAR DE BARRAMEDA unsuitable for the FLEETS sent to the American colonies. Repeatedly a target for enemy attacks, especially by the English from the late 16th to the early 18th centuries, the city and port became the official destination of goods from the Americas on the transfer of the CASA DE CONTRATACIÓN (House of Trade) and the CONSULADO (merchant guild) from Seville in 1717, decades after they starting serving as a de facto terminus.

The 18th century was the golden age of Cádiz. It was the leading Spanish naval base, the most important Atlantic port, and a center of international TRADE. Although other ports were authorized to trade directly with the colonies under the expansion of *COMERCIO LIBRE* beginning in 1778, Cádiz merchants dominated the American trade and exuded prosperity. The population of the city mirrored its growing importance, increasing from about 23,000 in the mid-17th century to some 41,000 around 1700, and 77,500 in the early 1790s, a figure lower than only those for Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, Valencia, and Granada.

With the end of the WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION, PHILIP V and his ministers turned Cádiz into Spain's most important naval base, creating the General Naval Intendency (Intendencia General de la Marina) and the Real Compañía de Guardias Marinas. The presence of foreigners was impressive. Nearly 800 were identified in 1713; by 1791, the number exceeded 5,000.

Cádiz's period of splendor began to crumble after Spain became an ally of France with the TREATY OF SAN ILDEFONSO. Great Britain established a blockade of the port by April 1797 that lasted three years and paralyzed Cádiz's trade with the colonies. The Peace of Amiens in 1802 allowed for a temporary return to the prewar trading system, but a renewal of conflict between France and Britain in 1804 again severely disrupted trade between Cádiz and the colonies.

The French invasion of Spain and Portugal that began in 1807 initiated years of war and crisis that ended with the loss of Spain's mainland colonies. Despite a long French siege, the city was home to Spain's government of resistance, including the celebrated CORTES OF CÁDIZ. The monopolistic merchants of the city's *consulado* used their presence and unmatched access to capital to prevent the genuine free trade sought by numerous colonial representatives to the Cortes. After FERDINAND VII's return, they continued to serve as financiers for Spanish efforts to regain control in the overseas territories. With the loss of empire, however, Cádiz's heyday was over.

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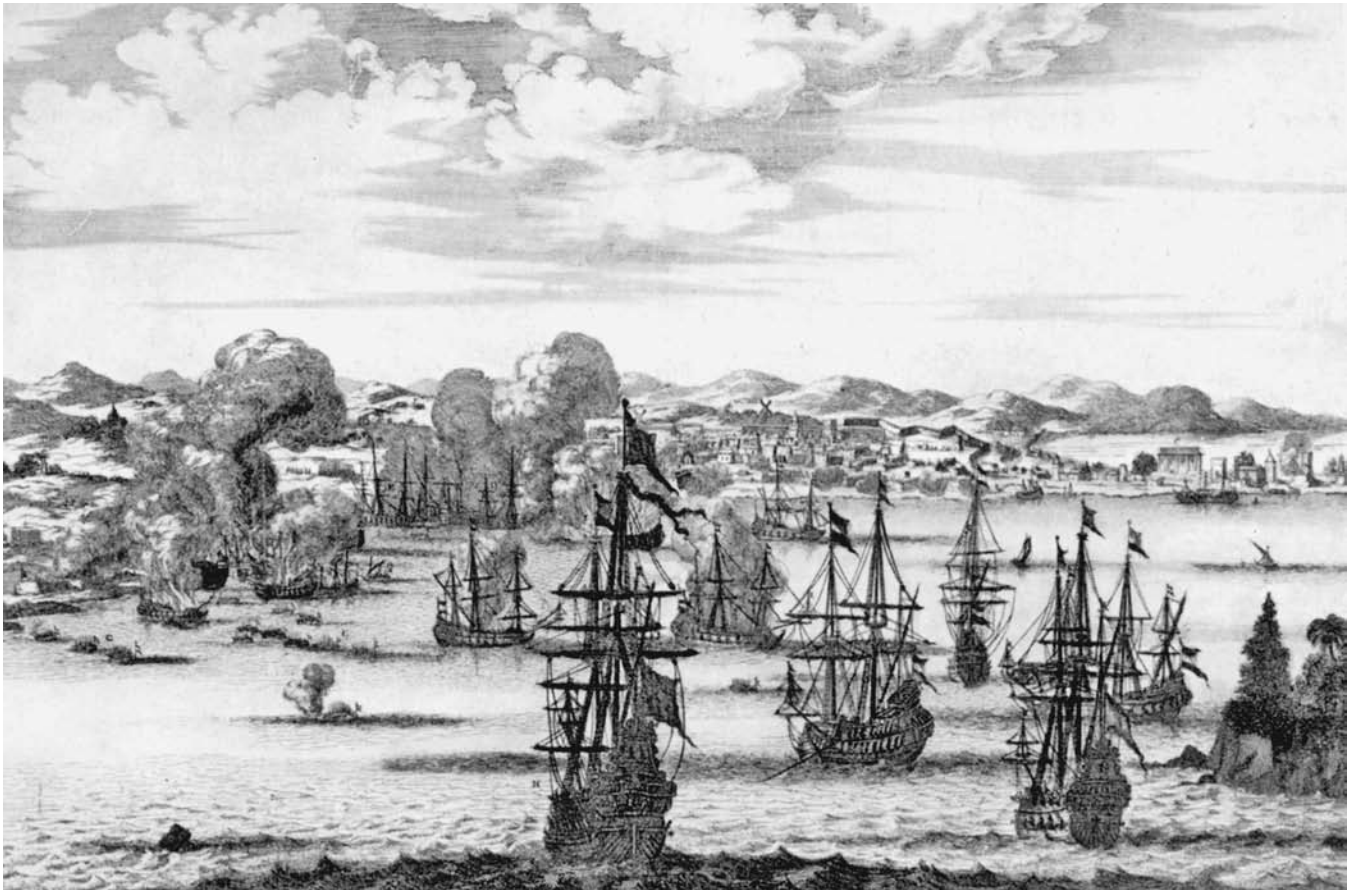
David R. Ringrose. *Spain, Europe and the "Spanish Miracle," 1700–1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Callao Since its founding in 1537, Callao has been PERU's principal port. Located on the Pacific coast about 10 miles (16 km) from downtown LIMA, it quickly became the gateway through which flowed conquistadores and settlers, indigenous slaves, horses and other domestic animals, weaponry, food stuffs, and accoutrements of daily life shipped from Central America, NEW SPAIN, and Spain.

With the establishment of the fleet system in the 1560s, Callao served as the maritime terminus for goods sent by monopolistic traders in SEVILLE, and later SANLÚCAR DE BARRAMEDA and CÁDIZ, as well as the port through which Peruvian SILVER passed on its way to New Spain, the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, Spain, and illegal destinations in Europe and elsewhere (see FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM). The port was also home to Spain's Pacific Fleet (Real Armada del Sur) consisting of, during the 16th and 17th centuries, several ships constructed at Pacific ports such as GUAYAQUIL and Realejo, NICARAGUA. The fleet's responsibilities included protecting silver being transported to PANAMA and MERCURY from HUANCVELICA being shipped from Chíncha to Arica, carrying soldiers and supplies to garrisons in CHILE, and providing defense against foreign marauders.

Foreigners assaulted Callao on several occasions. For example, in 1579, Francis Drake sacked the city, and in 1624 a Dutch fleet blockaded Callao, remaining from early May until late August but capturing little of worth.

A catastrophic earthquake and tsunami struck Callao on October 28, 1746, and left nearly 5,000 persons dead, 23 ships sunk, and the port city destroyed. This event is considered the worst natural disaster to befall colonial Peru. On the ruins of the port were constructed a new fortress and city. The fortress, Real Felipe, was virtually impregnable. During Peru's war of independence, it served as the final coastal holdout through a long and devastating blockade and siege, surrendering in 1826.



Dutch ships blockading Peru's principal port of Callao in 1624 (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri-St. Louis)

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Calleja del Rey, Félix María (b. 1757–d. 1828) *Spanish general and viceroy in New Spain* Born in Medina del Campo, Spain, Félix María Calleja del Rey entered the infantry regiment of Savoy as a cadet in 1772. He served in the failed expedition to Algiers in 1775, was present at the successful reconquest of Menorca, and participated in the 1782 siege of Gibraltar. He advanced to the rank of captain and on March 31, 1789, was given command of a company in the Regiment of PUEBLA. He accompanied VICEROY COUNT OF REVILLAGIGEDO to NEW SPAIN later in the year.

Calleja served commissions in the frontier districts of New Spain from 1790 to 1797, receiving promotion to lieutenant colonel in 1792 and to colonel in 1798. He was named commander of the 10th militia brigade

based in San Luis Potosí on September 20, 1800, part of Viceroy marqués de Branciforte's effort to decentralize army organization as endorsed by the Crown in 1788. The post enabled Calleja to become an important figure in the intendency, while also convincing him that civilians and officials in MEXICO CITY were keeping the MILITARY weak.

Although surprised by the revolt led by MIGUEL HIDALGO Y COSTILLA in September 16, 1810, which initiated a decade of insurrection, Calleja soon demonstrated he was the royalists' most effective officer. The revolt provoked Calleja to take charge of the intendency and its resources. He recruited new military units, increased the supply of arms, created taxes, confiscated CATHOLIC CHURCH income, and turned the Army of the Center into a force loyal mainly to himself. Victories at Aculco (November 7, 1810), GUANAJUATO (November 25, 1810), and Puente de Calderón (January 17, 1811) quickly ended Hidalgo's aspirations and led to his capture and execution (July 30, 1811).

Under Calleja's leadership, royalist officers altered the relationship between civilian institutions and the military. By 1812, the army was the most powerful political, economic, and social institution in the colony, and Calleja, who marched and suffered with his men

while turning them into professional soldiers, was its most prominent officer. He understood the grievances against “egotistical and greedy” PENINSULARS and considered reforms necessary for Spain to maintain its richest mainland colony.

Faced with insurgency, Calleja mixed pardons with exemplary punishment, including decimation. He was less sanguinary than some royalists, however, including the commander of New Galicia, Brigadier José de la Cruz, who reached Mexico within days of Hidalgo’s revolt and practiced “harsh and repeated justice.” In June 1811, Calleja issued a Reglamento político militar that declared the revolt ended and classified all remaining insurgents as “bandits, thieves, and delinquents” unworthy of pardon. This provided the context for a counterinsurgency strategy that made communities responsible for their own defenses, both in terms of raising military companies and paying for them so that the army Calleja commanded could focus on the largest rebel forces wherever they were located. As repeated insurgent attacks in 1811 and 1812 demonstrated, the premise was flawed. The insurgents were more than “bandits, thieves, and delinquents” and urban and rural populations were not necessarily willing to pay the price of fighting them. Desertion from his Army of the Center, moreover, made Calleja reluctant to leave the BAJÍO provinces. Indeed, in August 1811, Calleja noted that some 80 percent of the region’s population favored the insurrection.

After Hidalgo’s death, leadership of the insurgency devolved to Ignacio Rayón and JOSÉ MARÍA MORELOS Y PAVÓN, while small locally based groups of guerrillas and bandits continued to harass property owners and impede TRANSPORTATION. Calleja turned first to Zitácuaro, where his forces overwhelmed Rayón’s supporters in January 1812. Next, he moved the Army of the Center to Cuautla to confront Morelos and his army. Only after a siege lasting 72 days did the royalists succeed in taking the town, but Morelos escaped, kept the revolt alive, and on November 25, 1812, took the city of Oaxaca.

Named VICEROY of New Spain by the COUNCIL OF REGENCY in Spain, Calleja assumed the post on March 4, 1813, and held it until September 19, 1816. During his tenure, royalist forces captured Morelos in 1815, leaving the insurgency to scattered, uncoordinated bands of guerrillas. Throughout, Calleja faced an ECONOMY devastated in many places as a result of rebellion and civil war and a continued desire for political autonomy by prominent CREOLES strengthened by actions by successive governments of resistance to French rule in Spain. Such actions included mandated elections, a free press, the creation of numerous new towns and provincial deputations, and the reduction of the office of viceroy to that of *jefe político superior*. Although FERDINAND VII in spring 1814 expunged the CONSTITUTION OF 1812 and the legislative mandates of the CORTES OF CÁDIZ, the actions did not solve many of the problems Calleja faced.

By the time Viceroy JUAN RUIZ DE APODACA replaced him, Calleja had erroneously claimed to have won the war against the insurgents, a claim that bolstered his career but ignored the strength of insurgents throughout much of New Spain. Calleja returned to Spain, where in 1818 he was granted the title count of Calderón. Named captain general of Andalusia, governor of CÁDIZ, and general of the expedition being prepared for dispatch to the Americas, Calleja was arrested following the successful RIEGO REVOLT in early 1820. Following Ferdinand’s return to absolutism in 1823, Calleja went to Valencia, where he died.

A strong personality and decisive leader continuously plagued by ill health, Calleja was the most important royalist in New Spain in the decade 1810–20. He repeatedly defeated major insurgent forces, eliminating the threats posed by Hidalgo and Morelos. Despite his rhetoric of victory, the insurgency was not reduced to a few bandits in 1816, and the financial drain on rural villages required to provide their own protection under the counterinsurgency program remained. As important as Calleja was, he neither ended nor triumphed over the increasingly entrenched insurgency.

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captaincies general The territorial division of a viceroyalty in Spanish America known as a captaincy general was in many ways an independent subunit whose chief executive held the title of captain general, as well as president of the *AUDIENCIA* and governor. Since captain general was a military rank, a VICEROY normally held it within the *audiencia* district of which he was president. Presidents of subordinate *audiencias* sometimes held the title as well; in these cases, it indicated a high level of independence from the viceroy and the ability to communicate directly with the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES and the monarch.

Aside from the viceregal tribunals, *audiencias* originally had presidents who were *LETRADOS*. Over time, however, men of military background (*de capa y espada*) received appointments as president and governor and, in some regions, captain general. By 1808, there were captains general for CUBA, GUATEMALA, the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, PUERTO RICO, SANTO DOMINGO, VENEZUELA, and Yucatán.

In BRAZIL, governors general in SALVADOR DA BAHIA held the title of captain general before 1697 in recognition of their military responsibilities. In that year, the governor of RIO DE JANEIRO also received the title captain general; by 1715 the governor of PERNAMBUCO enjoyed

the formal title of governor and captain general. In both areas, the territorial jurisdictions were called captaincies general. By 1772, Brazil had nine captaincies-general: GRÃO PARÁ, MARANHÃO, PERNAMBUCO, BAHIA, RIO DE JANEIRO, SÃO PAULO, MATO GROSSO, MINAS GERAIS, and Goiás. In the 18th century, Brazil's viceroys could only rarely exercise authority outside their own captaincy general.

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Carabobo, Battle of (June 24, 1821) The RIEGO REVOLT that brought liberals to power in Spain in 1820 meant that royalist commanders in the colonies would receive no reinforcements. In addition, the new government ordered PABLO MORILLO, the royalist commander in VENEZUELA, to negotiate with the patriots led by SIMÓN BOLÍVAR and specifically to offer an end to hostilities in return for recognizing Spain's constitutional monarchy.

While Morillo and the royalists were still absorbing the implications of the patriots' victory at Boyacá in 1819, Bolívar stalled meeting with Morillo, using the delay to position his forces more effectively. Their representatives agreed, on November 25, 1820, to a six-month armistice, and the two leaders met the following day. The armistice recognized the independent existence of Colombia and gave Bolívar an opportunity to spread pro-independence propaganda, as well as to prepare for a final campaign against the royalists.

The agreed-upon six months of peace did not last, as Maracaibo revolted on January 28, 1821, and joined the rebellion. Three months later, Bolívar began to bring republican units together from locations in the Andes, the Llanos, and Maracaibo. On May 14, 1821, the republicans took CARACAS. Six weeks later, on June 24, 1821, at Carabobo, the republican forces of 6,500 defeated the royalist army of 5,000 men under the leadership of Miguel de la Torre following Morillo's return to Spain. Although royalist survivors fled to Puerto Cabello and held out there until November 10, 1821, the Battle of Carabobo had determined the fate of the war. With the victory, Bolívar and his republican forces had definitively liberated Venezuela. The Liberator could direct his attention to driving the Spaniards from the regions that became the countries of Ecuador, PERU, and Bolivia.

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Caracas After two earlier efforts to establish Spanish towns in the area, in 1567 Diego de Losada and 136 followers founded the town of Santiago de León de Caracas some 3,000 feet (914 m) above sea level in a rich valley south of the Coastal Range. The nearby indigenous peoples were distributed in ENCOMIENDAS, but by 1578, only about 4,000 tributaries remained, roughly a third of the original number. Lacking significant precious metals or a large settled population, Caracas and the rest of VENEZUELA were unpopular destinations for Spanish emigrants. WHEAT production and exportation through the CARIBBEAN port of La Guaira several miles to the north of the Coastal Range were the most important economic activities in these early days, as Caracas sent supplies to the port city of CARTAGENA DE INDIAS.

By the late 17th century, Caracas was poised to emerge as the leading city of the region as a result of several advantages: a prosperous local ECONOMY and export TRADE in CACAO and wheat funnelled through La Guaira; a location that spared it from the level of depredations by pirates suffered by some of its rivals; fertile lands; and a hospitable and disease-free climate. In addition, it was able to secure a labor supply made up mainly of black slaves (see SLAVERY). As an outpost of the empire distant from major institutions of royal government other than a provincial governor until the 18th century, the city ran its own affairs through a MUNICIPAL COUNCIL (*cabildo*).

Caracas's population was modest in size for most of the colonial era. Perhaps 2,000 Spaniards resided there in 1600. A household census in 1759 placed the total at 21,683, of whom 574 made up the city's elite, or *mantuanos*. At the beginning of the 19th century, the city of Caracas had a population of 31,000, the largest in Venezuela; the province of Caracas in 1810 had a population of some 455,000.

The 1728 creation of the joint stock REAL COMPAÑÍA GUIPÚZCOANA DE CARACAS, which held monopolistic trading rights for the whole of Venezuela, had a profound impact on the region. The company sought to significantly increase production of cacao, without success, and to reduce contraband trade. A rising slave trade provided the labor for cacao producers. With officials in Caracas, the company also strengthened the city's importance as a center for regional administration.

The company's control of the terms of trade angered Venezuelan producers of cacao, and a revolt ensued in 1749. The Spanish Crown supported the company and sent troops to quell the disturbance. It subsequently took a number of actions to strengthen royal authority and income that anticipated the reforms usually attributed to the reign of CHARLES III. In addition, changes were made by the Guipúzcoana Company and the era of Basque governors who had worked closely with it came to an end (see BASQUES). During the years of the Guipúzcoana Company, the Venezuelan treasury enjoyed unprecedented income and was actually able to remit a surplus to Spain for the first time in its history.

Caracas was home to the only university in Venezuela from 1717. The elevation of Caracas to an intendency in 1776 and a captaincy general in 1777 gave it the highest-ranking officials in Venezuela (see CAPTAINCIES GENERAL). The creation of an *AUDIENCIA* in Caracas in 1786 solidified the city's administrative and political importance. The establishment of a *CONSULADO* in 1793 and elevation of the episcopal see moved from Coro in 1636 to archiepiscopal status in 1803 further enhanced the capital's importance.

Caracas became the center of the first efforts in Venezuela to gain greater autonomy in response to the constitutional crisis that began in Spain in 1808. The creation of the Junta Suprema Conservadora de los Derechos de Fernando VII, ejection of royal officials from the city on April 19, 1810, and refusal to give allegiance to the COUNCIL OF REGENCY in Spain resulted in the Regency blockading much of the Venezuelan coast in January 1811. The AUTONOMISTS responded with a declaration of independence and the installation of the First Republic on July 5, 1811. Struck by a devastating earthquake in 1812, the city quickly succumbed to royalist rule. It became the capital of the Second Republic on August 6, 1813, but was again taken by the royalists in June 1814. In the aftermath of his victory at CARABOBO on June 24, 1821, SIMÓN BOLÍVAR soon entered Caracas in triumph. It has remained the most important city in Venezuela to the present.

See also CARACAS (Vols. III, IV).

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Caribbean The area known as the Caribbean encompasses the numerous islands extending from southern Florida to the northeastern coastline of South America. Also included in the Caribbean are several mainland sites: BELIZE in Central America, and GUYANA, SURINAME, and FRENCH GUIANA in South America. The Greater Antilles are the several relatively large northern islands: CUBA, JAMAICA, HISPANIOLA (divided between Haiti and the Dominican Republic), and PUERTO RICO. The Lesser Antilles are the islands between Puerto Rico and Trinidad, including Antigua, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Santa Lucia, and Grenada. The Caribbean Sea extends from the Antilles in the north to the coast of South America and

west to Central America and Yucatán; it is slightly more than 1 million square miles (2.59 million km²) in size.

By the mid-16th century, the Spaniards had explored, conquered, settled, and in some cases already virtually abandoned what they had considered the most desirable Caribbean islands, those with a combination of indigenous labor and GOLD. They had also established themselves in the most desirable locations on the adjoining mainlands. The Spanish population of the Antilles numbered perhaps 7,500; Amerindians were perhaps triple that number; Africans, mestizos and mulattoes totaled about 56,000 (see MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO; MULATO). With the principal exception of HAVANA, favored by its location and defensive importance, the Spanish possessions in the Caribbean were outside the economic centers of empire. Indeed, the expensive construction of defensive fortresses in Cuba and Puerto Rico was dependent on financial subsidies (*situados*) from NEW SPAIN.

The Caribbean Sea, its islands, and adjoining mainland coasts became the colonial area most contested by foreign governments, merchants, and contraband traders, privateers, and pirates. The French, the Dutch, and the English established themselves on islands that usually had few if any Spanish inhabitants but enough feral CATTLE and pigs to be important sources of meat and hides. The English took Barbados in 1627, Nevis in 1628, and Antigua and Montserrat in 1632; the Dutch joined the English on St. Croix in 1625, and in the 1630s took St. Eustatius and Curaçao. The French took Martinique and Guadeloupe, among other islands, and the western portion of Hispaniola. In 1648, PHILIP IV recognized the Dutch colonies. In the Treaty of Madrid of 1670, Spain recognized English possession of Jamaica and its other New World colonies. Spain ceded western Hispaniola to France in the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697.

Operating from often primitive bases, 17th-century pirates scourged Spanish shipping and ports in the Caribbean. After capturing Jamaica, the English converted it into both a center for contraband TRADE and, until nearly the end of the 17th century, a base and sanctuary for BUCCANEERS.

As France and England perceived that the benefits of production and trade outweighed those of sanctioned and unsanctioned raiders, their focus shifted to converting their Caribbean colonies into centers of settlement and production. Efforts to populate them with free or semi-free (indentured) labor met with limited success. Consequently, the governments in Paris and London encouraged PLANTATION economies based on slavery and the production of exportable staples, including SUGAR, TOBACCO, and cotton.

In the 17th century, over half of all slaves imported from Africa went to Caribbean colonies. English colonies received about 263,000, French colonies some 156,000, and the Dutch islands about 40,000. Sugar production rose with the expansion of the labor force. By 1670, the French Antilles were producing about one-third of the

amount of BRAZIL, long the major source of American sugar. Barbados emerged as a major producer by 1680, only to be surpassed by Jamaica by 1750. The French colony of Saint Domingue (Haiti) was the most important single sugar colony by 1780, but the slave revolt that began in 1791 quickly eliminated its preeminence. Cuba in particular benefited from its rival's demise; gross production grew from 10,000 to 70,000 tons between 1774 and 1827.

The number of slaves imported reached new highs in the 18th century, with almost 4 million sold in the Caribbean. Over 1.4 million went to the English Antilles; over 1.3 million to the French Antilles; nearly half a million to the Dutch possessions; and almost 600,000 to Spanish planters. By 1791, Saint Domingue had 480,000 slaves, more than double the 206,000 in 1764. Jamaica's slave population increased from 74,500 in 1730 to 324,000 in 1808. Cuba's slave population expanded from 44,300 in 1774 to 286,000 in 1827.

Slaves in the Caribbean vastly outnumbered Europeans and American descendants born to European wives. Among the Caribbean colonies, however, there were significant differences. The Caribbean colonies of England and France in the early 19th century had white populations as low as 3 percent and as high as 48 percent, the latter case in Bermuda. At that time, the Spanish colonies of Cuba and Puerto Rico had 44 percent and 51 percent, respectively. Whites in the Dutch trading entrepôts of St. Eustatius, St. Martin, and Curaçao totaled just over 17 percent, compared to about 4 percent in Suriname, a colony devoted to plantation agriculture.

In every slave society of the Caribbean, miscegenation created a new intermediary group between owners and slaves. Mulattoes in the first mixed generation could be slaves or free persons of color, depending on whether the mother was free or enslaved. Over time, the number of free persons of color expanded; growth in the slave population depended on the importation of additional slaves.

Skin color served as the primary determinant of social status and occupation. In general, the darker the complexion, the more apt the individual was to be engaged in manual, menial labor. Those of mixed ancestry tended to concentrate in urban areas where they often were employed in domestic service, in the artisanal trades, and as skilled labor. Free nonwhites also concentrated in urban centers. Lighter skin color was thus associated with upward social mobility.

Some free nonwhites owned plantations and slaves, for example, in Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Saint Domingue, and Trinidad. The extent of free nonwhites varied by colony. Saint Domingue had but 5 percent in 1791, while Jamaica had 10 percent in 1800. Cuba had 15 percent in 1827, while Puerto Rico had about 40 percent. In Curaçao in 1833, the percentage was over 43 percent. Whatever the percentage, the proportion of female free nonwhites exceeded that of males.

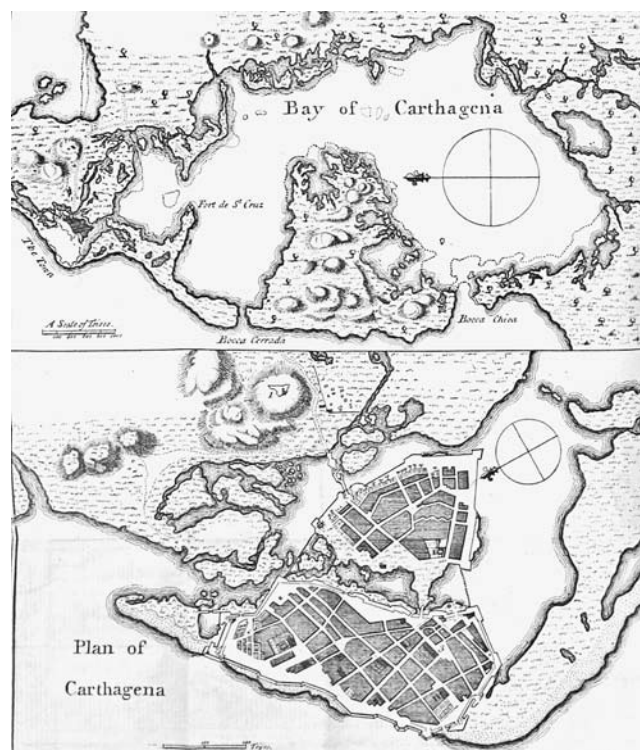
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Cartagena de Indias The city of Cartagena de Indias, located on an island and adjacent mainland near the mouth of the Magdalena River on the CARIBBEAN coast of NEW GRANADA, was founded in 1533 by Pedro de Heredia. Seat of a bishopric established the following year, it quickly became a major port through which flowed GOLD to Spain and merchandise and foodstuffs for the city and its garrison. The fleet system established in the 1560s made Cartagena the first stop of the galleons on route to NOMBRE DE DIOS and, later, PORTOBELLO (see FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM).

The port's strategic location and centrality to the commerce of northern South America made it a target for pirates, interlopers, and military invasion. French pirates sacked the city in both 1543 and 1559. An expedition led by JOHN HAWKINS entered the bay in 1568 but left after an eight-day blockade and bombardment. Francis Drake and his fleet occupied the port in 1586 and extracted a ransom of 107,000 ducats. French forces



Map of Cartagena de Indias and the surrounding bay. Cartagena was an important stop for the galleons sailing to collect Peruvian silver in Panama. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

and BUCCANEERS from HISPANIOLA, under the command of Jean-Bernard-Louis Desjeans, baron de Pointis, captured Cartagena in 1697, and the British twice besieged it, in 1727 and 1741. Cartagena's most celebrated victory was in 1741, when its defenders defeated British admiral Edward Vernon after 35 days of bombardment by his force of more than 23,000 men. Foreign threats induced Spain to invest substantial sums in the defense of Cartagena, and it was one of a small number of heavily fortified ports in the Spanish colonies.

By the late 18th century, the city and its environs had a population of about 16,000. Of this number, some 4,400 were white and slightly more than double that number were *CASTAS*; slaves numbered just over 3,000, and there were fewer than 100 Indians. The population consumed a number of local products, although MAIZE, WHEAT, and beef were imported from elsewhere in New Granada or, especially in the case of wheat, from overseas.

In June 1810, a *CABILDO ABIERTO* removed the governor and established a junta that promptly recognized the COUNCIL OF REGENCY in Spain (see *JUNTAS*). In November 1811, a popular uprising with some military support forced the junta to declare independence from Spain. Insurgents still controlled the city when General PABLO MORILLO besieged it for 106 days in 1815. Under royalist control from December 1815, it served as the administrative center of New Granada, save from mid-1818 to August 1819, until late September 1821 when it surrendered to republicans. By that time, the city was a bankrupt shell of its former self; more than 1,300 people left for HAVANA rather than remain under republican rule.

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Cartagena Manifesto Several months after the collapse of VENEZUELA'S First Republic in July 1812, SIMÓN BOLÍVAR borrowed money to sail to CARTAGENA DE INDIAS, the major port of NEW GRANADA and effectively independent from Spain since November 1811. There, he wrote a statement directed to the populace of New Granada, which appeared as a printed pamphlet in 1813. Known as the *Cartagena Manifesto*, the document outlined reasons why the First Republic had failed and what now needed to be done.

There were several reasons for Venezuela's downfall. The form of government it adopted, a federal republic,

was inappropriate, as it fostered internal divisions among CITIES and provinces. Moreover, the lack of political experience among the citizens, a consequence of Spanish absolutism, meant that they did not have the "political virtues" necessary for effective government during a time of internal strife and external threats. Centralized government was required to overcome civil turmoil.

Reliance upon a militia rather than a professional army was another failing. Inexperienced citizen soldiers did not persist after the first defeat. The result was widespread discouragement among men and officers despite the fact that payments to the latter exhausted the treasury.

Misplaced tolerance of opposing opinions and a reluctance to punish "crimes against the State" severely and immediately further weakened the republic; pardoned enemies simply returned to their treasonous conspiracies. The earthquake that struck CARACAS on March 26, 1812, was used by the clergy to inveigh against republicans. Again, the religious were allowed to condemn their opponents with impunity. Finally, internal divisions plagued the republic, as the royalism in Coro demonstrated.

More threats lay ahead. Assuming that the French would win the war on the Iberian Peninsula, Bolívar warned that hordes of émigrés would be coming to Venezuela, where they would enter freely through royalist ports. They would then raise and train a substantial army of 15,000–20,000 men before being followed by a plague of government officials, clerics, and nobles of the highest rank. New Granada would be threatened as well. The answer? New Granada must help to free Venezuela.

An early political comment by Bolívar, the *Cartagena Manifesto* reveals both his belief that his fellows were politically naive as a result of their exclusion from politics during Spanish rule and his belief in the importance of strong, centralized authority. It also reveals his broad vision that independence from Spain could not be maintained as long as bastions of loyalty could serve as entry points for royalists.

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Casa de Contratación (House of Trade; Board of Trade) The first institution dedicated to governance of the colonies, the Casa de Contratación was created in 1503 to oversee a monopoly of commerce between Spain and its overseas territories. It was located in SEVILLE, an inland port on the Guadalquivir River about 70 miles (113 km) from the Bay of Cádiz. Although CÁDIZ had a better port, Seville's location offered protection against foreign rivals as well as access to supplies of WHEAT, WINE, and oil. With the monopolistic benefits provided by the Casa de Contratación and, after 1543, the Consulado (merchant guild) of Seville, the inland town soon outstripped its rival (see CONSULADO).

The Casa de Contratación served as the government's office for maintaining a map of discoveries, licensing ships and passengers, receiving treasure from the colonies, taxing cargoes, and, after the fleet system was implemented in the 1560s, arranging for the FLEETS' sailings. The Casa also had a judicial function, with judges presiding over civil cases arising from the INDIES' TRADE and criminal cases resulting from incidents that occurred during passage to or from the colonies. Over time, the Casa was expanded with a board of audit, a postmaster general, and a nautical school.

The Casa de Contratación's many responsibilities and its officials' contact with the wealth of the Indies resulted in corruption that reached massive proportions in the 17th century. By the early part of that century, Spanish merchants and foreign merchants working through them had emerged as the dominant parties in the Indies' trade. They assumed control not only over the trade but also over many of the Casa's fiscal and organizational functions, for example, filling important posts in the fleets.

By the end of the 17th century, the Crown's control over legal, monopolistic trade between Spain and the colonies was a shambles. The tacit permission PHILIP V granted to French merchants to export goods to the colonies during the WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION further undercut the monopolistic trading system.

In 1717, Philip V moved the Casa de Contratación to Cádiz in belated recognition that the coastal city, its merchants, and their foreign partners had displaced Seville at the center of the Indies trade. The regular use of single ships with registered cargoes for trade with the South American colonies from the 1740s and the progressive expansion of COMERCIO LIBRE from 1765 to 1789 left the Casa's responsibilities significantly diminished. In 1790, the Crown abolished the Casa de Contratación, bringing its almost three centuries of labors to an end.

See also CASA DE CONTRATACIÓN (Vol. I).

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castas The term *castas* refers to persons in Spanish America of mixed racial ancestry or suspected of some

African ancestry because of illegitimate birth. In NEW SPAIN, only four combinations among the *castas* were perceived as distinct racial groups: mestizo (Indian and Spaniard), mulatto (black and Spaniard), *castizo* (Spaniard and mestizo), and *morisco* (Spaniard and mulatto) (see MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO; MULATO). Social perception rather than strict racial combination, however, placed a *casta* within a social hierarchy that ran in two lines, one from Spaniard to Amerindian, with *castizo* and mestizo between; the other from Spaniard to black, with *morisco* and *mulato* between. While terms in other parts of the empire varied, for example, the use of *PARDO* in some locations, the overall social structure of every colony had a similar hierarchy based heavily on perception of race.

By the middle of the 16th century, a growing number of *castas* were present throughout the colonies and perceived as causes of crime, corruption of morals, and disruption and abuse in villages where only NATIVE AMERICANS were meant to reside. The size of the *casta* population increased throughout the colonial period. An estimate for Spanish America around 1570 placed the number at 230,000. Only in New Spain and Central America were there more Spaniards than *castas*; both areas had about 5,000 more Spaniards. An estimate for the mid-17th century placed the *castas* at a conservative 584,000. New Spain alone in 1793 had an estimated 788,000 *castas*, a figure more than 100,000 greater than that of whites, but only about one-third the number of Indians. With about two-thirds of VENEZUELA's population, the bishopric of CARACAS in the early 19th century had a *casta* population (termed *pardos*) of 163,000; this total made *pardos* the largest single racial group, outnumbering whites by more than 50 percent. For Spanish America as a whole, about one-third of the population at the beginning of the 19th century were *castas*.

An examination of occupations for adult males in MEXICO CITY in 1753 demonstrates that *castizos* were predominantly artisans, as were a majority of mestizos. Over 40 percent of free *mulatos* were artisans; nearly 50 percent were servants. Although 17 percent of mestizos were laborers, no other group of *castas* reached even 10 percent. In contrast, almost half of the indigenous were laborers.

The legal status of *castas* differed from that of Spaniards, Amerindians, and black slaves in a variety of ways. Soon after the first generation of *castas* reached adulthood, in 1549, the Spanish Crown ordered that *mulatos*, mestizos, and men of illegitimate birth were ineligible for royal or public office. *Mulatos*, mestizos, Indians, and the offspring of Indians and blacks (*ZAMBOS*, or *zambaigos*) were prohibited from having firearms in the 1560s. Mestizos could be licensed to have firearms starting in the 1570s, but in that decade, they were prohibited from receiving religious orders or becoming notaries (*escribanos*), although the Crown subsequently allowed dispensations from the prohibition. In the 1570s, the Crown ordered that children of free or enslaved blacks

who married Indian women were to pay tribute “*como los indios*” (like the Indians). Mulattoes were prohibited from becoming *escribanos* in the 1620s, an indication that some were literate by that time. A 1636 order prohibited ordination of mulattoes, mestizos, and men of illegitimate birth, but a 1696 order enabled Indians and mestizos, presumably of legitimate birth, to become clerics.

Although indigenous people and *castas* were explicitly allowed admission to minor orders in NEW SPAIN in 1539, the First Mexican Provincial Council of 1555 reversed this and specified that Indians, mestizos, and mulattoes were to be excluded. PHILIP II in the 1570s decreed that mestizos could not be ordained for “lack of suitability.” The Third Mexican Provincial Council, which met in 1585, intended to continue the exclusion approved in 1555, but language ultimately approved in 1591 allowed Amerindians to be ordained and gave “qualified approval” of ordination of mestizos and mulattoes.

The use of *castas* in militia units began in the 1550s in New Spain and continued until the 1790s (see MILITARY). Free colored units were also used in other places, including CUBA, PERU, and NEW GRANADA. In the wars of independence, *pardos* were extremely important in a number of regions, with Venezuela a particularly notable case.

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Castile Located in central Spain, the Kingdom of Castile in 1560 included Old Castile (Castile and León), New Castile (La Mancha and Extremadura), the Basque provinces, Asturias, Galicia, Andalusia, and Murcia. It was the most populous kingdom on the Iberian Peninsula throughout the colonial era. The overseas territories belonged to Castile rather than Aragon or Navarre, although both of those kingdoms were the king of Castile’s patrimony. CHARLES I inherited what became the Low Countries as well as significant parts of Italy; Castilian resources provided the armies used in the conflicts arising from the Protestant Reformation.

In the mid-16th century, Castile’s major export was high-quality wool from merino SHEEP, as had been the case since medieval times. Although the kingdom suffered from inflation, at least in part because of the influx of SILVER from the colonies, TAXATION in Castile was the backbone of royal revenue.

During the reign of PHILIP II (1556–98), Castile began to receive significant income from the colonies. Both the amount and the fact that it arrived as cash not committed to a specific expenditure provided muscle for Spain’s armies in the Spanish Netherlands and elsewhere in Europe. By the end of the 16th century, however, the Crown had gone bankrupt on three occasions and lost an enormous fleet to the English in 1588. Inflation had also taken its toll, and wool exports had declined.

From 1596 to 1602, the bubonic plague struck Castile, killing perhaps half a million people. The expulsion of some 275,000 Moriscos (Christianized Muslims) followed, from 1609 to 1614. Another disaster struck in 1630–32 when famine and plague hit Castile. This high mortality fanned inflation as laborers received higher wages. Grain prices more than doubled in Andalusia and Castile. Since remissions of American silver were in decline, the government responded by minting large amounts of copper coinage (*vellón*), which also increased inflation. The cost of intermittent warfare in Europe and revolts in Catalonia and Portugal beginning in 1640 further aggravated Castile’s fiscal problems. A plague in 1647–52 was yet another blow.

After the final bubonic plague of the century, between 1676 and 1685, Castile at last began to revive and the population grew. A 75 percent devaluation of currency in 1680 brought inflation under control. The WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION confirmed a change of dynasty from HABSBURG to BOURBON despite PHILIP V’s loss of Madrid on two occasions. The war also enabled Philip to eliminate the Kingdom of Aragon’s special privileges (*FUEROS*) and to impose Castilian administrative institutions.

Castile benefited in the 18th century from rising American remittances of silver. Madrid, capital of the monarchy since early in the reign of Philip II, grew in size and continued to be the Iberian Peninsula’s single largest consumer of foodstuffs, WINE, and luxury goods. Legal colonial TRADE increased throughout the 18th century, particularly after the introduction of *COMERCIO LIBRE*. By the end of the century, the Crown had increased its share of American returns from 2 percent to 40 percent.

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cathedral chapter When the papacy created a diocese, it provided not only for a bishop, but also for the establishment of a cathedral chapter (*cabildo eclesiástico*) to support the bishop and to serve the parishioners. If all the

positions were filled, the cathedral chapter consisted of four ranks of members (collectively known as prebendaries) with specific rights and responsibilities. The ranks were dignitaries (dean, archdeacon, precentor, schoolmaster, and treasurer); canons; *racioneros*; and *medio racioneros*. Ordained priests were required in the first two ranks and normally filled the other ranks as well. Seniority within each rank determined where one stood or sat during public events. As part of the *PATRONATO REAL* and *padroado real*, the Spanish and Portuguese monarchs named the men who filled all positions in a cathedral chapter.

Among a cathedral chapter's responsibilities were administering the sacraments, participating as a body in ceremonies each day, and collecting the tithe, a 10 percent tax on some agricultural products. If a bishop or archbishop was absent or the see was vacant, the chapter governed the diocese. Individual members had particular responsibilities: For example, the schoolmaster oversaw educational programs, and the precentor was in charge of the MUSIC used in ecclesiastical services.

In BRAZIL, the comparatively few archbishops and bishops were *REINÓIS*, but the cathedral chapters were normally comprised of *brasileiros*. In the Spanish colonies, a majority of bishops and archbishops were PENINSULARS, but the cathedral chapters over time included numerous CREOLES, including native sons or appointees born in the diocese of service, and peninsulars whose prior ordination or formal residency in the colonies resulted in a

distinct category known as *domiciliarios*. In the cathedral chapter of the archdiocese of Mexico in the 16th century, appointments were secured by 32 peninsulars, 29 creoles, and 20 *domiciliarios*. Creoles typically entered the chapter at the lowest rung, but many advanced up the ladder, and some ended their career as bishops. Between 1700 and 1799, about 85 percent of members in the cathedral chapter of LIMA and about 70 percent of those in the cathedral chapter of Mexico were creoles.

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Catholic Church An important justification Spaniards gave for conquest and settlement was the conversion of indigenous peoples, a responsibility inherent in the papal donation of 1493. Consequently, clerics normally accompanied expeditions from the time of Christopher Columbus onward. Spaniards themselves in the Americas, of course, also wanted clerics available to minister sacraments to them. Though the year



The cathedral in Bogotá, New Granada (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

is unknown, clerics reached BRAZIL before the arrival of MANOEL DA NÓBREGA and five other JESUITS in 1549. Although diocesan, or secular, clergy became numerous over time, the Jesuits led the way in converting the NATIVE AMERICANS. By 1822, Brazil had six bishoprics.

Both the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns had received a series of papal bulls granting extensive rights of patronage (*PATRONATO REAL* and *padroado real*) over the church in the overseas territories. The Spanish Crown took an active role in promoting the christianization of indigenous peoples. It also encouraged the creation of schools and hospitals. Its rights enabled the Crown to select clerics who would serve in the Indies and also control the tithe, a tax, usually of 10 percent, on specified agricultural products and the increase in certain domesticated animals. Despite the royal patronage, as a quintessential corporate body the church preserved significant rights (*FUEROS*) that, for example, allowed clerics to be tried in ecclesiastical courts for most offenses.

By 1560, the church in both Spanish and Portuguese America was assuming the institutional form it would preserve for the remainder of the colonial eras. Bishoprics had been established in a number of cities in Spanish America, and in 1551, the bishopric of Bahia was erected in Salvador da Bahia; it became an archbishopric in 1676.

By 1560, the church was represented in almost every locale where Spaniards had settled, as well as in many Indian villages. While it is common to refer to the church as though it were a monolithic body, in fact, it had numerous divisions and at times violent competition between and within these. The church in Brazil was set up later than in the Spanish colonies but exerted a presence throughout the settlements of the colony.

Structurally, the church was divided into diocesan, or secular, clergy and regular clergy. Seculars included parish clergy, members of cathedral chapters, bishops and archbishops. Regulars were those clerics who belonged to religious orders. The most prominent religious orders were the Jesuits, FRANCISCANS, DOMINICANS, AUGUSTINIANS, and MERCEDARIANS.

The Franciscans eagerly pursued the conversion of Amerindians. By 1600, there may have been more than 1,000 Franciscans in NEW SPAIN alone; Franciscans were also in PERU, NEW GRANADA, QUITO, PARAGUAY, and SANTIAGO DE CHILE. Initially, for this order, the second coming of Christ seemed at hand. Jesuits were the leading missionaries in Brazil.

Place of birth created another important division in the clergy. Contemporaries knew whether a cleric was born in Spain or the colonies, and with many CREOLES eager for a clerical vocation and many positions to be filled, the American-born Spaniards were particularly interested in clerical vocations. While PENINSULARS were clearly favored for the most prestigious posts—they were named to 132 of 173 appointments as bishop or archbishop in colonial New Spain—by the end of the 16th century, creoles held a majority of the positions on cathe-

dral chapters and as parish priests throughout the empire. American dominance continued in the parishes throughout the remainder of the colonial era. For example, more than 95 percent of the parish priests in GUATEMALA from the early 17th century were natives of the diocese.

Place of birth was also important in the religious orders. For example, in LIMA, a majority of Franciscans were creoles in 1593 when the first creole provincial, or head of the convent, was elected. In CUZCO, nine of 10 provincials were peninsulars from 1607 to 1650, but seven of the next eight were creoles. In response to creole majorities within the orders, peninsulars sought a formal rotation in the highest offices of the orders to ensure their continued leadership at least half of the time. Franciscans in Mexico obtained this *alternativa* in the early 17th century, Dominicans in QUITO in 1625, and Augustinians in Lima in 1629. By the end of the 17th century, only the Jesuits in Spanish America were not using the *alternativa*; rather than being elected, their provincials came from Europe. In Brazil, the Franciscans adopted the *alternativa*.

A fundamental weakness in the colonial church was discrimination against nonwhites. Although indigenous people and *CASTAS* were explicitly allowed admission to minor orders in New Spain in 1539, the First Mexican Provincial Council of 1555 reversed this and specified that Indians, mestizos, and mulattoes were to be excluded from the minor orders (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*; *MULATO*). PHILIP II in the 1570s decreed that mestizos could not be ordained for lack of “suitability.” The Third Mexican Provincial Council that met in 1585 intended to continue the exclusion approved in 1555, but language ultimately approved in 1591 allowed indigenous people to be ordained and gave “qualified approval” of ordination of mestizos and mulattoes.

Much discrimination was indirect. Obstacles to prevent nonwhites from obtaining higher EDUCATION effectively eliminated most of them from clerical vocations, especially in the early decades after conquest. While mestizos were reluctantly allowed ordination, few Indians became priests. In native villages, however, Indians normally held the positions that provided support to the priests and the religious services.

The first nunneries were founded in New Spain and Peru in the mid-16th century and in outlying cities in the first half of the 17th century. They offered women a religious vocation, while providing a comfortable retreat from the world for “noble but poor” women who lacked good marital prospects. Sisters also were able to obtain some education. The size of convents varied, but some were very large. La Concepción in Lima had 247 nuns and 794 other inhabitants, many servants and slaves, in 1700. Numerous nunneries went into decline in the late 18th century.

The first nunnery in Brazil was established in Salvador da Bahia in 1677. Prior to the creation of the Convent of Santa Clara de Nossa Senhora do Desterro, well-to-do residents anywhere in Brazil had to send their daughters to Portugal for seclusion.

Franciscans led the advance of the church in Spanish America. Relatively few in number, they saw enormous opportunity among indigenous populations that numbered in the millions in New Spain and PERU. As more Spaniards immigrated and Spanish settlements increased, the missionaries pushed into the fringes of colonization and beyond. The arrival of the Jesuits intensified the mission effort in Spanish America and initiated it in Brazil. Given their small number, Franciscan friars and Jesuit priests were particularly interested in concentrating Amerindians in villages known as *congregaciones* in New Spain, *reducciones* in Peru, and *aldeias* in Brazil (see CONGREGACIÓN; REDUCCIÓN). This enabled them to minister more efficiently and provided the opportunity to establish Iberian-style towns, with the church located on a central plaza. The most celebrated reductions were the 30 GUARANÍ missions of the Jesuits in the Alto Paraná basin of PARAGUAY.

As outlined in the Ordenanza de Patronazgo of 1574, the Spanish Crown wanted to limit regular clergy in parishes and to put secular clergy in their place. The effort was long unsuccessful, but starting in 1749, a serious and successful program of secularization got under way. In Brazil, the Portuguese Crown prohibited the religious orders from entering the MINING district of MINAS GERAIS; only secular clergy were allowed.

Throughout most of the colonial period, the church served the Spanish Crown in many ways as an arm of the government. As part of its royal patronage, the Crown paid for the TRANSPORTATION of clerics going to the Americas, typically also providing a servant for every four religious. Between 1493 and 1819, the Crown sent 15,447 missionaries to the Indies, about a quarter of them to New Spain. The number increased until about 1600, then declined sharply into the 1640s before following a moderate and varied trajectory for the remaining years. Once at the destination selected by the order's provincial, friars were to remain there unless licensed by the government to move.

With some exceptions, during the centuries of colonial rule, the church's initial focus on the christianization of Indians gave way to more mundane matters. Through bequests, tithes, and fees, it became a property owner and holder of mortgages. Nunneries were most likely to buy urban property that could be rented. The Jesuits invested in rural estates and sometimes OBRAJES as sources of income. Other religious bodies lent money with property as collateral and used income pledged by owners against their property as a source to pay for chantries and chaplaincies. Only the Franciscans remained faithful to the ideal of poverty.

In the second half of the 18th century, the Iberian monarchs emphasized REGALISM, an expansion of royal authority vis-à-vis the church. This took the form of reducing the application of the church's judicial privileges, or *fueros*. The most draconian and dramatic examples of regalism came when the Portuguese Crown

expelled the Jesuits in 1759–60 and the Spanish Crown did likewise in 1767.

A second striking example occurred in Spanish America in 1804 when CHARLES IV extended the CONSOLIDACIÓN DE VALES REALES (consolidation of royal bills) to the colonies in an effort to transfer liquid assets from the Catholic Church to the Crown. Implemented in some but not all of the colonies, this action affected New Spain most adversely. There, the church collected the principal on mortgages and turned over between 8.5 and 13 million pesos to the Crown. The consolidation program angered mortgagees, in particular, and made clear to interested observers that the Crown was prepared to ruin the colonies for the sake of its policies in Europe.

During the wars of independence in Spanish America, some clerics, including those of highest rank, supported the royalist cause; other clerics supported the rebels and later patriots. Fathers MIGUEL HIDALGO Y COSTILLA and JOSÉ MARÍA MORELOS Y PAVÓN were the most noted clerics to lead insurgents in Mexico.

See also CATHOLIC CHURCH (Vols. I, III, IV); CLERGY, SECULAR (Vol. I); RELIGIOUS ORDERS (Vol. I).

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cattle Christopher Columbus brought the first cattle to HISPANIOLA in 1495, and soon Spaniards introduced them to JAMAICA, CUBA, and other islands of the CARIBBEAN. The first cattle on the American mainlands were introduced into NEW SPAIN in 1520 or 1521, Central America in the late 1520s, BRAZIL in the early 1530s, LIMA by 1539, VENEZUELA by 1548, and what is now northern Argentina in the 1550s.

Spaniards wanted cattle for three main reasons: food, leather, and tallow. In Mexico, the number of cattle exploded in the central plateau starting in the late 1530s and became inexpensive by the early 1540s. Beef was so cheap that in the 1580s, soldiers' rations in Mexico included two pounds a day; even with prices doubling by 1600, one could buy 16 pounds for one real. Ensuring the steady provision of beef to city dwellers was a common preoccupation of MUNICIPAL COUNCILS, although mutton was more popular among Spaniards (see SHEEP). The solution was to auction the right to provide a city with a specified amount of beef at a set price for a given period of time. The successful bidder typically obtained

a monopoly on slaughtering beef for the city and on the sale of tallow candles.

Tanned leather and hides were valuable exports if sold in large enough quantities and also central items in the domestic ECONOMY. In 1587, the fleet carried almost 100,000 hides to SEVILLE, nearly 75,000 of them from New Spain; 150,000 hides went with the fleet in 1598 (see FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM). From the era of conquest, colonists used hides and leather in many ways, including rope; clothing; shoes; furniture; buckets, trunks, and other containers; and hammocks. Tanners and manufacturers of leather items were numerous. MEXICO CITY in 1788 had 167 men in the tanners' guild, 237 shoemakers, and 120 saddle makers.

Tallow was used to make candles that not only brightened dark rooms but served as the source of light in mines. *Mitayos* laboring in the mines at POTOSÍ had to provide their own candles, a significant expense (see MITA). Mexico City in 1788 had 187 candle makers.

MINING regions bought large quantities of beef, leather, and tallow. Already in 1586, cattle ranches serving ZACATECAS were enormous. One west of the mining region reported branding 33,000 young steers, while another to its north branded 42,000 cattle in the same year. The cattle were small; the average gross weight of steers butchered in Mexico City in 1575 was 340 pounds.

Cattle became extremely important in the region that would become the VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA. When Juan de Garay led colonists from ASUNCIÓN to refound BUENOS AIRES in 1580, he traveled with about 500 cattle; some escaped, and by the early 17th century large herds existed on the pampas. In the Corrientes region of the Río de la Plata, large herds of wild cattle attracted cattle hunters known as *vaqueros*. By the mid-17th century and until about 1750, royal officials issued licenses to slaughter a specified number of cattle within a designated area of the region. The cowboys ate the tongue and ribs; hides were exported. With demand for hides increasing in the early 18th century, wild cattle in Corrientes were exterminated and replaced with domesticated cattle on lands held by an emerging elite. *COMERCIO LIBRE* brought an expansion of exports from Corrientes, which sent nearly 440,000 legal hides to Buenos Aires between 1780 and 1797. Another 149,000 cattle from Corrientes were herded to PARAGUAY during the same period.

From 1800 onward, U.S. newspapers carried ads for hides from Buenos Aires. A ship that arrived in New York on February 16, 1806, carried jerked beef, hides, and tallow loaded at MONTEVIDEO. On October 25, 1806, an ad read "good ox hides from 14 to 15 reals per 40 lbs.," "jerked beef 2 dolls. per quintal," and "tallow per 100 lbs. 7 dolls." A Philadelphia paper on August 22, 1807, reported that the "price of an ox is a dollar." In the 1810s, Buenos Aires exported 574,400 hides, 1,420 tons of tallow, and 1,082 tons of salted meat annually.

Cowboys were important in the wars of independence. In Venezuela, the *LLANEROS* were central to the

defeat of the Second Republic and then critical in SIMÓN BOLÍVAR's success in bringing definitive independence to NEW GRANADA and Venezuela. GAUCHOS played a role in the wars in the BANDA ORIENTAL and Río de la Plata as well.

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Cevallos, Pedro de (b. 1715–d. 1778) *Spanish general and first viceroy of Río de la Plata* Born in CÁDIZ, Spain, Pedro de Cevallos was a career officer and colonel in the Infantry Regiment of Aragon when named a knight of Santiago in 1742 and a lieutenant general when appointed governor of BUENOS AIRES and dispatched there with 1,000 men in 1756. He drove the Portuguese from COLÔNIA DO SACRAMENTO, the northern BANDA ORIENTAL, and southern Río Grande, only to see his gains undermined by the TREATY OF PARIS of 1763, which was negotiated without knowledge of his victories. Recalled to Spain in 1767, Cevallos was appointed to the Council of War in 1773 and then governor and commandant general of Madrid in 1775.

In 1776, Cevallos was named to lead a major expeditionary force to the Plata region and secretly appointed its first VICEROY. He sailed from Cádiz in mid-November 1776 with the largest force Spain had sent to the territories; it included nearly 10,000 troops, 8,500 sailors, and other personnel. His attack on Colônia was successful, and on June 4, 1777, the Portuguese surrendered, enabling the Spanish to destroy the settlement and its fortress. The Treaty of San Ildefonso, signed on October 1, 1777, prevented Cevallos, to his annoyance, from attacking the Brazilian province of Río Grande.

Cevallos's service for the newly found VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA was brief. He proclaimed the new entity upon returning to Buenos Aires after his success at Colônia. The viceroyalty included the governorships of Buenos Aires, PARAGUAY, Tucumán, the *corregimiento* of Cuyo, and CHARCAS. Under the new structure, POTOSÍ's minted SILVER was to be sent to Buenos Aires rather than LIMA. MERCURY from ALMADÉN destined for the mines of Charcas was also to be transported through Buenos Aires.

In addition to the 1778 declaration of *COMERCIO LIBRE*, the new structure provided a solid base for the viceroyalty's success. JUAN JOSÉ DE VÉRTIZ succeeded Cevallos in office in 1778.

A lifelong bachelor, Cevallos died in Madrid before his son by mistress María Luisa Pintos Ortega was born in Buenos Aires.

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Chacabuco, Battle of (February 12, 1817) The Battle of Chacabuco successfully culminated the first phase of JOSÉ DE SAN MARTÍN's campaign in CHILE. With an army of about 4,000 men assembled and trained at Mendoza, on the eastern side of the Andes, San Martín and his leading officers, including BERNARDO O'HIGGINS, initiated their advance across the Andes on January 18, 1817. A force of 800 men under Colonel Juan Gregorio de Las Heras crossed at the Uspallata Pass, while the rest of the army crossed at Los Patos. The men under O'Higgins caught the first royalist soldiers by surprise before being joined by Las Heras's troops. The reunited army made camp and prepared for battle with royalist forces.

With about 2,400 troops, the royalists decided to fight at Chacabuco, a defensible ridge located about 35 miles (56 km) or a day's march north of SANTIAGO DE CHILE. The division under O'Higgins led the attack, with O'Higgins commanding one column and Colonel Ambrosio Cramer the other. Joined toward the end of the battle, on February 12, 1817, by the division led by the Argentine general Miguel Estanislao de Soler, the Army of the Andes was victorious, and O'Higgins emerged as the hero. Some 600 royalists were killed in the fighting, and another 550 were imprisoned; the royalists also lost their artillery.

While the war was not over, the Army of the Andes had won the Battle of Chacabuco and quickly moved into Santiago on February 13, 1817. With the blessing of San Martín, on February 16, O'Higgins was named head of state by an assembly of eminent citizens. The independence movement would not be stopped.

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Charcas (Los Charcas, Alto Perú, Upper Peru) The *AUDIENCIA* district of Charcas, or what was known in the

18th century as Alto Perú (Upper Peru), representing a good part of what is today Bolivia, was home to Cerro Rico, the most famous SILVER MINING complex of the colonial era, and the legendary city of Potosí. Unlike present-day Bolivia, Charcas extended westward to the Pacific coast and the port of Arica, some 300 miles (483 km) by air from Potosí, and also into present-day PARAGUAY, Argentina, and CHILE.

Spanish interest in Charcas rested initially on the silver ore deposits at Porco, a preconquest site exploited by the Pizarros from the late 1530s, and especially at Potosí after 1545 when Spaniards became aware of the extraordinary deposits at Cerro Rico. The mining districts' need for labor, TRANSPORTATION, foodstuffs, building materials, clothing, and other material goods led to the foundation of Spanish towns within the *audiencia*. La Paz was founded in 1548; Santa Cruz in 1560, although it was subsequently moved to its present location; Oropesa (soon known as Cochabamba) in 1571; Tarija in 1574; and Oruro in 1606. These towns, as the earlier ones of LA PLATA, Porco, and Potosí, went through a formal process of foundation; upon its creation, a town council took responsibility for laying out streets and assigning lots and for policing and the provision of services.

Clerics arrived soon after the miners. In 1552, the diocese of La Plata was erected with the town of that name (also known as Chuquisaca and, after 1839, as Sucre) as its see. Dioceses of La Paz and Santa Cruz de la Sierra were erected in 1605 and that of La Plata was elevated to archiepiscopal status in 1609. FRANCISCANS were present in La Plata in 1540, Potosí in 1547, and La Paz in 1548. AUGUSTINIANS were in Charcas in the 1550s, and JESUITS arrived in the 1570s. A university was founded in La Plata in 1623.

The rich silver ore deposits also ensured that the Castilian monarchs would establish royal institutions to secure benefits for the treasury. Accordingly, in 1559, CHARLES I created within the VICEROYALTY OF PERU an *audiencia* to reside in La Plata. Its jurisdiction encompassed the lands from CUZCO to BUENOS AIRES and from the Brazilian frontier to the Pacific. Given this expanse, the Crown divided the region into provinces: La Paz, Potosí, Charcas, and Santa Cruz de la Sierra. It also created treasury offices (*cajas reales*); ultimately, nine were located in Potosí, La Plata, Oruro, La Paz, Cochabamba, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Arica, Carangas, and Chuchuito. A royal mint (*casa de moneda*) established at Potosí in 1574 remained until 1825 (see MINTS).

In the early 1570s, FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO, fifth VICEROY of Peru, took steps that set the course for Charcas in general and Potosí in particular. His key actions were creating a forced labor draft (*MITA*); encouraging MERCURY production at HUANCAMELICA and its use at Potosí; relocating indigenous people to new settlements called *reducciones* and assessing TRIBUTE in cash rather than produce; and stimulating the foundation of the city of Cochabamba (see *REDUCCIÓN*). The results were dramatic.

With access to labor and improved technology, silver production at Potosí soared until 1592, and registered production from 1591 to 1600 reached an all-time high of 85.1 million pesos. Despite Potosí's diminishing output in the 17th century, new strikes elsewhere in Upper Peru, notably at Oruro, helped to cushion the decline in overall registered silver production. Nonetheless, registered production slipped to 30.6 million pesos for the decade 1691–1700 and may not have hit bottom until the 1720s. By that time, annual registered production was only 1.1 million pesos, scarcely over a quarter of the low point of 4.2 million pesos a year for the years 1580–1650.

The great mining boom in the late 16th and early 17th centuries brought tens of thousands of entrepreneurs, mine workers, artisans, families, servants, muleteers, and others to Potosí. Estimates of the city's population at its peak range from 100,000 to 160,000. For a time, Potosí was the largest city in the Americas with a population that exceeded Madrid's for many years. Its rapid growth provided a powerful demand for labor, transportation, foodstuffs, clothing, and an extensive variety of material goods imported from Europe and East Asia, as well as goods produced in the Americas.

The implementation of Viceroy Toledo's *mita* for Potosí called for the annual movement of 14,000 or more *mitayos*, men between the ages of 18 and 50 from 16 provinces between Cuzco and Potosí, to work in the mines for one year of every seven. Often accompanied by their families and llamas loaded with provisions, they traveled up to 60 days to reach the mines.

The influx of miners, other workers, and their families at Potosí created the largest market in the Americas in the late 16th and early 17th centuries and stimulated the production and transportation of goods not only from nearby regions, notably Cochabamba and also Tucumán and AREQUIPA, but also those as far away as QUITO, at almost 1,600 miles (2,575 km) as the crow flies.

Transportation was critical for producers, merchants, and consumers alike. Before the conquest, llamas had been the beast of burden in the Andes, and their use continued. For example, 1,749 *mitayos* went to Potosí from Chucuito in 1600 with an average of five llamas, each bearing food; added to those brought by the *mitayos'* leaders, at least 11,703 llamas accompanied the migration. MULES, capable of carrying heavier loads for longer distances than llamas, became a second source of transportation. The region around Córdoba in the province of Tucumán in present-day Argentina specialized in raising mules for the mining districts of Charcas. Subsequently driven to Salta, the mules were pastured from June until February or March, when 60,000 or so were sold in the annual fair and then taken farther north to provide transport to and from the mining districts of Charcas and even LIMA.

The creation of the VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA in 1776 detached Charcas from the VICEROYALTY OF PERU. Until forcibly rejoined to Peru as a consequence

of a movement for autonomy in La Paz in 1809, Upper Peru's silver flowed legally to Buenos Aires. The region became independent in 1825.

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Charles I (Charles V) (b. 1500–d. 1558) *king of Castile and Aragon and Holy Roman emperor* Born in Ghent, Charles was the son and sole heir of Philip the Handsome, or the Fair, of Habsburg and Juana the Mad. He was grandson of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian and the already-deceased Mary of Burgundy on his father's side and Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile on his mother's side. The death of his father in 1506, the retirement of his severely depressed and perhaps schizophrenic mother in 1506, and the deaths of his grandfathers Ferdinand in 1516 and Maximilian in January 1519 brought him an inheritance that included the Burgundian lands, Spain with its Italian possessions and claims to the INDIES, and Habsburg dominions in central Europe and Italy (see HABSBURGS). In 1516, he became King Charles I of Spain. His election in 1519 to succeed his grandfather, Maximilian, as Holy Roman Emperor Charles V rounded out his regal responsibilities.

Charles's reign was marked by the emergence of Protestantism in a variety of forms as both a religious and political threat; war with Protestant states, France, the Ottomans, and the pope; ongoing fiscal problems; and the conquest and initial Spanish settlement of NEW SPAIN, PERU, and other parts of the Americas. By 1550, Charles was exhausted. He abdicated from all his titles in 1556.

A peripatetic ruler, Charles had traveled extensively and repeatedly throughout much of Europe and was absent from Spain more than he was present. He had directed Castilian resources toward a European, Catholic agenda, an approach that cost Castile dearly in terms of financial support and manpower drained into European conflicts and dynastic considerations. At the time of his abdications, his longtime rival Francis I of France had died (1547); the Netherlands had separated from the Holy Roman Empire (1548); the Peace of Augsburg (1555) had already established the principle that a ruler's choice of Catholicism or Lutheranism determined the religion in his lands; the Council of Trent, which focused on revitalizing Catholicism, was between its second and third meetings; and Philip, Charles's heir, had married Mary Tudor.

While Charles faced endless problems in Europe on the eve of his abdication, the news from the American

colonies, aside from a dramatic decline in the indigenous population, was generally good. New Spain was ending the successful introduction of viceregal rule by Antonio de Mendoza. Peru had emerged from its civil wars and, while its administration lacked the solidity of that in Mexico, order had trumped rebellion. The missionary effort in New Spain had produced some remarkable successes, more so than in Peru, where the quality and enthusiasm of the friars were less. While negative colonial reaction had forced modification of the New Laws of 1542, the star of the *encomenderos* in the centers of empire was waning; there would be no full-fledged nobility in the colonies (see *ENCOMIENDA*). The Crown had approved universities for MEXICO CITY and LIMA, and the one in New Spain had opened in 1553. Finally, the discovery of silver at ZACATECAS and POTOSÍ in the mid-1540s and the introduction of the amalgamation process in New Spain in 1555 heralded the regular arrival in Spain of significant remissions of American treasure. Moreover, an effective convoy system for delivering the silver to Spain was in use (see *FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM*).

The epitaph on Charles's reign was that among his early acts as monarch, PHILIP II declared Castile unable to meet its fiscal obligations. Bankruptcy was the handmaiden of imperial glory.

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Charles II (b. 1661–d. 1700) *monarch of Spain* The last Habsburg monarch of Spain, Charles II was but four years old when he ascended the throne (see *HABSBURGS*). The son of PHILIP IV and Queen Mariana of Austria, who became queen regent during Charles's minority, the king married twice but fathered no heir and was widely considered to be impotent.

Charles's reign, which lasted until his death in 1700, was notable in several regards. He was undoubtedly the weakest and least capable monarch of the Habsburg era, relying for advice on his mother, royal favorites of low stature, and his second wife. The high aristocracy turned this weakness to their advantage, gaining high offices and personal benefits. The decision in 1680 to devalue copper money (*vellón*) and to fix prices at a low level resulted in unprecedented deflation. Commodity prices dropped almost 50 percent in two years, but the new, reduced value of copper money held and, despite great hardship in the early 1680s, the foundation had been laid for monetary stability and fiscal improvement. By 1685, the long decades of depression begun in 1640 had finally ended.

During the reign of Charles II, registered SILVER production in NEW SPAIN permanently surpassed that of PERU. The amount of unregistered bullion will never be

determined, but it appears that the amount of silver and GOLD reaching Europe far exceeded that imported legally. Indeed, the amount of bullion reaching Europe from 1660 to 1699 may have been considerably larger than the amounts in the last years of PHILIP II's reign, a century earlier when Potosí's population hit its peak.

One illegal outlet for Peruvian silver was the RÍO DE LA PLATA. In 1680, the Portuguese erected a trading fortress at COLÔNIA DO SACRAMENTO that served as a base for illicit trade with the miners in CHARCAS. English traders were particularly attracted to Colônia.

When it became clear that Charles would leave no direct heir, Spain and its possessions in Europe and overseas became the object of intense international interest, which resulted in three partition treaties. Charles's decision to leave his realms to Philip of Anjou, who was crowned PHILIP V, resulted in the WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

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Charles III (b. 1716–d. 1788) *monarch of Spain* Born in Madrid, Charles III was the son of PHILIP V and his second wife, Isabel Farnese of Parma. When he ascended the throne of Spain in 1759, he brought with him extensive experience as king of Naples and Sicily, as well as Italian advisers. In Naples, he had engaged in reforms to strengthen the power of the crown and developed a hatred for Britain, born of humiliation resulting from a British naval threat to Naples in 1742. Charles took his responsibilities as monarch seriously and generally appointed talented ministers to whom he showed great loyalty.

Charles brought from Italy two important advisers: Leopoldo de Gregorio, marqués de Esquilache (Squillace), who served as minister of finance and, beginning in 1763, minister of war; and Pablo Jerónimo de Grimaldi, marqués de Grimaldi, who served as secretary of state. While the latter had served both Philip V and FERDINAND VI, Squillace had no previous ties to Spain and was disliked as a foreign adviser to the king. With grain prices rising and efforts to increase revenues to pay for the expenses of the most recent war, Squillace's order that banned wearing Madrid's traditional hat and cloak sparked a riot in the capital that may have been inspired by opponents of reform. The Motín de Esquilache, or Hat and Cloak Riot, forced Charles to flee the capital for Aranjuez and to dismiss Squillace. Although Grimaldi remained in office for another decade, no more foreigners became ministers. Meanwhile, the JESUITS were blamed for having fomented the riot and were expelled from Spain and the colonies.

With the exception of Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea, count of Aranda, an Aragonese grandee whom Charles named president of the Council of Castile, the leading Spanish officials of Charles's reign were men of less elevated birth but demonstrated ability. They included Murcian José Moñino y Redondo, count of Floridablanca; JOSÉ DE GÁLVEZ Y GALLARDO of the village of Macharaviaya, marqués de Sonora; Asturian Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes, count of Campomanes; Manuel de Roda; and Pedro López de Lerena, count of Lerena. Except for Lerena, these men were lawyers, and none of them was associated with the six *colegios mayores* that had enjoyed favor in the bureaucracies of state, the CATHOLIC CHURCH, and the INQUISITION for generations (see *COLEGIO/COLEGIO MAYOR*). Given their backgrounds and the expulsion of the Jesuits, it is not surprising that the Crown reformed the *colegios mayores* and forever ended the favored status the *colegiales* had enjoyed in patronage.

Charles's rule in Spain, which ended with his death in 1788, was marked by alliance with France and war with Britain. The Third Family Compact, signed in August 1761, led directly to Britain's seizure of HAVANA in August 1762 and Manila in October 1762, although both were returned in the TREATY OF PARIS, signed on February 10, 1763. Spain lost Florida to Britain but received the French colony of Louisiana from its ally as compensation. Despite a disastrous expedition to Algiers in 1775 that resulted in 5,000 casualties, Spain succeeded in capturing the Portuguese contraband center of COLÔNIA DO SACRAMENTO in the new VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA in 1777 and supported France and thus covertly the rebels in the Revolutionary War in the thirteen colonies. A successful expedition led by Bernardo de Gálvez took Pensacola on May 10, 1781, and enabled Spain to regain West Florida.

Building on earlier efforts to strengthen royal authority and finances in the overseas territories, Charles III and his ministers acted with a justifiable sense of urgency following the British capture of Havana. Most of the BOURBON REFORMS date from the fall of Havana to the end of Charles III's reign. The interrelated broad objectives were to strengthen colonial defenses, improve the quality of administration, expand tax revenues and increase remittances to Spain, and enlarge legal TRADE with the colonies supplying bullion and raw materials, with Spain providing more finished goods.

Despite the failure at Algiers and loss of East Florida, Charles's reign was generally successful. Legal and thus taxable trade with the colonies increased substantially; the INTENDANT system was introduced into most of the colonies, although it had not had a fair opportunity to prove its worth; the population was growing throughout both Spain and the colonies; the Crown's authority over the church had never been greater; and MINING production in NEW SPAIN was at an all-time high. Despite the successful war of independence in the British mainland

colonies, there had been no movements for independence in Spanish America, and order had been reestablished in the regions of revolt in the VICEROYALTY OF PERU and VICEROYALTY OF NEW GRANADA in the 1780s. The reign of Charles III's successor, CHARLES IV, would not be so fortunate.

Further reading:

John Lynch. *Bourbon Spain, 1700–1808* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publishers, 1989).

Charles IV (b. 1748–d. 1819) *monarch of Spain* Born in Portici, Naples, to the future CHARLES III of Spain and Maria Amalia of Saxony, Charles succeeded his father on the Spanish throne on December 14, 1788. In 1765, he married his cousin Maria Luisa of Parma, born December 9, 1751. The dominant spouse, Maria Luisa, due to her affection for MANUEL GODOY Y ÁLVAREZ DE FARIA, ultimately discredited the royal family, brought about the abdication of her husband in 1808, and drove some Spaniards to support the idea of constitutional monarchy.

Charles had the misfortune of being monarch in an era marked by the French Revolution, the execution of his cousin Louis XVI, years of warfare first against France and then against Britain, and progressively deteriorating royal finances. Although initially Charles retained the count of Floridablanca as first minister and continued the policies of his father, neither Floridablanca nor his rival and successor, the count of Aranda, was able to deal satisfactorily with revolutionary France. As a result, Charles named Godoy, a 25-year-old royal guardsman from Extremadura's lower nobility, as first minister on November 15, 1792. With the exception of a brief period in 1798–1800, the royal favorite, rumored to be the queen's lover, dominated a court that became a byword for scandal and corruption.

Following its execution of Louis XVI, the Convention in France declared war on Spain on March 7, 1793, a consequence of Charles's futile efforts to save his Bourbon cousin's life (see BOURBON DYNASTY). Early Spanish successes gave way to defeat as French troops entered northern Spain. The Treaty of Basel on July 22, 1795, ended the conflict and gave France the remaining Spanish portion of the island of HISPANIOLA; a grateful Charles bestowed the title Prince of the Peace on Godoy, already titled duke of the Alcudia.

While patriotic donations marked the first days of the war with France, the Crown quickly turned to issuing *vales reales*, large denomination bills that circulated as paper money. Issues of *vales* in 1794 and January 1795 almost doubled the nominal value previously in circulation. Depreciation reduced their value by more than 20 percent prior to the Treaty of Basel. Peace with France was followed by an offensive and defensive alliance against Great Britain, signed by Spain and the French Republic at San Ildefonso on August 18,



Portrait of Charles IV (1788–1808), king of Spain (Private collection)

1796. Less than two months later, on October 7, Spain declared war on Britain. Britain soon demonstrated its naval superiority, capturing merchant ships and defeating a Spanish fleet at Cape Saint Vincent in February 1797. On April 11, British commander Horatio Nelson established a blockade of Cádiz, an action that wreaked havoc on Spain's colonial TRADE. While 171 ships from the colonies reached Cádiz in 1796, only nine did so in 1797. In order to enable the colonies to trade perishable and other items except SILVER and GOLD, tax this trade, get funds back to Spain, and supply items not produced in the colonies—for example, paper for cigarettes and stamped paper for official transactions—on November 18, 1797, the Spanish Crown allowed neutral trade with the colonies. Not surprisingly, the prohibition against trading with specie was unenforceable. Although legal neutral trade was largely abolished by a decree of April 20, 1799, many colonial officials recognized its importance and allowed it to continue. In January 1801, the Crown changed its position and reauthorized neutral trade but with the new purpose of benefiting the trea-

sure and facilitating the transfer of funds across the Atlantic.

Meanwhile, the Crown continued to issue *vales reales*. In 1799, their value dropped to 43 percent below par and, between 1800 and 1802, to 75 percent below par; in some cases they could not be exchanged for specie at any price.

The Peace of Amiens between Spain, Britain, and France on March 27, 1802, resulted in Spain ceding Trinidad to Britain and gaining Olivenza, Portugal, a result of invading its neighbor in the War of the Oranges. The peace enabled the restoration of trade between Spain and the colonies for two years. As specified in the Treaty of San Ildefonso with France on October 1, 1800, Spain turned over the enormous area known as Louisiana to the French; the French quickly sold it to the United States on April 30, 1803. Renewed war between France and Britain began in May 1803, and Napoleon pressed Spain for support. A treaty of subsidies with France in October 1803 obligated Spain to pay its ally 6 million livres (1.2 million pesos) monthly, although it was never able to keep the obligation current, even after extending the *CONSOLIDACIÓN DE VALES REALES* to the colonies. Understandably, Britain considered paying the subsidies a hostile action, and its navy moved against Spanish convoys.

The British seizure of four Spanish ships carrying 4.7 million pesos in October 1804 prompted Spain to declare war on Britain on December 12 and, on January 4, 1805, to enter a naval agreement with France. This resulted in disaster. Spanish trade with the colonies promptly collapsed. Worse, on October 21, 1805, Admiral Nelson's forces devastated a large combined Spanish-French fleet off Cape Trafalgar and established unquestioned naval supremacy.

As if the financial disasters and other losses of war were not enough, Napoleon had other plans for Spain. Following the signing of the secret Treaty of Fontainebleau on October 27, 1807, in which Charles IV agreed to support France's invasion of Portugal via northern Spain in return for the division of the neighboring kingdom into three parts, one of which would go to Godoy, General Jean Andoche Junot led French forces into Spain. Following the escape of the Portuguese court to BRAZIL thanks to a British fleet, French troops continued to enter Spain and march south toward Madrid.

Meanwhile the court of Charles IV was imploding. Ferdinand, prince of Asturias, was arrested at El Escorial on October 29 for plotting to dethrone his father. The prince begged forgiveness and identified his coconspirators, who were arrested but then released when Napoleon indicated he wanted this "Affair of the Escorial" ended.

The end of Charles IV's reign came following riots against Godoy and himself at the court's residence at Aranjuez the following spring. Dismissing the royal favorite from office on March 18, 1808, after the initial riot, the king abdicated to Ferdinand the following day

after a second riot (see FERDINAND VII). Although he subsequently recanted under pressure from the French, Spaniards paid him no heed. After traveling to Bayonne, France, he abdicated again, this time to Napoleon on May 5, 1808. He spent the remainder of his life in exile and died in Rome.

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Charles V See CHARLES I.

Chichimecas *Chichimecas* was a derogatory generic term that Spaniards originally applied to nomadic and seminomadic hunting and gathering tribes of northern NEW SPAIN. It was borrowed from the generic term applied by the Mexica (Aztecs) to northern indigenous groups.

Armed with bows and arrows, the unkempt, painted, and often unclad warriors exacted an expensive toll on their opponents through carefully planned ambushes in places of their choosing and a refusal to fight as a massed army. Their skill and accuracy with bow and arrow became legendary, as was their cruelty to captives, whom they often scalped before killing. By the end of the 16th century, the use of *Chichimecas* yielded to names for specific peoples, for example, the Tepehuanes, Huachichiles, and Tarahumaras.

Following the Mixtón War in 1541–42, the region roughly to the north of Querétaro, east of GUADALAJARA, south of Saltillo, and west of Pánuco was known as the Gran Chichimeca; ZACATECAS was just west of its center. With the discovery of SILVER at Zacatecas, in particular, miners, merchants, cattlemen, missionaries, and other Spaniards moved into the region. The conflict between Spaniards and indigenous people in the Gran Chichimeca lasted from 1550 to 1590, years in which the PRESIDIO, the mission, and the ranch for livestock became central institutions of the frontier.

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Chile The conquest of Chile originated in PERU, from which Pedro de Valdivia departed in 1540. Establishing the city of SANTIAGO DE CHILE in 1541 in a fertile

central valley, Valdivia divided the indigenous population into *ENCOMIENDAS* to provide TRIBUTE and labor to their *encomenderos*. Further settlements were founded in Concepción, Valdivia, Santiago del Estero (across the Andes), and other sites before the ARAUCANIANS (Mapuche) defeated and executed Valdivia in 1553. After this setback, the Spaniards quickly abandoned all of the southern settlements except Valdivia. It required the arrival of a governor and a MILITARY force from LIMA later in the decade to reestablish Concepción and create a handful of other Spanish towns, including, in 1561, Mendoza, which was located on the eastern slopes of the Andes.

Long and narrow, bounded by desert in the north and indigenous lands in the south, colonial Chile communicated with Peru by ships sailing north from Valparaíso or Concepción and with provinces to the east by land across the Andes. The length of Chile under Spanish rule was about 700 miles (1,127 km), less than a third of today's length.

Chile had some 600,000 NATIVE AMERICANS when the Spaniards arrived, more than half south of the Bío-Bío River. War, abuse, and disease reduced the indigenous population substantially, a smallpox epidemic in 1561–63 alone killing perhaps 25 percent (see EPIDEMICS). By the end of the century, the indigenous population in regions settled by the Spaniards had declined sufficiently that slaving expeditions became common and remained so well into the 17th century (see SLAVERY). A mestizo population started to appear soon after the Spaniards' arrival in Chile, and a few blacks, including free black Juan Valiente who received an *encomienda*, were present from the time of Valdivia (see MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO). The Spanish population was small; probably few more than 3,600 had arrived by 1598, nearly all of them sent as soldiers. In 1630, the bishopric of Santiago had about 700 Spanish males aged 14 or older. In 1700, it had 84,000 inhabitants, and in Concepción, there were some 11,000. These numbers increased substantially by 1810, when the bishopric of Santiago probably had 383,000 and Concepción about 200,000. The city of Santiago at that time had a population of more than 30,000.

For more than two centuries, *encomenderos* battled to retain their grants, and the government engaged in an expensive struggle with the Mapuche in the south. Raiding Indian territory in pursuit of slaves proved a valuable source of income into the mid-17th century. Military demands were such that starting in 1601, the VICEROY of Peru started sending a subsidy (*situado*) to support the cost of war. In 1641, a treaty established the Bío-Bío River as the boundary between the Mapuche and Spanish Chile and allowed missionaries to enter Mapuche lands. While the accompanying gifts also smoothed relations, warfare broke out intermittently over the next century and a half.

Chile's fertile central valley made it a region of AGRICULTURE where WHEAT, MAIZE, and barley were grown.

Grapes were also successful, and the resulting WINE was consumed locally and exported to Peru; more than 200,000 jugs of eight liters each were produced in 1614. Livestock were also important, and estate owners raised CATTLE, SHEEP, goats, horses, and MULES, with some mules sold for use in CHARCAS. High-quality tanned hides were exported to Peru. Slaves and YERBA MATÉ were imported from the provinces of the RÍO DE LA PLATA.

While Chile was subject to frequent and sometimes devastating EARTHQUAKES, it was the quake that struck LIMA, Peru, in 1687 that severely damaged the irrigation systems in valleys that supplied the capital with wheat. Followed by a wheat blight, production of the staple plummeted, and merchants in Lima began purchasing wheat from Chilean producers in the Santiago region. The TRADE exploded. In 1713, more than 140,000 *fanegas* of wheat were sent to Peru on 30 ships. Chile supplied Peru into the early 19th century, although the fact that shippers from Lima owned most of the vessels used in the trade became a major frustration for Chilean producers.

GOLD production, of some importance in southern Chile in the late 16th century but then declining to negligible quantities, got a new lease on life in the 18th century in the area known as the Norte Chico, consisting of part of Atacama Province, Coquimbo, and part of Aconcagua Province. By the 1750s, miners were producing 350,000 pesos worth of gold a year. With gold from the mines and SILVER received from the wheat trade, Chileans in the 18th century had cash with which to purchase imported merchandise. Imported goods were increasingly available as a result of the commercial use of the Cape Horn route around South America by merchants from France during the WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION. Register ships from Spain brought merchandise after 1740, and more ships arrived under the terms of *COMERCIO LIBRE*.

A governor and president, normally a military officer from the early 17th century onward, headed the royal administration in Chile. After a failed attempt to implant an *AUDIENCIA* in Concepción in 1563, the Crown tried again in 1606 at Santiago. The tribunal lasted into the 19th century. In 1630, the *audiencia* district had 13 *CORREGIDORES* named by the president of the *audiencia*, eight in the bishopric of Santiago and five in that of Concepción. Santiago, of course, had a MUNICIPAL COUNCIL. In 1630, the city's jurisdiction had 48 indigenous villages assigned to 30 *encomenderos*. A mint opened in Santiago in 1749, eliminating the need to send bullion to Lima, and in 1759, the TOBACCO monopoly was established (see MINTS). With the establishment of the VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA in 1777, the province of Cuyo was removed from Chile's jurisdiction. In 1786–87, the Crown created the intendancies of Santiago, extending from La Serena to the Maule River, and Concepción, extending from the Maule to the frontier with the Mapuche. Subdelegates replaced the former *corregidores*, 22 in number, in the mid-1780s.

Chile received bishoprics in 1561 in Santiago and in 1556 in La Imperial; the latter was moved in 1567

to Concepción. The diocese of Santiago had 23 curacies in 1614, of these 21 were held by priests and two by friars. It also had at that time convents belonging to the DOMINICANS, FRANCISCANS, AUGUSTINIANS, MERCEDARIANS, and JESUITS, with 210 friars and priests and two nunneries with 120 nuns. In the 18th century, most of the bishops were PENINSULARS or Peruvian CREOLES, but some were Chileans.

EDUCATION was limited in colonial Chile, although tutors and grammar schools were available by the 1570s. Santiago in 1803 had nine lay schools attended by about 400 children, in addition to CATHOLIC CHURCH schools. Santiago had a Jesuit *COLEGIO*, which became the Convictory of San Carlos after the order's expulsion in 1767, and a seminary operated by the bishop. Until the University of San Felipe opened in 1758, however, Chileans seeking a university education went to Lima. Chile did not have a proper printing press until 1811.

Far from the monarch and enjoying relatively prosperous times as the colonial period drew to a close, Chilean creoles had more grievances against Peru than against Spain.

See also CHILE (Vols. I, III, IV).

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Chilpancingo, Congress of (Congress of Anáhuac) (1813–1815) In response to a decree issued by JOSÉ MARÍA MORELOS Y PAVÓN on June 28, 1813, a small insurgent congress assembled at Chilpancingo in NEW SPAIN on September 8 and was installed on September 14. The adoption and promulgation of the CONSTITUTION OF 1812 by the CORTES OF CÁDIZ had changed political expectations and partially met the desires of AUTONOMISTS in Mexico. Morelos thus needed to clarify the objectives of his insurrection and to outbid the constitution.

As a guide to action, the congress considered Morelos's *Sentimientos de la nación* (Sentiments of the nation) a document that called for an unambiguous declaration of independence; Catholicism as the only religion allowed in Mexico; sovereignty of the people; the separation of executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government; the abolition of SLAVERY; restriction of government offices to Americans; open trade with friendly nations; abolition of the TOBACCO and other monopolies, sales tax, and TRIBUTE; and recognition of September 16, 1810, the date of the GRITO DE DOLORES, as the founding date of the independence movement.

The congress approved an explicit declaration of independence and continued that anyone who opposed it was a traitor. In addition, it declared Roman Catholicism the country's only religion, abolished slavery, and approved the restoration of the JESUITS. Although the remainder of Morelos's proposals awaited later action, the unequivocal declaration of independence approved on November 6, 1813, clarified the primary aim of the insurgency (see MEXICO, INDEPENDENCE OF).

Morelos left Chilpancingo on November 7 and reached Valladolid in late December. There, he suffered a major defeat to royalist forces led by Agustín de Iturbide and began to retreat. The congress meanwhile left Chilpancingo and ultimately arrived at Apatzingán, where it promulgated a republican constitution with a three-person executive and a strong legislature on October 22, 1814. By this time, however, the cause of independence itself was in retreat and the congress dissolved the following year.

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Chocó The Chocó was a GOLD-MINING region located in the northwest corner of NEW GRANADA between the Andes and the Pacific Ocean; to its north was PANAMA. Marked by isolation, a tropical climate, and, at first, an uncooperative indigenous population, only gold mined by black slaves made the region bearable to a few hundred Spanish miners, merchants, clerics, and officials, almost all of whom resided in riverine mining camps and villages so small they had no town councils (see SLAVERY). African slaves, NATIVE AMERICANS, and free CASTAS were far more numerous; in 1782, they constituted 98 percent of the population of 17,898.

Black slaves born in Africa (*bozales*), most of them shipped directly to CARTAGENA DE INDIAS, were the predominant laborers in Chocó's placer mining. Large slave gangs were common; in 1759, fewer than 350 out of more than 3,900 slaves were not in gangs of 30 or more. After 1780, the number of slaves decreased, a belated response to declining gold production after 1750. The price of prime slaves had already begun to drop by the mid-1740s and in 1797–98 was only 300 pesos as compared to 500 or more in the first half of the 18th century. Overall, owners found slavery to be a profitable source of labor.

Spanish miners were present in the Chocó in the late 16th century, and serious gold mining was under way in the late 17th century. Records for gold on which the *QUINTO* was paid indicate that the apogee of production was the quarter century from 1726 to 1750. Total gold mined in the Chocó between 1680 and 1810 was

probably worth around 80 million pesos, of which about half left the region as contraband. On the eve of independence, the Chocó remained a mining frontier.

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Chuquisaca See LA PLATA.

Cisneros, Baltasar Hidalgo de (b. 1755–d. 1829) *Spanish naval officer and viceroy of Río de la Plata* Born in Cartagena de Levante, Spain, Baltasar Hidalgo de Cisneros followed his father in a career in the Spanish navy beginning in 1770. He served in the Pacific, Algeria, the war against the French (1793–95), and the disastrous Battle of Trafalgar in 1805, during which he distinguished himself. He entered the Order of Charles III in 1806.

On February 11, 1809, the JUNTA SUPREMA DE SEVILLA named Cisneros, then serving as captain general of Cartagena, VICEROY of RÍO DE LA PLATA to replace SANTIAGO LINIERS Y BREMOND. The new viceroy reached BUENOS AIRES in June 1809, entering the city only after receiving the approval of the militia leaders then in power.

Cisneros reestablished the PENINSULAR militia, while retaining the paid CREOLE units. To provide the necessary financial resources, he reluctantly allowed a taxed trade with Britain on a provisional basis. The arrival of news in MONTEVIDEO on May 13, 1810, that the JUNTA CENTRAL had resigned in favor of the COUNCIL OF REGENCY and that the resistance in Spain to the French was focused in CÁDIZ provoked the revolution of May 1810 in Buenos Aires.

Under pressure from the creole militia, Cisneros convoked a junta of notables that assembled on May 22 and, following hours of rhetoric and debate, voted to empower the MUNICIPAL COUNCIL of Buenos Aires to establish a junta to govern in the name of FERDINAND VII until his return (see JUNTAS). Initially, Cisneros was named president of the five-person junta, but organized pressure by the militia and the populace forced its members to resign, and on May 25, 1810, the city council appointed a new seven-member Junta Provisional Gubernativa with creole militia leader Cornelio de Saavedra as president. Cisneros, who had resigned as viceroy, was conspicuously absent from the new governing body. May 25 was celebrated as independence day in Buenos Aires, although the official break from Spain did not occur until July 9, 1816.

Defeated by the local politicians, Cisneros retired to the royalist bastion of Montevideo and then to Cádiz. He held a number of prominent positions in Spain and

died as captain general of the department of Cartagena de Levante.

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cities Iberians who migrated to the Americas considered urban living central to civilization, thereby creating a “border” between themselves (civilized and Christian) and non-Iberians (barbarians and pagans). Consequently, they quickly founded villages, towns, and cities in the colonies as material signs of their territory and way of life. By 1574, some 30 Spanish municipalities had been erected in NEW SPAIN. By 1580, the cities that would be the administrative centers of colonial Spanish America had been created; in BRAZIL, BAHIA, RIO DE JANEIRO, and SÃO PAULO had been founded. By 1650, the Portuguese colony would have six cities and 31 towns, most of them close to the coast.

The location of cities was related to available indigenous labor, mineral wealth, shipping, defense, and access to necessary foodstuffs. Founding a Spanish city on the site of a preconquest city was a political statement that emphasized the new rulers’ success and power. MEXICO CITY was intentionally built on the razed Tenochtitlán to emphasize that Spaniards ruled in place of the Aztecs; in Peru, the Spaniards refounded the Inca capital of Cuzco as a Spanish city to make the same point. The new capital of Peru, LIMA, in contrast, was located near the Pacific Ocean in order to have a closer link to Spain, although there was a modest preconquest town on the location. It was not unusual for a town to be moved and refounded if the original location proved unsuitable. The town of VERACRUZ, for example, was moved three times. The relocation of Santiago de Guatemala, capital of the Kingdom of GUATEMALA, after the earthquake of 1773, is perhaps the most famous transfer.

Spaniards typically built cities around a central core (*traza*) that had as its heart a rectangular plaza. On one side of the plaza was a church; on a second side was the MUNICIPAL COUNCIL building; the third side would often have the offices of the region’s ranking royal official, for example, a governor or captain general; the final side would have shops. Usually located within the plaza were a fountain that provided drinking water and a pillory (*picota*). A striking difference from medieval cities in Europe, aside from port cities, was the general absence of walls and fortifications. Cities in Brazil had large squares, but they were not centered like the PLAZA MAYOR of Spanish-American cities.

Spaniards and Portuguese found cities particularly attractive. Colonials with aristocratic pretensions knew that cities offered the best selection of potential spouses for themselves or their children. PENINSULARS in gov-



A walkway in Veracruz, the major port for trade with Spain under the Viceroyalty of New Spain (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

ernment service and commerce availed themselves of marital opportunities as well. Whites might constitute only a minority of the population. Excluding officers and soldiers, Lima in 1790, for example, had a population of 52,627 of which only 36 percent were Spaniards; 19 percent were blacks, and 8 percent were Amerindians. The remaining 37 percent were persons of mixed ancestry (see *CASTAS*). Oaxaca, Mexico, had about 39 percent whites and 28 percent Amerindians. PUEBLA, a new Spanish city created away from Tlaxcala to safeguard the indigenous population, was to exclude *encomenderos* but never fulfilled its founders’ intention.

Most cities were administrative and ecclesiastical centers, sites of substantial retail and at times wholesale TRADE, and locales for a broad range of specialized artisans. In some places, *OBRAJES* were also present. The most attractive government positions were located in the leading cities of the colonies, especially Lima, Mexico City, SALVADOR DA BAHIA, and Rio de Janeiro. Wealth gravitated to cities as well, and successful *hacendados* often had an urban residence (see *HACIENDA*). However, PLANTATION owners in Brazil, even in Bahia, were more likely to be at their rural property than were their counterparts in Spanish America. Although successful landowners might reside in cities, towns often had a closer relationship to surrounding pastoral and agricultural enterprises.



Cities were also home to EDUCATION, in some places extending to the university level. Cathedral schools opened soon after dioceses were created. Religious orders provided secondary education (see *COLEGIO/COLEGIO MAYOR*). Universities were authorized for Mexico City and Lima in 1551, and in 1563, a university was established in BOGOTÁ. Later universities were founded in QUITO and LA PLATA in the 1620s and in SANTIAGO DE CHILE in the 1750s. Colonial Brazil never had a university.

Cities offered a range and quality of entertainment unavailable in towns or rural areas. This included lengthy receptions in Mexico City and Lima for new viceroys and frequent religious celebrations for particular saints. Gambling was a common form of entertainment, and in some cases, high-ranking officials and their spouses ran regular games of chance.

Town founders quickly established local government and a variety of municipal offices. Over time, the municipal councils became preserves for local families who purchased posts of alderman (*regidor*), which passed to their heirs. A municipal judge dealt with malefactors, and other local officials inspected the marketplace to ensure that vendors sold products at specified weights and prices. Cities faced the problems of providing potable water and of dealing with trash and sewage.

When Spain's constitutional crisis occurred in 1808, initial movements for greater autonomy were based in cities, often the capitals of their regions. Thus, JUNTAS were established in BUENOS AIRES, Santiago de Chile, CARACAS, and Bogotá, among other places.

In the 1820s, the only cities to exceed 100,000 inhabitants were Mexico City, Rio de Janeiro, and Bahia. With populations in excess of 60,000, HAVANA, Lima, and Buenos Aires were the next largest cities.

See also CITIES (Vol. I).

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Ciudad de los Reyes See LIMA.

Clavijero, Francisco Javier (Francisco Javier Clavijero) (b. 1731–d. 1787) *creole Jesuit author* Born in VERACRUZ, NEW SPAIN, to a CREOLE mother and a PENINSULAR father, Clavijero studied in various JESUIT COLEGIOS, entered the Society of Jesus in 1750, and was ordained a priest in 1754. For his remaining years in Mexico, he was

assigned both teaching and nonteaching responsibilities. While at the Colegio of San Gregorio in MEXICO CITY, he learned Nahuatl and began to write and publish. Assigned to teach in Valladolid (modern Morelia), he quickly made known to his students in a philosophy course that he was going to teach Greek rather than Aristotelian philosophy and then published a text on the subject that set forth ideas from Francis Bacon, René Descartes, and later writers, as well as Greek ideas. Moved to the Jesuit Colegio de San Tomás in GUADALAJARA in 1766, he remained there until the Society of Jesus was expelled from Spain and the colonies the following year.

While Clavijero's teaching in Mexico furthered the introduction of modern philosophy, he is best known for his writings while in exile in Italy. There, he joined numerous other Jesuits and remained after the pope suppressed the society in 1773. Nostalgic for their homelands, irritated by Europeans' often insulting notions of Americans' intellectual ability, and angry at the widely spread idea that man and beast deteriorated in the New World, a number of Jesuits, including Clavijero, took pen in hand to write defenses of the Americas against the errors of European writers such as Count Buffon, Corneille de Pauw, William Robertson, and Abbé Raynal.

Clavijero's most significant publication was *Storia antica*, a four-volume work originally published in Italian in 1780–81. The first three volumes focused on the ancient history of Mexico from the Toltecs' emergence in 544 until the Spanish conquest in 1521. The fourth volume consisted of chapters on nine topics related to the content of the other volumes. The work reached Mexican readers in late 1784, several years before Clavijero's death in Italy. A Spanish edition was published first in London in 1826.

Clavijero was one of what historian D. A. Brading referred to as "Jesuit patriots." The exile gave pre-conquest Mexico an important, even glorious history and valued its indigenous codices and other sources. He made no link between earlier uncivilized Native Americans and the Toltecs and their successors; rather, the ancestors of the Toltecs had carried civilization with them from biblical Babel across Asia to Mexico. Unfortunately, the Spanish conquerors had not married the daughters of "the American houses" and thereby created a single nation.

While not among the Jesuits who called for independence from Spain, Clavijero's pride in being a Mexican and his defense of Mexico against the philosophes place him among the late 18th-century writers who helped to create an intellectual environment in which the swirl of varied political ideas that followed the abdications of CHARLES IV and FERDINAND VII could take root (see ENLIGHTENMENT).

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coca Grown in tropical climates, the coca plant is a low bush, the leaves of which were chewed by Andeans as a stimulant to reduce hunger while working or traveling and to counteract the ill effects of high altitude. Coca was also employed in some indigenous religious rituals.

The use of coca by Andeans predates the establishment of Spanish colonies. Usage increased, however, following the development of the city and mines of Potosí, Porco, and other highland markets. The demand for coca quickly turned it into a commodity bartered, bought, and sold in the marketplace. In 1549, a basket of coca leaves cost as much as 18 pesos; by the 1560s and 1570s, the price had dropped to between four and five pesos a basket.

Coca production was extensive in the hot and humid *yungas* (low-altitude, tropical lands) of the province of Paucartambo in the bishopric of Cuzco and in the *yungas* on the eastern side of the Andes adjacent to La Paz. Coca was raised on PLANTATIONS under harsh, indeed, deadly,

conditions. Because of the high mortality of Andean workers in the coca fields, Viceroy FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO ordered them not to be kept there for more than 24 days, a vain hope rather than an effective limitation.

Clerics in the First Provincial Council meeting in LIMA in 1552 railed against coca consumption as a support for paganism, but Spanish *encomenderos* able to access the Potosí market required their Andeans to plant and harvest it (see *ENCOMIENDA*). Without coca, Andeans would not work in the mines, and SILVER would not be produced and taxed (see *MINING*). Some indigenous laborers believed that if they were not chewing coca, the quality of the ore they were mining would decline.

The volume and potential profits of coca were substantial. Antonio López de Quiroga, the fabulously wealthy silver miner and entrepreneur at Potosí, purchased in 1678 approximately 300,000 pounds of coca leaves valued at 72,000 pesos. Retail purchasers found the leaves available in numerous shops and stalls, typically run by women. The ubiquitousness of coca in 16th-century Potosí was such that it was often used in barter. Then and later, users purchased it on credit from female indigenous vendors who themselves had obtained the leaves on credit.

See also COCA (Vols. I, III).



A Peruvian coca plantation. An addictive stimulant, coca was widely used by miners. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

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cochineal A dye made from red insects, cochineal was cultivated in Central America and especially Mexico long before and after the Spanish conquest. The cochineal insect was raised on the nopal cactus, then removed from the cactus and dried. About 70,000 dried insects were required to make a single pound of dye. Cochineal was produced in Oaxaca and the region around PUEBLA and delivered to the Aztecs as TRIBUTE.

Cochineal produced a fast, brilliant scarlet color and was capable of dyeing 10 to 12 times as much cloth as dyes used in Europe. It first reached Spain in 1526 and was employed primarily by textile producers there for several decades. After the FLEETS provided regular TRANSPORTATION from NEW SPAIN to Spain starting in the mid-1560s, imports rose and increasingly were transshipped to dyers elsewhere in western Europe. By 1600, some 250,000 to 300,000 pounds (113,636–136,364 kg) of cochineal were being exported legally from VERACRUZ annually. The growth in Mexican exports stimulated production in Central America, but hopes were short lived, perhaps because of locust invasions in 1616 and 1618.

English weavers were particularly interested in the dye because their native dyestuffs were of inferior quality. Merchants from France and the Low Countries were also active in securing cochineal from at least the mid-16th century. Corsairs happily took cochineal as booty, and smugglers sold it to Spain's northern European competitors.

New Spain remained the most important producer of cochineal in the Americas, with the Oaxaca region the primary source. Indeed, cochineal was frequently second only to SILVER as the most valuable export of New Spain. Between 1758 and 1787, cochineal registered in the city of Oaxaca was always greater than 450,000 pounds (204,545 kg) and exceeded 1 million pounds (454,545 kg) in 10 of these years; the height of production was 1.558 million pounds (708,182 kg) in 1774. In the subsequent years to 1821, however, production fell substantially, exceeding 500,000 pounds (227,273 kg) only five times and dropping under 200,000 pounds (90,909 kg) in three years.

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Cochrane, Thomas, Lord (b. 1775–d. 1860) *British naval commander and mercenary* A Scot employed in the Royal Navy from 1793, Thomas, Lord Cochrane arrived at Valparaíso, CHILE, on November 28, 1818, to serve as a commander in the fledgling Chilean navy. He had a chequered career before reaching Chile, having demonstrated great ability during the Napoleonic Wars but then being cashiered for political reasons and alleged involvement in financial irregularities. He arrived in Chile with substantial knowledge of warfare at sea, an ability to organize and discipline men under his command, and a reputation for ingenuity and daring exploits. Given the rank of vice admiral, he was quickly named commander-in-chief of the new republic's navy.

When Cochrane arrived, Chile had been independent for only a few months, the BATTLE OF MAIPÓ being won by JOSÉ DE SAN MARTÍN's Army of the Andes on April 5, 1818. The Argentine general, however, perceived the independence in Chile as a preliminary step to the expulsion of the Spaniards from PERU. The failure of earlier campaigns to liberate CHARCAS had shown that a different approach was needed; the 600 miles (966 km) of the Atacama Desert between Chile and Peru dictated that San Martín's forces travel to Peru by sea.

Cochrane assumed command of a fleet of seven warships with 220 cannons. From the beginning, he unrelentingly sought supplies, equipment, and payment for the crews, which included experienced British and American seamen as well as Chileans. His charge was to blockade LIMA's port of CALLAO and to destroy the Spanish squadron based there.

The admiral set sail on January 16, 1819, with four ships commanded by foreigners; the remaining three later sailed under orders from Chilean admiral and second-in-command Manuel Blanco Encalada, although two of these three were also commanded by foreigners. Dealing harshly but effectively with discipline problems, including a mutiny, Cochrane literally whipped the crews into shape. In late February, after taking one gunboat near Callao, he declared the entire coast between GUAYAQUIL and Atacama to be under blockade. Blanco's ships arrived on April 1, and Cochrane began seizing prizes. A shortage of supplies, however, forced Blanco to lift the blockade, and on June 16, Cochrane was back at Valparaíso. Overcoming the threatened departure of the foreign sailors under his command by pressuring the government to pay them, Cochrane again sailed north and reestablished the blockade on September 27. Returning to Chilean waters in February 1820, Cochrane led an unexpected and successful attack against Valdivia and thus removed a threat in southern Chile. Back in Valparaíso on March 6, he found that BERNARDO O'HIGGINS's government had rejected his offer to lead a force of 2,000 men to Peru in favor of San Martín's plan to lead a larger army. Conflict between Cochrane and San Martín henceforth often bedeviled the expedition. Fortunately for the patriots, the two

leaders jointly promised both back pay and a substantial bonus following the army's entry into Lima.

The expedition counted 624 foreigners among 1,600 seamen; all of the captains were foreigners. Sailing north on August 20, 1820, the ships with San Martín's army reached Pisco on September 7. Immediately, San Martín and Cochrane disagreed over strategy. The admiral wanted to sail into Callao and to attack the viceregal forces without delay. San Martín wanted to encourage the Peruvians to rise up against viceregal rule. For 50 days, the army of less than 5,000 men remained in Pisco, and the squadron did little.

On the night of November 4–5, Cochrane led an expedition to Callao and managed to take the Spanish warship *Esmeralda*, the best ship in Spain's Pacific fleet, to the astonishment and chagrin of the royalists. Still, however, San Martín would not lead his army toward Lima, entering it only after the royalist forces had withdrawn into the Andes. The independence of Peru was declared on July 28, 1821, although Callao remained in royalist hands, and Cochrane's men demanded their back pay and bonuses. Their demands went unanswered.

On September 14, Cochrane seized at Ancón the royalist treasure that had been sent there from Lima and paid his crews. His break with San Martín was now irreparable. Returning to Valparaíso on June 13, 1822, Cochrane's Chilean fleet was in miserable condition, and his men clamored for the additional pay due them. On November 30, 1822, Cochrane resigned his Chilean commission, and on January 12, 1823, he left Valparaíso for BRAZIL.

Arriving in the Bay of Guanabara on March 13, 1823, Cochrane, after negotiating a satisfactory salary and the newly created rank of first admiral, took command of the small Brazilian fleet. Overcoming the presence of a Portuguese crew who were sabotaging his efforts, an overall shortage of adequate sailors, and ships in poor condition, he blockaded SALVADOR DA BAHIA starting in May and had the pleasure of seeing Portugal's convoy leave Salvador on July 2, 1823. Bahia was under Brazilian authority, and Cochrane was able to pick off stragglers from the Portuguese convoy as it sailed northward. By the end of July, he had secured the adherence of MARANHÃO to the Brazilian Empire through an ingenious ruse that implied the pending arrival of a large fleet and army.

Cochrane, always interested in personal financial gain, remained in Brazil's employ until 1825, at which time his services in Latin America ended. His reputation in Britain was subsequently cleared, and he was restored to the Royal Navy as a rear admiral. His contributions to independence in Latin America remain his greatest legacy. He died in London.

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cofradía *Cofradías* were lay ecclesiastical organizations that venerated a specific religious image. Typically, they consisted of a homogeneous ethnic or occupational group in a restricted area, frequently a village. With income derived from dues or other sources, a *cofradía* provided burial services for members and sometimes support for widows. In addition, each *cofradía* held festivals for its patron saint. Thus, it was a source of group solidarity and support.

Cofradías were numerous in Spain, probably more numerous than elsewhere in Europe. In the mid-16th century, Zamora had 153 for a population of 8,000; Toledo had 143 for a population of 60,000. In the province of Cuenca, there was a *cofradía* for every 48 households.

Cofradías in NATIVE AMERICAN villages were usually founded well after the military conquest. In Chiapa, mendicant priests founded them in the 1560s. In Central Mexico and Oaxaca, they appeared in the 17th century; in Oaxaca, they were founded into the 18th century. They offered religious offices and, at least in Central Mexico and Jalisco, provided financial support for the local cult and sometimes hospitals, frequently from earnings on communal property, including land and animals. In Yucatán, *cofradías* often operated their own estates, raising CATTLE as a way to earn resources. In Oaxaca, *cofradías* had fewer resources and less ambitious duties and expenditures. In general, the resources of *cofradías* began to decline in the 1770s.

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colegio/colegio mayor EDUCATION in 16th-century Spain extended from teachers and tutors of first letters to UNIVERSITIES, including the celebrated University of Salamanca. The former instructed young boys in reading, writing, arithmetic, and simple prayers and sections of the catechism. Universities offered baccalaureate and, in some cases, higher degrees. Between the two and in some cases overlapping with universities were *colegios* (primary and secondary schools), seminaries, and *colegios mayores* (residential facilities for a small number of post-baccalaureate students preparing for advanced degrees).

Spanish colonists wanted their sons to enjoy the benefits of formal education, notably employment opportunities with the church or state, and sought and encouraged the creation of schools, seminaries, and universities. Their interest coincided with the mandate of the Council of Trent that all bishops and archbishops should establish schools to educate young men for the clergy, as well as the desire of religious orders and the Society of Jesus to provide Christian education. The result was the creation of about 40 *colegios* and seminaries in New Spain, including the JESUIT Colegio Máximo of San Pedro and San Pablo in MEXICO CITY. A number were established elsewhere as well; among them was the particularly important Jesuit Colegio of San Pablo in LIMA, Peru.

Lima's Colegio of San Pablo opened in 1568 as a secondary school to teach humanities and, aside from a brief closure ordered by Viceroy FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO Y FIGUEROA in 1578, educated young Peruvian males until the JESUITS were expelled in 1767. Reopened in 1580, San Pablo gained the right to teach humanities and native and European languages but could not confer degrees, a privilege restricted in Lima to the Royal and Pontifical UNIVERSITY OF SAN MARCOS. The centrality of San Pablo was confirmed by a royal decision in 1621 that required students to receive its certification of successful completion of the humanities curriculum in order to matriculate at San Marcos. Starting with 40 students, San Pablo had expanded to about 500 in 1568 and had 1,000 or more from the 1660s to the 1760s. Admission was restricted to boys. Girls received limited education in some convents or, if from elite families, they might be privately tutored.

Until their reform in the 1770s, six *colegios mayores* in Spain (four at the University of Salamanca, one at the University of Valladolid, and one at the University of Alcalá de Henares) were the major source of new appointees to high-ranking positions in the church and state in Spain and the preferred source of appointees to similar posts in the Spanish colonies. Although the *colegios* of San Felipe in Lima and San Ildefonso and Todos los Santos in Mexico City were labeled *colegios mayores*, as a group their graduates never enjoyed the professional success of their peninsular counterparts.

The Jesuits operated a number of *colegios* in BRAZIL and every important coastal town had one. Usually, the Crown provided support for this activity by granting land in the vicinity of the town to the society.

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Colônia do Sacramento In 1680, the Portuguese established a fortified trading post opposite BUENOS AIRES on the northern coast of the estuary of the RÍO DE LA PLATA. Although the action supported Portugal's claim to the BANDA ORIENTAL, Spanish troops drove out the intruders on August 7, 1680, only to have Colônia returned to Portugal by treaty in 1681. Again in 1705, the Spaniards took Colônia, but in 1716, it was once more returned to Portugal. Long-term Portuguese interest in Colônia, however, was less than in the Rio Grande littoral, which they had invaded in 1737. In the TREATY OF MADRID in 1750, Portugal agreed to give Spain Colônia and claims to the Banda Oriental in return for the territory of the seven JESUIT MISSIONS in western Rio Grande.

Lack of support in Spain and Portugal for the Treaty of Madrid led to its abrogation in 1761. A successful Spanish military campaign again captured Colônia, but the gain was lost in the TREATY OF PARIS in 1763. Spain then blockaded Colônia in the hope that Portugal would ultimately give up the base. On April 1, 1776, a Portuguese victory forced the Spaniards to leave Rio Grande, where they had remained after the 1762–63 campaign.

Later in 1776, CHARLES III sent PEDRO DE CEVALLOS, leader of the earlier campaign, to the Río de la Plata with an expedition of almost 10,000 men, the largest military force Spain had sent to the colonies. After capturing Santa Catarina, Cevallos landed 6,000 to 7,000 troops near Colônia. On June 4, 1777, the Portuguese surrendered, and Cevallos's forces then demolished Colônia and sunk ships to block the harbor. The Treaty of San Ildefonso, signed on October 1, 1777, left Colônia's remains under Spanish control along with the north shore of the Plata.

Colônia was important both as a marker of Portuguese territorial ambitions and as an entrepôt for contraband TRADE to the SILVER MINING districts of CHARCAS. The latter reason more profoundly influenced its settlement, although the benefits were modest until after the WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

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Columbian Exchange Historian Alfred W. Crosby Jr. coined the term *Columbian Exchange* to describe the reciprocal flow of animals, plants, and diseases between the Old World and the New that began with Christopher Columbus's first voyages in 1492 and 1493. The decision to establish colonies rather than merely fortified trading posts in the CARIBBEAN stimulated the conscious exportation from Spain of numerous species of plants and animals and the accidental transmission of infectious diseases. A partial list of items introduced from the Old World includes SHEEP, goats, CATTLE, horses, hogs, donkeys, dogs,

Colombia See NEW GRANADA, VICEROYALTY OF.

cats, chickens, pigeons and doves, ducks, WHEAT, barley, rice, chickpeas, bananas, oranges, European broadbeans, mango, breadfruit, melons, onions, grape vines, sugarcane, radishes, cauliflower, and saffron. Diseases included smallpox, measles, and typhus. A partial list of items carried east from the New World includes MAIZE, potatoes and sweet potatoes, tomatoes, TOBACCO, peanuts, agave or century plant, manioc, quinine, CACAO, guinea pigs, and turkeys. Syphilis was also taken to Europe by Spaniards and perhaps by Native Americans.

The arrival of European animals, plants, and diseases had a profound effect on the Americas. Except for the llamas, alpacas, and vicuñas of the Andes, the New World lacked large domesticated animals. Horses, donkeys, and MULES transformed TRANSPORTATION and facilitated the movement of goods and precious metals. They also provided new occupations and sources of income, in the form of animal breeding and mule driving, for example.

The introduction of European cattle, sheep, goats, and chickens significantly expanded the sources of dietary protein available in the New World. Cattle hides provided leather, a versatile material that could be employed in many ways. Sheep provided wool that was quickly turned into cloth and clothing. Chickens were a source of eggs as well as meat and additionally did not destroy agricultural land. Sheep were very destructive; the rapid increase in their numbers could quickly turn rich farmland into desert through overgrazing.

The Mediterranean triumvirate of wheat, olive trees, and vines enabled Spaniards to eat and drink much as they did in Europe. Between the foods they introduced and encountered in the Americas, they enjoyed a diet far superior to that eaten by most Europeans.

The unintentional introduction of European diseases had an immediate and devastating toll on indigenous populations, who had no immunity to them. Smallpox killed thousands of NATIVE AMERICANS in Central Mexico at the time of the Spanish conquest and disfigured many more. Later EPIDEMICS of smallpox, chicken pox, measles, influenza, and other diseases repeated the devastation both there and elsewhere in the New World to the point that many demographers believe the indigenous population declined by more than 90 percent after 1492.

While the consequences of the Columbian Exchange for the New World were more dramatic, Europeans ultimately incorporated American foodstuffs into their diet to such an extent that the failure of the potato harvest in mid-19th-century Ireland provoked unprecedented outmigration. As a whole, the Columbian Exchange transformed many aspects of life in both the New and the Old World.

See also COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE (Vol. I).

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comercio libre Between 1765 and 1789, the Spanish Crown sought to expand legal TRADE between Spain and the colonies by implementing *comercio libre*, or free trade, within the empire. Its goals were several: to provide protected and enlarged markets for Spanish products, agricultural and otherwise; to increase the volume and value of trade; and to increase royal revenues through taxes on trade (see TAXATION). Ships were allowed to sail directly from a number of Iberian ports to all American ports; this ended a monopolistic trading system that with few exceptions rested on sailings from the southern port of CÁDIZ to a small number of American ports, the most important being VERACRUZ in NEW SPAIN, CALLAO in PERU, and CARTAGENA DE INDIAS in NEW GRANADA.

In 1765, the Crown began the process by authorizing nine Iberian ports to trade directly with Spanish islands in the CARIBBEAN. It expanded the favored regions to include Louisiana in 1768 and Yucatán in 1770. In 1774, it allowed trade among American ports, with some restrictions. In early 1778, it added Peru, CHILE, and the RÍO DE LA PLATA to the regions that came under the new policy. The Reglamento para el comercio libre issued on October 12, 1778, consolidated the earlier legislation. By this time 13 Iberian ports (Alicante, Alfoque de Tortosa, Almería, Barcelona, Cádiz, Cartagena, Gijón, La Coruña, Málaga, Palma, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Santander, and SEVILLE) and all colonial ports other than those in New Spain and VENEZUELA operated under the new system. Venezuela remained until the mid-1780s under the monopolistic control of the REAL COMPAÑÍA GUIPÚZCOANA DE CARACAS, and New Spain, the wealthiest mainland colony, was not included until 1789.

Despite the reference to “free trade,” the new system was free only in the sense that Spanish merchants could legally sail directly from multiple Iberian and American ports. Merchants from Britain, France, and other foreign countries remained legally excluded.

Although *comercio libre* allowed sailings from numerous Spanish ports, Cádiz was the major beneficiary. Barcelona became the second most important Spanish port for the INDIES trade with twice the imports of Málaga, the next greatest beneficiary. A detailed examination of *comercio libre* from 1778 to 1796 demonstrates that Cádiz accounted for 76.4 percent of Spanish exports, while Barcelona had 9.6 percent and Málaga 4.8 percent. The remaining Spanish ports accounted for only 9 percent of exports. Importantly, Spanish goods accounted for 57 percent of the total amount of goods shipped. Using 1778 as the base, legal trade quadrupled in the years to 1796; using 1783 as the base, the level of exports to 1796 more than doubled.

Veracruz was the largest colonial exporter to Spain and also received the largest percentage of goods from Cádiz, more than 35 percent in the years 1785–96. SILVER and GOLD were the most important colonial exports, accounting for more than 56 percent of the imports into Cádiz and Barcelona. TOBACCO (13.6 percent), CACAO (7.8 percent), SUGAR (5.5 percent), INDIGO (5.2 percent), and COCHINEAL (4.2 percent) were also important exports.

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Companhia Geral do Comércio do Grão-Pará e Maranhão As part of his effort to increase Portuguese control over TRADE with BRAZIL, in June 1755, the MARQUÊS DE POMBAL established the Companhia Geral do Comércio do Grão-Pará e Maranhão (General Commercial Company of Grão-Pará and Maranhão) as a privileged trading company with exclusive control over trade and navigation for Grão Pará and MARANHÃO for a charter period of 20 years. At the same time, Pombal expelled the itinerant traders known as *comissários volantes*, a vital link between Brazilian producers and foreign merchants in Portugal, and declared the Amerindians free from the tutelage of the religious orders, placing them under state-appointed officials. The company was to favor large-scale Portuguese merchants and Portuguese exports, provide transport to Portugal of the region's exports using armed convoys, reduce contraband, ensure a supply of African slaves to replace labor lost from the indigenous population, and stimulate exports from the northern captaincies (see SLAVERY).

The company proved an effective way to increase exports from Grão Pará and Maranhão. Between 1758 and 1777, it accounted for 75 percent of the exports shipped from São Luís and Belém. CACAO proved the most important export, providing 61 percent of the value of total exports. Cloves and coffee remained minor exports, showing no expansion during the company's existence. Hides were also exported, but the company encouraged the production of particularly cotton and rice, and both continued to expand after the company's demise. Cotton production from the captaincy of Maranhão more than sextupled between 1760 and 1777 to 40,553 arrobas; between 1800 and 1807, it exceeded 200,000 arrobas five times. Rice exports to Portugal expanded as well. Pará's production increased substantially after the early 1770s, although there was notable year-to-year fluctuation. Maranhão's exports of rice were negligible in 1767, but far exceeded 300,000 arrobas in both 1806 and 1807.

Although the company was successful and even provided a model for the Companhia Geral do Comércio do Pernambuco e Paraíba in 1759, both were terminated

in 1777 as part of a reaction to the fall of their creator Pombal.

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Comunero Rebellion of New Granada (March 16–June 7, 1781) A rebellion initiated on March 16, 1781, in the town of Socorro, province of Tunja, in the VICEROYALTY OF NEW GRANADA, quickly spread. The immediate cause was the announcement on March 15 of a decree by Juan Francisco Gutiérrez de Piñeres, regent of the Audiencia of Bogotá and visitor general, raising the sales tax (see TAXATION). Added to other fiscal and political measures that the visitor general had taken to raise revenues since his arrival in the viceroyalty in 1778, the tax increase pushed affected residents to violence.

A Spaniard with prior experience on the Chancellory of Valladolid, Gutiérrez de Piñeres was determined to demonstrate his diligence in royal service by increasing royal income to help pay for Spain's involvement in WAR against the British. He disregarded the local political culture, which expected consultation and compromise, and imposed from on high reorganization of the royal TOBACCO and AGUARDIENTE DE CAÑA monopolies (in the case of tobacco, restricting production to specified areas) and an increase in prices consumers paid for items controlled by other ROYAL MONOPOLIES: salt, playing cards, gunpowder, and stamped paper. Gutiérrez de Piñeres also resurrected a long-forgotten tax to support a naval squadron in the CARIBBEAN and added it to the sales tax. Additionally, he sought to replace tax farmers with royal officials who would collect taxes directly and introduced a cumbersome system to ensure that merchants did actually pay the sales tax. The use of PENINSULAR officials to implement the changes further angered New Granadans. Finally, the visitor general reaped the antagonism of indigenous people who had been resettled and lost lands in the 1770s.

The new fiscal policies directly affected the Socorro region. Adding cotton to the list of items to be taxed afflicted particularly the poor. The restriction on tobacco production deprived small producers of their source of income. Members of the local landed elite chafed at the visitor general's methods of imposing the fiscal changes.

When the rebellion began on March 16, it assumed the traditional form of declaring allegiance to the monarch but death to his agents. The rebellion spread quickly and within a month more than 4,000 insurgents had assembled in Socorro. While mestizos had initiated the rebellion and swelled its ranks, they elected to lead

the *común*—hence, the name *comuneros*—four CREOLES, one of whom, Juan Francisco Berbeo, soon emerged as commander (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*). Advancing toward BOGOTÁ, the *comunero* army of no more than 500 men defeated at Puente Real, a small military force sent by the government on May 8. The rebel victory brought Berbeo new recruits and prompted the government to negotiate in the hope of preventing an invasion of Bogotá. The flight of Gutiérrez de Piñeres from Bogotá to CARTAGENA DE INDIAS on May 13 symbolized the defeat of the fiscal changes he had imposed.

In the name of the emergency governing junta (Junta General de Tribunales) in Bogotá, Archbishop Antonio Caballero y Góngora negotiated with the rebels. At first rejecting their list of 35 demands, the junta changed its mind and on June 7, 1781, accepted a modestly revised list when informed that the Comuneros were prepared to enter the capital. With this, the rebels disbanded, and the junta secretly voided the agreement as being signed under duress. Subsequent efforts to rekindle the rebellion failed.

Although efforts at MILITARY reform in the previous decade had not been as extensive as some officials had wanted, rebellion had not taken root in provinces with a strong military presence. One reason was that men who might have been leaders of rebellion were in the militia and thus under military discipline. Caballero y Góngora, named VICEROY soon after the rebellion ended, strongly supported military reform.

Caballero also sought to expand government revenues through a renewed enforcement of the royal monopolies. Thus the Comunero Rebellion won the battle but lost the war. Viceroy-Archbishop Caballero supported strengthening the military in New Granada's interior, perceiving it as a necessary resource in the preservation of order. It would be nearly 30 years before widespread rebellion again rocked the Viceroyalty of New Granada.

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Comunero Revolt of Paraguay (1721–1735)

Established in 1537 by remnants of an unsuccessful attempt to create a colony at BUENOS AIRES, the town of ASUNCIÓN became capital of the province of PARAGUAY. Its location on the Paraguay River gave entrepreneurs easy access to riverine transport, but hopes that precious metals would be found in the region proved futile. Labor for AGRICULTURE and construction came from the GUARANÍ. With the compliant Guaraní also providing women as

wives and concubines for the Spaniards, the number of mestizos grew quickly (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*). By 1575, the several thousands of mestizos were considerably more numerous than Spaniards, and Guaraní was the language commonly spoken. The successful creation of the towns of Santa Fe on the west bank of the Paraná in 1573 and Buenos Aires in 1580 provided modest markets for Paraguayan products, of which WINE, SUGAR, and TOBACCO were the most important in the late 16th century. YERBA MATÉ, a type of tea, however, emerged as the province's most valuable export, as it became a beverage of choice in southern South America and even at the MINING center of POTOSÍ. Cultivated in yerba forests (*yerbales*) east of the Upper Paraná River, yerba production attracted merchants from outside Paraguay.

The Comunero Revolt in Paraguay, originating in 1721 and lasting until 1735, was a protracted dispute between the colonial elite in Asunción and the Society of Jesus and its supporters in the royal administration. The issues were both economic and political. The economic issue focused on access to Guaraní labor and the terms of its use, especially as these related to the production of yerba. Thus, there was competition between the *ENCOMIENDA* system through which mostly mestizo descendants of early Spanish colonists obtained labor and the essentially autonomous mission system put in place by the JESUITS in lands that included the best yerba stands in the region. In short, the Paraguayans sought the resources and profits enjoyed by the Jesuits. The political issue centered on favoritism by government officials toward the Jesuits and a history that exempted Jesuits from sales taxes and customs duties (see *TAXATION*).

Diego de los Reyes y Balmaseda, a successful PENINSULAR who married into a pro-Jesuit family and purchased an appointment as governor of Paraguay, ordered in 1717 a successful attack on Payaguá Indians and sent 70 captives to the Jesuits. His action angered Paraguayans, who saw their rivals benefiting while they would bear the principal risk of reprisals and an expensive and long war with the Payaguás. Subsequent actions by the governor led opponents to seek Reyes's ouster; the Audiencia of Charcas obliged and then sent a replacement, José de Antequera y Castro, to Paraguay as governor. The youthful and charismatic Antequera championed the anti-Jesuit position as he sought to exert authority over the society and its 30 missions and blocked viceregal and Jesuit efforts to get Reyes restored to office. It was the latter, supported by an army of 2,000 Guaranís from the Jesuit missions, that produced rebellion. On July 24, 1724, more than 100 leading citizens of Asunción met in an open meeting (*CABILDO ABIERTO*). They declared they would fight rather than accept Reyes or another surrogate for the Jesuits as governor and asked Antequera and the city council to organize an armed force to oppose the Jesuit-backed Guaraní army.

After throwing out the Jesuits in Asunción, a Paraguayan force of nearly 3,000 led by Antequera

defeated the Guaraní forces on August 24, 1724. The Paraguayans' victory provoked the new VICEROY of PERU, José de Armendáriz, marqués de Castelfuerte, to warn the Audiencia of Charcas to stay out of the affairs in Paraguay and order Bruno Mauricio de Zavala, the governor of the province of Buenos Aires, to lead an expedition to remove Antequera from office and reestablish control over Paraguay. By early 1725, most Paraguayans were willing to submit to Zavala, and Antequera decided to leave Asunción a month before Zavala reached it with his forces. Several years of peace followed and in 1728, after continued pressure from Viceroy Castelfuerte, the Paraguayans allowed the Jesuits to return to Asunción. Their opposition to the society, however, continued.

During the next several years, politics in Asunción grew even more complicated as some of the notables supported a new city council and others, the so-called Comuneros, supported a governing junta, which some observers considered a preface to breaking ties with Spain.

Although Antequera made his way to the Audiencia of Charcas in LA PLATA, the ministers no longer supported him; instead, they had him arrested and sent to LIMA. There, the judicial process lasted more than five years, but when a supposed link between Antequera and the Comuneros in Paraguay was discovered, on July 5, 1731, he and one of his close friends were executed. When word of his execution reached Asunción, the Comuneros broke ranks. The Jesuits were again expelled, but there was no fighting between their Guaraní forces and the Comunero army.

The arrival of a new governor, Manuel Agustín de Ruiloba, with a military force of 350 soldiers in late July 1733 pushed the revolt to its next stage. Ruiloba quickly outlawed the governing junta, was recognized by the city council as the legitimate governor, and reorganized the militia. In September, an armed rebellion began that took his life. In the countryside, rebels organized a general junta while its opponents supported the bishop of Asunción, Juan de Arregui. Meanwhile Governor Zavala of Buenos Aires had arrived in Corrientes with an army. The expectation that he would invade Paraguay brought him supporters from both notables in Asunción and rebels who could see their cause dwindling. In March 1735, the rebellion was virtually over and in April 18 accused rebels were found guilty. The Jesuits returned to Asunción in October 1735.

The Comunero Revolt of Paraguay looked backward to a time of substantial de facto autonomy resulting from its relatively isolated location. The Paraguayans' opposition to the Jesuits persisted, however, until the society's expulsion in 1767. Soon afterward, the charges against Antequera were revisited in Madrid, and ultimately he was declared a loyal royal servant. As part of his rehabilitation, his nephew Juan de Dios Calvo Antequera was named an *OIDOR* of the Audiencia of Charcas.

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Condorcanqui, José Gabriel See TÚPAC AMARU II.

congregación Efforts to force NATIVE AMERICANS to move from hamlets into new Spanish-style villages began in NEW SPAIN in the mid-1550s and expanded significantly in the years 1590 to 1605. The principal stimuli for this relocation were the friars' belief that more populous concentrations of indigenous people would facilitate conversion and promote virtues such as orderly living and sobriety; government officials' conviction that the villages would make administration of the Amerindians and TRIBUTE collection more efficient and facilitate protection of the Amerindians under the law; and the less frequently enunciated interest on the part of the colonists in securing vacated lands.

The resettlements followed an official review of existing communities and determination of which ones would be moved and whether the move necessitated the assignment of new agricultural lands because the old ones were too distant. The transplanted indigenous people received house lots and lands for growing MAIZE.

Opposition to resettlement came, not surprisingly, primarily from affected indigenous communities. They argued, for example, that their old lands were more fertile or better protected against CATTLE. They also protested being combined with indigenous peoples from different communities. Rarely were they successful. Moreover, following resettlement, Spanish officials took steps to prevent the indigenous from returning to their homes, even destroying houses that were still occupied.

The number of *congregaciones* created in the Valley of Mexico is unknown, although at least 30 were planned. The results were not as the Spaniards had intended. The resettlements did, however, concentrate the smaller population remaining after decades of EPIDEMICS and thus facilitate its control.

In Oaxaca, the resettlement program from 1595 to 1605 resulted in a small number of *congregaciones*, but most did not last out the 17th century. Spanish desire for access to indigenous labor had some influence on where the new settlements were located.

In Yucatán, as elsewhere in New Spain, the new villages were laid out in the grid pattern that characterized Spanish settlement. Both a church and a town hall were located in a central square. The program began in the 1550s under the direction of FRANCISCANS and with the

support of a royal visitor. In the newly created towns, from two to eight former villages were brought together. Typically outlying hamlets, villages, and subordinate towns were brought together under the prequest local centers.

Analogous to the *REDUCCIÓN* in PERU and the *ALDEIA* in BRAZIL, the *congregación* in New Spain served to simplify indigenous society from the bottom up, creating larger units that facilitated Spanish rule.

See also *CONGREGACIÓN* (Vol. I).

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consolidación de vales reales Spain's involvement in WARS with France and then Britain in the 1790s forced a government dependent on largely inflexible tax revenues to resort again to the sale of *vales reales*—large-denomination, interest-bearing, paper bills that circulated as money. The continued value of these treasury bills was directly related to the perceived ability of the government to redeem them and to pay the interest.

Increasingly desperate, in decrees of September 19, 1798, CHARLES IV ordered the sale of real property in Spain belonging to a variety of religious bodies, with the proceeds to be deposited in the Royal Amortization Fund at an annual interest of 3 percent. Owners of the treasury bills could use them to purchase the properties, and the Crown could then retire the bills from circulation. Since reform-minded government officials considered lands held by ecclesiastical organizations to be inefficiently utilized, they believed that this consolidation or amortization scheme would result in land transfer to more productive owners. As a scheme to retire the treasury bills and redistribute land away from the CATHOLIC CHURCH, it could have worked; the flaw in the plan was that the Crown did not retire the treasury bills.

On December 26, 1804, the Crown extended the consolidation of treasury bills to the empire. Since most ecclesiastical investment in the colonies was in loans and perpetual impositions on property rather than land, however, the land reform envisioned for Spain could not occur in the colonies.

In the colonies, between 8.5 and 13 million pesos were collected from New Spain alone. The consolidation of treasury bills upset CREOLES and PENINSULARS alike and caused considerable antipathy toward the Crown. While PERU provided only about 1.5 million pesos, its collection brought loud protests from the city council of LIMA. The implementation underscored that New Spain, as other colonies, held second-class status in the empire

and would be sacrificed for the interests of Spain. Thus, it strengthened the case of those who wanted greater autonomy within the empire.

A royal order of April 25, 1808, suspended the sale of property for the consolidation of treasury bills in Spain. Soon afterward, the highly unpopular consolidation was ended in the colonies as well.

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Constitution of 1812 The CORTES OF CÁDIZ opened on the Isle of León adjacent to CÁDIZ, Spain, on September 24, 1810, a time when the French were laying siege to the great port city. Before the day ended the deputies, 30 of whom were representing the overseas population, declared that the General and Extraordinary Cortes legitimately represented the "Spanish nation" and embodied national sovereignty.

With this declaration, the deputies asserted the right to write a constitution that would serve as the foundation of government for the *Spanish Nation*, a term that encompassed the peoples of Spain and its overseas (*ultramar*) dominions, or *colonies*, a term carefully avoided. After declaring FERDINAND VII's abdication null and void, the deputies decreed a separation of powers in which the Cortes retained legislative authority, granted the COUNCIL OF REGENCY executive authority until the Cortes determined another type of executive, and confirmed the nation's judicial bodies (courts). When the Council of Regency refused to recognize the Cortes as the repository of national sovereignty and resigned, on October 28, 1810, the Cortes appointed a new Council of Regency.

In early March 1811, the Cortes established a commission to review relevant materials dating back to the days of the JUNTA CENTRAL and to draft a constitution for Spain and the empire. After extensive drafting and debate, on March 18, 1812, the Cortes approved for the "Spanish Nation" a constitution that was the most liberal in Europe at the time. Its opponents then and subsequently have maintained that the Cortes did not represent the Spanish nation, and thus, the constitution lacked legitimacy.

Underpinning the entire constitutional system were elections and the definition of eligible voters. The latter left the population overseas permanently underrepresented, because to be eligible a person had to have originated in Spanish lands or obtained a letter of citizenship

from the Cortes. This provision meant that Spaniards, Amerindians, and persons with ancestors from these two groups alone (mestizos) were eligible voters while other *CASTAS*, including mulattoes, and black slaves were not because of their African origins (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO; MULATO*). As a result, the number of deputies from Spain would exceed those from overseas. Nonetheless, the introduction of elections, although indirect and complex, for deputies of the Cortes as well as for seven members of each *PROVINCIAL DEPUTATION* and for members of the *MUNICIPAL COUNCILS* meant that the idea of representative government emanating from Spain quickly took root.

The constitution defined the “Spanish Nation” as all Spaniards in both hemispheres. This free and independent nation was not the patrimony of any monarch or royal family. Sovereignty resided in the nation, which thus had the sole right to establish its fundamental laws or constitution. Unlike overlapping authority that characterized royal government before 1808, authority would be divided among the Cortes (legislature), the monarch, and the courts. Catholicism would be the nation’s only religion.

The constitution maintained a hereditary, constitutional monarchy vested in Ferdinand VII of the *BOURBON DYNASTY*, provided he swore allegiance to the constitution. His powers included serving as commander in chief, declaring war and peace, sanctioning and promulgating laws as well as issuing decrees for their implementation; the right to name and dismiss ministers and to name civil, ecclesiastical, and *MILITARY* officials; and a veto that required multiple legislative sessions for the Cortes to override. While these were substantial powers, the king was subject to a number of restrictions. These included allowing the Cortes to meet as provided by the constitution; prohibitions on leaving Spain without permission of the Cortes, alienating prerogatives, authority, or Spanish territory; imposing taxes; making offensive alliances or commercial treaties without the consent of the Cortes; depriving citizens of their individual liberty; marrying without permission of the Cortes; and dependence on the Cortes for financial support. The constitution clearly and intentionally limited the powers of the monarch as it sought to prevent the rise of a royal favorite, such as *MANUEL GODOY Y ÁLVAREZ DE FARIA*, or further abdications such as those of Ferdinand VII and *CHARLES IV* to Napoleon.

As the Spanish nation’s legislative body, the Cortes would meet annually for at least three months and administer a number of specific responsibilities: receive the monarch’s oath of allegiance to the constitution; resolve questions of succession to the throne; create or terminate public offices; determine public expenses; establish taxes annually; protect freedom of the press; and ensure that officials performed their duties.

The constitution also changed the pre-1808 system of councils, such as the Council of Castile and the *COUNCIL OF THE INDIES*. In place of them, it established

a 40-member Council of State that would include “at least” 12 councilors who had been born in the *provincias de ultramar* (colonies).

The constitution significantly reduced regional executives’ responsibilities. Rather than *VICEROYS* and captains general, it created the position of *jefe superior* (political executive) for each province. The *jefe superior*, the district’s *INTENDANT*, and seven elected members made up a provincial deputation; 19 deputations were created for the overseas territories. The deputation had responsibility for tax collection, implementation of legislation by the Cortes, and a variety of administrative responsibilities, including the creation of elected *MUNICIPAL COUNCILS* (*AYUNTAMIENTOS*) in towns with a population of more than 1,000 persons.

Creation of the new municipal councils was a profound change in two ways. First, the citizens (*ciudadanos*) of the towns elected the mayor and aldermen; this ended the hereditary position of alderman (*REGIDOR*). Second, the number of municipal councils mushroomed; in New Spain, by 1814, there were 896 where fewer than 20 had previously existed.

As a document written by *PENINSULARS* and *CREOLES*, the Constitution of 1812 offered many provisions acceptable to *AUTONOMISTS* and persons in the overseas territories who wanted total independence. The *PLAN OF IGUALA* specifically referred to the document as in effect concerning treatment of crimes until a new, Mexican constitution replaced it. The constitution was an important source of postindependence ideas throughout Spanish America.

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consulado Modeled after wholesale merchant guilds in Burgos and SEVILLE, the corporate bodies known as *consulados* were authorized for MEXICO CITY in 1592 and LIMA in 1593 and came into existence in 1594 and 1613, respectively. Aside from a comparatively ephemeral *consulado* in Santa Fe de BOGOTÁ from 1694 to 1712, no more were created in the Americas until the 1790s, when the Crown authorized *consulados* for BUENOS AIRES, CARACAS, GUATEMALA, HAVANA, VERACRUZ, SANTIAGO DE CHILE, GUADALAJARA, and CARTAGENA DE INDIAS. The new tribunals, of course, reduced the scope, power, and influence of those in Mexico City and Lima.

Consulados had jurisdiction over legal cases involving their member wholesale merchants and commerce. In addition to this role as a judicial tribunal, and in many ways more important, *consulados* represented the interests of the wealthiest and most powerful of their members, the guilds of wholesale merchants and shippers. The

Ordinances of the Consulado of Mexico made membership mandatory for all residents who made their living through TRADE and the sale of merchandise.

Because of the resources they could muster, the Consulados of Mexico and Lima engaged in tax farming. The guild in Mexico farmed the sales tax (*ALCABALA*) for more than a century, being replaced only in 1753. The Crown also utilized the *consulados* when seeking loans or donations.

Although merchants born in either Spain or the colonies belonged to the *consulados* of Mexico City and Lima, the PENINSULARS were dominant. In Mexico City, from 1742 onward, the top positions in the *consulado* rotated between parties from Santander and the Basque Provinces (see *BASQUES*). Merchants from other parts of Spain or the colonies had to join one of the two groups or abstain in elections.

As the leading voices for monopolistic trade, the Consulados of Mexico City and Lima were the most powerful lobbies in the empire. Both *COMERCIO LIBRE* and the creation of other *consulados* reduced their reach, although the new bodies had only a limited time to demonstrate their utility.

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converso In Spain, Jews or, less commonly, others who converted to Christianity were known as *conversos*. These new Christians became important in Spain following anti-Jewish riots in a number of urban locations in 1391. Faced with death if they did not convert, thousands of Jews abjured their faith and accepted Christianity. Not surprisingly, Old Christians, that is, persons without Jewish or Muslim ancestry, doubted the sincerity of these forced conversions and later the Christian beliefs of the *conversos'* descendants.

Unlike the Jews from whom they descended, *conversos* were originally eligible for royal and ecclesiastical offices. Starting in the mid-15th century, however, various municipal, educational, and religious bodies refused to allow *conversos* to enter their ranks as virulent opposition to them assumed the characteristics of earlier anti-Semitism. Encouraged by popular anti-*converso* sentiment that was fueled by perceived *converso* wealth and a general view that the New Christians threatened the well-being of a Christian state, Ferdinand and Isabella established the Tribunal of the INQUISITION in Spain primarily to investigate the sincerity of the Christianity of

the estimated 80,000–100,000 *conversos*. When in 1492 the monarchs expelled the Jews who would not convert, perhaps 50,000 to 150,000 Jews left permanently; like their ancestors, a significant minority of *conversos* was active in TRADE. Enough Jews went to Portugal, where most converted in 1497 rather than moving again, that Portuguese merchants were soon considered New Christians and, thus, Jews. Portugal established the Inquisition in 1547.

Castilian monarchs forbade the entry of *conversos* into the colonies of the New World, but the restrictive legislation was never totally effective. In any case, by the time of the conquests of NEW SPAIN and PERU, many Jewish *conversos* from Spain were resident in Portugal.

PHILIP II added Portugal and its colonies to his realms in 1580, a development that made it easier for Portuguese *conversos* to enter Spain. Reinvigorated prosecution by the Portuguese Inquisition also stimulated some Portuguese *conversos* to return to Spain. Particularly between 1580 and 1640, others entered the Spanish Empire, including via BRAZIL, probably in unprecedented numbers. Since many of them were involved in commerce and finance, LIMA was particularly attractive as the entrepôt of Spanish South America and funnel for both trade and SILVER from POTOSÍ. Successful *converso* merchants in the City of Kings became very prominent.

Within 17th-century PERU, the litany against New Christians included charges that they held heretical views and were secret Judaizers; engaged in unfair trading practices because of international connections, especially with the Dutch; were disloyal to Spain; and conspired with subversive slaves and indigenous people. It was the presence of prominent and wealthy Portuguese New Christians in Lima that contributed to the Great Jewish Conspiracy from 1635 to 1639, when the Inquisition arrested nearly 100 suspected New Christians. The result was an *AUTO DE FE* in 1639 at which 11 were burned at the stake as secret Judaizers and 52 others were punished with exile, whipping, and public shaming.

In NEW SPAIN, most heresy cases occurred in the late 16th century and the decade of the 1640s. Between 1571 and 1700, the total was only 525 cases of heresy, and some of these involved Protestant foreign seamen. After the mid-1660s, cases involving *conversos* were minimal.

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corregidor/corregimiento The abuses associated with the *ENCOMIENDA* system spurred the Spanish Crown to replace *encomenderos* with district officials usually known as *alcaldes mayores* in NEW SPAIN and *corregidores de indios* in PERU (see *ALCALDE MAYOR*). In some cases, the term *governor* was also used.

In Peru, the office of *corregidor* was first established for Spanish municipalities and their lands, territorial units known as *corregimientos*. *Corregidores* had direct authority over the Spanish population but worked through *KURAKAS* to govern the indigenous people within the jurisdiction. The original office was restricted to the Spanish population (*corregidores de españoles*). Normally, men in Spain were granted five-year terms at the time of appointment, while those already in the colonies received three-year terms.

The creation of *corregidores de indios* in Peru dates to 1548, but early attempts foundered under pressure from *encomenderos*. Another attempt began under President Lope García del Castro in 1565, but it required VICEROY FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO (1569–81) to effect implementation throughout the viceroyalty. By about 1630, there were 78 *corregidores de indios* in the *AUDIENCIA* districts of LIMA and CHARCAS combined.

A *corregidor*'s responsibilities included internal security, collecting *TRIBUTE*, assigning *MITAS*, adjudicating local disputes, and carrying out directives from an *audiencia* or its chief executive. There was no promotion system to reward meritorious *corregidores*, and, at least partly in consequence, many, if not most, were more interested in personal gain than upholding legislation that would reduce it. The victims were the indigenous people, who were forced to provide personal service, *TRANSPORTATION*, cloth, and other goods in return for below-market or even no payment. Well before the middle of the 17th century, *corregidores* introduced the *REPARTO*, the forced distribution of animals and merchandise, in their districts. They worked with *kurakas* and sometimes parish priests (*curas doctrineros*) to effect both the distribution of goods and the subsequent collection of payment among the indigenous population.

In the 16th and much of the 17th centuries, viceroys appointed most of the *corregidores* within their jurisdictions. Thus, the position was an important source of patronage that enabled viceroys to reward retainers brought from Spain as well as men already in the colonies. In 1678, however, the Spanish Crown began to sell appointments, restricting the viceroys to naming only a dozen *corregidores* each aside from interim appointments.

Added to the costs of travel, purchasing an appointment meant that the *alcalde mayor* almost always arrived at his post in debt. Anxious to pay off the obligation as well as make a profit, *corregidores* resorted to a variety of illegal means to extort either cash or goods from the indigenous within their district. The position of *corregidor* was replaced by that of *SUBDELEGADO* when the *INTENDANT* system was instituted in the 1780s.

See also *CORREGIDOR/CORREGIMIENTO* (Vol. I).

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Cortes of Cádiz (Cortes Generales y Extraordinarias de España) The constitutional crisis provoked by the abdications of FERDINAND VII and CHARLES IV in May 1808 led to successive governments of resistance—regional *JUNTAS*, the *JUNTA CENTRAL*, and the *COUNCIL OF REGENCY*. With the *Junta Central*'s appointment of the *Council of Regency* to replace it, the legitimacy of the government became increasingly questionable. Both to address the issue of legitimacy and to ensure there could be no repetition of rule by a royal favorite such as MANUEL GODOY y ÁLVAREZ DE FARIA, calls for the convocation of the *Cortes* to write a constitution soon started to appear. Among its last acts, the *Junta Central* decreed that the *Cortes* would meet and issued instructions on the selection of deputies for Spain. On February 14, 1810, the *Regency* issued instructions for the multistep selection of deputies from the colonies.

Elections for proprietary overseas deputies took place in late 1810 and early 1811. The procedure allowed the city council of each provincial capital to select a deputy by drawing the name of a man born in the province from a pool of three candidates. After protests by *PENINSULARS*, however, resident Europeans were allowed to be candidates by decree of August 20, 1810. With the exceptions of CHILE and parts of the *VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA*, *VENEZUELA*, and *NEW GRANADA*, elections were held, thus providing for a second time both an electoral experience and the opportunity for *MUNICIPAL COUNCILS* to send instructions or lists of grievances to Spain with the representatives. The process thus ensured growing politicization where elections were held.

The French occupation of most of Spain and the time it took to communicate with the colonies and organize indirect elections meant that many duly elected or proprietary deputies to the *Cortes* would not arrive at the Isle of León when the *Cortes* was to open. Anticipating this, the *Regency* devised a system in August 1810 for selecting substitute deputies, or *suplentes*, from the men of an electoral district who were already in CÁDIZ or Isle of León. This approach was extremely important for the colonies, since only one proprietary representative was present at the inaugural meeting of the *Cortes*.

The General and Extraordinary *Cortes* opened on September 24, 1810, in Villa de la Real Isla de León, usually shortened to Isle of León and renamed San Fernando by the *Cortes* on November 27, 1813. At the opening session were 104 deputies; of this number 47 were *suplentes* and 29 were from the colonies; over the next nearly three years, a total of approximately 300 men would serve in the *Cortes*, 63 of them Americans. The

American deputies included at least 39 who had studied civil or canon law and 11 who had obtained a doctorate in theology. In terms of professions, 25 were clerics, 22 were government officials, 14 followed military careers, and two were wholesale merchants. Although the representation shifted in the course of the Cortes's existence, approximately one-third of the deputies were clerics; one-sixth, nobles; and the balance, mainly professionals drawn from the rest of the population.

The Cortes of Cádiz was remarkable for the influence of men of liberal persuasion. The unicameral organization ignored the historic estates of the nobility and the clergy. The need to rely on *suplentes* meant that both the men elected and those who elected them tended to be young, very patriotic, and anxious to prevent a repetition of a powerful favorite gaining power as well as a monarch's abdication to a foreigner. Such men considered a written constitution to be the solution to three centuries of misrule.

In regard to the Americas, the Cortes failed to develop a coherent policy to pacify insurgency. Equally important, it did not implement the promised equality embodied in decrees by the Junta Central, Regency, and the Cortes itself.

As the number of American deputies indicates, the colonies were in a distinct minority throughout the life of the Cortes of Cádiz. The extent of their participation, in fact, had been important to Americans from the time that the Junta Central had sought colonial representatives. The opening of the Cortes again brought this issue to the surface. On its second day, José Mexía Lequerica, a *suplente* from QUITO, presented on behalf of the other American deputies a proposal to elect additional New World representatives at the rate of one for every 50,000 inhabitants, the same basis employed in Spain. Iberian deputies, of course, opposed this idea for it would have given the colonies a substantial majority of deputies. American representatives did not give up, but a division among them allowed for a compromise.

On October 15, 1810, the Cortes issued a decree specifying equal rights for persons derived from Spain and its overseas dominions. This wording meant that Spaniards, Amerindians, and mestizos would be counted in determining representation but eliminated Africans and persons descended from them, that is, *MULATOS* and other *CASTAS* (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*). The compromise confirmed that a majority of deputies would be from the Iberian Peninsula; it did not end debate on the issue. At the head of 11 propositions submitted by the American deputies as a group on December 16, 1810, was another call for equal representation. The final resolution as embodied in the CONSTITUTION OF 1812, however, continued the compromise while declaring that in both hemispheres there would be one deputy for every 70,000 inhabitants, thus providing a veneer of equality over a reality that excluded *castas* from the count used to apportion deputies.

On September 20, 1813, the Cortes adjourned, and the regular Cortes opened in Cádiz five days later.

The Cortes of Cádiz's most significant accomplishment was to serve as a government of resistance even after JOSEPH I abandoned Madrid and it was clear that the French were retreating from the peninsula. The Constitution of 1812 written by deputies from Spain and overseas was a remarkable document, indeed the most liberal constitution of its time. The return of Ferdinand VII to Spain and his nullification of the constitution along with all other legislative changes since he had left Spain in 1808, however, relegated much of the Cortes's work to a repository of ideas.

For the provinces overseas, the Cortes provided a new opportunity for securing greater autonomy with an all-encompassing "Spanish Nation." While it raised expectations for change, the Cortes's failure to address and follow through satisfactorily on the issue of equality, in particular, meant that it missed an opportunity to pacify the colonies and instead increased colonial politicization and frustration.

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Costa Rica After earlier efforts that included the creation of the city of Cartago in 1563, Spaniards established control of the highland region of present-day Costa Rica in the 1570s. A lesser area of Spanish settlement was on the Pacific coast. As had begun earlier in other parts of present-day Central America, some GOLD panning took place, but its modest results were an inadequate basis for an ECONOMY. Epidemic disease in the latter 1570s killed much of the indigenous population and left highland Costa Rica with a shortage of labor. In the early 1680s, the population of the colonial capital of Cartago included only 475 Spanish property holders (*VECINOS*).

Located between NICARAGUA to the northwest and PANAMA to the southeast, Costa Rica was part of the Audiencia of Guatemala, and its economic role centered on AGRICULTURE, pastoral activities, and the provision of foodstuffs (see *AUDIENCIA*). It sent pigs, hens, flour, and MAIZE from its modest CARIBBEAN ports to PORTOBELLO and CARTAGENA DE INDIAS and, with the addition of CATTLE products including hides and tallow, from the Pacific port of La Caldera to Panama. In addition, Costa Rica raised and provided pasturage for enough MULES to become a major supplier of them to Panama. The town of Cartago was an important way station on the route to Panama from the major breeding center of La Choluteca near the boundary between Nicaragua and GUATEMALA. By the 1640s, however, it had lost its Pacific market to producers from PERU and the Audiencia of Quito. Only CACAO

smuggling at the end of the 17th century restored a precarious prosperity to a small part of the population.

By the 1660s, entrepreneurs on the Caribbean side of Costa Rica perceived cacao production as their potential economic salvation. The Matina Valley was the focal point for extensive planting, with labor provided for more than two decades by Amerindians of the Talamanca area forcibly pressed into service. When the Crown prohibited this labor, the supply of workers dwindled; TAXATION further afflicted the producers. Attacks by BUCCANEERS and, by the end of the century, the multiethnic Mosquito ZAMBOS were additional burdens. The result was modest income for nearly all planters; the most successful, Antonio de Acosta Arévalo, was almost certainly involved in SMUGGLING. Overall, by the end of the 17th century, Costa Rica was a poor region whose lack of SILVER coin forced reliance on cacao beans as a medium of exchange, a condition that continued into the mid-19th century. Persistent and systematic contraband by the early 18th century offered a partial solution, but Costa Rica suffered economic woes throughout much of the colonial era.

With the creation of the TOBACCO monopoly in the *audiencia* district of Guatemala in 1765, limited areas of Costa Rica, along with HONDURAS and Guatemala, were approved regions of production. While the monopoly boosted royal revenue, tobacco production was an inadequate stimulant of economic growth. That required the large-scale exportation of coffee, which began in the 1840s.

In 1821, municipal representatives in Costa Rica agreed on independence from Spain. After a brief association with independent Mexico, in 1824 the region joined the Federal Republic of Central America.

See also COSTA RICA (Vols. I, III, IV); UNITED PROVINCES OF CENTRAL AMERICA (Vol. III).

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Council of Regency (El Supremo Consejo de Regencia de España e Indias) In late January 1810, the JUNTA CENTRAL fled SEVILLE ahead of the French army and took refuge on the Isle of León, a short distance from CÁDIZ. Recognizing its inability to govern, the Junta Central appointed a five-member Council of

Regency on January 29 to serve as a transitional government until the CORTES OF CÁDIZ met. The members of the Regency starting February 5, 1810, were Pedro de Quevedo y Quintana, bishop of Orense; Francisco de Saavedra, councilor of state and secretary of state; Francisco Javier Castaños, captain general of the Royal Armies; Antonio de Escaño, councilor of state and secretary of the navy; and Miguel de Lardizábal y Uribe from Mexico, selected to represent the Americas. On February 9, 1810, the French began to bombard Cádiz in a siege that continued until August 25, 1812.

The primary responsibilities of the Council of Regency were to continue the WAR against JOSEPH I and the French armies of occupation, to maintain the alliance with England, to retain the colonies, and to oversee the opening of the Cortes convoked by the Junta Central shortly before its demise. Some of its members opposed the Cortes meeting as a unicameral body, a revolutionary change from its historic origins as representing three estates and from its most recent meeting in Madrid in 1789, when representatives of 37 CITIES were present. Nonetheless, on February 14, 1810, the Regency ordered the chief executives in the colonies to conduct indirect elections for deputies to the Cortes. The need to finance the war was such that the Regency turned to the Junta of Cádiz for funds and thus gave the merchants of Cádiz significant influence. Although divided internally, the Regency managed to keep the resistance alive despite the French occupying most of Spain.

The Council of Regency barely outlasted the start of the General and Extraordinary Cortes of Cádiz on September 24, 1810. On that date, the Cortes decreed that the five regents must swear to recognize that the Cortes embodied national sovereignty and that the Regency was now only the executive branch of government. The bishop of Orense resigned rather than comply, and soon, the remainder of the Regency did the same. On October 28, the Cortes appointed a new Council of Regency composed of Lieutenant General Joaquín Blake, general in chief of the Army of the Center; Pedro Agar, director general of the Naval Academies and rear admiral (*jefe de escuadra*); and Gabriel Ciscar, governor of the Plaza of Cartagena de Levante and designee as minister of the navy.

The new Regency understood its role in relationship to the Cortes but was itself replaced on January 22, 1812, by a Regency composed of the duque de Infantado, lieutenant general of the Royal Armies; Joaquín Mosquera y Figueroa, a councilor of the Indies who had been born in Popayán; Juan María Villavicencio, lieutenant general of the Royal Navy; Ignacio Rodríguez de Rivas, “of the King’s Council”; and the count of La Bisbal, lieutenant general of the Royal Armies. Juan Pérez de Villamil then replaced La Bisbal.

On March 8, 1813, the Cortes of Cádiz named the three senior councilors of state to form a provisional Regency: Pedro Agar, Gabriel Ciscar, and Luis de

Borbón, cardinal archbishop of Toledo. On March 22, provisional status ended. This Regency went to Madrid in January 1814.

On the night of May 10–11, 1814, Agar and Ciscar were arrested on orders from FERDINAND VII and subsequently sentenced. The former regent Blake was spared, for he had been imprisoned by the French since surrendering his army on January 10, 1812, and was not released until after the Treaty of Valençay between Ferdinand VII and Napoleon had been signed. In 1815, Ferdinand named Blake to chair the Junta Militar de Indias. Following the RIEGO REVOLT on March 18, 1820, the ex-regent was named president of the Council of State.

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Council of the Indies Originally a subcommittee of the Council of Castile, in 1524 the Council of the Indies became a formal institution with responsibilities for legislation, administration, finance, commerce, military matters, justice, and royal patronage in the overseas territories. As a “royal and supreme council,” it was independent of other councils.

Although the size and composition of the Council of the Indies varied over time, it normally included a president or governor; councilors, originally *ministros togados*, or men trained in law (*LETRADOS*); one or two Crown attorneys (*FISCALES*); other high-ranking officials; and staff. From 1626 onward, it also had *ministros de capa y espada*, or non-*letrados*.

With royal approval, the Council of the Indies issued legislation dealing with a plethora of colonial matters. Of particular concern was the treatment of the Amerindians. It was also the final court of appeals for some civil cases originating in the colonies. The council appointed visitors to investigate both general conditions and the actions of specific officials. The judicial reviews (*RESIDENCIAS*) held at the end of many officials’ tenure in office went to the council for final judgment.

A special section of the Council of the Indies known as the Cámara was created in 1600, eliminated in 1609, restored in 1644, and in existence save for a brief spell in the early 18th century until the crisis of 1808 brought an end to its existence. After its founding, the Cámara was responsible for recommending candidates to the king for appointment to *AUDIENCIAS*, high-ranking ecclesiastical positions, and some other posts just like the Cámara of Castile was for Spain.

During the 17th century, the powers of the Council of the Indies were reduced as kings and their favorites established special committees or *JUNTAS* to deal

with many issues previously considered by councils. In September 1717, PHILIP V clarified that his ministers (*via reservada*) were responsible for matters concerning war, finance, and commerce. The council’s portfolio henceforth included only judicial cases, municipal matters, and patronage over judicial and ecclesiastical positions. The definitive creation of the Ministry of the Navy and the Indies in 1721 confirmed this division of responsibilities.

For most of its history, the Council of the Indies was considered second to the Council of Castile. As a result, senior *ministros togados* were regularly advanced to the Council of Castile, a promotion system that reduced the Council of the Indies’s expertise in American affairs. Under the HABSBURGS, monarchs named 217 *letrados* to the Council of the Indies; about one-third of them advanced to the Council of Castile. While this practice unnecessarily reduced the expertise gained by serving on the Council of the Indies, the Crown also appointed few men with personal experience in the colonies. During Habsburg rule from 1516 to 1700, only eight men went directly from an American *audiencia* to the Council of the Indies. Another six men moved directly from American service to the council between 1701 and 1750, and six more with experience in the colonies were named before a policy change in 1773. In that year, the Council of the Indies was declared equal to the Council of Castile and the terminus of a promotion ladder. Within several years, new *ministros togados* and Crown attorneys were almost invariably men with prior service in the colonies. The consequence was to turn the Council of the Indies into an unparalleled store of information about colonial affairs.

During Spain’s war of independence against the French, the Councils of Castile and the Indies were briefly merged, separated, and then eliminated. FERDINAND VII’s return to authoritarian rule in 1814, however, restored the Council and the Cámara of the Indies to their 1808 configurations. They disappeared again in 1820–23 but were reconstituted once more after the liberals fell from power. Finally, in 1834, the Council of the Indies was definitively abolished.

See also COUNCIL OF THE INDIES (Vol. I).

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credit Credit was the indispensable lubricant of commercial life in the colonies. This resulted from a shortage of circulating coinage, the lengthy time that plagued transactions conducted over long distances, and inadequate capital. Probably everyone involved in buying and selling almost anything both owed and was owed money.

The failure of a major merchant banker affected an entire network.

In the absence of banks in the colonies, wholesale merchants, merchant creditors for miners (*aviadores*), the royal treasury, the CATHOLIC CHURCH, and the Tribunal of the INQUISITION were important creditors. Wholesale merchants (and other private creditors) borrowed and lent money for riskier ventures and short terms at rates higher than the 5 percent usually considered acceptable according to canon law's restrictions on usury. A 1639 example documents landowners owing "live and deceased" merchants significant sums at about 10 percent interest.

The importance of merchant and miner lenders in NEW SPAIN expanded in the 18th century. They provided cash and textiles and received produce in return. The recipients of the loans then traded cloth for labor or produce. The effective rate of interest might have been as high as 24 percent. Merchants also provided the performance bonds (*fianzas*) required of new government officials of many types and financed *alcaldes mayores* and *corregidores* and the goods they distributed through *REPARTOS* (see *ALCALDE MAYOR*; *CORREGIDOR/CORREGIMIENTO*).

Commercial interest rates obtained by long-distance merchants in QUITO from 1590 to 1610 ranged from 10 percent when the destination was GUAYAQUIL, 25 percent for trips to LIMA, and 30 percent to POTOSÍ, to 40 percent to MEXICO CITY and 100 percent for trips to SEVILLE. It is noteworthy that the rates varied by destination rather than the merchandise transported, the biggest risk being TRANSPORTATION.

All wholesale merchants in 17th-century Mexico dealt in SILVER. Merchants played a critical role in silver MINING for they extended large-scale, short-term credit for merchandise, animals, illegal MERCURY, and other items they provided to mine owners through networks that included *alcaldes mayores*, retailers, assayers, priests, and muleteers. In the early 1650s, for example, mineowners in Pachuca required more than 100,000 pesos of credit annually. At the same time Mexico City merchant bankers were important in financing mining in ZACATECAS. Often, the loans of 2,000 to 10,000 pesos went to local agents who lived in mining towns and promised to repay the amounts plus interest in four to 12 months. Traveling merchants were also sent from Mexico City to mining towns both to sell merchandise and to collect current or accumulated debts that in some cases exceeded 10,000 pesos. Until the latter part of the 18th century, merchants normally became mine owners only if they had foreclosed on the property.

At the top of the credit hierarchy were silver merchants who supplied silver bar to the MINTS. Paid in silver bar for credit they had extended to miners or other merchants, they profited from the extent to which they discounted the value of the bar as well as illegally through arrangements with corrupt mint officials. Indeed, mint officials in New Spain, at least, were often silver merchants earlier in their careers.

The royal treasury was also a major creditor, for it made advances of necessary components of the process for refining silver. In New Spain, miners purchased the essential mercury and salt from the royal monopoly on credit. In 1638, debtors in the district of Zacatecas owed almost 700,000 pesos for these two items. After the expulsion of the JESUITS in 1767, the Crown sold the society's properties on credit at 3 percent for terms between three and 50 years.

The Catholic Church, often considered the major banking institution in the colonies, lent limited amounts of cash. Within the church, religious orders, especially female orders, made low-risk loans usually but not always with landed property as collateral. The objective was to earn usually 5 percent interest annually; with the yield fixed, there was no advantage to arranging for repayment of principal, so most loans remained outstanding as long as the borrower paid the interest as required. In 1714, for example, the Convent of Santa Clara de Jesús loaned an *OBRAJE* owner 2,500 pesos at 5 percent with the *obraje* and the owner's slaves as collateral. *COFRADÍAS* also made loans.

At the most basic level of daily transactions for food and drink, credit was also indispensable. No owner of a grocery store (*PULPERÍA*) could stay in business without extending it; equally, no owner could stay in business without receiving goods on credit from wholesalers.

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creole The terms *criollo* (in Spanish) and *crioulo* (in Portugal) were originally used for Africans born in the Americas but were subsequently applied to Europeans born in the New World. By extension, *creole* came to be applied to strains of animals bred in the Americas (for example, *creole horse* in Chile), American dialects of European and African languages, premium CACAO native to the circum-Caribbean, and other cases.

Criollo, in reference to the children of Spaniards born in the Americas, perhaps first appeared in print in *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (1590) by Father JOSÉ DE ACOSTA. In 1609, El Inca GARCILASO DE LA VEGA stated that blacks from Guinea first used the word to differentiate and denigrate blacks born in the Americas. Thus, early usages of *criollo* signified place of birth in the Americas for both Spaniards and blacks.

Historians of Latin America generally employ the word *creole* as shorthand for a Spaniard born in the colonies and thus distinct from a PENINSULAR, or Spaniard born in Spain. In documents of the late colonial era, however, bureaucrats commonly used the terms *europeo* (European) and *español americano* (American Spaniard).

The importance of differentiating Spaniards on the basis of peninsular or colonial birth derived from perception as well as legislative restrictions and electoral guidelines in religious orders. Peninsulars considered themselves superior to creoles both by reason of claimed blood purity (*LIMPIEZA DE SANGRE*) and birth in Europe. Able to document their ancestry through generations of “pure”

Castilians, BASQUES, or other peninsular “race,” peninsulars suspected, with good reason, that Spaniards born in the colonies had an admixture of indigenous or African ancestry; they considered such ancestry as prima facie evidence of inferiority. Additionally, prominent European intellectuals in the 18th century, notably George-Louis Leclerc, Count Buffon, and Cornelius de Pauw, maintained that the descendants of Europeans degenerated physically and intellectually in the environment of the Americas. Thus, from the European perspective, creoles were inferior.

Legislation restricting prominent government officials’ personal and financial ties in the district of service discriminated against creoles who wanted to serve at home. Although the *Recopilación de leyes de los reinos de las Indias* (1680) contained no specific law precluding creoles from such service, the Crown routinely charged creoles for the privilege. In the 17th century, religious orders obtained the *alternativa*, a formal system of rotating creoles and peninsulars in provincial offices.

Spaniards at the pinnacle of society in each Spanish colony included the most successful peninsulars as well as their creole wives and prominent and wealthy creoles who could often claim descent from one or more conquistadores or early settlers. All creoles, of course, had lineage that included a peninsular, and inheritance law ensured that the creole children of the peninsular would receive at least a portion of any wealth. This meant that over time creoles became the most prominent landowners, often inherited salable and renounceable offices (for example, the post of alderman), and frequently became prominent clerics and government officials.

While a few fortunate creoles and peninsulars formed the highest tier in each colonial society, creoles could be found at every level. Poor creoles considered themselves better than *CASTAS*, Amerindians, and blacks, even though their number included persons who were homeless and unemployed, as well as practitioners of the entire range of occupations. In the city of Oaxaca in 1792, the largest number of male creoles was employed as low-status artisans (for example, shoemakers and weavers), and a small number were servants or peons. Creoles accounted for about half of the male population of Querétaro in 1791 and about half of the artisan and laboring population, with occupations that ran the full gamut, from silver-smiths to mule drivers and tanners.

Although creole males in the city of Oaxaca from 1793 to 1797 married creole women in a majority of cases, almost one-third married nonwhites, mostly *castizas* and *mestizas*; 38 percent of creole women married nonwhite males. Among 297 married Spanish clothing and textile workers in Querétaro in 1791, 82 (28 percent) wed nonwhites.

Although many historians have emphasized that creoles were virtually excluded from high office, a close examination of the men named reveals that this is true only for a small number of the highest executive positions. The clearest example is that only four creoles were



A well-to-do Chilean woman attended by her indigenous or mestizo servant (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

named VICEROY, three in NEW SPAIN and one in the RÍO DE LA PLATA. In contrast, a substantial creole presence was evident from the 17th century in AUDIENCIA and treasury positions, as well as in cathedral chapters and bishoprics. Some of these creoles obtained appointment to their region of birth.

In the *audiencias*, arguably the most important royal institution in the colonies, creoles accounted for more than half of the new ministers named from 1687 to 1712 and for 37 percent of all appointees from 1687 to 1821. While they were not evenly divided over time or by court, these appointments demonstrate significant access by creoles to high office. Although only a fraction of the creoles named, native sons were well represented in some courts for a substantial amount of time.

Mexicans accounted for 18 percent of the archbishops and bishops of New Spain, and all creoles totaled 24 percent. In Spanish South America, creoles accounted for at least 28 percent of the bishops. Creoles accounted for some 80 to 90 percent of the members of the CATHEDRAL CHAPTER OF LIMA from 1730 to 1799. At a lower level, in GUATEMALA from the early 17th century onward, more than 95 percent of the parish priests were natives of the diocese.

While a few thousand peninsulars outnumbered creoles in the early 16th century, by the early 19th century, creoles accounted for well over 95 percent of the Spanish population. An enumeration of peninsular males in MEXICO CITY in 1689 revealed only 1,082, of whom 69 were in the bureaucracy and 48 in the army and navy; well over half of the total were engaged in wholesale or retail commerce. New Spain had about 15,000 peninsulars out of a Spanish population of 1 million or slightly more in 1810.

Rebel leaders after 1808 often deliberately stoked antagonism between creoles and peninsulars. Nowhere was this more true than in VENEZUELA, where in 1813 SIMÓN BOLÍVAR proclaimed “war to the death” against all peninsulars who did not actively support independence.

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crime and punishment Crime and violence accompanied the Spanish conquest and persisted throughout the entirety of Spanish rule. Urban officials paid considerable attention to a variety of crimes, while royal bureaucrats, aside from cases of homicide, sedition, and aggravated assault, often knew nothing about crimes committed and criminals punished in rural areas. Sheriffs and constables arrested criminals; a well-defined court system meted out punishment to the guilty. The INQUISITION prosecuted certain types of crimes, notably those against morality.

Although persons of every background might succumb to passion, hunger, or simply opportunity and commit crime, by the middle of the 16th century, royal legislation had identified blacks, mestizos, and mulattoes as particularly troublesome, vice ridden, and prone to crime (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*; *MULATO*). Already in 1535, the Crown had forbidden blacks to carry arms because of the “many” crimes they committed. A 1553 law referred to orphaned mestizos as “badly inclined by their nature as well as by a lack of Christian education and employment.” A law in the following year referred to the orphaned children of Spaniards and mestizos committing a variety of crimes and sins that included illicit sex, robbery, and murder. Other laws noted that blacks in LIMA were robbing Indians and that mulattoes were “badly inclined.”

While *encomenderos* and other Spaniards abused the indigenous and *CASTAS* with, at times, callous impunity, colonial officials were less concerned with crimes by whites than those by other lawbreakers (see *ENCOMIENDA*). The 17th-century diarists of Lima, Josephe and Francisco Mugaburu, recorded a variety of prohibitions and crimes as well as the penalties incurred. In 1649, a black man killed with a machete a black woman, an Indian man and woman, and a mestizo blacksmith, in addition to wounding seriously a number of other people. Although the murderer died in jail the same day, the judge ordered him hanged, dragged through “the usual streets,” hanged again, and quartered. His head and hands were placed where he committed the original crime. In 1662, a Spaniard killed his wife “without any cause” and was condemned to be hanged and then cast at sea in a barrel. Proving he was a noble (*hidalgo*), he was beheaded rather than hanged, but still cast at sea. In 1674, a prohibition was proclaimed against blacks, mulattoes, mestizos, and quadroons carrying a sword or dagger unless they were militia officers on duty; the penalty was a fine and 100 lashes for the first offense, 200 lashes and four years in the galleys for a second offense.

An examination of nearly 500 cases handled by the criminal chamber of the Audiencia of Mexico from 1800 to 1807 reveals that 70 percent involved “low-status artisans” such as bakers, carpenters, and shoemakers (see *AUDIENCIA*). Spaniards were underrepresented in criminal investigations but still accounted for more than 37 percent; indigenous people were overrepresented, accounting for just under 44 percent.

Judicial punishment was most commonly a fine, but other punishments included whipping, forced labor in royal service such as in PRESIDIOS or construction projects, labor in privately operated textile mills (*OBRAJES*), and death. The last sentence was for sodomy, high treason, rape and murder, and robbery and murder. Prisons were used for detaining rather than punishing criminals.

Women were served particularly poorly by the legal system. Subject most commonly to physical abuse, beating, rape, and kidnapping, women usually knew the perpetrator but often refused to file charges for fear of

even worse physical abuse. Accused husbands typically countercharged that their wives had engaged in sexual misconduct. Usually it required rape of a married woman for a colonial judge to act; such action was not out of sympathy for the victim, but because of damage to the reputation or honor of her husband.

The wars of independence included an increase in crime, particularly in rural districts and along the few highways, as bands of assailants and insurgents were often indistinguishable.

See also CRIME AND PUNISHMENT (Vols. I, III, IV).

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Cruz, Juana Inés de la (Juana Inés de Asbaje y Ramírez de Santilla; Sor Juana; the “Phoenix of America”; the “Tenth Muse”) (b. ca. 1648–d. 1695) *creole poet in New Spain* Juana Inés was the illegitimate daughter of a CREOLE woman and a PENINSULAR. Born in San Miguel Nepantla, not far from the Popocatepetl volcano, she learned to read at the age of three. As a young girl, Juana moved to MEXICO CITY, where she resided with relatives, read, and studied. Precocious and attractive, Juana became a maid-in-waiting to the wife of the new VICEROY, marqués de Mancera, soon after mid-October 1664. At the viceregal court, she quickly gained a reputation for both her intellectual brilliance and her beauty.

At a time when respectable young women had only the options of marriage or life in a religious convent, Juana, who later expressed a “total disinclination to marriage,” chose the religious life as offering the opportunity to pursue her intellectual and musical interests. Briefly in the Convent of the Discalced Carmelites of St. Joseph in Mexico City, in 1668 or 1669, she entered the Convent of the Order of St. Jerome, where she remained until her death.

Sor Juana’s many writings include plays, poetry in numerous forms, prose, and *villancicos*, the last a kind of poetic carol or folksong sung during matins of religious feasts such as Corpus Christi and Immaculate Conception. No later than 1676, publishers began making Sor Juana’s writings available in print. In that year, a Mexico City press issued *Villancicos, que se cantaron en la*



New Spain’s most illustrious poet, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de Mexico. Another set of *villancicos* sung in Mexico City appeared the following year, and in 1680 a set used in Puebla was published there. In 1680 as well, a Mexico City publisher printed *Neptuno alegórico*, Juana’s contribution to the formal reception of incoming viceroy the marqués de la Laguna. Two years later, a Zaragoza printer published *Poemas de la única poetisa americana, musa décima, sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*, the title underscoring both Juana’s American birth and residence and the popular evaluation of her as the “tenth muse.” Other publications followed. In 1692, a printer in SEVILLE released *Amor es más laberinto*, described as “a famous comedy by the Phoenix of New Spain” and *Segundo volumen de las obras de sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*, a collection also published the following year in Barcelona. Following Juana’s death, printers in Barcelona and Lisbon published *Fama, y obras posthymas, tomo tercero, del fénix de México, y décima musa, poetisa de la América*. A printer in Valencia in 1709 republished *Poemas de la única poetisa americana*. Reprints of other works were published for years.

In spite of, or perhaps because of, the enthusiastic reception that Sor Juana’s works received in both Mexico and Spain, prelates in Mexico and her own JESUIT con-

fessor viewed her writing with concern and disapproval. After she attacked a sermon by the famous Portuguese Jesuit Antônio Viera in 1690, the bishop of PUEBLA pointedly and publicly directed her to turn more attention to religious writings, and her confessor abandoned her. Her health deteriorating, she finally yielded and started selling her library of 4,000 volumes, her musical instruments, and her other worldly goods. Devoting her remaining years to helping those afflicted by an epidemic in 1691 and engaging in self-flagellation and other acts of penance, she died in 1695. Her friend, the university professor CARLOS DE SIGÜENZA Y GÓNGORA, delivered the funeral oration of the most remarkable woman in colonial Latin America, a woman some scholars consider the colonial world's first feminist.

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Cuba The largest and westernmost island in the Greater Antilles, by 1560, Cuba was a sorry leftover from the early decades of the 16th century when it was a supply base and source of conquistadores and settlers of the American mainlands. Conquest, disease, and abusive labor demands had reduced the indigenous population from perhaps 112,000 to 7,000 by 1531 and to fewer than 3,000 some 25 years later. The white population had largely left for greater opportunities elsewhere, and the brief GOLD boom was a distant memory; in 1570, only several hundred Spanish males resided in Cuba.

Cuba and especially HAVANA, however, would enter a new phase as a vital, strategic base as an outpost of the empire's mainland cores. Its location at the gate to the Gulf of Mexico and the CARIBBEAN placed it at the nexus of the return route of the FLEETS serving Spanish South America and NEW SPAIN. In addition, its location oversaw the maritime "bottlenecks of empire"—the Florida Straits, the Windward Passage, and the Yucatán Channel. The French devastated Havana in 1555 and attacked Santiago de Cuba in 1558 in sequels to earlier attacks on the island dating from 1537. English sea dogs were not far behind, and the Dutch entered the field as well in the late 16th century. The lesson learned by the Spanish was that Cuba had to be defended effectively for the empire to survive.

The French capture of Havana in 1555 stirred the Spaniards to establish MILITARY garrisons there and construct several major fortresses. The docking of the

Atlantic fleets stimulated the local ECONOMY and provided the basis for a growing population that outstripped that of the remainder of the island. CATTLE thrived on the island and the sale of beef, hides, and byproducts benefited ranchers. Havana also became the site of ship repairs and, benefiting from extensive nearby forests, SHIPBUILDING.

By the early 17th century, Havana was home to more than 10,000 of the island's 20,000 inhabitants and the official port for Atlantic TRADE. In short, western Cuba, with Havana formally declared the island's capital and residence of the governor and captain general in 1607, enjoyed some benefits of empire. Eastern Cuba, left largely to its own devices, became a center for contraband, trading hides, TOBACCO, salt beef, textiles, WINE, and wood for manufactures brought by merchants from Spain's European competitors. With foreign settlement of islands in the Caribbean in the 17th century, illegal trade increased.

Although commercial tobacco cultivation in Cuba followed on the heels of conquest and expanded as a result of the fleet traffic, inhaling snuff and smoking tobacco gained a substantial European market starting only in the late 16th century. Always on the lookout for new sources of income, the Spanish Crown began to regulate tobacco production and sale. Increased demand, however, stimulated greater production and contraband as growers sought to benefit regardless of royal dictates. By the early 17th century, owners shifted the use of land near Havana from pasturing cattle to producing tobacco and SUGAR.

With improved economic opportunities, the English capture of JAMAICA in 1655, and the resulting migration of the lost island's Spanish inhabitants, Cuba's population reached some 30,000 inhabitants in 1662. By this date, the African slave population was around 5,000; the Amerindian population was probably less than 2,000 (see SLAVERY). With relatively few white women entering the colony, racial mixing between women of color and Spanish males was commonplace, and the number of free persons of color increased.

Tobacco by the early 18th century was Cuba's most valuable export, its trade expanding with access to the French market. In response, the Spanish Crown in 1717 established a monopolistic company, the Factoría de Tabacos, with its main office in Havana and branches elsewhere, to purchase at fixed prices various grades of tobacco and to sell it abroad, primarily in Spain. The arrangement was designed to benefit the buyers in Cuba and the sellers in Spain. Since the Factoría determined the amount it would buy, producers were the losers. Rebellions by small tobacco farmers were violently extinguished.

The creation in 1740 of the Havana Company, a monopolistic trading company, and accompanying efforts to reduce contraband served royal interests by increasing the collection of revenue. Royal gain, however, meant

local pain and underscored Cuba's second-class status. The Cuban response was continued SMUGGLING. A majority of tobacco, perhaps only modestly reduced from the 75 percent of the 1720s and 1730s, was sold illegally, and a third of the hides exported went to British traders. Horses and MULES raised near Puerto Príncipe and Bayamo went in large number to Jamaica.

While it sought to limit tobacco production, the Crown also encouraged sugar production in the first half of the 18th century by taxing foreign sugar imported by Spain (see TAXATION). Particularly after the conclusion of the WAR OF JENKINS' EAR in 1748, Cuban sugar production increased substantially. In 1755, production for the whole of Cuba reached some 7,000 tons, about half of which was sent to Spain. Labor came from African slaves, of which 8,000–11,000 were imported between 1740 and 1760. The total for 1713–60 was probably 15,000–18,000 based on official figures, but the actual totals were certainly much greater, perhaps triple the official numbers, as a result of contraband trade, particularly with Jamaica.

In addition to sugar and tobacco production, Cuba continued to build and repair ships. Between 1723 and 1762, the shipyard built 32 ships, thus accounting for nearly 40 percent of Spanish naval construction. Cuban ships were better constructed, lasted longer, and were less expensive than those built in Spain as a result of cheap labor and ample, inexpensive lumber.

Toward the end of the Seven Years' War, the British occupied Havana on August 12, 1762, remaining until July 6, 1763. During this brief occupation, the British slave trade was legalized and perhaps more than 4,000 slaves were imported. The British also turned Havana into a free port and overall legal trade increased.

The loss of Havana shocked the Spanish government. It responded after the island's return following the TREATY OF PARIS in 1763 with military reform, administrative innovation, and commercial changes. In implementing these changes, the Crown worked closely with the Cuban elite, establishing a favored relationship absent in subsequent efforts at reform in the mainlands and giving Americans, notably the elite of Havana, an important role in the reorganized "disciplined militia." In 1765, Cuba gained the right to trade with eight Spanish ports in addition to CÁDIZ and with SANTO DOMINGO, PUERTO RICO, Trinidad, and Margarita in the Caribbean; this initial use of COMERCIO LIBRE would be expanded to the mainland over the next quarter century. An accompanying tax package promised additional benefits to Cubans as well as the Crown with increased Cuban exports.

With easier access to slaves and freer trade, Cuban sugar producers responded enthusiastically. The acreage devoted to sugar increased from 10,000 acres prior to the British invasion to 160,000 acres in 1792. Sugar production expanded from some 10,000 tons in the 1770s to 16,000 tons by the early 1790s. Royal income rose from 163,000 pesos in 1760 to 1.2 million pesos in 1782. The

number of slaves imported averaged about 2,000 annually from 1764 to 1790. The island's population grew from 171,620 in the census of 1774 to 272,300 in 1791 to nearly half a million by 1815 and 704,487 in 1827. By 1827, increased slave imports had raised the slave population to 41 percent of the total; whites accounted for 44 percent, and free colored, for 15 percent. Although the absolute numbers of each of the three groups had increased notably since 1774, the slave population alone had expanded as a percentage of the whole.

A rebellion of largely slaves in Saint Domingue in August 1791 quickly eliminated the French colony as the Caribbean's dominant sugar producer, tripled sugar prices by 1795, and stimulated emigration of perhaps 30,000 of the island's planters and slaves to Cuba (see HISPANIOLA). This new experience and capital stimulated increased sugar production and the development of coffee as another important export. Benefiting from the introduction of neutral trade during Spain's almost continuous involvement in European wars from 1793 to 1814, Cuba's trade continued to grow.

Cuba was the largest Spanish colony to remain loyal during the wars of independence in the early 19th century. Undoubtedly, the slave rebellion that transformed Saint Domingue into Haiti was a frightful example to Cuba's sugar planters, despite their control by 1815 of the island's regular army units and disciplined militia. The Spanish government's reforms and careful cooptation of the Havana elite after 1763 paid continued dividends as the exportation of sugar and coffee provided prosperity to the planters and merchants. Independence would not become an issue until later in the 19th century.

See also CUBA (Vols. I, III, IV).

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curandera/curandero The practice of medicine in the colonies, as in Europe at the time, was often ineffective. Its formal practitioners—university-trained and licensed physicians—were neither prestigious nor numerous; between 1607 and 1738, the UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO annually conferred on average fewer than four bachelors' degrees in medicine. Spaniards demanded "Latin doctors" who practiced medicine based on the Hippocratic approach of the four "humors"—blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile—and their "complexion"—hot and

wet (blood), cold and wet (phlegm), cold and dry (black bile), and hot and dry (yellow bile).

Yet, the majority of the population in the Americas that sought medical care turned to *curanderas* and *curanderos*, or folk healers. In indigenous villages, the Crown recognized that these healers provided whatever treatment the residents would receive. Elsewhere, the willingness to countenance either *curanderas/os* or quacks who claimed to have lost their diplomas and licenses varied with the availability of university-trained and licensed doctors.

In the popular mind, illness arose from either natural or supernatural causes. Natural sickness came from God and could be a punishment for individual sin or an entire community's sinful behavior. Miraculous cures were seen as divine intervention and were often secured through healing shrines. Supernatural causes of illness could include personal enemies, sorcerers, and witches, usually female, working with supernatural beings and casting spells and curses. These "women who live evil lives" were almost invariably of African, Amerindian, or CASTA origins.

In colonial GUATEMALA, female curers (*curanderas*) and the much less common male curers (*curanderos*) used folk knowledge of natural ingredients such as herbs and other plants as well as a mixture of supernatural and religious ideas with male and female clients from all social groups. Successful curers could earn a living with their skills, although they were usually at risk for denunciation and prosecution by the INQUISITION.

See also MEDICINE (Vols. I, III).

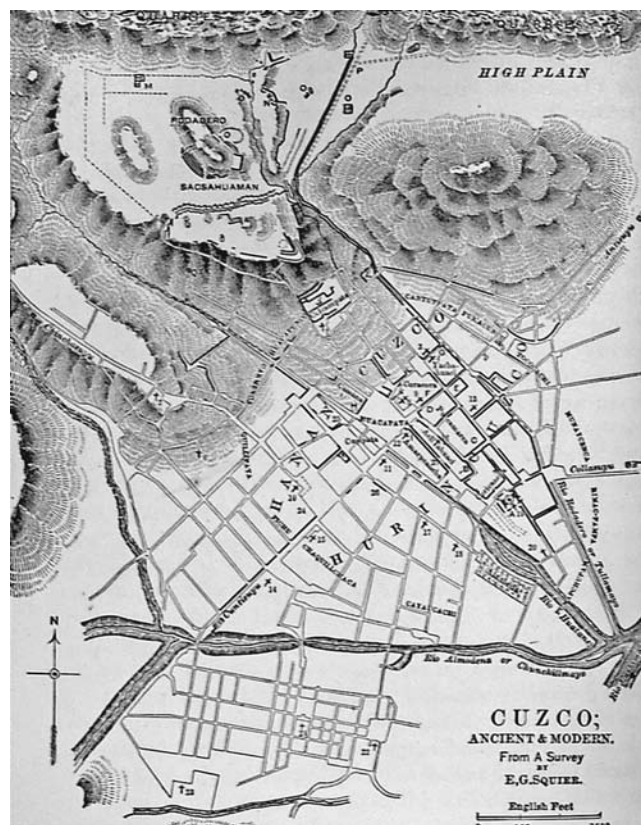
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Cuzco Located about 11,500 feet (35,052 m) above sea level, this political and religious capital of the Inca Empire was formally converted into a Spanish city in an act of foundation in 1534. The new MUNICIPAL COUNCIL soon apportioned plots with 200 feet of frontage to the 88 conquistadores who elected to become citizens (*vecinos*). Despite its new colonial status, the city remained the heart of indigenous Peru throughout the colonial era and beyond. Its location and symbolism made it the only real challenge to LIMA's favored position in the colony.

The center of a dense indigenous population and hub of the road system of the Incas, colonial Cuzco had PERU's best access to Indian labor and TRIBUTE, was near rich agricultural lands, and benefited from its position on a major route that connected it to LA PLATA and POTOSÍ



A map of Cuzco, Peru, revealing the irregular layout of the former Inca capital (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

to the southeast and the mercury mines of HUANCAVELICA and the city of Lima to the northwest. Fray Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa reported that in the early 17th century it took three weeks for the mail to travel from Lima to Cuzco and just over five weeks from Cuzco to Potosí. The city of Cuzco was home to the largest number of *encomenderos* in Peru, and they received more tribute than anywhere else in the colony (see *ENCOMIENDA*). Vázquez de Espinosa reported that Cuzco had more than 3,000 resident peninsulares and creoles, an indigenous population that exceeded 14,000, and black slaves and *MULATOS*.

Within the bishopric of Cuzco were numerous *OBRAJES* that produced textiles, as well as estates that produced SUGAR and COCA. Both residents in the city of Cuzco and mine workers in CHARCAS consumed these products. Cuzco textiles were particularly important in the MINING areas in the 18th century as QUITO faded as a principal source. In the late 17th century, there were just over 700 HACIENDAS in the region; the number had declined to about 650 a century later.

A major earthquake in 1650 caused considerable damage to property in Cuzco, including public and religious buildings and homes of the elite. Indigenous residents were affected as well, and many left the city and bishopric in its aftermath. Meanwhile, other indigenous people migrated into the city for its economic opportunities, also

thereby escaping tribute and labor demands in the rural countryside. The city had a population of about 11,000 at the end of the 17th century; nearly half of the Amerindians there in 1690 had been born elsewhere. In the larger region of Cuzco, the nonindigenous population of about 6 percent in 1689 increased to 17.4 percent in 1786.

The revolt led by TÚPAC AMARU II threatened Cuzco, but the royalists prevailed and the rebel leader was executed in the city's central plaza. Cuzco became the headquarters for the royalist army that Viceroy JOSÉ DE LA SERNA had evacuated from Lima in 1821.

As the postindependence period commenced, the city of Cuzco had a population of about 40,000, of whom 47 percent were classified as Indians.

See also Cuzco (Vol. I).

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D

debt peonage Debt peonage exists when a worker owes money to an employer that he or she cannot pay and the employer has access to juridical or more forceful means of preventing him or her from leaving the site of employment or securing a return if he or she has left.

Debt peonage arose primarily on HACIENDAS or in textile manufactories (*OBRAJES*) in Spanish America, although it could be found in MINING as well. It was typically the result of an owner seeking to secure a stable resident workforce by advancing wages or paying TRIBUTE to attract resident workers and then, through further advances, making it nearly impossible for them to pay their debts. In other cases, workers could be in debt because they had to pay for the tools with which they labored.

The existence of debt peonage in the colonial era is undeniable, but its extent and effectiveness varied considerably, depending on such things as the number of laborers available in a given location and the needs of the employers, needs that were related to the availability of land, water, and other resources. In colonial QUITO, Jesuit overseers of the Society of Jesus's properties routinely provided indigenous workers advances but considered them a cost of doing business and did not expect repayment. In the Valley of Mexico in the late 18th century, a majority of hacienda workers were not in debt; of those who were, most owed amounts no greater than wages for three weeks of labor. The number of workers who owed debts carried over from one year to the next, moreover, was much lower than those who received advances on labor alone. In any case, workers in Central Mexico often left their employer without paying their debts. The image of debt peonage in Mexico is based largely on its use in the decades before the Mexican Revolution of

1910, when *hacendados* forced workers to buy goods from the company store and hired special agents to track down and bring back debtors.

Rather than focusing on the negative implications of debt peonage, some scholars view advanced wages as CREDIT and an indication of workers' bargaining power. Without providing advances, *hacendados* had difficulty in securing workers. The more skilled the worker, the greater the sum that might be advanced. Where surplus labor was available, it was in the interest of the worker to be in debt as a means of ensuring continued employment. Sometimes, however, employers owed workers more than the reverse. In any case, the alternatives for unskilled or modestly skilled laborers were frequently less attractive than living and working on a hacienda.

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diamonds The recognition in the mid- to late 1720s that "some little white stones" were diamonds initiated a MINING rush at Serro do Frio, in MINAS GERAIS, BRAZIL, that complemented the GOLD mining that had been under way for some 30 years. Prepared to go to extremes where diamonds were concerned, the Portuguese Crown created

an isolated “Diamond District” in 1734 in an attempt to tax production and eliminate contraband TRADE in the jewel. Faced with a plunging price for diamonds as the quantity increased, soon afterward, the Crown tried to ban diamond mining until demand rose again. As prices went up, the Crown decided to allow supervised, limited mining. In 1740, it created a royal monopoly for diamonds; initially farmed out to contractors, the Crown took over its administration in 1771 (see MONOPOLIES, ROYAL). Efforts to prevent SMUGGLING, however, were only partially effective.

Brazilian diamonds were mined in such quantity that at one point the international market price fell by 75 percent. In addition to the Diamond District, diamonds were mined in BAHIA, MATO GROSSO, and Goiás. Some 8,000–9,000 African slaves were among the laborers in the mid-1730s, although they were widely believed to be a major source of illicit diamonds.

Diamond production peaked about 1770. With royal control, production declined irregularly, reaching a figure in 1827 well under 10 percent of the 1770 amount. Combined with gold production, diamonds helped Portugal to enjoy a favorable balance of payments in the first half of the 18th century.

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diezmo (*dizimo*) Levied to support the diocesan branch of the CATHOLIC CHURCH, the tithe (*diezmo*, in Spanish; *dizimo*, in Portuguese) was a tax of 10 percent imposed on the harvest of crops, for example, grain, rice, SUGAR, CACAO; most fruits; silk; dairy products; and most domesticated animals, for example, CATTLE, SHEEP, goats, pigs, and chickens. The Spanish Crown assigned oversight and collection of tithes to the bishops and CATHEDRAL CHAPTERS but retained one-ninth, a sum often applied to construction of churches, support of hospitals, or other charitable institutions. Clerics (*jueces hacedores*) oversaw the collection and disbursal of tithes, although they frequently employed tax farmers to do the actual collection. In practice, the tithe was often commuted into a set amount rather than 10 percent of the actual increase in a product.

No uniform policy directed the payment of the *diezmo* by indigenous people. In 1533, the Spanish Crown ruled that NATIVE AMERICANS were exempt, a position taken to emphasize that the teachings of the church were not compromised by material gain. Since the bishops and secular hierarchy benefited from the *diezmo*, they opposed this position. In practice, the outcome varied. Ultimately, the indigenous people in the Archbishopric

of Mexico paid the tithe; some indigenous in PERU paid, but others were exempt. In GUATEMALA, the indigenous never paid the tithe. Where the native population did not pay the tithe, TRIBUTE was increased by an amount applied to subsidizing the secular clergy. Even when they paid the tithe, indigenous people in Spanish America were exempt from paying the imposition on MAIZE, beans, and other New World products or on products grown on village land for their own consumption.

While the religious orders supported Indians’ paying the *diezmo*, the JESUITS, DOMINICANS, AUGUSTINIANS, and MERCEDARIANS claimed exemption by virtue of their clerical status and refused to pay it. Bishops refused to accept this argument, but the issue only became important in the 17th century when Jesuit properties in particular had become numerous, productive, and valuable. The conflict led to the removal of Bishop JUAN DE PALAFOX Y MENDOZA, but in 1655, the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES ordered all religious orders to pay tithes to the appropriate cathedral chapter; the Jesuits, however, appealed. In the 1750 resolution, the Society of Jesus recognized the Crown’s authority over the *diezmo* but was ordered to pay one-thirtieth of the amount of produce its hacienda managers declared.

Rising agricultural production made the *diezmo* in Spanish America an enviable source of revenue in the 18th century. This contributed to the regalist view that the church was too wealthy and led, in part, to the *CON-SOLIDACIÓN DE VALES REALES*.

In BRAZIL, the Portuguese Crown collected the *dizimo* by virtue of a papal bull of 1551 in return for its support of the colonial church. Since sugar was the engine of the economy, the *dizimo* was the Crown’s most important source of income until the discovery of GOLD in MINAS GERAIS in the 1690s. As was the case frequently in Spanish America, the actual collection of the tithes was farmed.

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doctrinas de indios Rural indigenous parishes, or *doctrinas de indios*, in Spanish America were established to serve recently converted NATIVE AMERICANS; priests known as *curas doctrineros* or simply *curas* served them. Rural parishes often included several villages, in one of which resided a priest who rode circuit among them to provide religious services. Often, the priest spoke

the local language, for example, Quechua or Nahuatl. Frequently, he was the most regular and visible symbol of Spanish authority. Financial support came from a designated portion (royal synod) of indigenous TRIBUTE; fees charged for specific services, notably births, marriages, and funerals; and charges associated with the CATHOLIC CHURCH's many feast days.

The “fiesta-cargo” system consisted of a number of sacred offices of increasing responsibility that men served over the course of years. Each office required time and labor, money, and sometimes other items such as food. There were mandatory payments as well as expected gifts or alms for the priest and for the church. Together, these contributions were a major burden on parishioners; efforts by the state to regularize and limit them invariably produced conflict between the *cura* and the parish.

A *CORREGIDOR*, governor, or *ALCALDE MAYOR* was the administrative and judicial official at the head of a group of *doctrinas* joined together as a district or province. This official frequently conspired with the *cura* and local *CACIQUE* or *KURAKA* in imposing the forced sale of goods (*REPARTO*), arranging for *MITA* labor (in Peru), and collecting tribute.

COFRADÍAS (lay religious brotherhoods) dedicated to specific saints were organized in many *doctrinas*. Besides supporting their saint through annual fiestas that brought the community together, the *cofradías* provided services to members and their families, for example, burial and perhaps limited sustenance to the surviving family members.

In 1749, the Spanish Crown initiated a serious program of converting *doctrinas* still administered by religious orders to parishes administered by secular clergy. Unlike an earlier effort begun in the 1570s, this new program was carried out with few exceptions.

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Dominican Republic

See HISPANIOLA.

Dominicans A major mendicant order, the Dominicans, or Order of Preaching Friars, was active in the christianization of the indigenous population in Spanish America but was not present in BRAZIL. Dominicans emerged in the early 16th century as “defenders and protectors of the Indians,” counting among

their number Antonio de Montesinos and Bartolomé de Las Casas, the latter the most famous enemy of forced conversion and Spanish exploitation. In 1526, 12 Dominicans reached NEW SPAIN, shortly after the first FRANCISCANS (1523) but before the AUGUSTINIANS (1533). The Dominicans became active in the region of PUEBLA, the Valley of Mexico, Valladolid (present Morelia), and the region surrounding the city of Oaxaca known as La Mixteca and La Zapoteca. Early friars encouraged the use of native languages and also produced very popular catechisms by 1565, including *Doctrina christiana breve* by Friar Domingo de la Anunciación.

Consecrated as archbishop of Mexico in 1553, Dominican friar Alonso de Montúfar upheld his order's reputation as defenders of orthodoxy and the most conservative of the mendicant orders in New Spain. As archbishop, he convoked the First and Second Mexican Provincial Councils in 1555 and 1565 to determine how to apply the rulings of the Council of Trent in the colonial environment of New Spain. His struggles with the secular clergy influenced PHILIP II to expand the authority of the secular bishops and, in 1569, to establish a freestanding Tribunal of the Inquisition, bringing an end to friar inquisitors.

By the early 17th century, the Dominicans had 69 monasteries and religious houses in Mexico, compared to 90 for the Augustinians and 172 for the Franciscans. The Convent of the Dominicans in Mexico City was among the wealthiest in the Spanish colonies.

Dominicans had 47 indigenous towns in highland GUATEMALA under their jurisdiction by about 1555, although the number of friars was smaller. The order began to discriminate against CREOLES after mid-century, determining by 1570 that “none of the so-called creoles shall receive the habit,” ostensibly because of low morals. A shortage of European friars, however, forced the order to bow to reality, and by the early 17th century, it was again admitting the American-born Spaniards. As with the Franciscans, the Dominicans introduced the mandatory rotation (*alternativa*) of important provincial offices between creoles and PENINSULARS. This stimulated continued immigration of peninsular friars, but in 1800, about 60 percent of the Dominicans in Guatemala were creoles.

Dominicans were the first order present in Peru, with Fray Vicente de Valverde and several other friars accompanying Francisco Pizarro. By 1550, the Dominicans had established some 60 schools of basic instruction for indigenous people and a *COLEGIO* in their convent in LIMA, where the linguist Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás was teaching theology. In the same year, the MUNICIPAL COUNCIL in Lima petitioned CHARLES I to convert the *colegio* into a full university modeled on Salamanca; indeed, from this *colegio* came the UNIVERSITY OF SAN MARCOS. A decade later, Santo Tomás published in Valladolid, Spain, the first Quechua grammar and dictionary. The first archbishop of Lima, Dominican friar Jerónimo

de Loayza, established the Hospital of Santa Ana for Andeans and blacks.

The early importance of Dominicans is evident in the appointment of 52 friars among the 159 bishops named to the INDIES between 1504 and 1620. In the 17th century, the Dominicans established UNIVERSITIES in SANTIAGO DE CHILE, QUITO, and Guatemala.

See also LAS CASES, BARTOLOMÉ DE (Vol. I); MONTESINOS, ANTONIO (Vol. I).

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dowry Dowries were the legal conveyance of property, cash, jewelry, clothing, and other items to a bride as support in her married life. The term was also used for the sum that convents often required for the admission of a nun. Not surprisingly, marriages involving NATIVE AMERICANS and *CASTAS* almost never included a dowry.

Parents able to provide a dowry did so to ease the married life of their daughter. In colonial Spanish America, the property a woman received as a dowry remained legally hers, and the terms of its receipt placed legal responsibilities on her husband. Should she be widowed, a generous dowry provided resources for sustenance. Although the husband administered the resources, he could not sell or otherwise alienate them without her permission. Moreover, he had to return the value of the dowry should the marriage be dissolved or provide for its return in his will. While many, perhaps most, husbands were dutiful administrators of their wives' dowries, there were cases of men who spent them or invested them badly.

An examination of dowries in GUADALAJARA and PUEBLA, NEW SPAIN, shows that cash and personal items most frequently appeared in dowries. Dowries of well-to-do brides typically included cash, real estate, slaves, and goods such as clothing, jewelry, and furniture. Strictly practical items, for example, pots and pans, were not usually included. Slaves were sometimes included, and real estate was relatively infrequent, probably because of its illiquidity. Aside from personal and household items, the contents of dowries could vary by region. Cattlemen in the BUENOS AIRES region in the late 18th century dowered daughters with CATTLE, calves, and sometimes SHEEP.

While well-to-do Spanish families regularly used dowries at least in part as a status symbol, documenting their place in local society, the average value of dowries in Guadalajara, Puebla, and Monterrey from 1640 to 1790 varied substantially. Only 14 percent exceeded 5,000 pesos, while 41 percent were less than 1,000 pesos.

WOMEN with only a small dowry were sometimes able to contract favorable marriages with men of the

same racial background and equal or better financial standing. An aristocratic FAMILY name and lineage, as well as good social connections, could make up for a less substantial dowry. Many a successful PENINSULAR merchant married a much younger CREOLE woman of better social standing, with ancestors dating back to the conquest or early settlers. In such cases, the *arras*, a gift the groom provided to the bride, could be substantial.

Marriage also provided an opportunity for families to consolidate and improve their fortunes. High-ranking Crown officials, for example, peninsular AUDIENCIA ministers, also contracted favorable marriages with wealthy creole heiresses. In such cases, the bride would bring a substantial dowry, and the groom had significant documented assets and provided appropriate *arras*. Family patriarchs could also select a bright, ambitious, and hard-working man, typically born in Spain, as a promising match for a well-dowered young creole. The marriage between JUAN FERMÍN DE AYCINENA Y DE YRIGROYEN and Ana María Carrillo y Gálvez in GUATEMALA in 1755 exemplifies this. Carrillo brought an enormous dowry of 178,000 pesos, as well as excellent family connections. Aycinena lived up to his potential; he was the only titled noble in Guatemala at the time of his death.

In BRAZIL, the legal context for the dowry was different than in Spanish America. Total community property was the rule; all property, including the dowry, brought to a marriage by either spouse became jointly owned. The size and importance of the dowry, at least in SÃO PAULO, changed over time. In the 17th century, the region's patriarchs gave daughters more wealth than sons. Through large dowries, they could largely determine a daughter's husband and where the couple would live. Indeed, families favored daughters at the expense of sons; although as long as the pattern persisted throughout society, sons made up for the discrepancy through their own marriages. The discovery of GOLD in MINAS GERAIS in the 1690s, closer Crown scrutiny, a decline of AGRICULTURE, and, in 1758, the end of disguised indigenous SLAVERY reduced the ascendance of great families. By the mid-18th century, large-scale immigrant Portuguese merchants enriched by trade with the mines had emerged as the wealthiest men in the region. This resulted in grooms bringing more tangible resources to a marriage than their wives brought as dowries. In consequence, daughters more commonly rose economically through marriage, while sons in an age of smaller dowries declined.

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drugs The disastrous spread of previously unknown epidemic diseases resulted from a lack of immunity on the part of the indigenous population and no effective treatments. The limited introduction of a vaccine for smallpox in the late 18th century came centuries after the disease had wrought its worst damage. Aside from EPIDEMICS, however, the population suffered from a variety of afflictions and resorted to physicians, surgeons, folk healers (*curanderas*), and self-help manuals for relief (see *CURANDERA/CURANDERO*). In an age in which ailments in Europe were diagnosed in terms of the four humors—blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile—the cure could be as bad, if not worse, than the disease.

A glimpse into the pharmacist's inventory reveals some colonial cures. For kidney stones and hemorrhoids, powdered "crawfish eyes" were prescribed. Dried frog intestines were said to dissolve kidney stones. Pulverized swallow wings mixed with blood, salt, and "powders" "excited the urine" and were thus good for bladder infections. A treatment for epilepsy, paralysis, apoplexy, and head ailments consisted of a powder made from the ground cranium of a person who recently suffered a violent death. Pearls, coral, seashells, garnets, amber, emeralds, and topaz were used to treat hemorrhages and gonorrhea. Powdered bezoar stone taken from the stomach of ruminant animals of the Andes was mixed with water and prescribed for syphilis. MERCURY was, for a time, also considered a cure for syphilis.

The extraordinary variety of plants in the Americas provided hope for discovering new and more effective cures. As part of the ENLIGHTENMENT's interest in useful knowledge, in 1777 the Spanish Crown sent to PERU two young naturalists to find and classify previously unknown plants that might have medicinal and corresponding commercial value.

See also DRUGS (Vols. III, IV); MEDICINE (Vols. I, III).

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Dutch West India Company (WIC) Modeled on the earlier Dutch East India Company created in 1602, the Dutch West India Company (WIC) was chartered by the States-General (Netherlands's parliament) in 1621. Its charter gave it a monopoly over commerce to the Americas and West Africa, the right to its own MILITARY and naval force, and authority in administrative and judicial matters. A joint stock company that served as a military arm of the States-General in the regions authorized, the WIC regarded Spain as its natural enemy; when the Twelve-Year Truce ended in 1621, there were no diplomatic niceties restraining its actions.

The WIC viewed American SILVER from PERU and NEW SPAIN as fair game; it also sought SUGAR from BRAZIL and slaves, GOLD, and ivory from Portugal's trading posts in West Africa (see SLAVERY). The WIC's most famous success occurred in 1628. Returning to the West Indies from a brief, unsuccessful expedition to Brazil, Captain Piet Heyn and his fleet of 32 ships, armed with 700 cannon and with approximately 3,500 men, on September 8 captured the Mexican treasure fleet of 15 ships off HAVANA (see FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM). The yield was impressive, totaling some 4.8 million pesos, most of it in silver and gold. The Dutch who held stock in the WIC enjoyed a dividend of more than 75 percent, the highest the company ever paid. The hapless Spanish commander, Juan de Benavides, was executed in SEVILLE in 1634. No subsequent WIC expedition repeated Heyn's success. In 1634, the Dutch placed a permanent settlement on the island of Curaçao; they also established bases for TRADE and salt MINING in the Lesser Antilles.

Brazil was a bigger prize. The WIC seized Recife in northern Brazil in 1630 and then expanded its control in PERNAMBUCO in the hope that the sugar-producing region would provide a sound financial basis for its other operations. Opposition from the settlers already there, however, finally forced the WIC to abandon the enterprise in 1654.

The WIC, despite the windfall of 1628, was never a consistently profitable company. After the failure in Brazil, the combination of military expenses and commercial losses resulted in its bankruptcy in 1674.

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E

earthquakes Earthquakes have been and continue to be a scourge in Latin America. The famous 18th-century travelers JORGE JUAN and ANTONIO DE ULLOA listed 14 quakes that struck PERU between 1582 and 1746. Those of 1687 and 1746 were particularly damaging to LIMA and its environs. The former damaged irrigation systems near Lima and opened the way for Chilean WHEAT to dominate the Lima market into the 19th century. The latter destroyed Lima's port of CALLAO and seriously damaged the capital itself. In AREQUIPA, an earthquake and volcanic eruption on February 18, 1600, reduced the WINE yield in 1601 to 5 percent of its previous annual level. Subsequent quakes in 1604 further damaged the wine industry.

CHILE suffered 15 major earthquakes between 1570 and 1819. SANTIAGO DE CHILE was struck in 1575, 1647, and 1687. Concepción was destroyed in 1570 and again by a quake and tsunami in 1657; another serious quake and tsunami damaged most of the city in 1730, and a quake in 1751 once more wreaked havoc. The town was refounded in a new location in 1764. Valdivia, Osorno, and several other southern towns were destroyed in the 1575 quake that also damaged Santiago and Valparaiso. A quake in 1737 ravaged Valdivia once again.

Colonial GUATEMALA suffered even more frequently than Lima and Chile, with just over 100 quakes and volcanic eruptions reported from 1526 to 1821. A quake in 1565 severely damaged Santiago de Guatemala, which had already been moved from its original site in 1543. Serious earthquakes struck repeatedly in the mid-1570s, and in 1581 Pacaya Volcano erupted with such force and density that the ashes hid the Sun. The capital was severely damaged in 1689 and then again by three catastrophic quakes in 1717, 1751, and 1773. The last one, on July 29, caused

such extensive damage to homes and public buildings that the city was relocated again, although some inhabitants stubbornly refused to move to Nueva Guatemala.

Earthquakes in QUITO in 1645 killed more than 2,000 people; the measles and diphtheria EPIDEMICS that followed killed 12,000 more. Clerics fueled the widespread belief that this was God's anger vented on the populace for its sins. The eruption of the volcano Pichincha increased the agony of the people.

Colonials throughout the Americas considered earthquakes to be acts of God, and clerics routinely responded with services to give praise for a city's survival and then exhortations to the populace to stop its wicked ways and beg forgiveness. The relief in Lima after the damage caused in 1630 was memorialized in dedicating the anniversary of the event, November 17, to Our Lady of the Miracle. Residents of Salta similarly dedicated September 13 to Our Lady of the Miracle after surviving an earthquake that began on that day in 1692.

The earthquake that struck CARACAS on Maundy Thursday, March 26, 1812, was endowed with the most political meaning. The city was capital of the First Republic of VENEZUELA when the earth first trembled. The exact number of dead is unknown, but one estimate suggests as many as 10,000. Regardless of the number, many inhabitants interpreted the deaths and physical devastation as divine vengeance for abandoning the cause of FERDINAND VII and supporting independence.

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economy Terrain, climate, altitude, and the availability of land, labor, capital, entrepreneurs, water, and TRANSPORTATION profoundly affected the evolution of colonial Latin America. The extent of these conditions varied widely throughout the colonies and resulted in numerous local and regional economies.

Mountains dominate the landscape of major portions of Latin America. The Andes are the longest and highest of the mountain chains. Extending nearly 4,500 miles (7,242 km) from VENEZUELA to CHILE, they include peaks that average about 13,000 feet (3,962 m) in height and include Mount Aconcagua near the border of Argentina and Chile, at nearly 23,000 feet (7,010 m). Temperatures vary substantially, a reflection of both altitude and latitude. In Central America, the dominant mountains run east and west. Tajumulco, the highest peak at just under 14,000 feet (4,267 m), is in GUATEMALA. In Mexico, the Sierra Madre Oriental and Sierra Madre Occidental ranges run roughly north and south.

Land transportation in the colonial era was difficult and expensive, with the Andes in particular posing enormous problems. Provisioning Potosí required an immense number of MULES and llamas. By 1620, it was established practice to buy mules in Córdoba for the trip to Potosí. Between 1630 and 1650, an average of 12,000 mules a year were sold; for the remainder of the century, the number surpassed 20,000 a year. An observer in the 1770s noted that some 60,000 mules were sold annually at the fair in Salta for transport and distribution in PERU and CHARCAS through the *reparto de mercancías* (see *REPARTO*). The cost of transport across the Isthmus of PANAMA was nearly 14 times as expensive per 100 pounds (45 kg) as from the MERCURY mines of HUANCAVELICA to Potosí and more than 40 times as expensive as from ACAPULCO to VERACRUZ.

Spaniards sought regions that gave them access to indigenous labor, precious metals, or both. Through TRIBUTE, Spaniards could skim off foodstuffs and other products for personal use or sale. By the 1560s, colonists had established themselves from NEW SPAIN to Chile and founded most of the cities that would be prominent in the colonial era. The most important later addition, in 1580, was BUENOS AIRES. By that time, PERNAMBUCO and BAHIA's planters and ports were becoming important exporters of Brazilian SUGAR to Lisbon.

The vast majority of the population in colonial Latin America engaged in agricultural and pastoral labor. The challenge was to produce enough food for subsistence

plus a surplus that could be traded or sold for other goods. By the mid-16th century, the introduction of European plants and animals had created new expectations, such as the production of WHEAT for Spaniards, and new opportunities, for example, a variety of occupations associated with raising, processing, and selling domestic animals. Land grants for both AGRICULTURE and RANCHING enabled Spaniards by the late 16th century if not before to provide basic products such as mutton, beef, and leather to miners, rural workers, and urban markets.

By the 1560s, the initial stage of plunder had ended, and the *ENCOMIENDA* system that had provided labor and tribute for Spanish conquistadores and early settlers was in decline in New Spain and Peru, a consequence of the reduction in indigenous populations. Population decline prompted changes in the institutions used to harness labor and reductions in the amount of tribute extracted from the Amerindians. Originally provided in items for consumption such as chickens and firewood, the assessed amounts were changed to cash, an alteration that drove tributaries into economic activities such as labor on HACIENDAS that would earn them cash. Government intervention subsidized some labor costs through forced drafts and, at the municipal level, set prices of basic commodities. Potosí became a magnet for settlement because of its SILVER and VICEROY FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO's actions to provide, through the infamous *MITA*, the labor he believed the mines needed.

Agriculture and pastoral enterprises devoted to supplying local markets usually required less capital investment than enterprises focused primarily on export markets, with the exception of hides. In addition to land and basic tools, sugar planters used an expensive resident labor force of black slaves after indigenous workers proved unsatisfactory and a processing plant (*ENGENHO*, *ingenio*, or *trapiche*) (see *SLAVERY*). BRAZIL was the major sugar producer in the Iberian kingdoms' American colonies. CACAO and TOBACCO producers also employed slaves.

GOLD MINING was capital intensive to the extent that miners used black slaves, as was done in MINAS GERAIS in Brazil and the Chocó in NEW GRANADA. On the other hand, silver mining, central to the economies of New Spain, Peru, and Charcas, required considerable capital for refineries to process ore, especially when the amalgamation method was employed.

The Spanish colonies' most valuable export was bullion. It provided the foundation of legal TRADE with Spain via the fleet system, in place by the mid-1560s, as well as the incentive for SMUGGLING (see *FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM*). Although Spanish producers in different colonies exported hides, COCHINEAL, INDIGO, cacao, and other products, none of these was a serious competitor with bullion or rivaled the amount of sugar exported from Brazil. Restrictions on intercolonial trade, especially between Peru and New Spain, were designed to strengthen legal commerce and maximize the amount of bullion flowing

to Spain by eliminating Peruvians' purchase of East Asian silks and other goods shipped from Manila to Veracruz. The restrictions were never fully enforced.

Although the Spanish Crown wanted colonists to buy the manufactures as well as the agricultural products carried on the fleets, Castile lacked merchandise to sell, and by the 1620s, smuggled textiles and other goods were readily available in the Americas. Moreover, a full complement of artisans provided most goods and services wanted in municipalities and mining camps large enough to support them. While MEXICO CITY undoubtedly had the greatest number of artisans, LIMA in 1790 had more than 1,000 for a population of less than 60,000. As the *CASTA* population expanded, the market for inexpensive imported textiles grew, but domestic woolens, especially those produced in *OBRAJES*, clothed much of the colonial population into the 19th century.

The fleet system, which operated well only from the 1560s into the early 17th century, was designed to serve Spanish wholesale merchants who sold goods in CARTAGENA DE INDIAS, NOMBRE DE DIOS and PORTOBELLO, and Veracruz. The largest colonial merchants operated from bases in Mexico City and Lima and developed distribution systems that reached into every significant market in New Spain, Peru, Charcas, the *AUDIENCIA* district of QUITO, and Chile. The merchants' practice of sailing around Cape Horn developed in the early 18th century and was followed by the use of register ships.

COMERCIO LIBRE, which began in 1765, included every Spanish colony by 1789. Legal trade more than doubled between 1783 and 1796, when WAR in Europe began to disrupt it. European wars from 1796 to 1814 and the overlapping wars of independence took a heavy toll on the Spanish-American economies. Mining production plummeted in New Spain with the uprising of MIGUEL HIDALGO Y COSTILLA. Silver production in Potosí after 1810 was devastated, and that in Peru was in decline by 1800. For exporters of agricultural products, notably cacao and cochineal, this disruption prompted a search for trading outlets that involved contraband as well as neutral traders.

Mainland Spanish America emerged from the wars with its long-standing commercial ties with Spain sundered. British merchants in particular had arrived when access to Spanish markets had disappeared in 1808. Cheap manufactured goods were a wedge into the market; selling for cash or on short-term CREDIT at reduced prices attracted consumers and small businessmen alike. At the same time, such sales over the course of the wars drained Spanish America of accumulated liquid capital and largely precluded domestic investment following independence. Consequently, the liberalization of commerce was not accompanied by increased production. Agriculture and CATTLE raising in Venezuela and Argentine provinces required modest capital compared to mining and, once peace was restored, began to expand rapidly. Overall, however, the economies in 1825 were in trouble.

Mainland Spanish America thus finished the wars of independence with its regional economies severely scarred. Turning to British investors for loans, new country after new country quickly defaulted. Independence did not usher in economic prosperity for most Spanish Americans. Although Brazil avoided a war of independence, it also became beholden to the British.

See also ECONOMY (Vols. I, III, IV).

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Ecuador See QUITO.

education A Spanish male in the New World colonies in 1560 could secure a formal education from elementary schooling to university instruction. Friars offered basic instruction in their convents and in villages. The Spanish Crown encouraged educational institutions in the colonies in recognition that they were a central means of transmitting European, Christian culture; it also encouraged separate schools for sons of *CACIQUES* and *KURAKAS*.

Franciscan friars paid particular attention to instructing children, recognizing that they were more impressionable than adults and would help to Christianize future generations. Franciscan instruction took place daily after mass and focused on the catechism, which contained prayers and dogma all were to learn, for example, the sign of the cross, the Ten Commandments, the Seven Sacraments, and the Ave Maria. Memorization was initially in the native language.

In Peru, the trilingual catechism made available in the 1580s was critical in establishing a written version of Quechua, now known as standard colonial Quechua and also referred to as *lengua general*. Although the Crown wanted the indigenous to be taught Spanish, the clergy,

especially the friars, refused out of concern that it would render the native people more vulnerable to Spanish intrusion and would make the teachers themselves more dispensable. With the secularization of indigenous parishes in the mid-18th century, the Crown again encouraged instruction in Spanish. The indigenous people had little interest, however, and often claimed they could not afford a school and schoolmaster. By 1770, about 30 percent of the towns in the diocese of GUATEMALA had schools, all suffering from poor attendance and teaching the catechism as had been done in the 16th century. Indians in NEW SPAIN responded similarly.

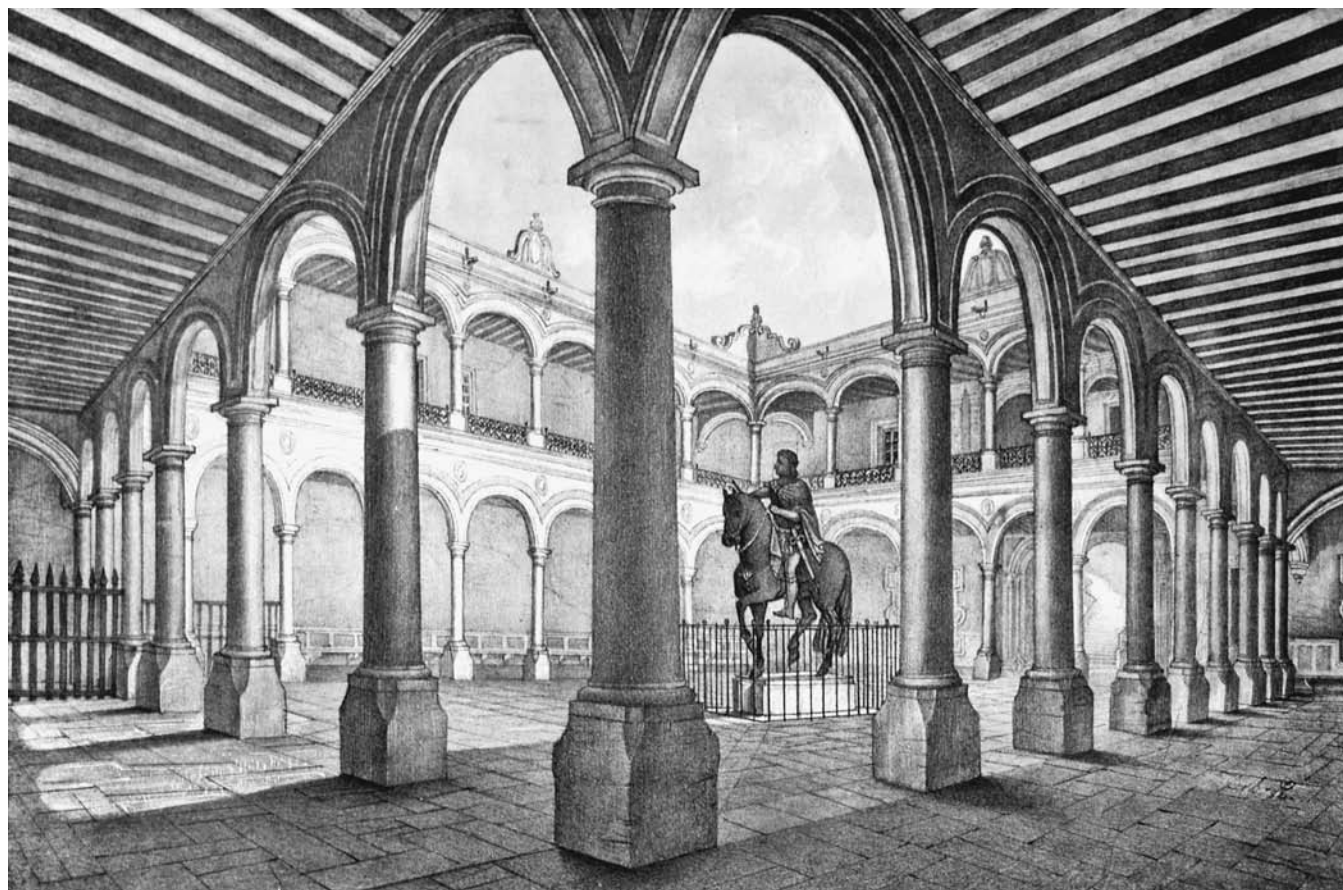
Recognizing that employment opportunities in CHURCH and state required a formal education, Spanish settlers sought instruction for their sons from the time they were old enough to read and write. Initially, they paid tutors who taught specific skills, but primary schooling quickly became available in Spanish municipalities.

Typically, bishops and, especially, religious orders took the lead in providing education. A school for Spanish children in LIMA was opened by the city's first bishop. By 1564, several grammar schools were operating in Lima; by the early 17th century, the number had increased to a dozen, with more than 1,000 students.

Archbishop of Mexico Juan de Zumárraga established the Colegio of San Juan de Letrán (see *COLEGIO/COLEGIO MAYOR*). Originally established for “poor boys,” it first taught Indians, but later also mestizos and Spaniards (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*). In the mid-16th century, it was attached to the UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO, providing instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, MUSIC, and an introduction to Latin grammar.

The most important secondary school in PERU was that of San Pablo, established by the JESUITS in 1568. There were 40 students that year, but the number had increased to 300 by 1578, to about 500 by the early 17th century, and to more than 1,000 from the 1660s to the 1760s. The Jesuits also founded an elementary school in Lima in 1666 to provide instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic; it was enrolling about 500 boys by the end of the century.

In MEXICO CITY, the Jesuits established the Colegio Máximo of San Pedro and San Pablo using generous gifts made in the 1570s. Reportedly, 300 or more students drawn from throughout New Spain attended the inaugural year. Three residential facilities were made available in 1574–75; one of them, San Gregorio, subsequently became a school for indigenous boys. The Jesuits in New Spain also established *colegios* in locations that included



The interior courtyard of the University of Mexico, the first university on the American mainland (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

PUEBLA, GUADALAJARA, Parral, VERACRUZ, and San Luis de Potosí.

The Jesuits were the leading educators in Spanish America for nearly two centuries. The classical curriculum (*Ratio studiorum*) they adhered to was the same as that used at Jesuit *colegios* in Europe. Thus, students studied Cicero, Sallust, Caesar, Livy, Plato, and Plutarch and historians of antiquity. Instruction in Latin was required for subsequent university study.

In Lima, the Colegio Mayor of San Martín was established in 1582. Students could enter this residential school at age 12 and remain until 24. The Colegio Mayor of San Felipe, founded in 1592, served as a residential facility for 16 students in the arts, canon law, and theology. The Seminary of Santo Toribio, opened in 1590, offered instruction in theology and sacred scripture. A separate school for caciques opened in 1620–21; its objectives were to teach reading and writing and civic and Christian principles.

In 1592, PHILIP II implemented a decision of the Council of Trent calling for diocesan seminaries. This led to the establishment of numerous seminaries including the Royal and Pontifical Colegio Seminary in Mexico City and the Tridentine Seminary of San Pedro y San Pablo in Puebla, the latter established by Archbishop JUAN DE PALAFOX Y MENDOZA. The Tridentine Seminary of San José in Guadalajara, founded in 1699, enrolled at least 950 students from that date to 1800.

The University of Mexico opened in 1553, the first of more than two dozen UNIVERSITIES created before independence. The Portuguese refused to establish a university in Brazil, forcing Brazilian males who wanted a university education to travel to Portugal and study at the University of Coimbra.

See also EDUCATION (Vols. I, III, IV).

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Elío, Francisco Javier (b. 1767–d. 1822) *Spanish military officer and administrator* Francisco Javier Elío was born in Pamplona, Navarre, Spain, and followed a military career that included service in North Africa and against the French in the early 1790s. A colonel when sent to the BANDA ORIENTAL in 1805, he participated in combating the British invasions of 1806 and 1807, and SANTIAGO LINIERS Y BREMOND named him acting governor of the Banda Oriental in 1807. Subsequently, Elío charged Liniers with treason and convoked a *CABILDO ABIERTO* in MONTEVIDEO that created, on September 21, 1808, a junta to rule in the name of FERDINAND VII and in opposition to BUENOS AIRES.

The COUNCIL OF REGENCY named Elío VICEROY of RÍO DE LA PLATA to replace BALTASAR HIDALGO DE CISNEROS in 1810. Elío returned to Montevideo on January 12, 1811, but the junta in Buenos Aires refused to recognize him.

On February 13, 1811, Elío declared war on the junta in Buenos Aires. Ruling from Montevideo, he alienated landowners of the Banda Oriental by increasing taxes and forcing them to demonstrate legal ownership of land. He also sought Brazilian assistance against the government in Buenos Aires. Finally, he blockaded Buenos Aires until it agreed to an armistice on October 20, 1811, and withdrew from the Banda Oriental. On May 26, 1812, the Portuguese similarly signed an armistice.

In 1810, the Regency named Elío governor of CHILE. Word of the appointment distressed Chileans and contributed to their creation of an autonomous junta in SANTIAGO DE CHILE.

Elío never served in Chile, remaining in Spain to fight against the French. He was captain general of Valencia when FERDINAND VII returned from exile in France in spring 1814. His offer to lead his troops in abolishing the CORTES OF CÁDIZ helped Ferdinand decide to restore absolutism in Spain.

In 1819, Elío received the great cross of the Order of Charles III. At the time, he was lieutenant general in the army and captain general of the kingdoms of Valencia and Murcia. When the liberals reestablished constitutional government in Spain in 1820, Elío was removed from office. A staunch royalist and opponent of the liberals, he was executed in 1822.

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El Salvador Part of the Kingdom of GUATEMALA, colonial El Salvador was the *alcaldía mayor* of San Salvador with municipal districts of San Miguel de la Frontera, San Vicente, and Santa Ana (see *ALCALDE MAYOR*). In 1784, San Salvador became the first intendency of the Kingdom of Guatemala (see *INTENDANT*).

Izalcos in Sonsonate was a CACAO-growing region prior to the arrival of the Spaniards. By the 1540s and 1550s, it was considered the source of Guatemala's finest cacao and was controlled by a small number of wealthy *encomenderos* who had the labor needed for its production (see *ENCOMIENDA*). Cacao could be transported by mule to Santiago de Guatemala in two days. By 1550, it was being shipped through Acajutla, several leagues from Sonsonate, to Huatulco and then carried to MEXICO CITY and other densely populated indigenous centers in NEW SPAIN. In 1570, the town of Sonsonate had 400 *VECINOS*, many of them engaged in the cacao trade. Production peaked

in the 1570s, but indigenous depopulation resulted in a shortage of labor, and coupled with natural disasters, the boom quickly ended despite efforts to import Indians from the highlands. By the 17th century, the indigenous population of present El Salvador resided in the countryside, while Spanish-speaking non-Indians inhabited the former Amerindian villages.

In the 18th century, San Salvador became Guatemala's major producer of INDIGO. Its success provoked antagonism with Santiago de Guatemala, where the wholesale merchants who financed the indigo TRADE resided. This antagonism was exacerbated when a son of the powerful Aycinena FAMILY led troops into San Salvador in 1811 to put down an autonomist rebellion (see AYCINENA Y DE YRIGOYEN, JUAN FERMÍN DE).

San Salvador issued its declaration of independence from Spain on September 29, 1821, shortly after endorsing the PLAN OF IGUALA. The city's CREOLES led a fight against a combined Mexican-Guatemalan force trying to force them into Mexico's short-lived empire under Agustín de Iturbide. Although the Salvadorans were defeated, the Mexican empire collapsed, and San Salvador led a successful movement to make the former Kingdom of Guatemala independent of Mexico. El Salvador entered the United Provinces of Central America in 1823.

See also EL SALVADOR (Vols. I, III, IV); UNITED PROVINCES OF CENTRAL AMERICA (Vol. III).

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Emboabas, War of the (1708–1709) Frontiersmen and Indian slavers from SÃO PAULO (*paulistas* or *bandeirantes*) discovered GOLD in what became the province of MINAS GERAIS in the 1690s (see BANDEIRAS). The subsequent gold rush brought men from other parts of BRAZIL as well as Portugal. When the governor of RIO DE JANEIRO awarded grants to outsiders and the newcomers began arriving from 1705, they quickly became a majority in the gold fields. The *paulistas* dubbed them "emboabas," a derogatory name of unknown origin.

Contraband as well as legal TRADE supplied the region with CATTLE, foodstuffs, and black slaves. As outsiders controlled contraband trade and armed convoys carrying goods between BAHIA and Minas increased, attacks on them from *paulistas* grew, as did protests from

both sides to local and regional authorities. When fighting between the *paulistas* and *emboabas* began in 1708, Governor Fernando Martins Mascarenhas de Lencastre was unable to bring about peace. Although the *emboabas* emerged victorious, their common bond disappeared quickly. The war underscored the lawlessness of the region, and King John V responded by sending a new governor, Antonio de Albuquerque.

A final but indecisive battle was fought in November 1709, and the *paulistas* withdrew, perhaps because of word that the governor had sent reinforcements. A general pardon he issued later in the month contributed to peace. Meanwhile, a representative of the *emboabas* had reached Portugal, and the king responded by creating a new administrative unit for São Paulo and the MINING district. Albuquerque was appointed the first governor general and captain of the captaincy entitled São Paulo e Minas de Ouro. He immediately traveled to the mining area, turned some of the mining camps into towns, and returned to *paulistas* some but not all of the property *emboabas* had seized. Although peace had been established, deep antagonism remained between the *paulistas* and the *emboabas*.

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encomienda The fundamental institution through which Spaniards initially exerted demands on Amerindians, the *encomienda* system was inaugurated on HISPANIOLA and carried to the American mainlands. It required indigenous people to provide labor and TRIBUTE to an *encomendero*. In return, the *encomendero* was to provide military service to the Crown and a cleric to indoctrinate the Indians in Christian beliefs. The abuses perpetrated against NATIVE AMERICANS in *encomienda* were legion and stimulated outrage by clerics as early as 1511, most notably by the Dominican Bartolomé de Las Casas.

Encomiendas were the primary reward to conquistadores who accompanied Hernando Cortés, but their importance was already waning in Central Mexico by the middle of the 16th century. The New Laws of 1542 prohibited the assignment of new *encomiendas* and the inheritance of existing ones. Already the death of *encomenderos* without heirs was resulting in their *encomiendas* being transferred to the Crown, which emerged as the largest *encomendero* and turned to *corregidores* and *alcaldes mayores* to oversee the collection of tribute (see ALCALDE MAYOR; CORREGIDOR/CORREGIMIENTO). Although the Crown backed down on inheritance and reassignment of *encomiendas*, population decline had already directly reduced the value of many *encomiendas*. The arrival of more Spanish immigrants placed pressure on officials to make labor available, and in 1549, the Crown separated uncompensated labor from tribute in NEW SPAIN. Paid labor drafts

(*REPARTIMIENTOS*) became an important source of workers into the 1620s and continued after that in the drainage project for Lake Texcoco and limited other activities.

In PERU, *encomiendas* (also known as *repartimientos* there, an administrative equivalent to *encomiendas*) granted by Francisco Pizarro and his successors were in decline by the 1560s, but large *encomiendas* in the highlands, in particular, remained valuable. Indeed, in 1555, Peruvian *encomenderos* offered to pay 7.6 million pesos to PHILIP II if he declared their *encomiendas* permanent, inheritable property. The *KURAKASS* countered with a similar offer in return for an end to *encomiendas* and the abuse and alienation of resources with which they were associated. Philip, however, determined to deal with the *encomenderos* individually, charged handsome sums for specific arrangements. Nonetheless, population decline coupled with the use of *corregidores* starting in the 1550s and especially in the 1570s, the creation of new indigenous villages (*reducciones*) and the introduction of the colonial *MITA* by Viceroy FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO displaced *encomiendas* from their central position in the economy, although a few grants persisted as sources of income but not labor until the close of the colonial era (see *REDUCCIÓN*).

Encomenderos were dominant in NEW GRANADA from the assignment of *encomiendas* by conquistador Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada in 1539; they employed *encomienda* Indians for personal service into the 1600s. The Crown slowly established control, introducing rotational labor (*repartimiento*) in the 1590s and expanding it in the 17th century. Although population decline affected the size of *encomiendas*, the institution was important in New Granada for a longer period than in Peru or New Spain.

As the Crown separated labor from tribute, the reassignment of *encomiendas* turned them into a form of pension, at times for beneficiaries in Spain. Royal directives of 1596 and 1601 ordered that Native Americans pay tribute in cash or kind only. Although *encomienda* was giving way to other forms of labor in Mexico and Peru from the mid-16th century, it remained important in northern New Spain, Yucatán, CHILE, New Granada, VENEZUELA, and PARAGUAY.

Encomienda was the basis for wealth and status among conquistadores. Early settlers and the original members of MUNICIPAL COUNCILS were typically *encomenderos* required to reside in the municipality within whose jurisdiction their *encomiendas* fell. To obtain the labor and tribute of “their” Indians, *encomenderos* relied on their chieftain (*CACIQUE* or *kuraka*), who was able to command the required resources. The most successful *encomenderos* used their initial access to labor and tribute as the basis for diversifying their economic activities, a necessary step in making a successful transition to a post-*encomienda* economy.

While land grants were distinct from *encomiendas*, *encomenderos* routinely obtained land to be worked with *encomienda* labor. *Encomenderos* also used *encomienda* labor

for MINING, construction, TRANSPORTATION, and other forms of physical labor. In addition, they rented out *encomienda* labor to other employers. Tribute included everything from consumable foodstuffs to commodities. Some *encomenderos* in Peru, for example, collected WHEAT, cloth, llamas, and COCA to sell to merchants who then marketed it in mining camps, especially POTOSÍ starting in the mid-16th century.

See also *ENCOMIENDA* (Vol. I); *LAS CASAS*, BARTOLOMÉ DE (Vol. I); *NEW LAWS OF 1542* (Vol. I).

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engenho (ingenio) The SUGAR mill and often the sugar PLANTATION in its entirety were known in BRAZIL as *engenho* and in Spanish America as *ingenio*. Techniques of sugar production employed on the Madeira and Canary Islands and especially on the island of São Tomé in the Gulf of Guinea were transferred to the New World. These included owners of European descent, substantial investment, a sugarcane press with two horizontal rollers operated by oxen, horses, or water power, the plantation, and slave labor that, in the case of São Tomé, meant African slaves (see SLAVERY). The plantation system crossed the Atlantic soon after Christopher Columbus introduced the first sugarcane into the CARIBBEAN in 1493.

By 1530, the island of HISPANIOLA had 34 sugar mills. Hernando Cortés quickly introduced sugarcane into his estates in Cuernavaca and southern VERACRUZ. An enterprising Spaniard had started growing sugarcane in Morelos by the 1530s for both the domestic market and exportation to Spain. Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza founded a large sugar plantation in Orizaba. By the mid-16th century, *ingenios* were present in several parts of NEW SPAIN, and in the early 17th century, Jalapa had Mexico’s biggest and most productive plantation.

Spaniards planted sugar wherever there was either sufficient domestic demand to ensure profitability or access to an overseas market. The result was the creation of sugar plantations in numerous locations in the colonies. JESUITS in Peru were active in sugar production in coastal valleys until their expulsion in 1767. By that time, the price of sugar in Lima was less than half of what it was in the 1670s, a clear indication of increased supply.

The great expansion of sugar plantations in the islands of the CARIBBEAN began in the 17th century, with English, French, and Dutch producers leading the way. CUBA became an important producer in the 18th century, especially after the Seven Years’ War and even more so after the revolution in Saint Domingue effectively eliminated sugar production there.

BRAZIL, rather than any location in Spanish America, emerged as the New World’s premier producer of sugar

by the end of the 16th century and remained important for the rest of the colonial era. In the 1530s and 1540s, sugarcane was planted on the Brazilian coast from PERNAMBUCO south to São Vicente. Pernambuco proved the most successful and, with 66 *engenhos*, led Brazilian sugar production by 1580; the captaincy of BAHIA was in second place with more than 40 mills in the Recôncavo, an area surrounding the Bay of All Saints. By that time, wealthy mill owners and planters were establishing the plantation society that characterized Brazil's sugar-producing regions into the 19th century. Although indigenous people initially provided labor, their high mortality and unsatisfactory level of productivity led planters by the 1570s to turn increasingly to imported African slaves. SLAVERY provided the unskilled as well as much skilled labor in the planting, harvesting, and processing of sugarcane into the 19th century.

The production of sugar required several steps. After preparing the fields and irrigation canals, workers planted, watered, weeded, and harvested the cane. The cut cane was carted to the mill, called an *engenho* or *ingenio* if water driven and a *trapiche* if animal-powered. There, it was crushed by rollers, and the resulting juice was poured into large cauldrons where it was boiled until it had the consistency of honey. The juice was clarified and filtered as it was poured from one container to another. After successive stirrings and cooling, the mass rested for two days before a four-day distillation process was undertaken to separate the molasses from the sugar. Following claying and drying in the sun, the sugar was poured into loaves and wrapped, ready for sale. Because of the capital required for a mill, small producers took their sugarcane to the mill of a nearby plantation owner, who processed it for a share of the sugar.

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Enlightenment The Enlightenment is the name for the intellectual climate of opinion derived from European intellectuals including René Descartes, John Locke, and Isaac Newton. Pierre Bayle popularized the ideas that became associated with the Enlightenment and favored by the philosophes in 18th-century Europe, for example Montesquieu, Voltaire, Denis Diderot, other French encyclopedists, and Adam Smith, who opposed Aristotelian thought and reverent appeal to authority. The Enlightenment emphasized experimentation, observation, methodical doubt, and the application of critical reason. Adherents in Latin America stressed the use of these approaches in the pursuit of

useful knowledge, that is, knowledge sought and propagated by naturalists and applied scientists who were, in some cases, supported by the Spanish Crown. Although most representatives of the Enlightenment opposed revealed religion, this was not the case in Spain, where the Crown promoted the acquisition and dissemination of useful knowledge.

The widely read volumes by the Benedictine friar BENITO JERÓNIMO DE FEIJÓO Y MONTENEGRO most prominently introduced the intellectual approaches of the Enlightenment to Spain and Spanish America. Feijóo published nine volumes entitled *Teatro crítico universal* (1726–39) and five volumes titled *Cartas eruditas* (1742–60). Roundly criticized by Aristotelians for years, Feijóo ultimately received official approval in the form of honors of the Council of Castile.

By the late 18th century, a limited number of Latin American professionals, government officials, scientists, clergy, and university faculty and students participated in the Enlightenment and even referred to themselves as “*lucers*,” or “enlightened ones.” Nonetheless, European philosophes simultaneously considered Latin America a “horrible example.” The Abbé Raynal’s best-selling *History of the Indies* (54 editions between 1770 and 1800) set the tone with a contemporary version of the 16th-century BLACK LEGEND, telling of Spain’s unique cruelty and obscurantism fed by Catholicism.

The spread of enlightened ideas accompanied the creation of economic societies, or SOCIETIES OF AMIGOS DEL PAÍS, as they were often known. Between 1770 and 1820, about 70 economic societies were established in Spain; between 1780 and 1822, no fewer than 14 were founded or suggested in the overseas territories. Some of the colonial societies published periodicals that promoted modern knowledge, scientific information, examination of the conditions of their own regions, and proposals to improve their economies (see ECONOMY). The *MERCURIO PERUANO*, published in LIMA, and the longer-lived *Gazeta de Guatemala*, published in Guatemala City, were among the best known.

The Spanish Crown put some aspects of enlightened thought into practice. The rationalization of administration, notably through the INTENDANT system; the systematic collection and analysis of data; and several scientific and technical missions marked the last decades of the 18th century.

An example of a royally sponsored botanical expedition was that of Spanish pharmacists Hipólito Ruiz and José Antonio Pavón to Peru in the years 1778–88. Accompanied by a French botanist and two illustrators, Ruiz and Pavón collected specimens and seeds of plants in deserts, mountains, and tropical forests. Along with illustrations and comment, the results were to provide a comprehensive catalog of Peruvian plant life identified according to the methodology of famed Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus. Aside from adding to botanical knowledge and stocking the royal botanical garden and collection of



The College of Mines established in Mexico City in 1792 illustrated the Enlightenment's focus on useful knowledge. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

natural history, the expedition aimed to identify plants of potential economic value such as dyes and medicines.

The medical profession in Spanish America proved itself a major outpost of enlightened thought. Faculty that taught medicine at the University of Guatemala demonstrated themselves both familiar with contemporary European medical practices and capable of experimentation and even invention of improved medical techniques. Dr. José Felipe Flores combined scientific study with unbounded optimism in declaring meatballs made of newts a cure for cancer and, eventually, nearly every other affliction. His published tract (1781) was translated into French and Italian, and enthusiasts in Spain and France declared experiments using the cure successful. Flores also created a wax figure with removable parts to provide anatomical study for medical students. Experimental method was furthered with actual cadavers when available. Dr. Narciso Esparragosa y Gallardo, Dr. Flores's prize student, performed successful cataract removal starting in 1797. He also invented an elastic forceps for removing infants from the womb. Experimentation in academic medicine in Guatemala was firmly established.

In general, colonial UNIVERSITIES were bastions of ancient ideas and considerable rote learning. As guard-

ians of credentials necessary for employment in the professions and some offices of royal administration, university faculties' control of curricula and instructional techniques based on those of the University of Salamanca and sanctioned by royal approval gave them power to introduce or prevent the dissemination of new ideas in courses. Not surprisingly, the desire to reform curricula and even replace Latin with Castilian as the language of instruction divided the cloister (*claustro*), or governing body of a university. Reformers were more successful in universities located far from viceregal capitals, such as the University of Guatemala.

A Franciscan friar from COSTA RICA, José Antonio Goicoechea, introduced experimental physics in GUATEMALA, perhaps in 1769. Although he held the second chair of theology from 1780, with the approval of at least a significant portion of the cloister, he taught experimental physics at the University of Guatemala, a course justified by its very utility. Goicoechea's proposed plan of studies for the university included chairs of mathematics and related subjects, as well as experimental physics. The proposed texts of natural philosophy were read at universities across Europe. When Goicoechea returned from travel to Spain, he brought equipment for teaching

the modern sciences, including chemistry, experimental physics, astronomy, mathematics, and natural history; an “intellectual revolution” in EDUCATION at the University of Guatemala antedated similar changes at the universities in Mexico City and Lima.

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epidemics The most deadly part of the COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE was the inadvertent introduction of pathogens from Europe, notably smallpox, measles, and typhus, that by the middle of the 16th century had killed untold millions of indigenous people in the Americas. The catastrophically high mortality rate was primarily due to the Amerindians’ lack of previous exposure; unlike the Spaniards and Portuguese, the native population had no immunity to the diseases. Although the regions and timing of epidemics varied, population decline due to epidemic disease of varying intensity occurred throughout colonial rule. Highland regions usually suffered less than villages in lowland and coastal regions, but everywhere the consequences were significant.

After terrible epidemics in 1520–21 and 1545–48, the Valley of Mexico was struck at least 45 more times before 1810. Particularly devastating was the great *cocoliztli* of 1576–79, an indeterminate illness marked by nosebleed, high mortality among NATIVE AMERICANS, and the death of a small number of Spaniards. After nearly a dozen earlier epidemics, the native population of Central Mexico had dropped to the point that Spaniards actively invested in AGRICULTURE in order to ensure an adequate supply of particularly WHEAT. Flooding in MEXICO CITY, most notably in 1629, created conditions conducive to the spread of disease. Repeated droughts in the 1660s brought illness and death to indigenous people and Spaniards. An epidemic, perhaps typhus, in 1736–39 was particularly severe for Indians, with about 60,000 deaths in Mexico City and some 200,000 throughout NEW SPAIN.

Between 1761 and 1813, five significant epidemics struck Mexico City. In 1761–62, typhus and then smallpox ravaged the capital. About 7,000 patients treated at the Royal Indian Hospital perished. Overall, between 14,600 and 25,000 persons died. Smallpox appeared again in 1779–80, claiming between 9,000 and 22,000 victims. In 1784–87, pneumonia and other ailments afflicted a population that by 1785 was also suffering from famine. The combination led to some 300,000 deaths throughout Mexico, with the poor suffering most. In 1797 occurred the final outbreak of smallpox prior to the introduction of vaccination, probably claiming more

than 7,000 lives in the capital. An epidemic of pestilential fevers broke out in 1813 in Mexico City and elsewhere in New Spain. More than 20,000 died in the capital city from this imprecisely identified malady. At a minimum, 50,000 died in the capital from the five epidemics.

Central America often but not invariably shared the early 16th-century epidemics with Central Mexico. By 1577, five pandemics may have reduced the 1519 population by more than two-thirds. Drought and famine were often accompanied by epidemics, as was the case in 1563–65, 1570, 1585, and 1610 in specific regions of Central America.

In the Andes, an epidemic identified by some scholars as smallpox struck in the 1520s and was followed by measles in the early 1530s. Typhus and pulmonary plague arrived in 1546, a year after reaching Mesoamerica. It was followed in the years 1557–62 by measles, influenza, and smallpox. Between 1585 and 1591, typhus, smallpox, and measles claimed victims. Measles returned in 1597, and diphtheria arrived in 1606. As in Mesoamerica, the 1610s were marked by measles and typhus; diphtheria also returned. Typhus was back in the early 1630s and smallpox once more in 1651. Epidemics in the 1690s severely affected the Kingdom of QUITO.

The western part of the Pasto region of NEW GRANADA lost about two-thirds of its tributaries between 1558 and 1570, the largest part to epidemics including smallpox. Before 1600, the GUARANÍ in PARAGUAY experienced epidemic diseases that devastated the population. In CHILE, the number of “peaceful” Indians dropped by nearly 50 percent between 1570 and 1600 as a result of “disease and exploitation.”

While the toll from epidemics and other causes brought the native population of Central Mexico to its nadir about 1625, PERU suffered a devastating pandemic of smallpox and influenza in 1719–21. POTOSÍ, for example, lost 22,000 people; in its environs another 10,000 perished. Over half of the population of the bishopric of CUZCO died; Indians were hit hardest. Those who tried to flee from the diseases usually simply spread them to new sites.

The policy of congregating indigenous people in new villages facilitated the spread of epidemic disease wherever the approach was employed (see CONGREGACIÓN; REDUCCIÓN). The same occurred in the ALDEIAS established by the JESUITS in BRAZIL.

The consequences of epidemics were numerous. The earliest epidemics in New Spain quickly lessened the value of ENCOMIENDAS and stimulated the widespread use of REPARTIMIENTO, or forced labor drafts. Subsequent epidemics ended the reliability of *repartimiento* as a source of labor; *hacendados* responded by employing wage laborers and encouraged residence on their properties by enough workers to handle year-round tasks (see HACIENDA).

Native population loss resulting from epidemic disease reduced the amount of TRIBUTE paid. Since Spanish officials made new counts of tributaries in villages after

the drop in population, at times long afterward, the surviving indigenous were forced to increase what they paid in order to meet the village's quota. This, in turn, made flight increasingly attractive, and the number of *FORASTEROS*, or "outsiders," in villages increased along with the number of indigenous people taking up residence on Spanish estates. In the worst cases, an epidemic could wipe out an entire village. For example, a number of villages vanished after an epidemic in the Guatemalan highlands in 1650. Reasons other than epidemics, of course, led Amerindians to leave their villages, the *MITA*, or forced labor draft, for Potosí being the most notorious.

BRAZIL'S native population also suffered from epidemic disease, probably smallpox, from at least the late 1550s. By 1562, an estimated 30,000 indigenous people under Portuguese control had died. When measles struck the following year, another 30,000 might have died. In 1575, the governor brought some 1,200 defeated Indians to BAHIA; there, outbreaks of measles and smallpox killed most of them. The impact of diseases on the native population resulted in Portuguese seeking to enslave Indians from farther inland in Brazil but also weighing the alternative of imported African slaves (see *SLAVERY*). Large numbers of imported slaves date from the 1570s.

Unlike the early epidemics of the colonial era, which afflicted Amerindians almost exclusively, by the late 18th century, epidemics took a toll across colonial society, testimony to the immunities acquired over nearly three centuries by the native population. In 1821, an epidemic identified as cholera struck Lima, incapacitating at least half of the royalist army as well as many civilians. Some 1,500 royalist soldiers died, and rebel forces outside the city were also affected. In 1825, an epidemic of typhus complemented by scurvy broke out among royalists under siege in the fortress of CALLAO; at least 2,700 civilians and soldiers died of disease and starvation.

See also *DISEASE* (Vol. I); *MEDICINE* (Vol. I).

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estancia (estância) Although *estancia* could refer to a farm or indigenous community under the rule of another community, more commonly it referred to a CATTLE ranch (*estancia de ganado mayor*) or SHEEP or goat ranch (*estancia de ganado menor*) (see *RANCHING*). In NEW SPAIN, Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza in 1536 established the sizes and terms for grants of *estancias*.

As outlined by Mendoza, a grant of land for a cattle ranch was equal to one square league, or 6.78 square miles (17.5 km²), or 4,338 acres (1,756 ha); a grant for raising sheep or goats was 3.01 square miles (7.8 km²), or 1,928 acres (780 ha). In contrast, a grant for AGRICULTURE (*caballería*) was a mere 105 acres (42.5 ha). In practice, grants were of irregular shape and approximations of the specified sizes. Grants of *estancias* often included a provision that the recipient must pasture a specified minimum number of animals by a certain date and a prohibition against selling the land for four years. In Central Mexico after the mid-16th century, the term *estancia* was also applied to agricultural holdings. *Estancia de labor* referred to plowland; *estancia de pan llevar*, to wheatland; and *estancia de labor y ganados*, to fields and livestock. *Estancias* were often but not invariably a part of the large landholdings that became generally known in New Spain as *HACIENDAS*.

Estancia and the related term *estanciero* for its owner are associated mainly with the lands of present-day Argentina, although the Portuguese used the word *estância* for ranches as well. In the Pampas, the term applied generically to large estates, in extreme cases of several hundred thousand acres or more. Owned ultimately by CREOLES, most of them residents of BUENOS AIRES or one of the few interior cities, these estates were used for raising cattle, horses, sheep, and crops. As the 18th century ended, some of the more enterprising *estancieros* had expanded into the salt beef business. With independence achieved, the coastal landowning, cattle raising, and beef salting *estancieros* emerged as the most important interest group in the UNITED PROVINCES OF THE RÍO DE LA PLATA. The success of Juan Manuel de Rosas in dominating the United Provinces for many years rested in large part on his support from the *estancieros*.

See also *ESTANCIA* (Vol. III).

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family The primary social and economic unit in colonial Latin America was the family. Among notable families, marriage and kinship provided bonds that linked multiple generations with diverse economic activities, political power, and prestige initially through aggregation and then through maintenance for heirs. Among other free families, complementary economic activities combined to provide sustenance. Slave families found mutual support in their difficult existence (see *SLAVERY*).

Church and government authorities considered the ideal family as one with married parents and legitimate children, although both recognized that children born out of wedlock were numerous. Considering the sacrament of marriage as the foundation of family life, clerics strongly advocated it both for religious reasons and for the practical consideration that they derived fees from the ceremony, one reason why the poor often settled for cohabitation.

Elite families consisted of a married couple and their offspring, their unmarried kin, for example, clerics and nuns, and their relatives through birth and marriage. Retainers, servants, and slaves extended a family's influence into nonelite sectors of local society. Elite families were almost invariably rooted in a specific city, often an administrative and commercial center but at times a successful *MINING* center, for example, *POTOSÍ*, *ZACATECAS*, and *GUANAJUATO*. As the largest and richest administrative and commercial capitals, *MEXICO CITY* and *LIMA* were home to numerous elite families who remained so over multiple generations.

While the conquistadores and early settlers who received rich *ENCOMIENDAS* provided the foundation of the earliest prominent Spanish families, it required diversified investment of *encomienda* *TRIBUTE* and labor

to sustain economic success during a century or more of declining indigenous populations. By the mid-16th century, the winnowing process was well under way. Long-term perpetuation of elite status required continued economic success or access to new sources of income. Debt was a solution long hallowed by the practices of the upper nobility of Castile but obviously less satisfactory than solvency. Fortunately for many elite families, salvation often came in the form of a successful *PENINSULAR* merchant or bureaucrat willing if not anxious to marry a young *CREOLE* woman of "good" lineage who, in many cases, could trace her genealogy to a conqueror or early settler. This solution was mutually beneficial, as the new husband confirmed and expanded advantageous political and economic connections in local society and the bride's family often gained access to wealth associated with the groom's business activities or connections to prominent royal officials. In such marriages, the groom was often substantially older than the bride.

Family ties were common in the businesses of merchants. In 17th-century *NEW SPAIN*, a merchant father and several sons were frequently involved in *TRADE* together. *Peninsular* wholesale merchants also often began their careers as young nephews called from Spain by successful uncles engaged in commerce in the Americas. In both cases, wholesalers routinely deferred marriage until they had become reasonably successful, an objective that often meant they were in their late 30s when they married. Some wholesalers, not surprisingly, married daughters of other wholesalers; others married daughters of local aristocrats. With the difference between spouses often some 20 years, the chances were excellent that the wife would outlive her husband by many years, if she did not die during childbirth. Widows enjoyed more authority,

independence, and legal standing than married women with living husbands. While widows might turn to a brother or other relative for assistance, many oversaw the family's affairs alone.

Patriarchal structure was the norm in prosperous colonial families, although wives oversaw domestic matters in mansions, which were usually located near the center of the city. Among notable families, arranged marriages were the rule; the combination of *DOWRY* and a type of bride-price or gift known as the *arras* meant that a family's financial well-being was a key issue. While a husband might or might not involve his wife in discussions about matrimony for their children, a widow's responsibilities for minor children included arranging careers and perhaps marriages for the sons and marriages or residence in convents for the daughters. The ultimate goal was the perpetuation of the family's status; diverse investments, varied careers, and financially advantageous marriages contributed to this end.

The vast majority of colonial families, of course, lacked elite status. Whether of Spanish, Portuguese, Amerindian, or African descent or any combination of these, most families struggled in a precarious existence that could turn perilous with disease, drought, unseasonable cold, a plague of locusts, or another natural disaster. Many cohabiting units did not meet the CATHOLIC CHURCH's definition of a family, and probably most did not care. As was the case earlier, more *CASTAS* in late 17th-century Mexico City were of illegitimate than legitimate birth. Their more pressing concerns were getting food for the day and having a place to sleep other than the street. While the Spanish Crown had tried to segregate NATIVE AMERICANS in both urban and rural areas, these efforts failed. By the middle of the 17th century, probably more *castas* than Indians were laboring in Mexico City, and the city had been assigning lands in the Indian district to Spaniards for a century. The Crown lumped together idle poor Spaniards, blacks, mulattoes, and mestizos and ordered them to get employment, a mandate that is most notable for its compression of social distance in a city without adequate jobs (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO; MULATO*).

Artisans, shopkeepers, petty merchants, and a few others owned homes, sometimes inherited, where their families resided. Normally one story high, many had been built by the owner. Some rooms might lack a roof. Most plebians, however, rented rather than owned property. In the center of Mexico City, religious orders owned most rental properties. The poorest renters, often including children with a single mother, lived four or five to a single room at street level and were forced to share cooking, washing, and sanitary spaces with scores of other renters; they looked out at raw sewage and garbage in the street or canal, while more affluent tenants lived on the higher floors. Children's labor—legal or otherwise—helped families to survive. Crime was common (see *CRIME AND PUNISHMENT*). At the bottom of society

in late 18th-century Mexico City, observers regularly noted a large, homeless, almost naked population living with disease, filth, and ongoing alcoholism. While Mexico City was unique in terms of size and wealth in the Spanish colonies, its mortality rate throughout the colonial era was sufficiently high that only by a constant influx of migration could it maintain a stable population. Those persons who moved to Mexico City anticipated improving their lives.

In indigenous villages, even when outsiders had intruded, marriage was the norm for adults, and the family was the usual form of social organization. Customs varied regarding marriage, but in some parts of Spain's empire, lineage was as important to Amerindians as *LIMPIEZA DE SANGRE*, or blood purity, was to the Spaniards who claimed it. Spanish clerics never approved of the practice in Andean PERU of trial marriage (*sirovinacy*), but the results were generally stable families. Nevertheless, violence was most apt to be within a family, as it was elsewhere.

In indigenous communities, gender complementarity was the rule as pre-Hispanic practices persisted in most daily activities and social organization. Without gender complementarity neither men nor women could fulfill their expected roles, be they preparing food, fields, textiles, or irrigation canals. While only men were liable for service in the hated *MITA* of Potosí, it was unthinkable that their wives would not accompany them. Marriage and family were central to life.

Among Indians, *castas*, and poor Spaniards who took up residence on *HACIENDAS*, it was common for more than one family member to be employed and the senior member to guarantee that advances on payment made to other family members would be repaid. The Hispanic living environment of the hacienda increased the use of marriage, baptism, confirmation, and burial ceremonies.

In both Spanish and Portuguese America, some slaves married and had families, often overcoming great difficulties associated with their legal status as well as arbitrary, exploitive, and capricious masters to do so. The Spanish Crown preferred that Africans marry other Africans rather than marry or have unions with indigenous people. If Christian, slaves could marry and were entitled to a married life without a master's consent provided there were no impediments such as an existing marriage, kinship, or spiritual kinship ties.

Families as the church defined them rested in the first instance on marriage. There were cases, however, in which the relationship between husband and wife became so miserable that permanent separation was the only appropriate solution. *Divorcio* in the colonial era referred to permanent separation, but with no right of remarriage while the other spouse lived. Informal and often permanent separation was not uncommon, however, especially when a man went to the Americas but left his wife in Spain. The Spanish Crown was always concerned about the adverse effect this had on family life, and repeated

legislation required the man in the New World either to send for his wife or to return to Spain. Not all complied, of course, and more than a few men and some women came before the INQUISITION for bigamy.

In the varied family environments of city, village, and hacienda, children grew up, absorbed some social skills, and learned how to deal with their immediate surroundings. Some children learned basic survival skills; others learned about farming, gardening, stock raising, driving MULES, or shopkeeping; others became apprentices to a father, uncle, or unrelated artisan. A few boys attended parish schools and learned reading, writing, arithmetic, and some church doctrine; a few girls learned reading, memorized a catechism, and received instruction in sewing, weaving, and embroidery; still fewer boys received formal EDUCATION through a COLEGIO and university. Pregnancy without marriage or the sacrament of marriage was the step that turned young men and women into adults and again brought family to the fore. For husbands, the marital state came with legal and customary privileges and responsibilities; for wives, marriage meant moving from the custody of her parents to that of her husband.

See also FAMILY (Vols. I, III, IV).

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fazenda/fazendeiro In colonial BRAZIL, moderate to large estates known as *fazendas* were the counterpart to HACIENDAS in Spanish America. A rural property, *fazenda* is sometimes translated as “farm,” as is the Portuguese word *sítio*. *Estância* (ESTANCLIA, in Spanish), the term also used in the Río de la Plata region for a large rural property, is translated as “ranch”; although legally about 27 square miles (70 km²), many *estâncias* were much larger, in some cases exceeding 200 square miles (518 km²).

The term *fazenda* generally denoted rural properties devoted principally to AGRICULTURE; some owners grew WHEAT, MAIZE, and other agricultural products including, on occasion, SUGAR. Livestock could also be raised on *fazendas*. In the early days of colonization, donataries and

their representatives made large grants of land known as *sesmarias*, usually one league square, about 17 square miles (43.5 km²). Grants to favored nobles and commoners often were double that amount or more. Only improved land, however, had demonstrable value; “unimproved wilderness” was listed to confirm ownership but went unvalued in early 17th-century property inventories in Santana de Parnaíba.

Colonial *fazendeiros* invested much less capital than was required in the sugar PLANTATIONS or ENGENHOS that produced sugar for export. Like *hacendados*, *fazendeiros* sought to monopolize a local market, be as self-sufficient as possible, and perhaps sell commodities for regional consumption, as did the *fazendeiros* in MINAS GERAIS.

Indigenous people initially provided labor on *fazendas*. For example, GUARANÍ resident in the Jesuit ALDEIA of Barueri not far from Santana de Parnaíba labored for landowners in the early 17th century. The need for labor on the *fazendas* of SÃO PAULO also stimulated BANDEIRAS, the often successful slaving expeditions into the interior of Brazil. Pushing southwest into Guairá, the present state of Paraná, the *bandeirantes* attacked Jesuit missions and enslaved the native population so successfully that by the 1630s, the 13 missions of the region were destroyed and the JESUITS moved their remaining neophytes down the Paraná River. An observer in 1636 reported some 40,000 indigenous slaves on *fazendas* in the temperate lands of São Paulo. As access to indigenous slaves declined, planters in the 18th century increasingly relied upon Africa for slaves.

See also FAZENDA/FAZENDEIRO (Vol. III).

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Feijóo y Montenegro, Benito Jerónimo de

(b. 1676–d. 1764) Spanish Benedictine author Spain’s most important 18th-century publicist of modern approaches to scientific knowledge, Benito Jerónimo Feijóo y Montenegro was born in Casdemiro, Galicia, Spain. A Benedictine from the age of 14, he spent many years teaching theology at the University of Oviedo. At the age of 50, he began publishing the nine-volume *Teatro crítico universal o discursos varios en todo género de materias* (Universal critical theater, or varied discussions on all types of subjects; 1726–39); he subsequently authored the five-volume *Cartas eruditas y curiosas* (Erudite and curious letters; 1742–60).

Feijóo set out to combat superstition and reliance on authority and tradition, to popularize new approaches to science, and to address selected philosophical issues. Drawing upon the advances of 17th-century philosophy and science, he emphasized that observation, experimentation, and application of critical reason were more

important in scientific knowledge than appeals to authority; Aristotle's scientific ideas were clearly out of date. The Benedictine held Francis Bacon in particularly high regard and introduced the ideas of René Descartes and Isaac Newton to the reading public.

The reception to Feijóo's first volume in 1726 revealed that Spain had numerous opponents of modern approaches to knowledge. Although the Benedictine did not embrace the philosophical systems of Descartes and Pierre Gassendi, his support of a new approach to scientific knowledge nonetheless stimulated a torrent of criticism. By the end of 1730, dozens of authors had attacked his works. Yet, there were supporters as well, most notably Martín Martínez, an advocate of skeptical medicine, and Martín Sarmiento, who published a two-volume defense of Feijóo in 1732. Attacks had slowed to a trickle by the time FERDINAND VI prohibited them in 1750.

CREOLE intellectuals in the colonies were particularly enchanted with Feijoo, for in *Teatro crítico*, he condemned the widely held European view that creoles' intelligence developed quickly but, in contrast to that of Europeans, then deteriorated precipitously, leaving the American-born with premature senility. Feijóo noted that creoles were as intellectually capable as Europeans. If they turned to idleness, the cause lay not with their abilities but rather the discrimination that limited their opportunities to serve in church and state.

The sales of Feijóo's volumes reached nearly half a million during the course of the 18th century. Second only to Cervantes's *Don Quixote* in Spanish publishing history, sales confirm the enthusiasm that increasingly greeted Feijóo's books. Spain's father of the ENLIGHTENMENT died in Oviedo.

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Ferdinand VI (b. 1713–d. 1759) *monarch of Spain* Born in Madrid, Ferdinand was the son of PHILIP V and his first wife, Maria Louisa of Savoy. Well meaning but lazy, he suffered mental instability, leaned heavily on his wife Barbara of Braganza, whom he had married in 1729, and was less interested in matters of state than in diversions.

Ferdinand's reign, beginning in 1746 until his death, enjoyed a welcome respite from war following the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 and the TREATY OF MADRID with Portugal in 1750, the latter affecting Jesuit missions and the borders between BRAZIL and the Río de la Plata region. The monarch's leading ministers were Zenón de Somodevilla, better known as the marqués de la Ensenada, a title he received in 1736, and José de Carvajal y Lancaster. In 1737, Ensenada became minister

of the navy and started rebuilding the Spanish fleet (see FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM). In 1743, he became minister of finance, war, the navy, and the INDIES, and superintendent of revenues, portfolios that made him the most powerful official in Spain (see MINISTRY OF THE INDIES). He was joined in December 1746 by Carvajal y Lancaster who became secretary of state, governor of the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES, and president of the board (junta) of commerce. Although both supported peace and neutrality, Ensenada was pro-French, while Carvajal favored Britain. Both sought to build their political bases through securing posts for their clients.

Ensenada sought to build the navy and thereby expand Spain's influence in Europe. To do so required significant financial resources; he proposed to get them through a single tax, the *catastro*, which would tax income, including that of the wealthy, instead of relying on taxes on consumer goods, including basic foodstuffs. Ensenada did not succeed in establishing the new tax, although working through INTENDANTS placed throughout Spain in 1749, a remarkable amount of preparatory social and economic data was amassed. Nonetheless, naval construction increased. In 1753, a new agreement was reached with the papacy; this concordat provided both financial gains for the Crown and a further expansion of royal patronage over the CATHOLIC CHURCH (see PATRONATO REAL).

Ensenada supported the use of register ships for TRADE with the colonies. A 1749 decree ordered the secularization of parishes still under the control of mendicants. Ensenada also oversaw an end to the sale of appointments to judicial positions in 1750.

The death of Carvajal in April 1754 and the machinations of the British ambassador, Sir Benjamin Keene; the duke of Huéscar; and Ricardo Wall, the new secretary of state, brought about Ensenada's fall in July.

In August 1758, Queen Barbara died, and Ferdinand VI completely lost his sanity; he spent the next months wandering in the castle at Villaviciosa de Odón, unwashed, unshaven, unkempt, and unwilling or unable to sign official documents, the last bringing government to a halt. His death in 1759 without a direct heir left the throne to his half brother, eldest son of Philip V and his second wife, Elizabeth Farnese, who succeeded him as CHARLES III.

Ferdinand's reign has been aptly described as a "time of transition." Anticipating the regal policies of Charles III, encouraging greater colonial trade by ending the fleet system for South America, promoting a more active state through the expansion of the intendant system, and initiating a more active policy in favor of PENINSULAR officeseekers, the government sought to reduce CREOLE and, particularly native-son, strength in administration in the Indies.

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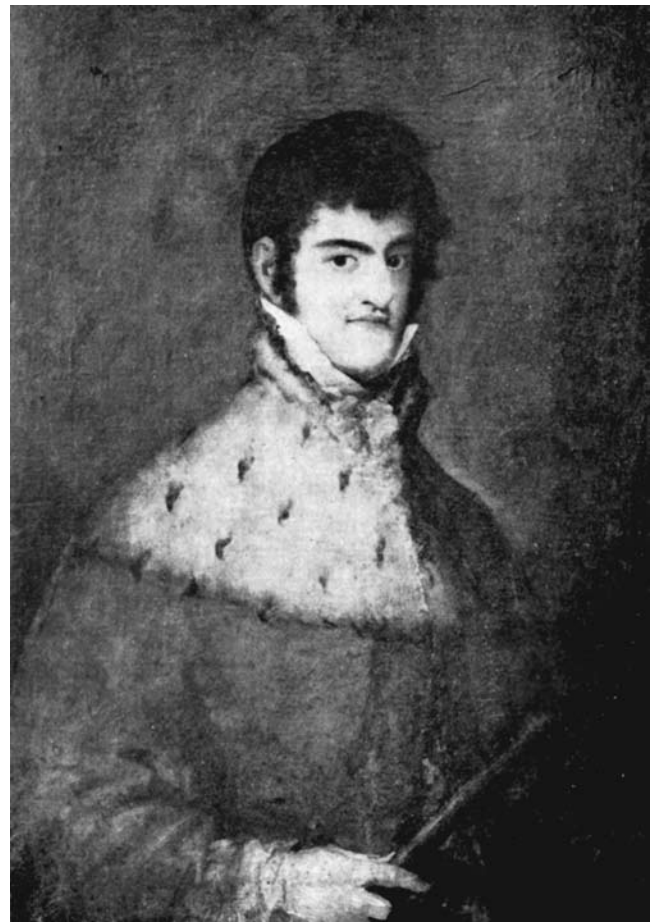
Ferdinand VII (b. 1784–d. 1833) *monarch of Spain*

Born in the royal palace at San Lorenzo de Escorial, Spain, Ferdinand was the eldest surviving son of CHARLES IV and Maria Luisa of Parma. His first reign began as a result of Charles's abdication on March 19, 1808, the consequence of two riots at Aranjuez fueled by popular antipathy toward royal favorite MANUEL GODOY Y ÁLVAREZ DE FARIA, Prince of the Peace. The response in Spain and later the colonies to the deposition of Godoy and Charles, and the accession of Ferdinand, was jubilation. Although knowledge about Ferdinand was very limited, he had become a symbol of integrity and good government, his popularity increasing as opposition to Godoy had grown. The new monarch's first period of rule, however, lasted only a few weeks. With French troops posted from Madrid to the French border, Ferdinand traveled north starting on April 10 in the hope of obtaining Napoleon's recognition of his reign. He wound up abdicating to his father at Bayonne on May 6 before being sent to a French chateau, where he was detained for the duration of Spain's war of independence. During that time, he was known as "the Desired One," and governments of resistance in Spain invariably acted in his name.

The Treaty of Valençay, signed December 11, 1813, ended the war with the French and recognized Ferdinand as king of Spain. When the monarch returned to Spain in spring 1814, he was greeted by enthusiastic crowds. Assured of MILITARY support, on May 4, 1814, he declared all actions by the governments of resistance, including the CONSTITUTION OF 1812, null and void. Within a week liberal leaders were imprisoned. Soon, the INQUISITION was reestablished, a relatively free press abolished, the old councils reconstituted, the JESUITS restored, and other trappings of the old regime in place. There was no royal favorite like Godoy; rather, ministerial instability dominated, with ministers' service averaging six months. The treasury was a shambles; revenue in 1814 covered scarcely half of obligations, and all government and military employees were owed back pay.

It was one thing to restore old regime institutions and personnel in Spain, but a different matter in the Americas. There, the political spectrum in 1814 went from absolutists such as VICEROY JOSÉ FERNANDO DE ABASCAL Y SOUSA of PERU and VICEROY FÉLIX MARÍA CALLEJA DEL REY of NEW SPAIN, who were delighted with Ferdinand's actions, to adherents of complete independence from Spain such as were found in VENEZUELA, NEW GRANADA, and PARAGUAY. Royal treasuries in the colonies, as in Spain itself, however, were in parlous shape, and the Crown had significant unfunded debt.

Rather than seriously consider alternatives such as greater autonomy for the colonies, Ferdinand quickly determined to use military force to reestablish Spanish authority. In 1815, General PABLO MORILLO sailed for Venezuela with the largest military force ever sent to the colonies. Morillo reestablished Spanish control in



Portrait of Ferdinand VII, king of Spain (1808–1833) (*Private collection*)

Venezuela and New Granada but at the cost of alienating many families among the regions' elites. Although it appeared on the surface in 1816 that the royalists controlled the empire with the exception of parts of the VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA, notably BUENOS AIRES and Paraguay, the reality soon proved different.

The RIEGO REVOLT, which began not far from CÁDIZ in January 1820, restored the liberals to power and forced Ferdinand VII to become a constitutional monarch with numerous restrictions on his authority. By the time French forces restored him to absolute power in 1823, the mainland empire in the Americas was on the verge of extinction. Royalist defeats in Peru, CHARCAS, and Chiloé, CHILE, ended the mainland empire.

During his final decade, a mostly peaceful time for Spain, Ferdinand's main concern was to leave a direct heir to the throne. In 1830, he published a pragmatic sanction approved by the Cortes of 1789 that allowed a female to inherit the throne. Although the publication preceded the birth of a daughter, Isabella, later in the year, it inflamed supporters of Ferdinand's brother Carlos, who had expected him to inherit the throne, and led to civil war soon after the monarch's death in 1833.

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fiscal The Spanish Crown's representative on every *AUDIENCIA*, chancery, and royal council was a *fiscal*. For much of their existence, the Audiencias of Mexico and Lima had two *fiscales*, one for civil cases and the other for criminal cases.

Fiscales held the most junior positions on the *audiencias* but were included in the *acuerdos* with the *oidores* (see *OIDOR*). They had a particular responsibility to look out for royal interests in cases involving the royal treasury (REAL HACIENDA). They also served as protectors of the Indians if the *audiencia* did not have a person named specifically for that purpose. When the position of *fiscal* was vacant, the junior *oidor* of the court assumed the duties of the post.

The position of *fiscal* for every *audiencia* other than in LIMA and MEXICO CITY was often a minister's first *audiencia* appointment. Between 1660 and independence, some 230 men were named *fiscal* as their first *audiencia* appointment; only 26 of them were named to Lima and Mexico City. Frequently, a *fiscal* was promoted to *oidor* of the same lesser *audiencia* or to *fiscal*, *ALCALDE DEL CRIMEN*, or *oidor* of the courts in Lima and Mexico City.

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fleets/fleet system To protect bullion, goods, and persons between Spain and the colonies, the Crown established, in October 1564, a fleet system under which one CONVOY sailed to VERACRUZ in NEW SPAIN and a second to TIERRA FIRME (CARTAGENA DE INDIAS and then PANAMA).

Two fleets sailed for the colonies annually from SEVILLE, CÁDIZ, or SANLÚCAR DE BARRAMEDA. Ideally, the *flota* left in May for Veracruz; the galleons left in August for Cartagena and then NOMBRE DE DIOS or, after 1597, PORTOBELLO. The fleets subsequently met at HAVANA and sailed through the Bahama channel, then northeast to catch the winds, east to the Azores, and back to Cádiz or Sanlúcar.

While the fleet system arose out of the need for protection, it was well suited for monopolistic trade. The Consulado of Seville (merchant guild) was dedicated to creating high-profit margins by sending a limited supply of goods to the three authorized ports (see *CONSULADO*).

The objective was to trade Spanish or reexported goods from elsewhere in Europe for all the SILVER and GOLD the merchants in America had brought to make purchases at the fairs.

Although most goods sent to the colonies in the early decades of the fleet system were taxed, the quantity of contraband goods increased as the cost of security mounted. Avoiding taxes enabled merchants either to make more profit when selling at a normal price or to sell goods more cheaply than their rivals while making a normal profit. In either case, chiseling spawned emulation, and contraband expanded, especially from about 1620 onward.

The total tonnage of a fleet was more important than the number of ships. Of the convoys sent to Tierra Firme between 1565 and 1730, the largest number of ships was 69 in 1589; their estimated capacity was 15,565 tons. The greatest amount of tonnage available was in 1587, when 64 ships had an estimated capacity of 19,957 tons. The variation in ships' capacities is demonstrated by the tonnage of 12,234 on 26 ships in 1603, compared to 12,867 tons on 49 ships in 1601.

The galleons sent to Cartagena and Panama at times came to collect gold and silver but did not transport numerous merchants and substantial merchandise to TRADE fairs. Between 1565 and 1600, 13 convoys of galleons went to Panama. Annual sailings arrived from 1601 to 1640, but thereafter the number dwindled; only 33 fleets arrived between 1641 and 1700. Between 1701 and 1730, there were four. A final fleet arrived in 1737. Henceforth, register ships carried legally traded goods between Spain and the South American colonies and Panama.

Fleets sailed to New Spain through most of the 18th century, but only eight sailed after 1730. The final fleet was sent from Cádiz in 1776. *COMERCIO LIBRE*, initiated in the Caribbean in 1765, replaced the fleet system for New Spain in 1789.

The primary purpose of the fleet system was to safely carry bullion from the colonies to Spain. Measured by this objective, the system worked remarkably well. Only twice did enemies of Spain manage to capture a treasure fleet. The most notable occasion was when a Dutch expedition led by Piet Heyn took the New Spain fleet off Matanzos, CUBA, in 1628. In 1656, English seamen under Admiral Robert Blake seized the galleons from Panama; the booty was some 2 million pesos. The following spring, Blake destroyed the New Spain fleet in the Canaries; its treasure and cargo were lost.

See also FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM (Vol. I).

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flota See FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM.

forastero *Forastero* generically means “outsider.” In colonial PERU, it came to mean a group of indigenous people and their descendants who had left their natal *ayllus* and been assimilated into other Indian communities.

When creating *reducciones* in Peru, VICEROY FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO divided the native population into two primary groups: tributaries and *yanaconas*, the latter attached to private citizens, usually Spaniards, through individual arrangements and exempt from MITA service (see REDUCCIÓN; YANACONAJE). These divisions placed *forasteros* in the *reducciones* they had left; by departing, however, they had given up their access to land through their kin group, along with the liability of labor imposed on the *reducciones*. Their ability to escape paying TRIBUTE to the community they left varied widely, with the distance they moved being particularly important. In the 1720s, *forasteros* became subject to tribute in the community in which they lived.

Despite the loss of access to their kin group’s land and labor assistance in agricultural production and other tasks, thousands of indigenous people migrated. Their reasons included a desire to escape the civil wars that marked early colonial Peru; fear of diseases such as measles, typhus, influenza, and smallpox, all of which struck 16th-century Peru; the damage wrought by natural disasters such as drought and EARTHQUAKES; and intolerance by Catholic clergy. Also important were the demands associated with SILVER production—MINING, *mita* labor, transporting goods, and providing agricultural products for those associated with mining. Finally, pressures on community resources, particularly the lands, and tribute demands spurred migration. The purchase of goods (REPARTO) imposed by *corregidores* provided yet another reason for migrating (see CORREGIDOR/CORREGIMIENTO).

The attribution of *forastero* was hereditary when descendants did not marry into their family’s original *ayllu*. These *forasteros* created ties in other communities where they could marry, have access to land, and own a home. Thus, they differed from the landless and transient. In the bishopric of CUZCO in 1690, *forasteros* lived in every province and two-thirds of the parishes; they accounted for between 6 and 100 percent of the population of these parishes and about 40 to 50 percent in the provinces. Thus, in some parishes, *forasteros* had completely replaced the original population of persons living in the *ayllu* of their birth.

After leaving their *ayllu*, *forasteros* had to seek income either through employment or access to land by rent, purchase, or marriage. Some joined other communities and participated in their production, while others became wage laborers. Thus, they represented an important shift in the organization of labor toward individualized, private labor contracts rather than the community obligations.

See also AYLLU (Vol. I); FORASTERO (Vol. I).

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foreigners Spanish monarchs sought to prohibit the unrestricted entry of foreigners into the empire. Under special circumstances of perceived utility to the Crown, however, they allowed foreigners not only to enter the empire but also to enjoy substantial rights, for example, in 1528 when CHARLES I authorized German bankers to undertake the conquest and settlement of VENEZUELA. Starting in the reign of PHILIP II, Irish soldiers entered Spanish employ, and in the second half of the 18th century, the Irish and their descendants included successful officers in the INDIES, for example, Alejandro O’Reilly, and administrators, including VICEROY Ambrosio O’Higgins.

Normally, the royal position was what Charles I stated in 1539 when he reiterated an earlier ban on entry into the empire of Jews, Moors, Jewish or Moorish CONVERSOS, and the second and third generations of persons judged guilty by the INQUISITION. The Inquisition was the institution directly responsible for investigating foreigners of questionable religious convictions.

The requirement that every passenger to the Indies be licensed facilitated enforcement of restrictions against foreigners, but violations of prohibitions were commonplace, as progressively more stringent punishments for them indicates. The ban was obviously unsuccessful, for in 1602, PHILIP III referred to the “growing inconveniences” of foreigners in the Indies. They threatened the integrity of Catholicism and were to be expelled as quickly as possible and sent away at their own expense. Foreign merchants resident in ports were particularly offensive; in contrast, those with useful skills such as tailors, potters, and masons were allowed to remain by PHILIP IV in 1621. In 1648, the viceroy of NEW SPAIN was ordered to send Judaizers condemned to exile to Spain. Orders issued as late as 1785 against smuggling passengers suggests the illicit entry of foreigners continued throughout the existence of the empire.

Foreign threats to Spain’s empire were present from the 16th to the 19th centuries. The exploits of JOHN HAWKINS and the capture and prosecution by the Inquisition of a number of his men were an early example. Francis Drake was even more notorious, striking on the Pacific coast as well as in the CARIBBEAN and PANAMA. In the 17th century, pirates based on Caribbean islands became the scourge of Spanish ports on nearby mainlands (see BUCCANEERS). The Dutch sought salt in the flats of Araya, near Cumaná in Venezuela, starting in the 1590s, engaged in contraband TRADE, and captured PERNAMBUCO, holding it from 1630 to 1654. The French

also established themselves in the Caribbean and used it as a base for illegal trade and, in Saint Domingue for profitable SUGAR production.

While goods transported by the fleets testified to foreigners participating in the Atlantic trade, these merchants typically worked through Spanish agents. The advantages of sending goods directly to the colonies and avoiding the delays and expense of shipping with the FLEETS, however, proved irresistible. The Dutch, English, and French established themselves on Caribbean islands in the 17th century, where they warehoused goods and then carried them directly to complicit colonial merchants. Between 1580 and 1640, when the same monarch held the crowns of Spain and Portugal, the presence of Portuguese *conversos* was particularly notable in LIMA.

The WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION benefited French merchants who shipped goods to the Pacific coast of South America in return for SILVER. A Treaty of Utrecht concluding the war authorized a British presence through the *ASIENTO* and its related warehouses for 30 years. Neutral trade in the closing years of the 18th and early 19th centuries benefited merchants from the United States, in particular. British merchants became especially important during the wars of independence, and colonies of British merchants remained after independence.

Under specified circumstances that emphasized their utility, long residence, marriage in the colonies, loyalty to the Crown of Castile, and the desire to remain under its rule and accept its rights and obligations, foreigners could obtain permission to remain through royal naturalization letters, at times for a price (*composición*).

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Franciscans The Franciscans were among the earliest religious orders in the Spanish colonies. After rapid expansion in NEW SPAIN from 1525–31, by the middle of the 16th century, Franciscan presence was well established. By 1570, the Franciscans acted from numerous locations in Central Mexico and were the preeminent order in western Mexico and northwest of ZACATECAS, with missions located at Sombrerete and Durango. The Franciscans required the indigenous to attend religious instruction and administered blows to latecomers. They used interpreters until they learned the local language and relied on various liturgical devices as well as MUSIC to convey Christian doctrine. Instruction was limited to the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, Salve Regina, the Creed, Ten Commandments, and seven capital sins.

Although the Ordenanza General del Patronazgo Real of 1574 threatened the religious orders, the Crown had no choice but to support the orders or give up the missionary activity that helped to legitimize Spain's presence in the New World. Unlike other orders in New Spain, the Franciscans followed a vow of strict poverty. They entered New Spain, moreover, with astonishing enthusiasm for the work of conversion. According to the exaggerated claim of Fray Toribio de Benavente (Motolinía), they had baptized 6 million indigenous people by 1540. Since the Franciscans viewed NATIVE AMERICANS as child-like innocents, however, some Franciscans believed they were not material for ordination—this despite the fact that the greatest experiment in Amerindian EDUCATION, the COLEGIO of Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco, was founded by Franciscans (see COLEGIO/COLEGIO MAYOR). There were friars who, like Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta, moreover, believed that the indigenous should be totally separated from the rest of the population. Yet, by rejecting hispanization of the native population, the Franciscans opposed royal policy, which equated it with Christianization.

The early Franciscans in New Spain adhered to what historian John Leddy Phelan has called “the mystical interpretation of the conquest.” For them, the existence of the New World presaged the apocalyptic end of the world. In this view, best expressed by the Franciscan missionary and historian Mendieta, conquistador Hernando Cortés was the “Moses of the New World,” chosen by God to prepare the way for the missionaries who would lead the Indians to the Promised Land. According to Mendieta, the period 1524–64 was the “Golden Age of the Indian Church.” Between the latter date and 1596 were years of trouble for the CATHOLIC CHURCH brought on by the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES' opposition to the Franciscan agenda; royal policy that emphasized hispanizing the indigenous population; epidemics that ravaged the native population; and Spaniards' exploitation of the Indians.

The Franciscans in New Spain included the linguist and ethnographer Bernardino de Sahagún, who spent from 1529 until his death in 1590 in New Spain, writing originally in Nahuatl, the monumental *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (*General History of the Things of New Spain*). Motolinía also wrote on native life in *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España* (*History of the Indians of New Spain*). Neither of these works was published until the 20th century.

Franciscans arrived in PERU by 1532 and made their headquarters first in QUITO from 1537 until 1545, then in LIMA. There is no indication that they baptized large numbers of indigenous people with minimal instruction, as was done in New Spain. Nor is there evidence that the quality and enthusiasm of the Franciscans in Peru matched that in New Spain.

Franciscans served throughout the Spanish Empire and also in BRAZIL. By 1590, there were a reported 1,825 friars in 282 convents in Spanish Empire. By 1700, the



The Franciscans were zealous missionaries who oversaw the construction of numerous colonial churches. Here is pictured the Church of San Francisco in Lima, Peru. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

number of convents had more than doubled to 579, and the number of friars was just over 4,800. The secularization of the *DOCTRINAS DE INDIOS* that occurred between 1753 and 1769 overlapped with the exile of the JESUITS, which placed great pressure on the Franciscans and other orders to replace them in the frontier missions and also in the *colegios*. At the end of the 18th century, there were 5,000 Franciscans in Spanish America and the Philippines; 783 of this number were in frontier missions of New Spain, Peru, NEW GRANADA, and the RÍO DE LA PLATA.

The Franciscans were the first order to experience the antipathy between CREOLES and PENINSULARS. As creoles entered the order in growing numbers, peninsulars feared a complete loss of control and the diminishment of the order. The result was the rotation in office known as the *alternativa*.

See also BENAVENTE, TORIBIO DE (Vol. I); SAHAGÚN, BERNARDINO DE (Vol. I).

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French Guiana The southeastern portion of the region originally known to Spaniards as the Province of Guiana, French Guiana is located on the northeast coast of South America between the former Dutch Guiana, or SURINAME, and BRAZIL. Interested in a base for his country's merchants engaged in contraband trade in Spanish America and Brazil and the growing markets for SUGAR and TOBACCO, French monarch Henri IV facilitated an exploratory expedition to the region in 1604. Early efforts at settlement by entrepreneurs and French Catholic missionaries failed, however, and no Frenchmen remained by 1660. A permanent settlement was established at Cayenne, French Guiana's present capital, in 1664, but a shortage of labor left the struggling colony in a permanently precarious state. Eighty years later, there was a JESUIT mission on the Kourou River with about 600 Amerindians. In the mid-18th century, 500 Europeans and about 5,000 African slaves lived uncomfortably in the colony. In 1789, the colony had about 1,300 whites and 10,500 slaves, most of whom left their owners when the French Convention abolished SLAVERY in 1794; in 1803, slavery was reinstated. During its famed revolution, France inaugurated the use of French Guiana as a penal colony.

French Guiana grew some SUGAR, INDIGO, coffee, and CACAO but had modest trade and got most of its food from Suriname. French interest in the colony was minimal, save for some attention after losing Canada to Britain in the Seven Years' War.

See also FRENCH GUIANA (Vol. III).

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fuero Corporate bodies enjoyed legal rights and privileges known as *fueros*. Although the *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias* (1681) refers only to the *fuero* of the INQUISITION, the Knights of the Order of San Juan, and the MILITARY, the compilation for Spain provides additional references to academic *fuero*, clerical *fuero*, naval *fuero*, *fuero* of the royal staff (*casa real*), treasury *fuero*, royal *fuero*, and provincial *fueros*. In fact, many other bodies enjoyed *fueros*, for example, the merchant guilds (*CONSULADOS*) of MEXICO CITY and LIMA. While some *fueros* provided tax exemptions, the most important privilege was the right to be tried in a court established by one's corporation. Thus, for example, clergy could be

tried in most cases in an ecclesiastical tribunal; similarly, agents (*familiars*) of the Inquisition claimed to fall under the tribunal's jurisdiction.

In Spain, the realms of the Crown of Aragon had separate *fueros* that each monarch had to swear to recognize if he wanted to receive financial support. The WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION in which the realms of Aragon supported the pretender Charles enabled PHILIP V to abolish their *fueros*.

Vizcaya and the other Basque provinces enjoyed the most distinctive *fueros* in Spain after the demise of those in Aragon. Considered "regional liberties," the *fueros* gave the BASQUES virtual autonomy. In Navarre, for example, native sons were entitled to all but a handful of positions in government and administration. Royal attempts to restrict the *fuero* invariably provoked heated response, and it required WAR in the early 19th century for the central government to triumph.

In the American colonies, the Spanish Crown undertook a campaign in the second half of the 18th

century to reduce the ecclesiastical *fuero*. At almost the same time, the Crown was increasing the number of men who fell under some form of the military *fuero* and thus, for many but not all offenses, were outside of direct royal jurisdiction. The extent to which the expansion of the military *fuero* undermined civil jurisdiction and thus contributed to the emergence of the military as an autonomous institution in the early 19th century has attracted the attention of numerous historians. Their varied conclusions underscore the differences among regions in the empire.

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G

galleons See FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM.

Gálvez y Gallardo, José de (b. 1720–d. 1787) *Spanish visitor general of New Spain and minister of the Indies* The second son of a modest family, José de Gálvez y Gallardo was born in the mountain village of Macharaviaya, Spain, became an attorney, and settled in Madrid. In 1764, he was named an *alcalde de casa y corte*, effectively the criminal chamber of the Council of Castile. The following year, he was appointed visitor general of NEW SPAIN, a prelude to reform that would increase revenue, the need for which was made apparent by the loss of HAVANA to the British in the Seven Years' War. For the remainder of his life, Gálvez was involved with the affairs of the New World.

Gálvez reached VERACRUZ on July 18, 1765. His instructions were to investigate the provision of justice and the treasury offices (REAL HACIENDA), to reform the administration of revenues to increase their yield, to report on the desirability of installing the INTENDANT system, and to make the TOBACCO monopoly an effective source of royal income.

As visitor general, Gálvez effectively created state-run tobacco factories that had more than 6,000 employees by 1771 and produced a profit of more than 5 million pesos in the five-year period 1771–75. He established direct administration of the customs duties at Veracruz, collecting the sales tax there. He also placed the monopolies of pulque, gunpowder, and playing cards directly under royal control. In 1767, he oversaw the expulsion of 562 JESUITS; when rioting followed in some areas, he punished the rioters with uncommon harshness. He also promoted expeditions to Lower California and Upper

California that led to permanent Spanish settlement in the latter.

While Gálvez made no fundamental reorganization of royal administration, he brought about an unprecedented



Portrait of José de Gálvez, visitor general of New Spain and minister of the Indies (*Private collection*)

level of enforcement of existing legislation. Royal revenues increased, and the size of the royal bureaucracy expanded significantly. From the Crown's perspective, the *VISITA* was a major success. In consequence, Gálvez's career prospered, most notably when he was named Minister of the Indies to succeed the deceased Julián de Arriaga in 1776 and also governor of the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES, a body on which he had served from 1772 (see MINISTRY OF THE INDIES).

Gálvez had left Spain in 1765 convinced that CREOLES had a firm hold on many royal institutions in the colonies, a situation that he believed must be reversed to obtain effective royal control. The composition of Mexico's *AUDIENCIA* in 1765 confirmed his belief, as eight creoles were present among its 14 ministers; two of the creoles were of Mexican birth and nine other ministers were *radicados*, or men tied to the district by length of service and local financial or family relationships. The number of creoles began to decline soon afterward, to three by 1775; never again would creoles be so numerous on the colonial tribunal. A pro-PENINSULAR appointment policy to the *audiencias* and other positions marked Gálvez's tenure as minister.

Gálvez's experience as visitor general convinced him to send visitor generals to the VICEROYALTY OF PERU and the VICEROYALTY OF NEW GRANADA soon after his elevation to minister of the Indies. The tenures of JOSÉ ANTONIO DE ARECHE Y SORNOZA in Peru and Juan Francisco Gutiérrez de Piñeres in New Granada ended with the TUPAC AMARU II revolt and the COMUNERO REBELLION OF NEW GRANADA.

During Gálvez's tenure as minister, several important policies were expanded or introduced. *COMERCIO LIBRE* was extended in 1778 to include all parts of the empire except New Spain and VENEZUELA. The intendant system was introduced in the VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA, CHILE, Peru, and New Spain. By 1790, the remaining mainland colonies, except New Granada, received intendants as well. A third change was the reduction in the price of MERCURY used in processing SILVER ore; begun while Gálvez was visitor general in 1767 and completed in October 1776, the new price in the latter year was just half of the pre-1767 price. A fourth change was the expansion of royal bureaucracy, with peninsulars receiving the most desirable positions.

Gálvez's actions as visitor general and minister of the Indies brought significantly increased royal revenue and greater oversight of the colonies. The expansion of the royal government's role in directly administering taxes, increasing monopolies, and other efforts to improve administration—for example, enlarging *audiencias* and introducing intendants—resulted in substantial growth in the number of bureaucrats. In Chile, the overall growth of royal positions was almost threefold. In New Spain, the number of well-paid government positions quadrupled. In Río de la Plata, where a bureaucracy was created with the establishment of a

viceroyalty based in BUENOS AIRES, the number of posts grew tenfold.

Legal and hence taxable exports from Spain to the colonies grew with the expansion of *comercio libre*, although the extent of growth varies considerably, depending on the base year employed. Using 1778 as the base, legal TRADE quadrupled in the years to 1796; using 1783, as the base, the level of exports to 1796 more than doubled. Silver production expanded as well, increasing in New Spain in large part as a result of reduced mercury prices and substantial investment of capital. The amount registered rose from 132.7 million pesos in 1771–80 to 157.8 million in 1781–90 and 192.4 million in 1791–1800. Production also grew in Peru and CHARCAS.

Gálvez could view the results of his tenure with considerable pride. Colonists, however, viewed him with antipathy, considering that gains for the royal treasury and appointments to royal offices had come at their expense. In Spain as well, Gálvez provoked antipathy. After the minister's death, CHARLES III immediately divided his portfolio to end the centralization of authority over American affairs that Gálvez had exercised. Gálvez's services brought royal recognition in the form of a title of nobility, marqués de Sonora, a pensioned membership in the Order of Charles III, and an appointment to the Council of State.

Gálvez employed his relatives in important positions. During his tenure as minister of the Indies, he secured the appointments of his brother Matías and his nephew Bernardo as VICEROYS of New Spain. Another brother, Miguel, served on the Council of War and a third brother, Antonio, served as administrator of the port of CÁDIZ.

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Garcilaso de la Vega (El Inca, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa) (b. 1539–d. 1615/1616) *mestizo* author in Peru Born Gómez Suárez de Figueroa to the conquistador Sebastián Garcilaso de la Vega and the Inca princess Isabel Chimu Ocllo, the illegitimate mestizo child was reared in both his mother and his father's home in CUZCO, receiving some formal European EDUCATION as well as traditional teaching worthy of a noble Inca youth, including in Quechua (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*). In 1560, he went to Spain, where he changed his name to Garcilaso de la Vega. Unsuccessful in securing recognition and rejected by his father's family after his arrival, Garcilaso was ultimately taken in by an uncle and, in 1593, inherited his estate. By the time of his death, he was a recognized author.

"El Inca" Garcilaso's publications were *La traducción del indio de los tres diálogos de amor de León hebreo* (1589); *La*

Florida del inca (1605); *Comentarios reales de los incas* (1609); and *Historia general del Perú* (1616). In *La Florida*, Garcilaso recounted the story of Hernando de Soto's destructive and unprofitable expedition from present-day Florida to present-day Louisiana. He portrayed the native peoples favorably and without the vices repeatedly attributed to them by the Spaniards, however remarkable their exploits.

Historian D. A. Brading considers *Comentarios reales de los Incas* (*Royal Commentaries of the Incas*) one of two "prime texts of the patriotic tradition in Mexico and Peru" (the other is Juan de Torquemada's *Monarquía indiana*). When it appeared, the *Comentarios* was one of the few works published on the Incas. As described by Garcilaso, the Incas were similar to the Romans, although without writing. Their rule dated back more than 400 years and was marked by its adherence to natural law to such an extent that their behavior was often superior to that of Christians. The content provided a basis for later CREOLE pride in the preconquest culture of the Incas.

In *Historia general del Perú* (*General History of Peru*), Garcilaso focused on the Spanish conquest and subsequent civil wars, indicating that he was "proud to be the son of a conqueror." The central villain is VICEROY FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO, whose persecution of the Inca royal family, execution of TÚPAC AMARU I, and exile of mestizos raised El Inca's ire.

Garcilaso's work combined history and literary devices such as inventing letters. In the early 1720s, *La Florida* and *Comentarios* were republished in Madrid. Although the Spanish Crown ordered *Comentarios* banished from Peru and its reading prohibited after the TÚPAC AMARU II revolt, it was republished in Madrid in 1800–01, as was *La Florida* in 1803.

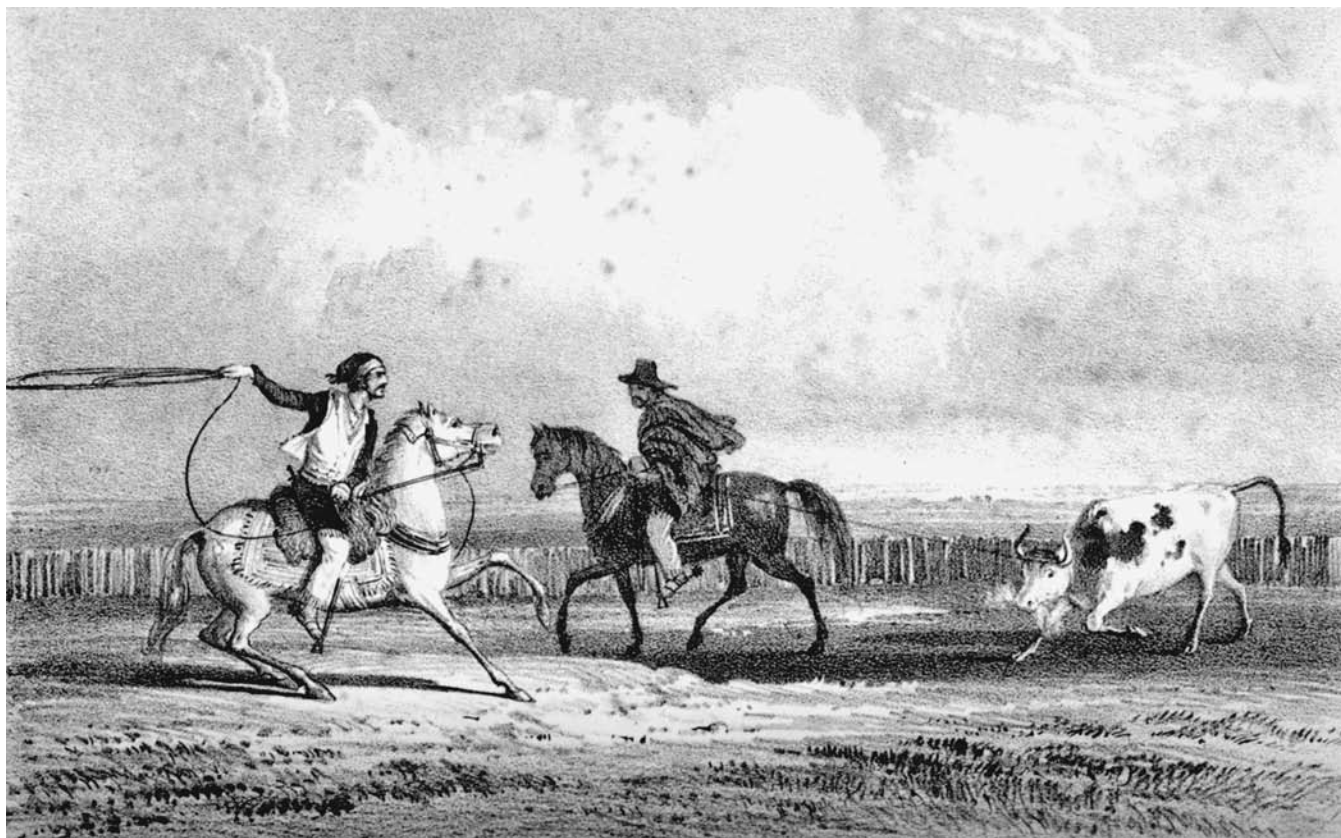
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gaucho (*gaúcho*) Cowboys of the plains of present-day Argentina, Uruguay, and BRAZIL's southern province of Rio Grande do Sul were known as gauchos (*gaúchos*,



Gauchos are the cowboys of the South American pampas. This rendering of gauchos using the lasso dates to 1838. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

in Portuguese), the regional counterpart to the *LLANEROS* of the interior plains of VENEZUELA, the *huasos* of central CHILE, and the *vaqueros* of northern NEW SPAIN. Following their introduction in the 16th century, CATTLE in the Pampas rapidly increased in number. The growing availability of feral cattle led to the emergence of gauchos, usually *CASTAS*, who killed them for their hides and for food in locations remote from central authority.

A gaucho needed only a few basic items: a stallion to ride; cattle to chase, eat, and skin for their hides; a long knife (*facón*) with which to kill and skin cattle, eat, and fight; a supply of TOBACCO; and some highly caffeinated tea known as YERBA MATÉ. Alcohol was prized and its heavy consumption routinely accompanied the annual rodeos, at which cattle were rounded up and the branded ones returned to their owners. Gauchos were willing to work for pay in the rodeos a few days each year in order to earn the cash needed to purchase tobacco, yerba maté, alcohol, and a poncho. Mostly, however, they remained beyond the “civilized” world of the colonies, prizing their independence of movement and control of their time and activities.

Among these unlettered men, status depended on bravery and skill in the activities of the frontier. Their bravery and horsemanship made them highly desirable recruits in the wars of independence in the VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA; their prey simply changed from cattle to the men they considered despicable because they came from the city.

Success against the royalist forces helped to improve their image as valorous patriots rather than, to city folk, barbarians and outlaws. Juan Manuel de Rosas, the caudillo who ruled the province of BUENOS AIRES and through it the core of modern Argentina in the 1830s and 1840s, rose to power in part because of his demonstrated skill in activities valued by gauchos. In the early 20th century, the gauchos became the embodiment of Argentine virtue.

See also GAUCHO (Vol. III).

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Gil de Taboada y Lemos, Francisco (b. ca. 1736–d. 1809) *Spanish viceroy of Peru* Born in Santa María de Soto Longo, Galicia, Spain, Francisco Gil de Taboada y Lemos entered the navy as a cadet in CÁDIZ at the age of 16 and rose through the ranks. From 1774 to 1777, he was governor of the Malvinas Islands. Holding the rank of lieutenant general, on January 8, 1789, he replaced Antonio Caballero y Góngora as VICEROY of NEW GRANADA, a post he held until his successor arrived on July 31, 1789, and he could travel to PERU and assume the post of viceroy to replace Teodoro de Croix. He entered his new post on May 17, 1790, and served until June 7, 1796. He returned to Spain, was appointed to the Council of War, and after interim service, he was named

secretary of state for the navy. FERDINAND VII named Gil de Taboada to the Supreme Junta of Government he left to rule in his name when he departed Madrid in early 1808. Gil de Taboada resigned in May 1808 but on September 29, 1808, resumed his post as secretary of state for the navy under the JUNTA CENTRAL. Although his age precluded fleeing from the French, he refused to swear allegiance to JOSEPH I.

Committed to fostering colonial dependence on Spain, Gil de Taboada’s tenure as viceroy of Peru was successful. He oversaw a detailed census and supported the publication of several periodicals, including the *MERCURIO PERUANO* produced by LIMA’s Amantes de País, a variant of an economic society (see *AMIGOS DEL PAÍS*, SOCIETIES OF). Benefiting from rising production at Cerro de Pasco and Hualgayoc, in particular, registered SILVER production for the viceroyalty reached 3,479,212 pesos in 1790 and fell below that amount only once before 1812. The average for 1791 to 1796 was 507,146 marks or 4,310,741 pesos, more than double the average of 247,066 marks from 1771 to 1796. This increased production mirrored Gil de Taboada’s beliefs that MINING was the most important activity for Peru and exportation to Spain via TAXATION and commerce of as much bullion as possible was essential.

While Gil de Taboada was viceroy, a nautical school opened in CALLAO in 1794, and a chair of botany was created at the UNIVERSITY OF SAN MARCOS. The viceroy also oversaw an effort to pave the streets of Lima and to improve the collection and removal of garbage. Additionally, he divided the city into districts (*barrios*), an action designed to improve public safety. He also worked to restore the authority of his office, which had been reduced by the introduction of the INTENDANT system in the previous decade.

Gil de Taboada entered the Order of San Juan of Jerusalem in 1752 and subsequently received its great cross. He remained unmarried and died in Madrid.

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Godoy y Álvarez de Faria, Manuel (Prince of the Peace) (b. 1767–d. 1851) *Spanish royal favorite and minister* Born in Badajoz, Extremadura, Spain, Manuel Godoy y Álvarez de Faria received a good education and continued to study in Madrid after joining his brother Luis in the royal bodyguard in August 1784. In 1788, he met Charles, prince of Asturias, and his wife, María Luisa. Godoy’s rise thereafter was meteoric and widely suspected to be the result of amorous relations with the woman who would soon be queen. In May 1789, he held the rank of colonel in the cavalry; in 1791, he became a gentleman of the royal

bedchamber and a lieutenant general. The following year, on November 14, he replaced the count of Aranda as secretary of state, the count having been no more able than his long-serving predecessor the count of Floridablanca in dealing effectively with revolutionary France. Although briefly out of favor on one occasion, Godoy was the most important politician, in office or not, during the reign of CHARLES IV. His grateful royal patrons bestowed honors and wealth: knighthoods in the Orders of Santiago and Charles III; titles of duke of Alcudía in 1792 and Prince of the Peace in 1795, following a treaty with France that ended an unsuccessful war; and lands and incomes.

Although Godoy was intelligent and even taken with many ENLIGHTENMENT ideas, he lacked both experience in government and high birth. Unattached to either Floridablanca or Aranda, leaders of the two principal factions at Court, he was utterly beholden to Charles IV and the queen, and they, in turn, trusted him. War, however, dominated the years 1792 to 1808, and Godoy proved unable to attain victory or even neutrality. After initially losing a war to France (1793–95), in 1796, he agreed to the Treaty of San Ildefonso. This offensive and defensive alliance with France led to conflict with Britain, the most powerful naval power in Europe, and thus danger for the American colonies.

War began in October 1796. The following April, Great Britain initiated a blockade of CÁDIZ that lasted three years and forced Spain to allow neutral traders access to the colonies. The Peace of Amiens ended the war in 1802, but Spain agreed to a treaty of subsidies with France in 1803 that required it to pay nearly 3 million pounds a year. A renewal of war in 1804 between France and Britain found Spain an ally of France; the British navy destroyed the combined French and Spanish fleet at Trafalgar in 1805. Two years later, French troops started crossing Spain on route to Portugal in an effort to enforce the Continental System by which Napoleon sought to prevent English exports from entering the continent. Conflict with Britain ended only after Charles IV and FERDINAND VII abdicated to Napoleon in May 1808, when Great Britain agreed to support Portugal and the resistance movement in Spain against the French. By this time, many merchants in the colonies had established arrangements with neutral traders that would never be reversed.

The years of warfare proved the inadequacy of the fiscal structure of Old Regime Spain. As the government issued large denomination bills (*vales reales*) that served as paper money, its CREDIT declined. Efforts to establish an effective amortization system, however, failed; the extension of the *CONSOLIDACIÓN DE VALES REALES* to the American colonies, and NEW SPAIN in particular, made it clear that Spain was willing to destroy the colonies to save itself. Popular opinion in Spain fixed blame for these failures on Godoy; his ministerial despotism stimulated the CORTES OF CÁDIZ to adopt provisions in the CONSTITUTION OF



Portrait of Manuel Godoy, prince of the peace and royal favorite of Charles IV and his wife (Private collection)

1812 designed to prevent another royal favorite from gaining power.

After the failed coup attempt known as the Affair of the Escorial in 1807, a riot in Aranjuez provoked by supporters of Ferdinand, the prince of Asturias, forced Charles to remove Godoy from government in March 1808. The king abdicated to FERDINAND VII the following day, and Godoy was briefly imprisoned before being allowed to journey north to meet Charles and Louisa in Bayonne. Stripped of his honors and wealth by Ferdinand, Godoy spent the remainder of his life in exile and died in Paris.

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Stein, Barbara H., and Stanley J. Stein. *Edge of Crisis: War and Trade in the Spanish Atlantic, 1789–1808* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

godparentage Spaniards and Portuguese brought the institution of godparentage (Spanish: *compadrazgo*; Portuguese: *compadrio*) to the Americas. A form of fictive

kinship, godparentage was associated with the baptism of a child, a defining event that made the child part of the spiritual community associated with the CATHOLIC CHURCH. Godparents sponsored the child's being baptized and by this act created a spiritual connection with both child and parents. By binding nonrelatives, the ritual kinship ties of godparentage were an important form of social connection in the colonies.

Elite Spanish families extended their influence through godparentage, a relationship that placed mutual obligations on all parties involved. Thus, the leading families of a locale typically used their children to create godparentage links to other leading families, a practice that could facilitate economic ties as well. In addition, members of elite families served as godparents for children born to their clients or laborers. Godparentage thus was a means by which elite families could obtain or increase the loyalty of laborers on their lands, while the laborers—whites, blacks, Indians, and *CASTAS*—gained some access to the political, economic, and social capital enjoyed by the godparents.

The use of godparentage was popular with NATIVE AMERICANS. In Cuernavaca, native nobles created kinship ties with other elite families, prominent Spaniards of the area, and commoners. The ties served more as a way to maintain local prestige than to advance in status.

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Stephanie Blank. "Patrons, Clients and Kin in Seventeenth-Century Caracas: A Methodological Essay in Colonial Spanish American Social History." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 54, no. 2 (May 1974): 260–283.

gold The lust for gold drove many young Spaniards to emigrate and led to the rapid exploration of the Americas and, by the mid-16th century, the discovery of the precious metal in many locations of Latin America. These included Antioquia and Popayán in NEW GRANADA, Carabaya in PERU, GUADALAJARA and Colima in NEW SPAIN, and Tegucigalpa in HONDURAS. By 1560, registered gold totaled 50,520,000 SILVER pesos (272 *maravedís*). After the decade 1531–40, however, the value of SILVER production exceeded that of gold in every decade to 1810. The largest gold deposits were discovered in MINAS GERAIS, BRAZIL, in the 1690s, ushering in a half-century of enormous production.

By 1560, New Granada had emerged as the most important region of production in Spanish America. Registered gold production from 1561 to 1810 exceeded that from any other region of the empire in every decade. From 1701 to 1810, however, BRAZIL's registered gold production exceeded that of New Granada and until 1791–1810 was greater than that from all of Spanish America combined. Registered figures, of course, do not include contraband gold, which might have doubled the registered amount. Since gold dust was more easily

smuggled than silver and its value per unit was much greater, SMUGGLING was undoubtedly considerable.

Processing gold was usually much simpler than processing silver. When the metal was found in sand or gravel, a pan or ground sluice could be used to separate the heavier metal from the material around it. When gold was found in veins, milling and sometimes the amalgamation process could be employed. Since some gold was often found in silver ores, the amalgamation process created an alloy; in this case, miners often separated the gold from the silver using nitric acid.

Antioquia was the most important MINING center in 16th-century New Granada. The Chocó became a major center of placer gold mining from 1680 to 1810. In the 1690s, gold production in CHILE started an ascent that continued throughout the 18th century. The north of New Spain also became a valuable source of gold, with mining at GUANAJUATO, Guadalajara, Zimapán, Durango, Rosario, and Chihuahua.

The discovery of gold in Minas Gerais about 200 miles (322 km) inland from RIO DE JANEIRO sparked a true gold rush and a resulting flood of the precious metal on the world market. The region's registered production was highest in the decade 1741–50, when it totaled 93,770,000 pesos. Although it dropped precipitously the following decade, to 72,010,000 pesos, and to only 25,470,000 pesos from 1800–1810, the latter amount still exceeded the registered gold during New Granada's highest decade of production. The discovery of gold and, in the late 1720s, DIAMONDS brought a substantial movement of free labor and slaves from Brazil's coastal regions of PERNAMBUCO, BAHIA, and Rio de Janeiro (see SLAVERY). The new wealth also increased Brazil's TRADE with Portugal and, between Portugal and Britain, a trade that resulted in the transfer of most Brazilian gold to England.

Both Spanish and Portuguese miners turned to nonwhites for labor in the gold fields. Although the composition of laborers varied by region, owners often favored black slaves over forced indigenous labor and, in any case, native depopulation was very high in low-lying areas. In the Chocó, black slaves mined more than 90 percent of the gold produced. From the mid-1730s to 1750, more than 90,000 slaves labored in Minas Gerais. Some mines employed paid labor, which included Indians, a few blacks, and mestizos and other *CASTAS* (see *mestizaje*/mestizo).

The Spanish Crown took 20 percent (*QUINTO*) of the gold produced for more than two centuries. It reduced the amount to one-tenth in New Spain in 1723 and to only 5 percent in GUATEMALA in 1758. In 1778, it reduced the tax throughout the empire, requiring 3 percent to be paid in the Americas and 2 percent when the gold reached Spain. From 1700, the Portuguese Crown similarly claimed 20 percent of the gold mined in return for authorization to exploit specified mineral lands; substantial evasion of this tax at foundry houses resulted in the Crown trying another approach to collect it. In 1735, it

initiated a head tax on slaves (*capitação*) but gave up on this as well in 1750. Long after gold mining's most productive years, in 1803, the Crown reduced the long-standing and frequently evaded 20 percent tax to 10 percent.

The wars of independence in Spanish America adversely affected gold production. Although gold still accounted for 90 percent of New Granada's exports, by 1808, the 3 percent tax on gold could no longer pay the cost of New Granada's administration. WAR brought a reduction in mining of perhaps 40 percent but a much greater reduction in mining revenues and an increase in gold smuggling. The nature of colonial placer gold mining and the low level of technology employed, however, meant that the infrastructure, such as it was, largely survived. The flight of slaves and the pressing of others into royalist road-building gangs were more important. Gold production in New Granada did not return to pre-independence levels until the mid-19th century. While Brazil had a relatively peaceful transition to independence, the heyday of gold mining was more than 60 years in the past, and the precious metal was by then only a minor contributor to the economy.

See also GOLD (Vols. I, III).

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Richard L. Garner. "Mining Trends in the New World, 1500–1810." Available online. URL: <https://home.comcast.net/~richardgarner007/authorpubs.html>. Downloaded November 13, 2007.

William Frederick Sharp. *Slavery on the Spanish Frontier: The Colombian Chocó, 1680–1810* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976).

Goyenechey Barreda, José Manuel de (b. 1776–d. 1846) *creole royalist military officer and politician* Born in AREQUIPA, PERU, Goyeneche was the son of the city's most successful entrepreneur, Juan Crisóstomo de Goyeneche y Aguerrevere, of Irurita, Navarre, and María Josefa Barreda y Benavides of Arequipa. He went to Spain in 1795 and in 1801 toured Europe studying MILITARY practices that could be applied in Peru. He entered the Order of Santiago in 1802 and held the rank of brigadier when commissioned in 1808 by Marshal Nicolas Soult to go to the colonies in America to solicit support for JOSEPH I. While in CÁDIZ, he informed the JUNTA SUPREMA DE SEVILLA of Soult's charge; the junta then commissioned him to secure colonial recognition for it as the legitimate government.

Goyeneche reached the city of LA PLATA in November 1808. In 1809, he was named president and captain gen-

eral of the Audiencia of Cuzco. On October 25, 1809, he defeated insurgents near La Paz. After the May 1810 revolution in BUENOS AIRES, he marched into the northern part of the province and defeated its supporters there. His victory over the Army of the North led by Juan José Castelli and Antonio González Balcarce at the Battle of Guaqui in CHARCAS on June 20, 1811, led to the demise of the governing junta in Buenos Aires and its replacement by the First Triumvirate.

By 1813, Goyeneche was frustrated by endless conflict and asked to go to Spain, where he fought against the French toward the end of the Spanish war of independence. A lieutenant general at the time, in 1817, he was granted the title count of Guaqui. In 1834, he received the great cross of the Order of Charles III. A royal appointee in Spain's legislature of 1834–35, he was subsequently a senator for the Canarias in the legislature of 1844–45 and senator for life in the legislature of 1845–46.

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gracias al sacar, cédula de A Spanish monarch enjoyed the unquestioned authority to change a person's status, for example, transform a commoner into a hidalgo, a hidalgo into a titled noble, or an underage boy into an adult able to hold office. As part of this authority, the monarch could issue a document, technically known as a *cédula de gracias al sacar*, that altered a petitioner's status to meet a legal requirement or to provide for an improved public condition.

Although the practice dated back centuries, on February 10, 1795, and, with higher prices on August 3, 1801, CHARLES IV issued a list of fees for 71 kinds of exemptions or approvals that fell under the heading of *gracias al sacar*; the equivalent of which would be a "concession of exemptions" in English. These ranged from lifting legal liabilities related to being too young to assume a specific responsibility or position, to founding an entail and obtaining a dispensation for illegitimate birth or a racial condition, for example, being a *PARDO*, which disqualified a petitioner from civil, ecclesiastical, or military positions and left him without honor. In the last case, the Crown was conferring *LIMPIEZA DE SANGRE*, or unblemished ancestry, as it had done on occasion since the Castilian obsession with descent from former Jews began in the mid-15th century.

A mere accusation of "unclean blood" could create a problem. A case involving Sebastián de Miranda, the father of the celebrated precursor of independence, FRANCISCO DE MIRANDA, demonstrates the impact of alleged lack of racial purity. In 1769, two CARACAS aristocrats charged that the older Miranda was, among other things, a *MULATO* who had falsified his lineage in order to serve as an honorary militia officer. Sebastián de Miranda

immediately resigned, obtaining an honorable discharge from the governor, and took steps to document his *limpieza de sangre*. In 1770, CHARLES III signed a decree not only confirming Miranda's *limpieza de sangre* but restoring him to his honorary position.

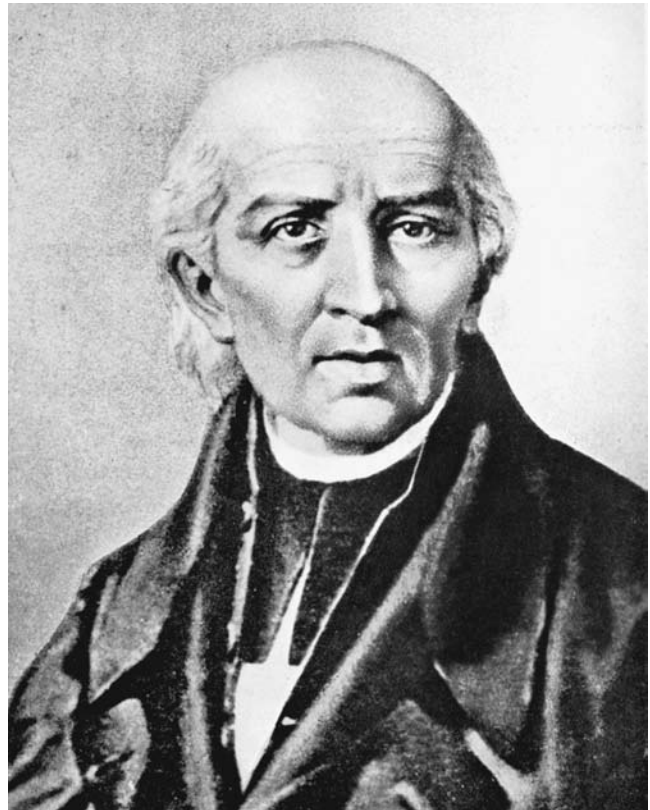
The appearance of the lists of fees for *gracias al sacar* in 1795 and 1801 provoked outrage where the local elites feared "whitening" threatened the social order. Elite Venezuelans, in particular, protested. In 1806, the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES summarized: "individuals of the vicious castes [continue] with notable inferiority and difference from legitimate whites and mestizos. . . . the dispensation of quality (*calidad*) that are considered to those [whitened] are rare." Although the *gracias al sacar* had the potential to inaugurate significant social change through its provisions for "whitening," there were only 13 cases of this happening. Legislation related to race ended with or, in some cases, significantly changed after independence in the early 19th century.

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Grito de Dolores The Grito de Dolores marked Father MIGUEL HIDALGO Y COSTILLA's legendary initiation of the war of independence in NEW SPAIN. No reliable contemporary accounts exist of what Hidalgo said, but on Sunday morning, September 16, 1810, he addressed perhaps 600 or more parishioners of Dolores and urged them to support him in saving Mexico from persons that he claimed wanted to turn it over to the French. Moreover, he supposedly declared an end to TRIBUTE and offered to pay a peso daily to horsemen and four *reales* to those on foot who accompanied him. He might have concluded with "Long live Ferdinand VII! Long live America [or Mexico]! Long live religion! And, death to bad government!" the traditional cry condemning government officials but not the monarch.

What is clear is that Hidalgo initiated a rebellion that appealed to indigenous people and *CASTAS* and quickly raised the standard of OUR LADY OF GUADALUPE. When San Miguel (in the modern state of Guanajuato) fell to the rebels before dark on September 16, the anti-PENINSULAR character of the revolt became evident. On September 21, nearby Celaya fell to the rebels, and Hidalgo became "Captain-general of America." A week later, he led his undisciplined force of some 25,000 into the major MINING center of GUANAJUATO. The result was indiscriminate slaughter of whites, whether PENINSULAR or CREOLE, who had mistakenly taken refuge in the city's granary and the sack of the town for two days. Whatever the exact words Hidalgo used, the Grito de Dolores sparked an unprecedented rebellion that caused peninsulars and creoles to make common cause against his



Creole priest Miguel Hidalgo initiated New Spain's war of independence with the Grito de Dolores in 1810. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

undisciplined and violent followers (see MEXICO, INDEPENDENCE OF).

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Guadalajara Located in the modern Mexican state of Jalisco, about 280 miles (450 km) from MEXICO CITY, Guadalajara was the name of a colonial city founded on unoccupied land in the 1530s and, after the Mixtón War, relocated to its current site in the early 1540s. An *AUDIENCIA* district also known as Guadalajara or NEW GALICIA was created in 1548 and expanded north and west in 1572; the Intendancy of Guadalajara was established in 1786.

In 1546, Franciscan friars founded a village for some 500 indigenous people across the San Juan de Dios River from Guadalajara. The Diocese of Guadalajara was erected in 1548. Incursions by CHICHIMECAS in the region between Guadalajara and Mexico City provoked the construction of military forts (*PRESIDIOS*) in Celaya, Tazasalca in 1576, and Pénjamo at about the same time.

Surrounded by an agricultural region, Guadalajara was an administrative, ecclesiastical, and commercial

center that linked a substantial region in western New Spain. It served as the starting point for migrants heading west and north. In the early 17th century, commerce began to surpass administrative functions in importance, although some 250 resident Spaniards, about half of the total number, either held an administrative post or were dependents of an official. The richest residents were wholesale merchants who obtained merchandise through Mexico City. Wealthy wholesalers continued to be prominent for the remainder of the colonial period, joining together to form a merchant guild (*CONSULADO*) in 1795. The city also benefited from SILVER strikes within the *audiencia's* jurisdiction, for example, in El Rosario and Bolaños for several decades starting in 1746. In that year, Guadalajara had eight plazas, two hospitals, 14 churches and convents, and a variety of public buildings. The creation of the University of Guadalajara in 1791 added to the city's prominence. Nonetheless, by the end of the 18th century, Guadalajara's primary role was as a market for regional agricultural production (see AGRICULTURE).

The population of Guadalajara roughly doubled between 1600 and 1700 and then began to expand rapidly, despite a harvest failure in 1785 and a smallpox epidemic in 1779–80, reaching about 25,000–28,000 in 1793 and almost 40,000 by 1813, a size it also had in 1821. The expansion resulted primarily from migration of skilled and unskilled laborers from areas surrounding the city. By 1821, however, highly skilled artisans, for example, tailors and saddlemakers, were declining in number while



The city of Guadalajara in New Spain was an important administrative, religious, and commercial center. This photograph features the city's cathedral. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

less skilled trades, for example, weaving and bricklaying, were growing.

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Guadalupe, Our Lady of Contemporary Mexico's most potent national symbol, Our Lady of Guadalupe, originated in an alleged miraculous event in 1531. According to the story, at Tepeyac, not far from MEXICO CITY, the Virgin Mary appeared to Juan Diego, a Nahuatl Indian who had recently converted to Catholicism. A quarter of a century later, the location had a shrine with a painted image, and devotees claimed miracles. Archbishop Alonso de Montúfar favored the shrine and assigned a resident priest to it in 1555; the diocesan clergy supported it, while the FRANCISCANS opposed it. At that time, Our Lady of Guadalupe attracted more Spanish than indigenous devotees, probably because there was an established cult in Iberia.

A book written by the CREOLE priest Miguel Sánchez in 1648, *Imagen de la Virgen María, Madre de Dios de Guadalupe, Milagrosamente apreciada en la ciudad de México*, both made the 1531 apparitions known and fused them to creole identity. Mexico became the homeland of the Virgin Mary, as it was for the creoles and creole clergy who spread the story. A second account written in Nahuatl by Luis Laso de la Vega, vicar of the hermitage of Guadalupe, and published in 1649 recounted the apparitions and included an account of numerous miracles worked through the intercession of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Although NATIVE AMERICANS benefited from some of the miracles described, they did not embrace the virgin until the following century.

In the 18th century, Guadalupe devotion spread throughout NEW SPAIN as archbishops, parish clergy, and the JESUITS supported it, and creoles and indigenous people of Mexico celebrated the Virgin of Guadalupe on separate feast days. In 1736–37, an epidemic threatened to take perhaps 200,000 lives. Saints were employed in an effort to ward it off. After the Virgin of Loretto and the Virgin of Remedios proved ineffective, the CATHEDRAL CHAPTER in Mexico City and the archbishop sent celebrants and preachers to the shrine of Guadalupe; this and the invocation of numerous other saints failed as well. Desperate, the civil and ecclesiastical *cabildos* agreed to ceremonies making the Virgin of Guadalupe patroness of Mexico City, and the archbishop designated December 12 as a holy day of obligation for the

capital. The epidemic lessened and devotion to the virgin increased. In 1746, the archbishop proclaimed “the principal patronage of the Virgin of Guadalupe over the entire nation.” In 1754, the requisite ecclesiastical formalities confirming the *patronato* were secured from Pope Benedict XIV. In 1757, the proper feast and office were extended throughout Spain’s realms.

Even before the epidemic of the 1730s, numerous sermons on Guadalupe by 18th-century creole preachers helped to strengthen the devotion. Where earlier the virgin was invoked against flooding in the Valley of Mexico, in the second half of the century, farmers and ranchers turned to her to prevent or end drought. And, by the end of the 18th century, Guadalupe had become the most important Marian devotion in New Spain. Creoles in particular provided support. As the patroness of Mexico, her uniqueness confirmed the special favor God had bestowed on the colony. When Father MIGUEL HIDALGO Y COSTILLA started a revolt in 1810, he immediately proclaimed the Virgin of Guadalupe as the rebels’ saint.

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Guadalupes, Society of The most famous secret society in NEW SPAIN during the war of independence was the Society of Guadalupes (*los Guadalupes*), created soon after MIGUEL HIDALGO Y COSTILLA initiated a major revolt in 1810. A homegrown effort, the society emerged in MEXICO CITY and consisted of important supporters of greater political autonomy for New Spain. The AUTONOMISTS included lawyers, titled nobles, journalists, and even some government officials, as well as some wives of these supporters.

The Guadalupes provided important information to JOSÉ MARÍA MORELOS Y PAVÓN and his lieutenants. For example, they outlined troop movements and locations, supplied information about events in Spain, and supported the creation of a rebel press, delivering the necessary printing equipment to Ignacio Rayón in April 1812. They also engaged in smuggling arms and ammunition and actively promoted the election of supportive deputies to the CORTES OF CÁDIZ and sympathetic members of the PROVINCIAL DEPUTATION of Mexico. At one point, the Guadalupes tried to convince VICEROY FÉLIX MARÍA CALLEJA DEL REY to support their cause.

On February 24, 1814, royalists discovered the Guadalupes’ correspondence with Morelos. The authorities, however, were never able to identify the full roster of members.

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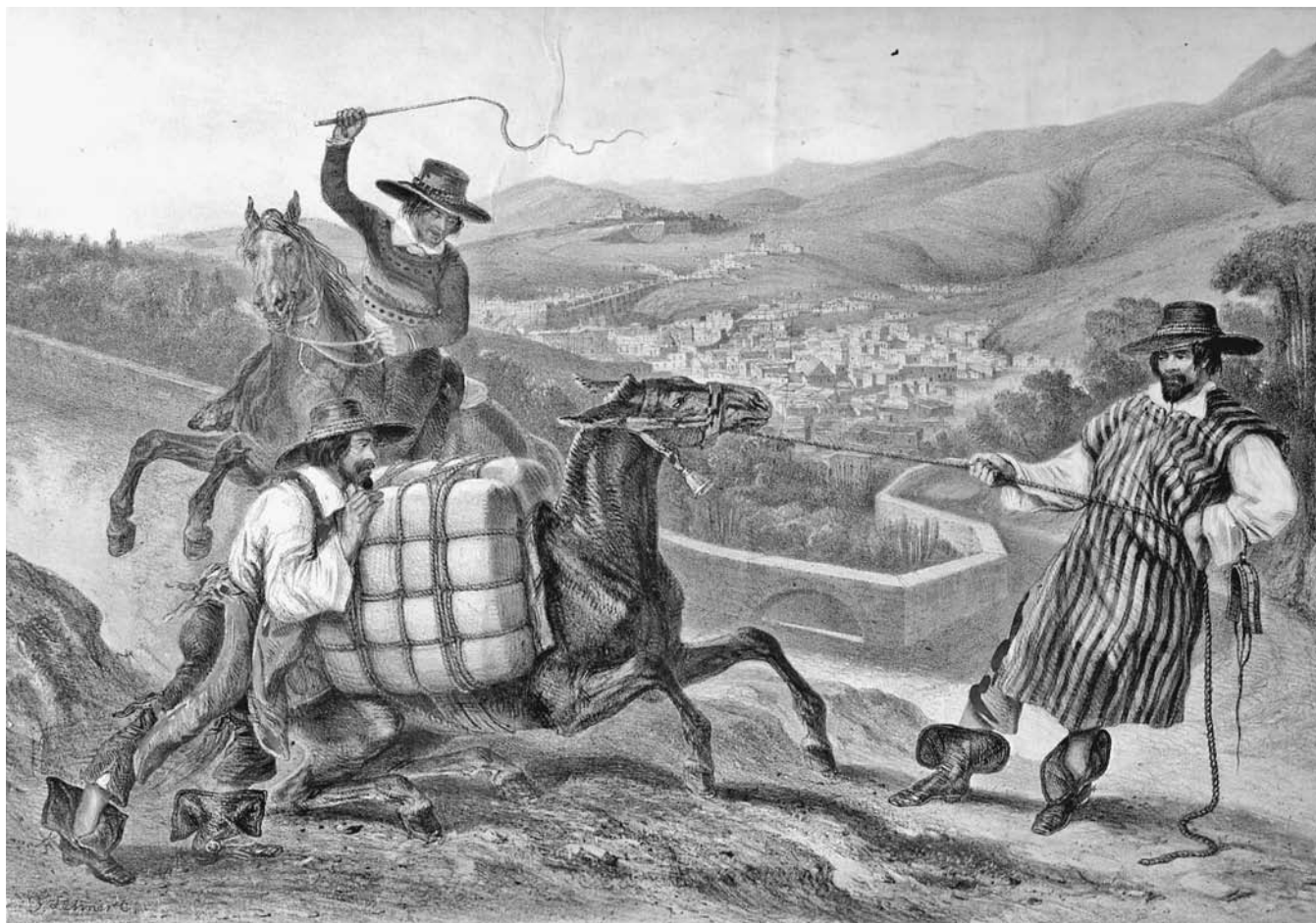
Wilbert H. Timmons. *Morelos: Priest Soldier Statesman of Mexico* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1963).

Guanajuato The discovery and production of SILVER at Guanajuato, NEW SPAIN, in the 1550s inaugurated what would become the foremost MINING region in the 18th-century viceroyalty. Located about 230 miles (370 km) northwest of MEXICO CITY in a canyon flanked by low mountains in the region known as the BAJÍO, Guanajuato became the capital of a district (*alcaldía mayor*) in 1559 and is the capital of the state of Guanajuato today. It was elevated from its original status as a mining camp and officially classified as a town in 1619 and as a city in 1741. In 1786, it became the capital of the new intendancy of Guanajuato (see INTENDANT).

Guanajuato grew slowly, and the mining district emerged as the leader in New Spain’s silver production only in the late 17th century. In 1700, the town’s population was about 16,000. The Bajío as a whole by that time had a strong agricultural base; in addition it manufactured woolen and cotton textiles and leather goods. Population growth in the region far surpassed that of Central and southern Mexico; the district of Guanajuato grew from 48,750 in 1742 to 114,344 in 1793. The city itself had about 32,000 inhabitants, and the adjacent mining and refining centers another 23,000. The intendancy of Guanajuato in 1793 consisted of nearly 400,000 persons. By that time, mestizos were a majority of the population (see MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO). Although the census credited Spaniards with 26 percent of the total, probably a majority of them had African or Indian as well as Spanish lineage.

Guanajuato was a major beneficiary of reforms made in the 1760s. The reduction in the price of MERCURY charged by the state monopoly made it profitable to refine poorer ore. Accordingly, the amount of ore processed by the amalgamation process increased, and silver production rose substantially. A large infusion of capital by merchant creditors (*aviadores*) who had withdrawn from TRADE with Spain after the introduction of COMERCIO LIBRE enabled major investments, notably in drainage projects that brought previously waterlogged mines back into production. As the 18th century ended, Guanajuato was producing one-sixth of the bullion in the Spanish colonies; neither the VICEROYALTY OF PERU nor the VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA produced more. The engine of Guanajuato’s expanded production was a mine called La Valenciana, one of the most productive silver mines in New Spain.

Shortly after MIGUEL HIDALGO Y COSTILLA initiated a revolt in 1810, his forces sacked Guanajuato, brutally killing PENINSULARS and CREOLES who had taken refuge inside the city’s public granary. This action, more than



Mule drivers in the hills above the mining center of Guanajuato (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

any other, demonstrated the threat of social revolution and pushed creoles into common cause with peninsulars against the revolt. Following Mexican independence, Guanajuato became the capital of the state of the same name (see MEXICO, INDEPENDENCE OF).

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Guaraní The Guaraní were settled indigenous peoples in southern BRAZIL and adjacent Spanish America who spoke a dialect of the Tupí-Guaraní language. By 1556, some 20,000 Guaraní were distributed in *ENCOMIENDAS* held by 320 Spaniards in ASUNCIÓN, PARAGUAY, and lived primarily in nearby villages. Between 1580 and 1615, Franciscans created 13 *reducciones* populated by resettled Guaraní who were assigned to *encomiendas* and also subjected to rotational labor, or the *MITA* (see *REDUCCIÓN*).

The initial acute shortage of Spanish women in Asunción and the willingness of the Guaraní to pro-

vide wives and concubines to the Spaniards resulted in a mestizo population that contributed to the decline of native numbers (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*). Spanish abuse and slaving also contributed to the decline. Epidemic diseases, as elsewhere in the Indies, however, were mainly responsible for the indigenous population's dramatic drop by 1600.

Despite the conditions imposed by their Spanish (in fact, mostly mestizo) overlords, the Guaraní retained many of their cultural characteristics, some of which—notably their language—were adopted by the Spanish and maintained by the mestizo population. The mestizos from Asunción were important in founding towns in the Río de la Plata region, including Santa Cruz de la Sierra (1561), Santa Fe (1573), BUENOS AIRES for a second time (1580), and Corrientes (1588).

Between 1609 and 1707, JESUITS established 30 *reducciones*, or mission towns, in remote locations along the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers. Often established at the request of Guaraní, the missions affected the Amerindians' daily lives, economic activities, material culture, marriage, and religious activities but did not eliminate pre-Jesuit practices. While attracting *bandeirantes*, the mission

system also enabled the Jesuits to combat these slaving raids (*BANDEIRAS*) and to obtain exemption for their charges from providing labor and *TRIBUTE* to Spaniards.

The interaction between Guaraní, mestizos, and Spaniards resulted in a hybrid culture. Guaraní contributions included not only the widespread use of the Guaraní language but heavy reliance on female agricultural labor, the centrality of *MAIZE* and manioc in the diet, and sleeping in hammocks. Spanish contributions included iron tools and weapons, clothing made from both wool and cotton, uniform short hairstyles, monogamous marriage, a more elaborate social hierarchy, town living, literacy, and the creation of an armed militia. Guaraní, mestizos, and Spaniards together elevated drinking *YERBA MATÉ* to a daily occurrence.

Efforts to implement the 1750 *TREATY OF MADRID* provoked the Guaraní War (1753–56), in which most affected Guaraní chose to rebel rather than relocate west of the Uruguay River. Their defeat forced thousands to move, but a majority returned after Spain annulled the treaty in 1761. The expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 led many Guaraní to desert the missions, but they subsequently reappeared as wage laborers in the countryside, towns, and city of Buenos Aires. Royal efforts to reorganize the *reducciones* did not stem the flow, and the wars of independence provided the final blow to the former missions. The continuing use of Guaraní as Paraguay's official language remains an ongoing testimonial to the persistence of the Guaraní culture.

See also *GUARANÍ* (Vol. I).

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Guatemala The colonial kingdom of Guatemala and the jurisdiction of the Audiencia of Guatemala were identical. They included the present countries of Guatemala, HONDURAS, NICARAGUA, EL SALVADOR, COSTA RICA, and BELIZE, as well as the region now in Mexico known as Chiapas. The capital of the kingdom was the municipality of Santiago de Guatemala, now known as Guatemala City.

Like the rest of Mesoamerica, Guatemala experienced devastating population decline among the Maya and other indigenous groups as a result of epidemic diseases unintentionally introduced by the Spaniards. The epidemics were worsened by the abuse of *NATIVE AMERICANS* by *encomenderos* and Spanish officials, which weakened indigenous resistance (see *ENCOMIENDA*). By 1570, the population of the Kingdom of Guatemala was estimated at 550,000 indigenous, 15,000 Spaniards, and 10,000 blacks and *MULATOS*. Santiago de Guatemala had about 500 *VECINOS*. The native population of the kingdom, expanding after about 1670, remained substantially larger than the non-native population of whites and *ladi-*

nos (*CASTAS*) throughout the colonial era; within colonial Guatemala per se, the native population in 1802, was just over 350,000, and the combined white and *ladino* population was 144,000. The total population in 1825, shortly after independence, was about 512,000.

For its first two centuries as a colony, Guatemala did not have a sustainable export. *CACAO* was an important export to Mexico for a time, but it was declining at its major production area of Soconusco by the end of the 16th century as a result of lower priced competition. Nonetheless, its high quality enabled cacao to remain a minor supplier through the 17th century. The blue dye, *INDIGO*, emerged as the principal export.

The fleet system, focused on retrieving American bullion, did not serve Guatemala well, especially from the 1630s (see *FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM*). Prohibitions on intercolonial *TRADE*, for example, *WINE* from *PERU* from 1615 to 1685 and again from 1713 to 1774, stimulated the rise of *SMUGGLING*. Nonetheless, Guatemala experienced a serious depression from about 1640 to the 1660s. Trade in wine and oil with Peru increased slowly from the 1670s, the former often being imported as vinegar. A shortage of *SILVER* currency exacerbated Guatemala's woes, and Spaniards retreated to rural farms and "a rather squalid self-sufficiency," as historian Murdo J. MacLeod put it.

CREOLES anxious for a government position in these difficult times found that the office of *juez de repartimiento*, or the judge who distributed *REPARTIMIENTO* labor, was among the more remunerative. The use of the Guatemalan version of the *REPARTO*, known as *derrama*, and the distribution of unspun cotton and subsequent purchase of finished cloth at low prices on the part of *alcaldes mayores* were illicit sources of income for provincial officials (see *ALCALDE MAYOR*). In the 17th century, *DEBT PEONAGE*, sharecropping, and living and working on a *HACIENDA* were growing phenomena among the non-Spanish population.

By 1680, Guatemalan producers of indigo understood that if they were to be successful, they had to get their product to the European market. Since the fleet system was useless to them, they turned to contraband trade. British merchants operating from *JAMAICA* proved particularly useful in this regard, and by 1715, contraband had resurrected indigo, shipped through the Bay of Honduras, as Guatemala's most important export. Rising indigo sales at increasing prices were a result of demand from textile producers in Europe. The upward trend quickened after the mid-18th century, and *COMERCIO LIBRE* stimulated legal trade. The Aycinena family emerged as the dominant participant in marketing indigo and carried its power into independent Guatemala (see *AYCINENA Y DE YRIGROYEN, JUAN FERMÍN DE*).

Santiago de Guatemala was an established administrative center by 1570. In that year, the *AUDIENCIA*, after several moves since its founding in 1543, took up residence with a president as its executive and a jurisdiction that included Chiapas (Mexico) and extended to the

border with PANAMA. The president of the Audiencia of Guatemala was also governor and, systematically from 1609, captain general of the province of Guatemala.

The Kingdom of Guatemala had 22 *corregimientos*, four *alcaldías mayores*, and four *gobernaciones* in 1570 (see *CORREGIDOR/CORREGIMIENTO*). By 1785 these numbers were five *corregimientos*, 12 *alcaldías mayores*, and still four *gobernaciones*. The introduction of the INTENDANT system between 1785 and 1787 gave the kingdom four intendants for Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Chiapas; remaining were the *gobernación* of Costa Rica, *corregimientos* of Quetzaltenango and Chiquimula, and *alcaldías mayores* of Totonicapá, Sololá, Sacatepéquez, Chimaltenango, Verapaz, Sonsonate, Escuintla, and Suchitepéquez. As elsewhere, intendants had subdelegates, who replaced the *corregidores* and *alcaldes mayores* (see *SUBDELEGADO*). The principal Spanish municipalities, of which there were five in the province of Guatemala, had MUNICIPAL COUNCILS. Similarly, substantial indigenous villages had town councils. A 1783 listing documented a total of 152 royal positions in the kingdom, including those at the treasury, the MINT, the TOBACCO office, and the office of sales tax (*ALCABALA*).

Clerics were present in Guatemala from at least the early 1520s, and the Bishopric of Guatemala was erected in 1534. Subsequent bishoprics were created for Chiapas, Honduras, Verapaz, and Nicaragua. In 1742, the bishopric for Guatemala was elevated to an archbishopric. Parish priests and their assistants overwhelmingly became men born in Guatemala; of 255 diocesan priests in the late 1760s, only four were born elsewhere.

By 1537, FRANCISCANS, DOMINICANS (including Father Bartolomé de Las Casas), and MERCEDARIANS had reached Guatemala. JESUITS arrived in 1582. By 1600, there were 22 Franciscan, 14 Dominican, and six Mercedarian convents within the province of Guatemala. AUGUSTINIANS arrived in 1610, and in 1668, the Bethlehemite order was founded to operate a hospital in the capital. By 1700, the Dominicans were the premier order in the colony. The Jesuits, all 20 of them in the province of Guatemala, were expelled in 1767.

In 1818, the bishopric of Guatemala had 131 parishes, 17 vicarages, 424 churches, and 1,720 *COFRADÍAS* serving 540,508 Christians. The capital had eight convents for men and five convents for women, as well as two schools for females.

By the 1570s, the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Mercedarians were teaching philosophy in their convents. In 1597, the bishop of Guatemala founded a seminary in the capital. The Jesuits opened the COLEGIO of San Lucas in 1641 (see *COLEGIO/COLEGIO MAYOR*). The first institution authorized to confer degrees was the Dominican Colegio of Santo Tomás, established in 1619 but closed by the late 1620s. The Jesuits secured permission to award degrees starting in 1622 but actually did so only from 1640. The Royal and Pontifical University of San Carlos opened in 1681 and before long was the only institution in Guatemala allowed to confer degrees (see UNIVERSITIES).

A press established by 1660 published a variety of religious pieces, university theses, and some items with a religious purpose in native languages. Some 408 items were published between 1660 to 1783; the pace then quickened, with 504 more appearing by 1799. The nature of the publications changed as well, especially after an economic society established in the capital in 1795 proved more active than most (see *AMIGOS DEL PAÍS, SOCIETIES OF*). When suspended in 1800, it had 149 members in Guatemala. The society was intimately related to the publication of the *Gazeta de Guatemala* that began in February 1797 and appeared until 1816. In 1810, the society was reestablished, but it was not doing much in 1815 and was effectively dead by 1818.

By 1800, the *audiencia* district of Guatemala had a population of approximately 1.2 million, about half of whom lived in the province of Guatemala; some 250,000 persons lived in San Salvador; 135,000 in Honduras; 100,000 in Chiapas; and 63,000 in Costa Rica. Santiago de Guatemala at that time had about 25,000 inhabitants; no other city in the *audiencia* district exceeded 12,000. About two-thirds of the *audiencia's* population were Amerindians, located mainly in the highlands of Chiapas, Guatemala, and El Salvador. *Ladinos*, or hispanized Indians and *castas*, constituted just over 30 percent of the population and formed the majority in San Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica.

The introduction of the intendant system increased the self-awareness of each region in the Kingdom of Guatemala but failed to produce economic progress (see *ECONOMY*). While creoles held some 700 of 740 positions in Guatemala, the best ones were rarely and sometimes never held by Guatemalans. Only five men born in Guatemala received any *audiencia* appointments between 1610 and 1808. Although Guatemala had led the world in indigo production from 1765 to 1795, competition, locust infestations, a decline in quality, and the consequence of the wars of the French Revolution on trade terminated the indigo boom. Depression and fiscal deficits replaced prosperity and colored the political environment the royal government faced after the abdications of CHARLES IV and FERDINAND VII in 1808. It required all of José de Bustamante's skill and effectiveness in working with the five interrelated families of Guatemala City's elite to keep the colony loyal during his tenure as captain general from 1811 to 1818.

The RIEGO REVOLT of January 1, 1820, in Spain forced a restoration of constitutional government and provoked Agustín de Iturbide and others to issue the PLAN OF IGUALA, which led to Mexican independence (see MEXICO, INDEPENDENCE IN). With its much larger neighbor independent, numerous municipalities in Guatemala declared their own independence, and on September 15, 1821, Captain General Gabino Gainza proclaimed the independence of the Kingdom of Guatemala. In less than four months, it was a part of the newly declared empire under Agustín I. In spring 1823, the former kingdom again declared its independence.

See also GUATEMALA (Vols. I, III, IV); ITURBIDE, AGUSTÍN DE (Vol. III); UNITED PROVINCES OF CENTRAL AMERICA (Vol. III).

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Guayaquil The city of Guayaquil, founded about 1537, became the major port of the Kingdom of QUITO and an important SHIPBUILDING center. It became the capital of a *corregimiento* of the same name until 1763, when a governor assumed the responsibility of administering the province (see CORREGIDOR/CORREGIMIENTO). In 1803, it was transferred from the jurisdiction of the Audiencia of Quito to the Audiencia of Lima (see AUDIENCIA). With TRANSPORTATION via water to LIMA easier than land transportation to Quito, elite *guayaquileños* had close ties with the Peruvian capital.

A description of Guayaquil in 1604 enumerated 61 houses; 152 male householders, 73 of them married; 189 children; and 216 male and 117 female black and *MULATO* slaves (see SLAVERY). The householders were equipped with firearms, swords, and other weapons. Located near to Guayaquil were 10 indigenous villages.

In 1615, the Dutch admiral Joris van Speilbergen led a fleet of four warships and two smaller craft on behalf of the Dutch East India Company. While ostensibly sent to TRADE, the expedition was heavily armed in case the Spaniards did not trade willingly. Winning a decisive battle off Cañete against the royal South Sea Fleet (Armada del Mar del Sur), based in Lima, the Dutch encountered no further opposition, and Speilbergen's expedition moved northward, totally destroying Paita, but not invading Guayaquil (see FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM). The experience, however, left the Spaniards shaken, and the new VICEROY, Príncipe de Esquilache, oversaw the construction in Guayaquil of a 44-gun galleon and a smaller ship with eight guns.

When the Dutch returned in 1624, Esquilache's replacement, the marqués de Guadalcazar, had only five

substantial ships available. Consequently, he turned to coastal defenses, and land battles were fought at CALLAO and Guayaquil. The attack on Guayaquil was costly for the Dutch. The defenders suffered fewer casualties, but the Protestants had extensively damaged the city. A second Dutch attack in late August was also unsuccessful. The two attacks, however, underscored both the vulnerability of Guayaquil and the unwillingness of the viceroy of PERU and president of the Audiencia of Quito to supply the resources needed to fortify it properly. Fortunately for Guayaquil, no further threat materialized until 1687, when pirates attacked the city on April 20, sacked it, abused the citizens, and fled with ransom money paid to free some of the captives they had taken (see BUCCANEERS). A further piratical raid led by Woodes Rogers in 1709 resulted in another sacking for the city, despite its having relocated to a more defensive site downstream.

The demand for ship construction and repair and the natural resources available nearby combined to make Guayaquil the most important shipyard on the Pacific coast; all it needed to import was iron for nails. The construction of ships for the South Sea Fleet was undertaken here, as was that for smaller merchant ships, mostly ordered by merchants in Lima. Nonetheless, viceregal orders dwindled in the 18th century. It took a significant expansion of exports to reinvigorate the shipyards, although in 1772, agricultural exports were already three to four times the size of shipbuilding (see AGRICULTURE). Expanding CACAO exports in the 1780s led Guayaquil's ECONOMY and created the demand that nearly doubled the annual revenue from shipbuilding between 1779 and 1788.

Guayaquil and its coastal region benefited from COMERCIO LIBRE, gaining the freedom to trade with Pacific colonies in 1774. Cacao had become an important export by the 1640s, but cacao growers in VENEZUELA secured a ban on unlimited exportation of cacao from Guayaquil to NEW SPAIN, the biggest colonial market. When the restriction was eliminated in 1789, Guayaquil's cacao production and exportation expanded rapidly, almost tripling between the 1780s and 1810.

The population of the city grew as well, increasing from some 6,000 in 1738 to almost 14,000 in 1804. Initially African slaves and then migration from the highlands of the Audiencia of Quito contributed to growth in the coastal region through the war of independence. Nonetheless, coastal merchants were often at the mercy of more highly capitalized merchant houses from outside the Guayaquil region. In addition, they had to deal with the high taxes and volatility of export prices on cacao, which accounted for 75 percent of Guayaquil's exports.

In 1809, Guayaquil requested support from Peru's viceroy JOSÉ FERNANDO DE ABASCAL Y SOUSA and remained royalist in opposing the Junta Superior in Quito. Between 1814 and 1820, however, FERDINAND VII's absolutism coupled with commercial woes resulting from minimal Spanish shipping led merchants and planters in Guayaquil to consider independence. Soon after

the RIEGO REVOLT and reestablishment of the Cortes in Spain, the province of Guayaquil declared independence on October 9, 1820, and convened a constituent congress to write a constitution for the new republic. Highland Quito, however, remained royalist. Over the next two years, JOSÉ DE SAN MARTÍN and SIMÓN BOLÍVAR tried to attract Guayaquil to their respective regimes. Bolívar was unwilling to allow the province to be independent. After Antonio José de Sucre defeated the royalist army at Pichincha and the city of Quito's agreement to join Colombia, Bolívar led an army into Guayaquil on July 11, 1822, and the city had no choice but to acquiesce to its inclusion in the new department of Quito.

See also GUAYAQUIL (Vol. III).

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Guaycuruans The Guaycuruans were a nomadic indigenous people of the Chaco, a vast region marked by the Andes on the west and the Paraná and Paraguay Rivers on the east and extending from Santa Fe in present Argentina to north of the boundary between PARAGUAY and Bolivia. Guaycuruans included Abipones, Mocobis, Mbayás, Payaguá, and the Toba. Language rather than political organization linked these major groups. Their total population was perhaps 250,000–500,000 prior to contact with the Spaniards. By the mid-1700s, it was 35,000–45,000.

Warring peoples, Guaycuruan groups fought among themselves, raided Jesuit missions as well as European villages, hunted CATTLE and horses, and traded with other indigenous and Spaniards. They rapidly adopted horses, which increased their mobility in raids. The Payaguá used WAR canoes against Spanish shipping on the Paraguay River. Throughout the 17th century, they preferred war and TRADE to life in missions. Horses, cattle, and improved weapons made with iron contributed to larger Guaycuruan bands and made their MILITARY presence more threatening.

A Spanish expedition with more than 1,300 soldiers left Tucumán in 1710 to bring an end to Guaycuruan depredations. Those who could not escape the invasion negotiated; others retreated northward, enabling Spanish landowners to expand their holdings and to create new HACIENDAS. Women and young male Guaycuruans captured by the Spaniards were forced to be servants, if not slaves. By the early 1730s, however, Guaycuruans were again threatening

Tucumán and other Spanish towns and almost ended traffic from Jujuy to Potosí. A major Guaycuruan raid in late 1734 and early 1735 threatened Salta.

EPIDEMICS of smallpox and measles proved a more effective enemy than Spaniards, striking Guaycuruans in the mid-1730s. Prohibitions against trading with Spaniards, improved defenses, and colonists' northward movement in Paraguay, which reduced their hunting grounds, also adversely affected the Guaycuruans. Pushed toward Spanish lands by ecological changes and military threats, they felt their gods had lost to the Spaniards' deity and finally several thousand agreed to move to Jesuit missions as a way to survive. Even after the expulsion of the JESUITS in 1767, many of these Guaycuruans remained in the missions, perhaps increasing in number to 5,000 or 6,000.

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Guyana On the basis of "discovery" and "formal possession" in 1593, Spain claimed title over the "Province of Guiana," which extended on the northeastern coast of South America between the Amazon and Orinoco Rivers. As a region left unsettled by the Spanish but close to both the Caribbean and Brazil, this "Wild Coast," attracted the attention of other Europeans in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. In 1595, the English courtier Sir Walter Raleigh sailed to Guiana with an expedition that conducted a futile search for a legendary golden city of Manoa and an equally legendary Gilded Man (El Dorado). Upon his return to England, Raleigh published an exaggerated account of the exploration in *The Discovery of Guiana*. Added to envy of Philip II's empire and the expanding market for SUGAR grown in Brazil, then part of Philip's patrimony, this book increased the interest of the Dutch and French as well as the English in Guiana.

The Dutch established a settlement along the Essequibo River in 1616 and another on the Berbice River in the 1620s. PLANTATION cultivation of sugar, TOBACCO, and cotton was undertaken with the labor of African slaves. A large-scale slave rebellion in 1763 threatened continued Dutch rule. After late 18th-century transfers of the region involving the British and French, in 1803, the British gained sovereignty over the colony. Britain maintained the northwestern part of the original Province of Guiana as British Guiana, with Georgetown (Stabroek under the Dutch) as its capital, until Guyana gained its independence in 1966.

See also GUYANA (Vols. I, III, IV).

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H

Habsburgs (Hapsburgs) The succession of CHARLES I of Castile and Aragon, also known as the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, fastened the Habsburg dynasty and its possessions in the Netherlands on Spain for nearly two centuries. Charles was the grandson of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile and Emperor Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy. He was son of the mentally deranged Juana la Loca and Philip the Handsome, who died prematurely in 1506. Arriving in Spain for the first time in 1517, Charles initially spoke no Castilian and allowed his Burgundian advisers and their minions to treat Spain and its American empire as spoils. The death of his grandfather Maximilian in 1519 gave Charles not only additional lands in central Europe but the opportunity to purchase election as Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. He spent the remainder of his rule engaged in a monumental struggle against various forms of Protestantism supported by local rulers.

During Charles's reign, Spaniards in the Americas established a mainland empire through exploration, conquest, and settlement. By the end of his rule, American bullion was arriving in sufficient quantity to be important but never enough to cover Charles's military expenditures. Worn out by endless campaigning and travel across Europe, Charles abdicated in 1556 to Philip, his son through his marriage to Isabel of Portugal.

PHILIP II, an industrious monarch who studiously read and annotated countless documents, ruled Spain from his father's abdication until his own death in 1598. He had visited England, where he married Mary Tudor, and the Netherlands while prince; as king, he remained in Spain throughout his long reign. War with Protestants was almost ongoing, but Spain also fought France and briefly Portugal after Philip claimed the latter's crown

in 1580, thus inaugurating 60 years of Spanish rule of its neighbor, as well as BRAZIL.

The unquenchable revolt of the Calvinist Netherlands dogged most of Philip's reign, although England's defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 remains even better known. An unprecedented flow of SILVER from POTOSÍ and NEW SPAIN helped fund nearly endless European conflict but was never enough; royal bankruptcy in 1557 inaugurated Philip's reign just as a third and final bankruptcy in 1596 marked its fiscal demise.

Elizabethan privateers, or sea dogs, notably JOHN HAWKINS and his ultimately more successful protégé Francis Drake, forced unprecedented expenditures for defense in the colonies. Fear of Protestants also led to the establishment of the Tribunal of the INQUISITION in both MEXICO CITY and LIMA. Misfortune bedeviled Philip's family life as well. He had four wives: Mary of Portugal, Mary of England, Isabel of France, and Anne of Austria. Following the 1568 death of his only son, Carlos, in 1570, Philip wed the daughter of his Habsburg cousin Anne. Of their five children, only one son reached adulthood, the future king PHILIP III.

Philip III reigned from 1598 until his premature death in 1621, years in which Spain initially remained mired in WAR with the United Provinces of Netherlands. A truce in 1609 provided a respite until 1621; it also offered the opportunity to expel the Moriscos from Spain, an action decided on the same day as the truce was signed. Although American silver continued to be mined at a high level, the amount reaching Spain decreased as SMUGGLING within the fleet system and contraband carried directly to the colonies by foreign merchants highlighted Spain's inability to provide what the increasingly self-sufficient colonies wanted to purchase (see FLEETS/

FLEET SYSTEM). With a monarch of renowned lassitude, rule by royal favorite triumphed. The primary figure for nearly all of Philip's reign was the duke of Lerma; his name became synonymous with corruption. Philip and his wife, Margaret of Austria, the sister of Austrian Habsburg monarch Ferdinand II, had several children of whom the eldest became PHILIP IV; daughter Anne married the French Bourbon Louis XIII.

Born in 1605, Philip IV assumed the throne in 1621 and promptly converted his mentor, Gaspar de Guzmán, known by his later titles as Count-Duke of Olivares, into the royal favorite, a status he held until 1643. Although Olivares vigorously pursued tax and other reforms as a means to restoring national greatness and contested the French and their renowned minister Cardinal de Richelieu, ultimately he failed in the face of the revolts of Catalonia and Portugal beginning in 1640 and military defeat by the French at Rocroi in 1643. In 1648, Philip recognized the independence of the United Provinces, ending 80 years dominated by conflict. Spain's fortunes continued to wane in the latter half of Philip's reign. Silver remittances from the Americas reached derisory levels as Potosí and PERU's registered silver production continued to decline. The indigenous population of New Spain, however, began to inch upward from its mid-century nadir. Overall, the American colonies' level of self-sufficiency continued to increase. Philip IV, in 1649, married his niece Mariana of Habsburg, daughter of his sister Mary and Ferdinand III of Habsburg. Their son Charles, born in 1661, inherited the Spanish throne.

Sickly and mentally deficient, CHARLES II was incapable of ruling, and his mother served as regent in his early years. Declared of age in 1675, Charles quickly found himself subjected to a military coup by his illegitimate half brother Don Juan of Austria, whose dominance lasted until his death in 1679. During Charles's reign, Spain reached its nadir. A measure to devalue the copper currency by 75 percent in 1680 was followed in 1686 by a lesser devaluation of silver; the consequence was the monetary stability necessary for the economy to pull out of depression. By 1680, New Spain's registered silver production exceeded that of Peru, but almost all taxes collected in the colonies remained there (see TAXATION). Although Charles II married twice, he proved unable to father an heir. The result was a series of partition treaties by other European powers that plotted the future of Spain and its empire following his death. When Charles died in 1700, however, he had clearly designated the Bourbon grandson of France's powerful Louis XIV as heir. The WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION was the result. Habsburg rule in Spain ended, and the BOURBON DYNASTY began.

See also HABSBURGS (Vol. I).

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hacienda Most simply defined as a type of large landed estate, or *latifundio*, and known as *FAZENDA* in BRAZIL, the hacienda emerged as an important form of land ownership and rural production in colonial Spanish America. Scholars have long debated its origins, characteristics, relationship to different forms of labor, regional variations, and differences from PLANTATIONS, another form of *latifundio*.

The hacienda appeared in NEW SPAIN during the latter half of the 16th century. It produced WHEAT and sometimes other grains and plants for human consumption or other use and animal fodder, and also raised livestock. It typically consisted of a residence for the owner or manager, the former also often having an urban home in the provincial or *AUDIENCIA* capital. It also had separate housing for resident workers and their supervisors, sheds, stables, and other out buildings, and in some cases a chapel. While the hacienda often produced much of what its residents needed for subsistence, the *hacendado* also sought to dominate the local market. The labor force was a combination of resident and seasonal workers.

As landed property, the hacienda could be used as collateral for loans and its income mortgaged to pay for chaplaincies established to benefit the souls of past or present owners or members of their families. One consequence of this was that some haciendas could be bought with a minimal down payment but substantial encumbrances on the property. In some regions, private ownership changed frequently, although the creation of *MAYORAZGOS* (entailed estates) could prevent this. Ownership by an ecclesiastical entity, the JESUITS being the best example, reduced potential instability. The capital required to operate an hacienda was normally much less than for plantations on which slave labor and equipment were employed (see SLAVERY). While haciendas might consist of a single piece of property, patchworks of not necessarily contiguous properties were also common.

Haciendas required land, labor, capital, and an entrepreneur (*hacendado*, or manager for a religious order). In New Spain, conquistador Hernando Cortés assigned and revoked land grants, as did the city council of MEXICO CITY and the Audiencia of Mexico. VICEROY Antonio de Mendoza (1535–50) centralized the process and made numerous land grants (*mercedes*) for agricultural and pastoral purposes. Using modern equivalents of measure, the smallest grants, 105 acres, were for AGRICULTURE. Grants for CATTLE (*estancias de ganado mayor*) were 6.78 square miles (17.5 km²); those for lesser livestock, such as SHEEP and goats (*estancias de ganado menor*), were 3.01 square miles (7.8 km²) (see *ESTANCLIA*). Typically, the grantee was given a specified time to put some or all of the land to

active use and was prohibited from selling it for four or more years. By 1620, Spaniards had received grants totaling about 250–300 square miles (647.5–777 km²) for agriculture and 700–750 square miles (1,813–1,942.5 km²) for grazing in the Valley of Mexico—about a third of its area. Despite legislation that prohibited grants to Spaniards of land occupied or used by indigenous people, viceroys awarded such lands, often unknowingly, and in other cases confirmed titles to properties purchased or usurped from Amerindians.

Spaniards received rural land grants wherever they settled, and geographical and climatic conditions made them valuable. The discovery of SILVER in sparsely settled lands northwest of Mexico City, ZACATECAS (1546) and GUANAJUATO (about 1554), for example, resulted in an immediate rush of workers to the promised riches, as well as the need to defend the road from Mexico City. Viceroy Luis de Velasco, in 1555, delegated to Angel de Villafañe the foundation of the town of San Miguel and the assignment of properties for farms and stock raising, houses, and orchards to the settlers. Thus, Spanish entrepreneurs quickly obtained on route to or near mines lands that could supply grain, beef, and other comestibles; tallow; leather; animals for TRANSPORTATION; and sometimes fuel. Some *hacendados* also owned mines and thus benefited from the vertical integration of their enterprises. They sought to increase their holdings, even if they were left idle, in order to drive rivals from the market or to force small producers off their lands and into the labor market, if not on to the *hacendado's* lands.

Colonial haciendas varied greatly in size and value, reflecting the quality of soil and extent of land; the availability and cost of labor; the cost of transportation to market; and the inventory of animals, buildings, seed, and other items. The term *hacienda* was applied in Oaxaca to estates under 5,000 acres (2,023 ha). Haciendas in the dry and sparsely populated north of New Spain, on the other hand, could be immense. The land held in the Marquisate of Aguayo totaled more than 14 million acres (5.6 million ha) in the 1760s. One estate near BOGOTÁ in NEW GRANADA consisted of more than 125 square miles (324 km²). A single owner in Bahia, Domingos Afonso Sertão, had numerous rural properties totaling more than 2.5 million acres (1 million ha).

Many *encomenderos* were early beneficiaries of land grants (see ENCOMIENDA). Unlike other settlers, they already had labor at their command and thus were well positioned to develop their properties. Of course, other Spaniards granted land also wanted access to cheap labor. The initial solution in New Spain came in 1549 when a rotational draft (REPARTIMIENTO) was created that provided labor for farmers and others until 1632, when its use was severely restricted. In PERU, a similar draft known as the MITA was implemented on the base of the new villages (*reducciones*) created by Viceroy FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO (see REDUCCIÓN). In New Spain, the successor to *repartimiento* was free wage labor. While this could

develop into DEBT PEONAGE, its overall significance in the colonial era was less than in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, at least in Mexico. In addition, there is evidence that advances in wages were the price that some workers demanded in return for their labor. There is also evidence that, at least in the Valley of Mexico, life on an hacienda was more advantageous than life as a tributary in an indigenous village, working in an *obraje*, or living on the streets of Mexico City.

High mortality usually due in large part to disease, particularly in low-lying coastal regions and in high-density locations, reduced the indigenous need for and use of land. The reorganization of Indian villages by Toledo in Peru and the similar process, known as CONGREGACIÓN in New Spain, made more, often high quality land available for grants to Spanish settlers. The decline in the native population also threatened the availability of the foodstuffs that Spaniards wanted, especially WHEAT and, according to some historians, led, at least in New Spain, to *hacendados* in the Valley of Mexico replacing indigenous producers as suppliers by the end of the 16th century. Stable or even falling food prices in 17th-century Mexico, however, resulted in haciendas producing at less than full capacity, and lower SILVER production in the middle decades of the 17th century led to many of the haciendas owned by miners changing hands.

In many parts of the colonies into the 18th century, land was less valuable than livestock, seed, or water for irrigation, although a rising population increased its value, especially in the absence of other profitable investment opportunities. Land ownership also could provide a base for local political power.

The CATHOLIC CHURCH and religious orders, notably the Society of Jesus, became major landholders in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. The Jesuits in particular were very successful both at obtaining and expanding their estates and operating them at a profit. Their great advantage was continuity of ownership and the development of skilled administrators. While inheritance laws divided Spanish estates except in the relatively small number of cases in which *mayorazgo* was employed, the Jesuits retained properties received as gifts and bought and sold other properties. Thus, the size of their estates increased over time. The expulsion of the society put substantial property in the hands of both the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns and then on the market for private purchase.

See also HACIENDA (Vol. III).

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Haiti See HISPANIOLA.

Havana (La Habana) Founded in 1514, Havana was relocated to its present location on CUBA's north coast in 1519 in order to benefit from Spanish expansion to Yucatán and the land farther inland. Occupied by a French fleet in 1537, it was captured again and destroyed by the French in 1555. The French threat provoked an immediate response and sealed the importance of Havana as a MILITARY outpost vital for the Atlantic TRADE. The Crown created a resident military force that varied in size from about 400 to 1,000 men and began the construction of what became three fortresses: La Fuerza, El Morro, and La Punta. The fleet system established in the 1560s made Havana the port of embarkation for the returning combined fleets and the temporary residence of up to 5,000 hungry, thirsty seamen who sought entertainment as well as places to stay (see FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM).

The predominance of Havana over the rest of Cuba was confirmed by administrative changes. In 1553, the island's governor was moved there from Santiago de Cuba, and in 1607, Havana was formally declared the island's capital. A beneficiary of financial subsidization from NEW SPAIN, it was also the only legal port of entry for goods entering Cuba and the port from which the island legally sent nearly 300,000 hides to Spain between 1570 and 1590. SHIPBUILDING and ship repair were other important economic activities.

Havana had only about 60 Spanish households in 1570, but the city and surrounding communities had more than 10,000 inhabitants in 1608, about 25,000 by 1700, and some 82,000 including military personnel in 1778. The population included Spaniards, blacks, a few Amerindians, and *PARDOS*. The perennial shortage of Spanish women in a society in which more than nine of 10 Spaniards were males in the 16th century and men still outnumbered women throughout the 17th and 18th centuries resulted in the growth of a substantial number of free persons of color. The city was home to the island's elite CREOLE families, nine of which held titles of nobility by 1770 as well as substantial lands increasingly devoted to producing SUGAR for the export market. As was typical in the empire, the creole elite incorporated successful PENINSULARS through marriage.

The defining event in 18th-century Havana was its capture by the British on August 13, 1762, after more than two months' resistance. For a few months, the port was opened to free trade. The number of ships arriving increased noticeably, and the number of slaves imported increased as well (see SLAVERY). Although the TREATY OF PARIS returned the capital to Spain in 1763, a shaken Spanish government hurriedly, and uniquely for the empire, worked with elite leaders in Havana to develop a program of military reform, fiscal change, more open trade, and greater access to slaves. The sugar industry was an immediate beneficiary, and by 1800, more than 200 sugar mills were operating in the vicinity of Havana.

As a result of Spain's involvement in European conflicts growing out of the French Revolution, beginning in 1793, Cuba gained access to neutral trade, most important with merchants from the United States, who provided flour and wood for both fuel and packing crates. The island's major port and its hinterland benefited at once.

As fitting of Cuba's most populous municipality and a vital military base, Havana's public ARCHITECTURE revealed symbols of power and culture. The residence of the governor and captain general, the customs house, 11 houses of religious orders, and from 1728 the University of Havana were unmistakable signs of the city's status. The fortresses first constructed in the 16th century remained visible reminders of the capital's ongoing military importance. Long subject to the bishop of Santiago de Cuba, in 1787, Havana's wealthiest parish was elevated to episcopal status with its bishop's jurisdiction encompassing four provinces in Cuba, as well as Florida and Louisiana.

The late 18th and early 19th centuries were a time of growing prosperity for Havana's creole elite. In 1791, 27 prominent landowners formed an economic society (see *AMIGOS DEL PAÍS*, SOCIETIES OF) that sought useful knowledge and supported the newspaper *Papel periódico de La Habana*, which first appeared in 1791; by 1795, the organization had 163 members, and from 1793, the newspaper appeared daily. In 1793, the Crown also approved a merchant guild (*CONSULADO*) made up mostly of planters and wholesale merchants.

By the late 18th society, Havana was one of the largest and most prosperous CITIES in the Spanish Empire. Its importance for Spain increased substantially in the early 19th century as Spain's mainland empire disintegrated.

See also HAVANA (Vols. III, IV).

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Hawkins, John (b. 1532–d. 1595) *English merchant, ship's captain, and corsair* Born in Plymouth, England, into a seafaring family, John Hawkins was the son of a successful shipowner who made voyages to America, probably starting in the late 1520s. By the time his father died in 1554, Hawkins was an established merchant with ties to counterparts, especially the Ponte family, in the Canary Islands. Following a stop in Sierra Leone to secure slaves, he led a small expedition to the Americas and landed at HISPANIOLA in 1563, where he sold some slaves and other merchandise without a license to do so (see SLAVERY). After being arrested by the Spanish, he paid a junior official for a license, not knowing it was

legally worthless, and returned to England with a profit. There, he immediately planned his next voyage.

Again after securing slaves in Africa, Hawkins sailed to the INDIES, arriving in spring 1565. At each stop, he sold slaves and other merchandise with the connivance of local officials, who sold him licenses. The result again was substantial profit for the English merchant. A third expedition left Plymouth in October 1567. Acquiring slaves by a variety of means, Hawkins and his fleet of 10 ships left the African coast in February 1568. Reaching the Indies, he stopped at seven ports, again routinely offering to purchase a license authorizing TRADE. At CARTAGENA DE INDIAS, however, the Spanish commander refused to negotiate, and Hawkins made no sales.

On the way to the Straits of Florida, Hawkins encountered a violent storm that ultimately led him to the island of San Juan de Ulúa and the harbor at VERACRUZ. There, the incoming VICEROY of NEW SPAIN, Martín Enríquez, caught the fleet. The Spaniards captured four ships and destroyed a fifth, but Hawkins and his cousin Francis Drake escaped and ultimately reached England. The more than 100 men captured found themselves, as Protestants, the target of the INQUISITION; two were garroted and burned at the stake. Unlike Hawkins's earlier voyages to the Indies, the third was a disaster in terms of both human lives and material loss. Hawkins's career as a slaver had ended. His voyages had demonstrated both that trade with the colonists could be a profitable enterprise and that the Spanish Crown was not going to authorize foreigners to engage in it.

Subsequently suspected of treason for his dealings with the Spanish, Hawkins did not lead another trading voyage to the Indies, although Drake organized several raiding expeditions that might have involved Hawkins from afar. Hawkins, in fact, was not allowed to command a ship for many years, although he became treasurer of the English navy in 1578. Finally, in 1586, he was given command of a fleet of 15 ships. After capturing a half dozen ships returning from BRAZIL, then under Spanish rule, Hawkins planned to sail for São Miguel in the Azores. A severe storm changed his mind, and his fleet struggled back to England; the expedition had been a financial failure and, to his enemies, additional proof of Hawkins's untrustworthiness.

Nonetheless, when the Spanish Armada threatened England in 1588, Hawkins was again sent to sea as a commander of 20 ships. His service at sea was creditable and earned him a knighthood, but his success as an official in forming the English navy into a formidable MILITARY force was even more important.

Hawkins's final voyage to the Indies occurred in 1595. Anchored off PUERTO RICO, he died on November 11.

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Hidalgo y Costilla, Miguel (b. 1753–d. 1811) *creole priest who initiated Mexico's war of independence* The son of Cristóbal Hidalgo and Ana María Gallega y Villaseñor, Hidalgo was born in the BAJÍO of NEW SPAIN on a HACIENDA where his father was overseer. Educated in Valladolid (present-day Morelia, Michoacán) mostly in the diocesan Colegio of San Nicolás Obispo, he received baccalaureate degrees in arts and theology at the UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO. He was ordained a priest in 1778 but began teaching at San Nicolás in 1776 and continued there as teacher and administrator until 1792. He was successively named curate of parishes in Colima, San Felipe Torresmochas, and, in 1803, Dolores, a well-paying and desirable appointment. As a parish priest, Hidalgo showed a taste for prohibited LITERATURE, pleasant conversation and entertainment, women, and economic enterprises, and had difficulty in financial affairs. Although denounced to the INQUISITION, he remained a popular priest in Dolores.

After the coup against Viceroy JOSÉ DE ITURRIGARAY Y ARÓSTEGUI in September 1808, Hidalgo joined a small group of CREOLE conspirators in Querétaro who despised PENINSULARS and claimed to want to keep New Spain free from French rule. Correctly fearing that many creoles in the militia would not join them in an armed uprising against the peninsulars, the conspirators agreed to arm indigenous people who would support them. When warned that word of the conspiracy had reached the new viceroy, FRANCISCO JAVIER DE VENEGAS, Hidalgo launched a rebellion in the name of FERDINAND VII on September 16, 1810, two months earlier than planned, with the GRITO DE DOLORES, an appeal to the NATIVE AMERICANS in his parish. On the same day, he made OUR LADY OF GUADALUPE the symbol of his rebellion.

Starting with a modest but quickly expanding number of supporters, Hidalgo took San Miguel, Celaya, and, on September 23, the rich mining town of GUANAJUATO. There, his followers sacked the town and killed the peninsulars and creoles of the local elite who had taken refuge in the town's granary. Although the size of Hidalgo's ill-disciplined force of mostly indigenous people and CASTAS reached 60,000 by the middle of October and subsequently about 80,000, the massacre at Guanajuato galvanized creoles and peninsulars into common opposition to the rebellion.

Hidalgo led his men to the heights above MEXICO CITY but recognized that entering the capital would result in his force's disbandment. After defeat at the Battle of Monte de las Cruces by the army led by FÉLIX DE CALLEJA DEL REY, many thousands of Hidalgo's supporters deserted. Retreat followed as Hidalgo and his major coconspirator, Ignacio de Allende, divided the remaining forces and headed west. In retreat, Hidalgo was brutally committed to "death to the *gachupines*," as the peninsulars were known, and many were slaughtered. By the time he reached GUADALAJARA on November 26, his force had about 7,000 men. Although he was able to

raise more men, on January 17, 1811, his forces were defeated decisively at the Bridge of Calderón, east of Guadalajara. Hidalgo fled as the leadership of the rebellion divided. Betrayed by a former supporter, Hidalgo was captured on March 21. After abjuring the rebellion he had initiated, he was defrocked and, on July 30, 1811, executed.

It would be another 10 years before Mexico gained political independence from Spain. Hidalgo's revolt, however, had caused serious economic damage to the important MINING region around Guanajuato and set loose persistent violence and disorder in the countryside. Its catastrophic conclusion served as an object lesson to JOSÉ MARÍA MORELOS Y PAVÓN, who kept the ideal of independence alive in southern Mexico through the use of trained and disciplined supporters (see MEXICO, INDEPENDENCE OF).

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hidalguía Noble status with its attendant rights and privileges was known as *hidalguía*. The legal privileges enjoyed by hidalgos, the lowest rank of the Castilian nobility, were set forth in a number of laws collectively known as the *fuero de hidalguía* (see *FUERO*).

The Castilian nobility began with the king and descended through the *grandees*, as the most exalted were known after CHARLES I's creation in 1520 of a hierarchy of nobles drawn from the senior families of Castile and Aragon, other titled nobles, the younger sons (*segundones*) of the *grandees* and titled nobles, and lower nobles called *caballeros* (horsemen, or knights) or *hidalgos* (literally, *hijos de algo*, "Sons of Somebody"). Nobles of any rank might claim the prefix *don* by the mid-16th century. The remainder of Castilian society included commoners (called *pecheros* because they were required to pay a head tax or TRIBUTE generically known as the *pecho*) and a small number of slaves (see *SLAVERY*).

Among the privileges of *hidalguía* were exemptions of one's house, horse, mules, and firearms from seizure in case of private debt and exemption from torture and also from imprisonment for debt if not resulting from criminal acts. Neither could nobles be lashed, sent to the galleys, or hanged. Those found guilty of a crime for which death was the punishment were decapitated.

Most nobles enjoyed their status by virtue of lineage; the children of nobles were noble. In addition, the king could issue patents of nobility, a poor second choice, but a reward for notable service by a commoner. The Basque provinces represented a special case. All persons whose ancestors were from the provinces of Vizcaya, Alava, and Guipúzcoa considered themselves nobles; many Navarrese benefited from collective nobility as well.

The concept of *hidalguía* accompanied the Spaniards to the Americas. Perhaps 10 percent of the conquistadores of Tenochtitlán and maybe a little more than 20 percent of the 168 men present at the capture of Atahualpa were *hidalgos*; none were from the titled nobility.

As in Castile, by the middle of the 16th century, colonial societies embodied a hierarchical structure, although titled nobles remained rare. In the colonial structure, Spaniards considered themselves above Amerindians and thus noble in comparison, although indigenous nobles benefited from exemption from TRIBUTE. Tributary status, indeed, was a definition of *Indian*, the equivalent of *pechero* in Castile.

Among Spaniards, whatever punctilious PENINSULARS might have thought of CREOLE's claims to nobility, the noble-commoner/tributary division took root and, with some modification arising from the emergence of *CASTAS*, remained until independence in the early 19th century and in some cases beyond. Although the military reconquest of Spain from the Moors (Reconquista) had fostered the development of the Spanish nobility, administrators in Madrid never fully appreciated colonial claims of nobility, claims that originally rested on the conquest in the Americas and early Spanish settlement more than lineage.

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Hispaniola (La Española) The island of Hispaniola was the site of SANTO DOMINGO, the first important city founded in the Americas by the Spanish. After formally ceding the eastern part of Hispaniola to the French in 1697, the Spaniards referred to their remaining territory also as Santo Domingo.

A beneficiary of royal patronage and an important base for expeditions of exploration, conquest, and settlement on the American mainlands in the early decades of the 16th century, Hispaniola's importance soon declined. It was largely bypassed by the middle of the century despite the continued existence of the first colonial *AUDIENCIA* in the capital city of Santo Domingo. CATTLE were abundant and European fruits, bananas from the Canary Islands, and native TOBACCO and cassava were cultivated. The most important plant was sugarcane, which was introduced by Christopher Columbus in 1493; the first SUGAR processing mill was operating by 1510. The need for labor was solved by forcing indigenous people to work and importing African slaves (see *SLAVERY*). By 1526, the island had 19 mills and was importing around 400 slaves annually.

Foreign raiders beginning with the French attacked the smaller ports of the island from the 1530s. In 1562, the Englishman JOHN HAWKINS sold some slaves on

Hispaniola. The Crown recognized the strategic value of the island and in 1584 created a financial subsidy program (*situado*) that sent funds from NEW SPAIN to Hispaniola via HAVANA. Francis Drake led a naval attack in 1585, seizing the fortified capital, removing its guns and munitions, and gutting its major buildings. Subsequent depredations by the Dutch led Spain to order settlers on the northwest coast of Hispaniola to move to the south coast, nearer to the city of Santo Domingo. Enforced by MILITARY ACTION, this decision led many settlers to flee the island. The cattle left behind went wild and later fed BUCCANEERS and the French who took advantage of the vacated lands. An English invasion made up of recruits from the Leeward Islands landed on Hispaniola in 1655 to attack Santo Domingo but failed dismally.

In 1697, the Spanish recognized French settlement in the western third of Hispaniola by the Treaty of Ryswyck. Saint Domingue, as the French termed their colony, became an extraordinarily prosperous PLANTATION SOCIETY based on sugar produced by slaves. The slave population increased from 206,000 in 1764 to 480,000 in 1791. By that date, Saint Domingue had displaced Barbados as the Caribbean's largest supplier of sugar, making available almost 80,000 tons annually.

At the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, the colony of Saint Domingue produced about a third of all French foreign TRADE and about two-thirds of its tropical produce. The white population numbered less than 25,000, about the same as the free persons of color, mainly of mixed racial heritage. The whites were divided between *grands blancs* (the upper class) and *petits blancs* (the poor and working class); free persons of color were either mulattoes or blacks; slaves were either locally born or imported (see MULATO). The great plantation owners whose lands were dominant in North Province, however, considered themselves the spokesmen of the colony whether they resided in France or the colony; the *petits blancs*, strong in the West Province, disagreed. The wealthy free colored population of South Province, whose lands produced coffee, INDIGO, and cotton, sought full citizenship. Issues of wealth and race intersected with "liberty, equality, and fraternity."

Although armed conflict began when *grands blancs* and *petits blancs* supplied their slaves with weapons, the French National Assembly's decision to enfranchise mulattoes with specified wealth turned the conflict into a race war. In August 1791, slaves in North Province initiated an unprecedented revolt for their own liberty, equality, and fraternity. In the scorched-earth fighting that followed, the ex-slaves, freed by a decree on February 5, 1794, were led by the former slave Toussaint Louverture. His success resulted in an incomplete victory by 1797, a constitution for the colony, and an attempt to restore production. Napoleon's response was to send more than 21,000 experienced troops, most of whom succumbed to yellow fever after arriving in 1802. By tricking Toussaint and then sending him to France where he soon died, the

French produced a backlash that resulted in wholesale destruction of property and, in 1804, the declaration of independence for the new country of Haiti by Toussaint's lieutenant Jean-Jacques Dessalines. Social revolution had triumphed; Saint Domingue no longer existed.

Since its separation from Saint Domingue in 1697, the remainder of Hispaniola had gone its own way and experienced neither intensive slavery nor an export trade dominated by sugar. Its primary trade was in cattle with Saint Domingue. With the "line of tolerance" separating the two parts of the island, regular troops and militia units were prominent in the Spanish portion of the island. Of a total population of 30,000 or fewer in the early 1720s, approximately 500 were professionals and another 3,300 were also considered soldiers. This gave Santo Domingo almost four times the number of troops per thousand persons as present in CUBA in 1800. Between the 1750s and the 1790s, the annual financial subsidy Santo Domingo received from New Spain via Havana roughly doubled, totaling nearly 350,000 pesos in the 1790s. The capital city of Santo Domingo benefited most from the subsidy as the majority of professional soldiers resided there. Part of an extensive kinship and patronage network, prominent landowners and cattlemen with military titles and troops under their command benefited from illegal trade with Saint Domingue and were often able to defy Santo Domingo's royal authorities. The extent to which military officers dominated political and economic life in Santo Domingo was unequalled on the mainland.

Under the Treaty of Basel, which ended the war between France and Spain in 1795, the latter abandoned its portion of the island to the French, moving the Audencia of Santo Domingo to Puerto Príncipe, Cuba.

See also DOMINICAN REPUBLIC (Vols. III, IV); HAITI (Vols. III, IV); HISPANIOLA (Vol. I); SANTO DOMINGO (Vols. III, IV).

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Honduras Located between GUATEMALA and NICARAGUA, Honduras experienced severe population decline in the early years of Spanish rule, a result of

slaving, abuse, and especially EPIDEMICS. Briefly home to an *AUDIENCIA*, in 1568, the tribunal was definitively transferred to Guatemala City (Antigua). GOLD and SILVER MINING provided some employment, but the region lacked the technology to deal effectively with exceptionally hard ore. In addition, it was short of labor and unable to obtain enough MERCURY to process effectively silver ore too poor for smelting. Thus 17th-century mining, focused around Tegucigalpa, did not provide a basis for real prosperity, although it did result in increased RANCHING in central and southern Honduras and greater agricultural production, as well as the triumph of fraud (see AGRICULTURE). The availability of salt on the Gulf of Fonseca was another modest source of income.

Included in the *audiencia* district of Guatemala, in 1630, the Bishopric of Honduras had five Spanish cities, including Comayagua, and three Spanish towns and mining camps, including Tegucigalpa, where an *ALCALDE MAYOR* resided. The king named a governor and captain general of Honduras, who resided in Comayagua.

Comayagua became the capital of an intendency of the same name in 1786 (see INTENDANT). The district of Comayagua grew from some 57,000 people to about 84,000 between 1778 and 1800. Tegucigalpa expanded from about 31,000 to 44,000 during the same years. In both districts, families of mixed ancestry outnumbered those classified as Spanish in about 1800. In 1825, the 57 towns and villages of Honduras had a population of approximately 200,000.

As required by the CONSTITUTION OF 1812, Comayagua formed a PROVINCIAL DEPUTATION, which governed from November 1820 to March 1821. A provincial junta held power from September 1–28, 1821, and then created the Junta de Gobierno Independiente on September 28 that cut the ties with Spain and indicated that it did not consider itself tied to Guatemala either. Nonetheless, it agreed to send representation to the March 1822 assembly that politicians in Guatemala City were organizing. Tegucigalpa's city council, however, agreed to stay united to Guatemala City and wanted no political tie to Comayagua. Nonetheless, in October 1823, Honduras was represented in the National Constituent Assembly meeting in Guatemala City that declared total independence and became part of the short-lived Central American federation.

See also HONDURAS (Vols. I, III, IV); UNITED PROVINCES OF CENTRAL AMERICA (Vol. III).

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House of Trade See CASA DE CONTRATACIÓN.

Huancavelica The town of Huancavelica is located in the highlands of PERU about 275 miles (442.5 km) southeast of LIMA. MERCURY, discovered in 1563, became the reason for the town's creation in 1571 and the mainstay of the area's ECONOMY. The area provided the mercury that fueled the dramatic increase in SILVER production at the famed mines at POTOSÍ for the remainder of the century and, complemented by mercury from ALMADÉN, enabled the use of the amalgamation process in Peru for the rest of the colonial era.

VÍCEROY FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO (1569–81) bought out the Spanish discoverer, made the Santa Barbara mine a royal property leased to private entrepreneurs and mercury a royal monopoly, extended credit to the mine owners, and established a *MITA* to provide labor (see MONOPOLIES, ROYAL). In 1574, a shipment of more than 2,500 quintals was sent in 16,953 sheepskins to Potosí.

After 1645, the *mita* called for 620 *mitayos* (laborers), but the actual number differed. In the 1680s, it was 300–400, and in the early 1720s, 447. In a fashion analogous to that used in Potosí, mine operators received a cash payment in lieu of a worker; in 1685, it was suggested that only 11 percent of the authorized draft were serving. Moreover, some miners and viceregal favorites living in Lima enjoyed rights to *mita* labor that they rented to actual mine owners in Huancavelica. In 1684, this amounted to 291 *mitayos*, nearly half of the authorized total; in 1738, 380 *mitayos* were assigned to such absentee labor lords.

The worst feature of work at Huancavelica was the poisonous mercury dust, which brought slow death to countless *mitayos*. There were other hazards, however. Carbon monoxide apparently killed some workers; pneumonia was common; and cave-ins and other mining accidents took a toll. Recognition of the need for labor and the difficulty in procuring it, as well as a desire to lessen the burden on indigenous people, resulted in a 1631 mandate that “mulatto, negro, and mestizo delinquents” be sentenced to work there.

Registered mercury from Huancavelica between 1570 and 1700 totaled 678,469 quintals, an average of nearly 5,200 quintals annually. Calculated production between 1701 and 1760 was 243,747 quintals, just over 4,000 quintals annually. As earlier, the amounts produced varied by year. Production fell substantially, for example, from 1709 to 1713, amounting to only 1,838 quintals a year; registered silver production plummeted as a result. Between 1761 and 1800, Huancavelica registered 164,177 quintals, about 4,100 quintals annually. The amount of unregistered mercury is unknown but was undoubtedly substantial, especially when the Crown was unable to pay mining contractors promptly for their production.

Although most of Huancavelica's mercury went to silver miners in CHARCAS and Peru, in both the 17th and 18th centuries mercury was occasionally shipped to NEW SPAIN for use in mines at ZACATECAS and elsewhere. There were times, however, notably the first six decades of the

17th century and after Santa Barbara's collapse in 1786, when Peru received mercury from ALMADÉN because Huancavelica's production did not match demand. Mercury from Idrija, Slovenia, went to the colonies as well between 1620 and 1645 and again between 1786 and 1799.

Five years after its collapse, the once great mine of Santa Barbara was closed in 1791. Despite the presence of other deposits in the region and the discovery of the mine of Sillacasa in 1794, Peru was henceforth heavily dependent on imported mercury. In 1813, Huancavelica's mercury production effectively ceased, with only 188 quintals registered.

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hurricanes European awareness of hurricanes dates to Christopher Columbus, who personally experienced them in 1494, 1495, and 1502. In the last case, he famously warned Governor Nicolás de Ovando not to send his fleet back to Spain as planned; Ovando ignored the advice, and 20 ships were lost. A plague of the CARIBBEAN, some 400 identified hurricanes had struck the region by the mid-19th century.

Quickly appreciating that hurricanes generally struck between June and November, the combined fleet for NEW

SPAIN and galleons for PERU were to meet at HAVANA in March and sail together from there for Spain (see FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM). This schedule did not always ensure they avoided dangerous weather conditions, however. In January 1605, seven galleons sailing from CARTAGENA DE INDIAS to Havana were struck by an unexpected storm. The four ships that went down may have been carrying as much as 8 million pesos worth of bullion and jewels; some 1,300 persons perished. The loss of the *Atocha* carrying registered bullion worth 1 million pesos and five other ships on September 5, 1622, off the Florida Keys was also due to a hurricane.

The consequences of sailing during hurricane season were demonstrated on July 31, 1715, when a hurricane struck a fleet en route to Spain under Captain General Juan Esteban de Ubilla. More than 1,000 of the approximately 2,500 persons on board were killed, including Ubilla. Salvage efforts recovered more than 5 million pesos of the 7 million registered, but word of the disaster attracted pirates, and in 1716, an English pirate attacked and looted the salvage camp established by the Spaniards, escaping with about 120,000 pesos.

In addition to causing the loss of ships and treasure, hurricanes affected property on land, forcing substantial public expenditures. In 1672, a hurricane struck HISPANIOLA, destroying the CACAO plants and ending the island's flirtation with exporting cacao. A hurricane that struck the Havana area in 1692 left only 13 SUGAR PLANTATIONS standing and reduced sugar production for many years. Havana was also severely damaged by a hurricane in 1768 and lost CATTLE in flooding caused by a hurricane in 1791. Two hurricanes struck JAMAICA and Barbados in 1781, destroying most of the latter's capital of Bridgetown and causing the death of some 3,000 persons.

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Iguala, Plan of (February 24, 1821) Issued on February 24, 1821, the Plan of Iguala encapsulated Agustín de Iturbide's and his associates' vision for an independent NEW SPAIN and served as a statement around which almost all politically active inhabitants of the viceroyalty could rally.

Among its 24 articles, the plan called for complete political independence for New Spain, Catholicism as the only religion, citizenship for all inhabitants without distinction based on place of birth or race, and a constitutional monarchy. FERDINAND VII was to be emperor, but should he decline to move to Mexico, the Constituent Cortes would offer the throne to another member of Spain's royal family. Until the Cortes met, a junta or regency would rule. The clergy would retain its privileges (*FUEROS*). AN ARMY OF THE THREE GUARANTEES led by Iturbide and formed by combining all forces, including those led by Vicente Guerrero, would support the Plan of Iguala. The new army would ensure that the provisions concerning independence, the CATHOLIC CHURCH, and the "intimate union of Americans and Europeans" were enforced.

The Plan of Iguala offered something to everyone. Old supporters of JOSÉ MARÍA MORELOS Y PAVÓN and others who wanted independence from Spain were gratified. Those who wanted constitutional government were assuaged. The plan reassured PENINSULARS that they would be protected. It also placated the Church, which was threatened by anticlerical sentiment in Spain's liberal Cortes.

When Lieutenant General Juan O'Donojú arrived from Spain to serve as Mexico's first political chief, he found that Mexico was independent and Spain retained VERACRUZ, ACAPULCO, and little else. On August 24,

1821, in the town of Córdoba, he agreed to a treaty that recognized Mexican independence and the plan of offering the imperial throne to Ferdinand VII (see MEXICO, INDEPENDENCE OF). Emissaries then were sent to Spain to invite Ferdinand to be emperor and to recognize the independence of Mexico.

The Cortes meeting in Madrid declared the Treaty of Córdoba "illegal, null, and void" on February 13, 1822. The action, however, had no impact on events in Mexico. Iturbide was soon made emperor, but on April 8, 1823, the Mexican Congress declared his coronation null and exiled him to Italy. On the same day, it nullified both the Plan of Iguala and the Treaty of Córdoba.

Short lived as it was, the Plan of Iguala brought about Mexican independence with minimal fighting. There were no battles comparable to Boyacá for Colombia, CARABOBO for VENEZUELA, or AYACUCHO for PERU.

See also ITURBIDE, AGUSTÍN DE (Vol. III).

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immigration Spaniards and Portuguese did not make the decision to immigrate to the colonies lightly. Travel involved expenses, risks at sea for weeks and often months, and arriving at an unknown location where at best the new immigrant had some relatives and countrymen (*paisanos*).

Opportunities in the colonies changed over time, and the persons attracted changed as well.

By the middle of the 16th century, Spanish immigration to the overseas territories was well established, and bureaucratic policies to oversee it were in place. Nearly 30,000 emigrants have been identified by 1560, more than a third of them from Andalusia. During the more than two and a half centuries before independence, many more immigrants continued to arrive in colonies from NEW SPAIN to RÍO DE LA PLATA.

Although persons traveling to the colonies were required to obtain licenses from the CASA DE LA CONTRATACIÓN and documentary evidence of thousands of licenses still exists, there is no doubt that the number of licensed travelers was much smaller than the actual number of persons who emigrated from Spain. In addition, slave traders transported African slaves to the colonies. Finally, there were some persons, for example, converted Jews or their descendants, who were legally prohibited from entering the colonies but did so anyway.

A detailed study of emigrants from Spain between 1560 and 1600 reveals that Andalusians continued to be the largest regional group, accounting for nearly 40 percent of the total of just more than 26,000 that have been identified. The province of SEVILLE was particularly important, providing more than twice as many emigrants than the second-ranked province of Badajoz. Unlike earlier trends, emigrants from New Castile were more numerous than those from Extremadura, although the latter region was well above the fourth-ranked region, Old Castile.

The nature of emigrants by 1560 had already changed. Young men anxious for adventure but lacking employment prospects were being replaced by more women and children, a majority from the province of Seville, which accounted for almost 30 percent of emigrants between 1560 and 1579. Government officials and high-ranking clerics were taking large retinues. By the last years of the 16th century, over half of male emigrants were servants, as were more than a sixth of female emigrants. Seville also accounted for a preponderance of merchants going to the colonies.

The destinations of identified emigrants changed over the course of the 16th century. In the years 1540–59, PERU and CHARCAS attracted more than 50 percent more emigrants than did New Spain, a reflection of the drawing power of the wealth taken from the Incas. Between 1560 and 1579, however, New Spain drew nearly twice as many immigrants as Peru and Charcas. With SILVER MINING at POTOSÍ shooting upward, Peru and Charcas again outdrew New Spain from 1580 to 1600. Immigration to peripheral regions was far smaller. Distant CHILE attracted only 831 and VENEZUELA only 234 licensed immigrants from Spain between 1560, and 1600.

Immigrants directly from Spain or from other colonies had created remarkably complete societies in some locales by 1560, and the total white population, made up

of PENINSULARS and their CREOLE descendants, by a conservative estimate, was nearly 120,000 by 1570.

While the extent of Spanish migration to the colonies is uncertain for the 16th century, it is even more so for the 17th century. An estimate based on ship capacity and an approximate number of sailors who remained in the colonies gives a total of about 240,000 emigrants. Almost half of this number went to the colonies between 1601 and 1625 at an annual rate of 4,452, the highest of any comparable period during Spanish rule. The pace of emigration slowed between 1626 and 1650 to about 3,340 per year and then fell to only 820 a year for the remainder of the century. The natural increase in the population perceived as white, however, put the total Spanish population in 1650 at an estimated 655,000.

The number of Spaniards immigrating to the overseas territories in the 18th century is unknown, but several figures suggest it was modest. In 1810, New Spain, the richest and most populous colony, had about 15,000 peninsulars. Approximately half of this number were men in the military and about 1,500 were in the clergy. MEXICO CITY had 2,185 men and 174 women from Europe in 1790. The mining town of GUANAJUATO in 1792 had but 314 residential peninsulars, almost half of them merchants and apprentices. BUENOS AIRES in 1810 had 2,167 peninsulars. In Oaxaca, Orizaba, and Jalapa, peninsular merchants and cashiers totaled 219 men, 60 percent of the cities' total number of peninsulars. There were probably fewer than 40,000 peninsulars in the colonies in 1810.

The wars of independence quickly reduced the number of civilian peninsulars. SIMÓN BOLÍVAR declared “war to the death” against peninsulars in 1813. “Any Spaniard who does not . . . work against tyranny in behalf of this just cause . . . will be shot by a firing squad.” This was the most extreme anti-peninsular proclamation, but throughout the Americas, peninsulars faced ill treatment either during the wars or shortly after independence was achieved. The descendants of Spanish immigrants had taken control.

Immigration to BRAZIL began in the early 16th century and by about 1570, there were probably between 17,000 and 22,000 Portuguese immigrants, most of them in the captaincies of Bahia and Pernambuco. It appears that fewer Portuguese women immigrated to Brazil than Spanish women did to the Spanish colonies. Young, unmarried men were the most common immigrants; their social status ranged from peasants and laborers to low-level gentry or *fidalgos*, although the Portuguese Crown made a point of shipping criminals (*degredados*) to Brazil. Jews and New Christians were also more numerous than in the Spanish colonies, for the INQUISITION in Brazil was weaker.

The gold rush to MINAS GERAIS in the first half of the 18th century attracted an enormous number of immigrants. Many came from the northern Portuguese province of Minho. Although the Portuguese Crown established a passport system in 1720, thousands ignored it.

The largest single immigration at one time occurred in 1808 when the Portuguese Court and some 10,000 followers arrived in Rio de Janeiro. About 4,000 returned to Portugal with JOHN VI in 1821.

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independence See BRAZIL, INDEPENDENCE OF; MEXICO, INDEPENDENCE OF; SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA, INDEPENDENCE OF.

Index of Prohibited Books The first Spanish *Index of Prohibited Books* was published in 1551 in an effort to identify and prevent the entry and circulation in Spain and its colonies of books that contained heretical or otherwise objectionable material. The initial *Index*, largely a reprint of one published by the University of Louvain in 1550, included all works by 16 authors, mostly Protestant leaders. A larger *Index* published in 1559 included about 700 books, almost two-thirds of them in Latin and published outside Spain.

The Tribunal of the INQUISITION assumed the responsibility of policing potentially dangerous works. In the 1559 *Index*, special attention was paid to Erasmus; literary works in Castilian, including *Lazarillo de Tormes*; and works of piety in Castilian, for example, Luis de Granada's *Book of Prayer* and Francisco Borja's *Works of a Christian*. Until the 18th century, no other Spanish *Index* added notable Castilian works of poetry and literature. In 1564, the Council of Trent issued an index that was considered authoritative by the authors of Spain's next *Index of Prohibited Books*. The 1571 Spanish *Index* began the practice of removing passages from otherwise unobjectionable books. In the early 1580s, a two-volume *Index* was published. One volume listed 2,315 prohibited books, of which 74 percent were in Latin and only 8.5 percent in Castilian; the second volume listed expurgated works. All works written by Peter Abelard and François Rabelais were banned, and particular books by Jean Bodin, Niccolò Machiavelli, and others were prohibited. Subsequent *Indexes* were issued in 1612, 1632, and 1640. Despite their repeated publication, the lists of banned and expurgated books actually affected few readers, and private libraries often included works in the *Index*.

In the 18th century, new editions of the *Index* appeared in 1707, 1747, and 1790. They continued

to ban all works by Martin Luther, John Calvin, and Erasmus, and particular works by Petrarch, Giovanni Boccaccio, Machiavelli, and other authors were prohibited or expurgated. Other books listed included Pierre Bayle's *Historical and Critical Dictionary*, Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws*, the French *Encyclopaedia*, Guillaume Raynal's *Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, William Robertson's *History of America*, and all works by Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the noted French philosopher Voltaire. Both the Inquisition and the Spanish government tried to keep out French works related to the French Revolution.

Additionally, the Crown prohibited the independent publication and distribution of works. Starting in 1527, it sought to prevent any foreigners from obtaining "any picture or description of the Indies" and banned conquistador Hernando Cortés's *Letters*. In 1556, PHILIP II required the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES to approve any book on an American topic. He banned works on indigenous cultures in 1577, including the ethnohistorical study of the Nahuas by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún known as the *Florentine Codex* (eventually published 1950–74). The botanical and zoological information collected by Doctor Francisco Hernández, the *protomédico* sent to the colonies, was similarly suppressed. In the second edition of Agustín de Zárate's *History of Peru*, published in 1577, three chapters on indigenous beliefs, legends, and religion were excised. During the TÚPAC AMARU II revolt, the Crown banned GARCILASO DE LA VEGA's *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, originally published in the early 17th century.

Despite the *Index of Prohibited Books*, colonial intellectuals were usually able to obtain publications they wanted to read, in part because inefficiency and lack of adequate staff rendered the Inquisition incapable of keeping prohibited literature out of the colonies. As one frustrated inquisitor noted, prohibited books often entered the colonies with covers identifying perfectly acceptable works.

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Indies, the Spaniards applied *the Indies* to all of their colonial possessions in the Americas or New World. The singular form, *India*, in the Middle Ages referred simply to lands to the east of the Muslim world. In its plural form with an article, as Christopher Columbus used

it, *the Indies* meant Asia. Rarely used earlier, the plural apparently is the consequence of dividing India into *India the Greater*, *India the Lesser*, and the *Indian Islands*. It thus could refer to all lands known as India, a term with little specificity at the time.

Having reached “the Indies,” Columbus logically referred to its inhabitants as “Indians” (*indios/indias*), ignoring native designations of individual indigenous groups.

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indigo A dyestuff processed from a number of indigoferous plants, indigo first complemented and then replaced woad as a blue dye in textiles. Indigo was initially exported from VERACRUZ, but by the early 1560s, Guatemalan production based on the *xiquilite* plant was under way. Several locations in the CARIBBEAN, including JAMAICA and Saint Domingue, became producers in the 17th century; Saint Domingue became the most important indigo producer in the Americas. South Carolina also produced indigo, and Venezuelan and Brazilian indigo entered the market in the 1770s. Substantial amounts of indigo exported to Spain and Portugal were normally then sent to other parts of Europe.

The hardy, perennial plant was most productive in its second and third years, after which it was removed and the land reseeded. Locusts, grasshoppers, and caterpillars could devastate a crop, but significant labor was needed for only a few weeks a year. Workers cut the plants above the soil and transported the stalk and leaves to the dye works (*obrajes de añil*), where they were put in large vats and covered with water to ferment for six to 20 hours. The next stage involved draining the indigo into a second vat, where it was vigorously beaten, either by hand or a wheel driven by horse or water. The third stage involved draining the water and shoveling the remaining indigo into boxes in which it dried, a process that might take up to 40 days. The mass was then cut into pieces that were wrapped in cloth, stored, and sold. Usually, there were three grades priced depending on quality.

Processing indigo was miserable work that attracted endless flies and thus ensured the transmission of infections. In GUATEMALA, the Crown prohibited indigenous labor starting in the mid-16th century but never secured compliance. Planters lacked access to enough black slaves to meet demand and claimed *CASTAS* were unreliable. A 1738 ruling permitted planters to hire Amerindians as free laborers. In 1784, the Crown allowed forced labor of *castas* and free blacks who neither owned nor leased land planted in specified crops; in addition, up to one-quarter of a village’s able-bodied indigenous males could be drafted. As in numerous other economic activities,

merchants supplied planters with CREDIT and profited handsomely.

The amount of indigo produced in colonial Guatemala, principally on the coastal plain of present EL SALVADOR, became significant in the latter decades of the 16th century and continued to be important. From 1606 to 1620, registered imports in SEVILLE averaged 240,000 pounds annually, but this may be less than half of total production. Guatemalan production after 1620 stagnated until the end of the century, when expansion began again. Between 1772 and 1802, registered exports ranged from a low of 363,000 pounds in 1774 to a peak of 1.344 million pounds in 1797; total production might have reached an average of a million pounds a year. Between 1801 and independence, however, production fell, dropping as low as 257,000 in 1813.

Venezuelan indigo production expanded in the late 18th century, averaging almost 740,000 pounds a year from 1793 to 1796. International competition from the East Indies also disrupted the European market for Guatemalan indigo. Despite tax exemptions starting in 1803, the indigo producers of Guatemala were in decline. Indigo production in India averaged 5 million pounds a year from 1805 to 1814, an amount greater than all American sources combined.

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industry See MINING; OBRAJES; SHIPBUILDING; SUGAR; TOBACCO.

Inquisition The presence of Portuguese CONVERSOS and foreign Protestants in the Americas stirred PHILIP II to replace the episcopal inquisitions of the bishops with tribunals of the Inquisition in MEXICO CITY and LIMA modeled on the Tribunal of the Inquisition established in Castile in 1480. Philip III authorized a third tribunal in CARTAGENA DE INDIAS in 1610 to deal with foreign heretics in the CARIBBEAN.

The tribunals’ jurisdiction extended only to persons who had been baptized, and notably, Amerindians were normally exempt because they were considered permanent minors unable to make a rational decision of heresy. The inquisitorial procedure began with either self-denunciation or denunciation by an agent (*famil-*

Inquisition in Mexico: Classification of Cases, 1571–1700¹

TYPE OF CASE	NUMBER OF CASES	PERCENTAGE OF CASES
Heresy*	525	27.5
Heterodoxical tendencies	11	0.6
Minor religious transgressions**	568	29.7
Solicitation in the confessional***	157	8.2
Sexual transgressions****	462	24.1
Witchcraft/magic	138	7.2
Civil crimes	52	2.7
Total	1,913	100

* Majority were Judaizers; another group was foreign seamen

** Includes blasphemy, “heretical propositions,” disrespect toward the Inquisition, irreverent statements or acts toward the sacraments, sacred objects or places, and disobedience to teachings of the Catholic Church

*** Much more common than in Spain (2.6% of cases)

**** Includes bigamy and polygamy

¹ There are several lists giving total number of cases between 1,456 and 1,933. The table above is drawn from *Archivo General de la Nación (México)*, Riva Palacio, vol. 49.

Source: Solange Alberro. *Inquisición y sociedad en México, 1571–1700* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988), p. 207.

iar) of the tribunal or another person. If an inquisitor believed the charge had merit, an investigation followed. If it substantiated the charge, the suspect was arrested, and his or her goods were sequestered to pay the costs of imprisonment.

Secrecy separated the Inquisition from other judicial tribunals. The prisoner was not informed of the charges or who made them but repeatedly instructed to confess. The accused could plead extenuating circumstances, such as insanity or drunkenness. In fact, most persons arrested knew the reason why, for they were indeed guilty. Those who persisted in claiming innocence and supported it, for example, by formally naming their enemies, might secure release; others might be tortured by procedures imported from judicial practices in Europe. Prisoners pronounced guilty were subjected to either a private or a public *AUTO DE FE*. The former occurred in the Inquisition’s offices; the latter was an enormously popular event attended by thousands of onlookers, including royal officials and clerics. At the *auto de fe*, the Inquisition decreed penance or punishment enforced by the state. The ultimate penalty was death at the stake, a penalty given to no more than 100 nonrecanting heretics during the colonial era. Much more common were fines, flogging, gagging, confiscation of property, and exile. In all cases, the victim’s family was punished by a prohibition through the great-grandchildren of securing ecclesiastical or government offices. Since the three American tribunals together considered about 6,000 cases, many thousands of individuals were affected directly and adversely by its activities.

The tribunal in Lima began with the formal recognition of an inquisitor and staff on January 29, 1570. Between then and its abolition in 1820, it held about 40 *autos de fe*. It tried some 3,000 persons and con-

demned 48 to death at the stake. The most common infraction was bigamy, accounting for 20 percent of cases. Judaizers accounted for 17 percent; witchcraft, 12 percent; heresy, 10 percent; and solicitation by clergy, 7 percent. Between 1700 and 1820, bigamy and witchcraft cases accounted for nearly half of the cases tried, even though the Crown assigned jurisdiction for most bigamy cases to civil courts in 1754 and confirmed that decision in 1788.

The Peruvian Inquisition went beyond the *INDEX OF PROHIBITED BOOKS* and would suppress the circulation of other books it considered objectionable. It was possible for individuals to obtain licenses to read banned works, and at least 51 did so between 1738 and 1817, including the physician HIPÓLITO UNANUE and the *AUDIENCIA* minister José Baquíjano y Carrillo.

Some inquisitors found the temptations their offices provided irresistible. Inquisitor Pedro Ordóñez Flórez left his position in Lima in 1611 with an estate of 184,225 pesos.

Although Portugal established a tribunal of the Inquisition in 1547, it did not establish one in BRAZIL. On three occasions, it sent special agents to Brazil, but normally, bishops were responsible for inquisitorial activity. The local representatives typically levied the kind of charges against morality and blasphemy that filled the dockets in Spain and its colonies.

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intendant After earlier experimentation, in 1749, the Crown established the intendant system throughout Spain in order to provide more effective administration and to increase revenue. Following the restoration of CUBA to Spanish rule in 1763, an intendant was introduced there. An intendency was also established in VENEZUELA, in 1777. Between 1782 and 1787, the office was founded throughout the mainland colonies with the exception of NEW GRANADA. In final form, there were nearly 40 intendencies.

In almost every case, the intendants provided a level of provincial administration that had previously been absent as they represented clusters of earlier districts, notably *alcaldías mayores*, *corregimientos*, and governorships (see *ALCALDE MAYOR*; *CORREGIDOR/CORREGIMIENTO*). In New Spain, 149 *alcaldías mayores* were distributed among the 12 intendencies. In PERU, about 60 *corregimientos* fell within the jurisdiction of eight intendencies.

Powerful provincial officials, intendants were to oversee public administration; inspect their province annually; promote economic growth; map the province; and improve roads, bridges, municipal government, and sanitation. In addition, they were to handle judicial cases within the province with the assistance of an attorney known as a *teniente y asesor* (lieutenant and legal adviser); appeals went to the relevant *AUDIENCIA*. Within their jurisdictions, intendants also had responsibilities to pay MILITARY forces and to inspect supplies; serve as vice patron, a task that led to conflict with bishops; and, of primary importance, oversee the collection, disbursement, and transfer of treasury funds.

Because of the intendants' extensive responsibilities, the Crown paid them high salaries—often 6,000 pesos, a sum larger than *audiencia* ministers received—and selected appointees with considerable care. Officers with meritorious service in the army or navy were often appointed. With only rare exceptions, the men named were PENINSULARS; the level of discrimination against CREOLES and native sons was much greater than was the case in *audiencia* appointments made at the same time.

The principal defect in the intendant system was the inadequate pay given to the district officials known as *SUBDELEGADOS*, who served under the intendants. These men literally replaced the previous district officials—the *corregidores*, *alcaldes mayores*, and sometimes governors. Nominated by the intendant and appointed for a five-year term by a VICEROY, *subdelegados* included many creoles. Instead of a fixed amount, they received 3 percent of the TRIBUTE collected in their district (*subdelegación*) in payment for their services. As a result, many resurrected the abuses of their predecessors, including the *REPARTO* of merchandise that the Crown had sought to eliminate.

The results of the intendant system were mixed. In Peru, revenue rose initially but could not sustain the increase. In NEW SPAIN, previous measures taken during and after the inspection tour (*VISITA*) of JOSÉ DE GÁLVEZ Y GALLARDO had already increased revenue, and the inten-

dant system, as its critics had predicted, added costs but not benefits. Everywhere, however, the fact that creoles had been virtually excluded from the important, prestigious, and remunerative new position rankled and added to other grievances that would be voiced after 1808.

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Iturrigaray y Aróstegui, José de (b. 1742–d. 1815) *Spanish viceroy of New Spain* José de Iturrigaray y Aróstegui was born in CÁDIZ, Spain, and followed a MILITARY career. He fought in the Seven Years' War and was captain of the cavalry regiment of Alcántara when he entered the Order of Santiago in 1765. In 1786, he married the daughter of Agustín de Jáuregui, former VICEROY of PERU (1780–84). In 1793, Iturrigaray distinguished himself in the war with revolutionary France and, in 1801, led the army of Andalusia against Portugal, serving under royal favorite Generalissimo MANUEL GODOY Y ÁLVAREZ DE FARIA, Prince of the Peace. It was this service and Godoy's favor that brought Iturrigaray an appointment as Viceroy of NEW SPAIN.

Iturrigaray entered his new assignment on January 5, 1803, and quickly proved himself a genial personal-



Viceroy of New Spain José de Iturrigaray was overthrown in 1808 by a peninsular coup. (Private collection)

ity. Well disposed toward Americans, he was still serving when the riot at Aranjuez toppled Godoy and his master, CHARLES IV, and brought FERDINAND VII to the throne. Word of this unexampled event reached Mexico on June 18, 1808; five days later came news of riots in Madrid on May 2 and the royal family's departure for Bayonne. On July 14, Iturrigaray learned that Charles IV and Ferdinand VII had abdicated to Napoleon on May 5 and 6, 1808. The resulting constitutional crisis echoed in the colonies, and two things became clear in New Spain: The French were occupying Spain and multiple JUNTAS claimed to be the country's government of resistance.

On August 9, Iturrigaray made the popular move of suspending further collection of funds under the CONSOLIDACIÓN DE VALES REALES. Additionally, he listened to CREOLES who wanted a junta for New Spain until Ferdinand was freed but suggested the viceroy should remain in control of the government. This attention to

the AUTONOMISTS was too much for PENINSULAR merchants and officials. On the night of September 15–16, 1808, they staged a coup that quickly removed the viceroy from office; the Audiencia of Mexico recognized the action and appointed the aged officer Pedro de Garibay as his successor the following day. Iturrigaray and his family were quickly sent packing to VERACRUZ and from there to Spain, where he died.

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Jamaica An island of the Greater Antilles, Jamaica had an Arawak population of probably no more than 20,000 when Juan de Esquivel conquered it and began enslaving the native population in 1509. The few Spanish settlers introduced CATTLE that by the mid-17th century had formed large, feral herds. In 1655, the English captured the island as a token prize for the failed Western Design of Oliver Cromwell. This event initiated a transformation of the island. Small-scale farming and stock gave way to its use as a base by BUCCANEERS, especially at PORT ROYAL, located across the harbor from Kingston, for the remainder of the century. The island became a commercial entrepôt for illicit TRADE with the Spanish colonies and a site of SUGAR PLANTATIONS worked by imported African slaves (see SLAVERY).

Jamaica's English merchants in the late 17th and 18th centuries delighted in supplying the Spanish colonies with slaves and merchandise. They traded for GOLD through CARTAGENA DE INDIAS, hides from CUBA, CACAO and INDIGO from Central America, and other products. Throughout the 18th and well into the 19th century, Jamaica accounted for at least half of Cartagena's trade.

Exporting 6,300 tons of sugar in 1714, by the middle of the 18th century, Jamaica had surpassed Barbados and become Britain's premier sugar colony of the CARIBBEAN. In addition, there were cotton, INDIGO, ginger, and coffee plantations. An indication of the size of Jamaica's plantation economy is the number of slaves in 1787; of some 220,000 on the island, about 160,000 worked in the fields. In 1800, the slave population was some 300,000, the free colored population was about 35,000, and the white population was 15,000. As a result of the Haitian Revolution, Jamaica's share of the sugar market increased,

and by the early 19th century it was exporting more sugar than pre-revolutionary Saint Domingue.

See also JAMAICA (Vol. IV).

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Jenkins' Ear, War of (1739–1748) Merged with the War of Austrian Succession in Europe in 1742, the New World conflict between 1739 and 1748 was called the War of Jenkins' Ear. The war pitted Spain against Great Britain and in large part was the result of Spanish efforts, authorized by the Treaty of Seville in 1729, to impede British smugglers in the CARIBBEAN (see SMUGGLING). The unusual name of the war derives from the claim of Robert Jenkins, a British sea captain, that Spanish coast guards had severed his ear in 1731.

The war was important for Spain and the colonies in several ways. British admiral Edward Vernon's success against PORTOBELLO in late 1739 was the last blow to the fleet system to South America (see FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM). Subsequently, single register ships handled TRADE from Spain to the South American colonies. The defeat of a British attack on CARTAGENA DE INDIAS in 1741 was an important triumph for the Spanish forces. The additional financial stress placed on Spain by this war led to the sale of numerous appointments to American AUDIENCIAS and, notably in LIMA and SANTIAGO DE CHILE, left native

sons and long-serving ministers present on the courts for decades, a circumstance that increased corruption and reduced the government's ability to secure efficient administration.

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Jesuits Founded in 1540, the Society of Jesus was a highly centralized religious order of the CATHOLIC CHURCH led initially by the BASQUE Ignatius Loyola. Its members took vows of poverty, chastity, obedience, and special obedience to the pope. The head of the society was the superior general, who resided in Rome. By the time of Loyola's death in 1556, the Society of Jesus totaled 936 members; this number expanded to 15,544 by 1626 and about 23,000 by 1759.

The first Jesuits sent to the Americas went to BRAZIL in 1549. Others reached Florida in the mid-1560s, PERU in 1568, NEW SPAIN in 1572, GUATEMALA in 1582, Tucumán in 1585, QUITO in 1586, and CHILE in 1593. As in Europe, EDUCATION was a major focus in the wake of Protestantism and the Council of Trent. Jesuits established schools (*COLEGIOS*) in numerous CITIES, for example, LIMA, MEXICO CITY, PUEBLA, GUADALAJARA, ZACATECAS, Chihuahua, and BAHIA; in New Spain, they created seven *colegios* by 1600 and had 26 *colegios* and six seminaries by 1767; in eight locations in Spanish America, such as Córdoba, they founded UNIVERSITIES. In Brazil, they established *colegios* in the 16th century at SALVADOR DA BAHIA, RIO DE JANEIRO, Olinda, SÃO PAULO, and Vitória and three more in the 18th century. In addition, they operated several seminaries.

The curriculum at Jesuit *colegios* everywhere followed a plan of studies (*Ratio studiorum*) promulgated in 1599 by Father General Claudio Aquaviva. Students who knew some Latin passed through an integrated sequence that included three courses in Latin grammar, one course in humanities, one in rhetoric, and three in philosophy.

To provide students with free education, the society secured charitable bequests, purchased urban and rural assets, and established funds supported by profitable agricultural and livestock ventures, SUGAR refineries, textile mills (*OBRAJES*), rental property, and other investments (see AGRICULTURE). Unhindered by Castilian inheritance laws or profligate heirs, benefiting from mortmain, and enjoying comparatively low overheads, the Society of Jesus amassed substantial landed estates that were managed by skilled overseers.

The Jesuits were also active missionaries on the frontiers of Spanish and Portuguese settlement. They

sought to christianize the indigenous population and to bring about their assimilation into colonial society (that is, Europeanization). In Brazil, they founded numerous *ALDEIAS*. In the western Amazon, they established some 60 missions, of which no more than 40 operated at any one time. Between 1682 and 1744, Jesuits in Lima and Santa Cruz de la Sierra founded 25 missions in Moxos in northeastern CHARCAS. In New Spain, they were particularly active in the northwest and Baja California. Their 30 missions with nearly 100,000 GUARANÍ in PARAGUAY led to accusations that they were establishing a separate domain.

Jesuits on the frontier sought to attract NATIVE AMERICANS into missions by offering food, tools, and other goods. Once successful, they sought to make the mission self-sufficient by persuading the indigenous people to grow crops that promoted a settled existence. These mission Indians became, in some regions, an important source of seasonal agricultural workers either hired by landowners as free wage laborers or distributed through labor drafts (*REPARTIMIENTO*). As the history of the Guevavi mission in southwestern Arizona illustrates, the Jesuits could fail in their efforts.

Because Jesuit interests involved control over the native population, they repeatedly came into conflict with those of military officials, frontiersmen, and other settlers. Envy of Jesuit success more than failure, however, accounts for the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal and Spain and their empires.

In Spain, alumni of the Jesuits' residential colleges at the Universities of Salamanca, Valladolid, and Alcalá de Henares had long enjoyed preferential treatment in patronage for appointments to chancelleries and councils, the INQUISITION, and high-ranking positions in the church. The Jesuit missions in Paraguay were the source of endless rumors of great wealth, abuse of Amerindians, and a Jesuit state. Exaggerated reports of Jesuit wealth used to support *colegios* and seminaries also aroused cupidity. In addition, Jesuits were suspected of provoking the "Hat and Cloak Riot," or Motín de Esquilache, in Madrid in 1766, which drove CHARLES III from the capital. To a regalist monarch, the Jesuits' primary loyalty to the pope rather than the Crown was unpalatable as well.

In 1755, the MARQUÊS DE POMBAL expelled the Jesuits from their missions; four years later he expelled them from the Portuguese Empire, an action affecting about 600 men. The French acted next, seizing Jesuit properties in 1762 and expelling them in 1764. The Spanish acted last.

The expulsion of 1767 affected about 3,000 Jesuits in Spain and more than 2,000 in the American colonies, including 239 foreigners and 590 lay brothers. Specifically, 562 were expelled from Mexico; 437 from Paraguay; 413 from Peru; 315 from Chile; 226 from the Kingdom of Quito; and 201 from NEW GRANADA. The papacy tacitly approved the expulsions when it suppressed the society worldwide in 1773. At the time of their expulsion from

Spanish America, the Jesuits ministered to more than 250,000 Amerindians in more than 200 missions.

Bishops were assigned the task of providing replacements for the Jesuits in their missions. In most cases, this resulted in missions being turned over to diocesan clergy or religious orders, notably the FRANCISCANS, or simply collapsing.

Both the Portuguese and Spanish monarchs assumed ownership of properties held by the expelled Jesuits. The Spanish Crown reassigned Jesuit *colegios* for public or church use and created administrative offices to oversee the sale of the revenue-producing properties, or *temporalidades*. The affected properties included some of the most valuable HACIENDAS in the colonies, for example, Santa Lucía in New Spain. The income realized was to pay for pensions to the Jesuits, religious obligations, administration of properties until sold, and other royal expenses in Spain. Although many Jesuit properties were sold, thus creating a vested interest against their return, others were still under royal control into the wars of independence.

The papacy restored the Society of Jesus in 1814, and Ferdinand VII authorized the Jesuits' return but did not return their properties. The liberals in Spain expelled the society again in 1820.

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John VI (b. 1767–d. 1826) *regent and monarch of Portugal* John VI was the second son of Pedro III and Maria. His future marriage was arranged by treaty in 1777 to Carlota Joaquina, daughter of CHARLES IV and Maria Luisa of Spain; the marriage took place in 1790 and was followed by a life of marital discord improved by separate residences. Following the deaths of his father in 1786 and older brother in 1788 and the descent of his mother into madness, in 1792, John (João in Portuguese) took over running the government for Portugal and its colonies. In 1799, he was formally vested as regent following recognition that his mother's insanity was permanent.

A hunter of game and fowl, John was an intelligent, pious, gluttonous, and poorly dressed regent who took his responsibilities seriously even if he preferred inaction. Napoleon, however, forced his hand in 1807 by sending an army across Spain to Lisbon. Having anticipated this possibility, John implemented a plan to escape with his court to BRAZIL under British naval protection. The royal family and some 10,000 Portuguese reached Brazil, and in March 1808, John reached RIO DE JANEIRO.

Having opened direct TRADE to Brazil with all countries with which Portugal enjoyed peace in 1808, two years later, John agreed to treaties with Britain that gave its powerful ally most-favored-nation trading status and a customs duty of 15 percent. In addition, he agreed to limitations on Portuguese involvement in the African slave trade and promised to support its eventual abolition (see SLAVERY). The regent sent forces to support the Spanish VICEROY in MONTEVIDEO against both the GAUCHO army of JOSÉ GERVASIO ARTIGAS and the forces of BUENOS AIRES, continuing a long history of Portuguese interest in the BANDA ORIENTAL.

On December 17, 1815, the Kingdom of Brazil was proclaimed in Rio, coequal with the Kingdom of Portugal. Following the death of his mother three days later, the regent was proclaimed King John VI. The following year, he sent Portuguese troops to the Banda Oriental, then a republic under Artigas, for what turned out to be a long involvement. In 1817, a revolt in PERNAMBUCO was quickly squelched.

The RIEGO REVOLT in Spain initiated on January 1, 1820, soon forced FERDINAND VII to become a constitutional monarch again. In Portugal, a successful liberal revolt broke out in August 1820; the victors quickly issued a call for elections to a constituent Cortes that would write a constitution. Invited to return to Portugal, John stalled. In early February, a rising in BAHIA supported the new government in Portugal. Amid the turmoil was serious consideration of sending Prince dom Pedro to Portugal to try to gain control of the revolution. In the end, however, a military revolt in Rio that supported the constitution, although quickly quelled by dom Pedro's presence, resulted in John, Carlota Joaquina, and son Miguel leaving for Portugal on April 26, 1821. They reached Lisbon in July.

The Portuguese Cortes quickly voted to remove cokingdom status for Brazil and to eliminate government agencies established there. Word of these actions stimulated an immediate response, which resulted in Brazil's declaration of independence. On November 15, 1825, John recognized Brazilian independence, retaining the title of king of Portugal and Brazil, but bestowing the title of emperor on his son Pedro. The Portuguese monarch died the following year.

See also PEDRO I (Vol. III).

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Joseph I (b. 1768–d. 1844) *monarch of Spain and the Indies* Previously king of Naples and Sicily (1806–08) as Guiseppe Napoleone I, Joseph I became king of Spain

and the INDIES by imposition of his younger brother and French emperor Napoleon Bonaparte, on June 6, 1808. His appointment was approved by an assembly at Bayonne composed primarily of French sympathizers (*afrancesados*); on July 7, 1808, the monarch swore his oath of office as prescribed in the Constitution of Bayonne. He sought for five years to rule a country that largely rejected him. The vast majority of Spaniards in Spain and an even larger majority in the colonies considered him the *rey intruso* and supported successive governments of resistance claiming to rule in the name of FERDINAND VII who, along with CHARLES IV, had abdicated the throne and was being held in France.

Joseph reached Madrid on July 20, 1808, and on July 25 was officially proclaimed king. French troops led by Joachim Murat, grand duke of Berg, had entered the capital on March 23 and put down a popular rising on May 2. By mid-July JUNTAS promising to rule until the return of Ferdinand existed throughout most of Spain and, following the lead of the town council of Móstoles, considered themselves at war with France. Britain, which in the previous year had escorted the Portuguese Court to BRAZIL, was already sending guns, ammunition, swords, and money to assist the Junta of Oviedo. The unexpected occurred on July 18, when Spanish forces won a great victory over the French at Bailén, 20 miles (32 km) north of Jaén. The news reached Madrid on July 28. On August 1, Joseph left the capital for northern Spain with an army of nearly 20,000 troops; he made Vitoria his temporary headquarters.

The Spanish victory at Bailén provoked Napoleon to lead more French troops into Spain. He arrived at Vitoria on November 5 and on December 4 entered Madrid. He remained in Spain for some six weeks but failed to win a decisive victory over the British, who disembarked at La Coruña in mid-January. Napoleon's successes, however, were enough to enable Joseph to reenter Madrid on January 22, 1809, and within weeks he established an *afrancesado* cabinet and tried to rule as a progressive monarch, abolishing the old councils, titles of nobility, and male religious orders. In addition, he ordered houses owned by opponents of the regime confiscated and sold.

Late in 1809, the French moved south. A decisive victory over some 52,000 Spanish forces at Ocaña on November 19 opened Andalusia. The JUNTA CENTRAL fled SEVILLE for the Isle of León on the night of January 23, and the French entered the city on February 1, 1810. In early February, some 20,000 French forces began a siege of CÁDIZ that continued until August 25, 1812.

Well before the French lifted the siege of Cádiz, it was apparent that they exercised effective authority only in occupied towns, as Spanish guerrillas were ubiquitous in the countryside. Moreover, while Joseph I was titular ruler of occupied Spain, in fact, the French marshals who commanded the armies that totaled more than 350,000 men by mid-1810 only took orders from Napoleon. The monarch also suffered the affliction of inadequate revenues to cover the cost of the armies, civilian employees,

the royal household, and other expenses. He wrote his brother from Madrid on Christmas Eve 1811 that he was "surrounded by the most horrible misery" and that his "presence here is no longer of any use." The year 1812 was even worse, and in 1813, his reign ended. The monarch left Madrid for the last time on March 17, 1813, traveling with an unwieldy baggage train and a large number of supporters. He entered France on June 28, 1813, king in name only. The Treaty of Valençay, signed in December 1813, brought peace between France and Spain. Ferdinand VII entered Spain on March 24, 1814. After spending some years in the United States, Joseph I ultimately died in Florence.

Supporters of Joseph I, the *afrancesados*, included a number of prominent figures who had begun their careers during the reigns of CHARLES III and Charles IV and held important posts related to the colonies. Among them were Miguel José de Azanza, former VICEROY of NEW SPAIN and 1st duke of Santa Fe by enactment of Joseph I; Miguel de la Grúa Talamanca y Branciforte, 1st marquis of Branciforte, former viceroy of New Spain; Antonio Porlier y Sopranis, 1st marquis of Bajamar, AUDIENCIA minister of CHARCAS and LIMA, councilor and governor of the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES, and secretary of state for Gracia y Justicia of the Indies; Benito María de la Mata Linares, former *audiencia* minister of SANTIAGO DE CHILE, Lima, and BUENOS AIRES, councilor of the Indies, and councilor of state under Joseph I; and Juan Manuel de Moscoso, born in AREQUIPA, bishop of CUZCO and bishop of Granada.

Joseph I initially sought support from Spain's colonies, and the Constitution of Bayonne, dated July 6, 1808, contained articles that provided for colonial representation. Reaction in the colonies to Napoleon's anointment of his brother as Joseph I is exemplified by the response in CARACAS: "... whereupon there were riots in streets and squares, execrations against the usurpers and repeated hurrahs in favour of the adored name of Ferdinand VII." The colonists never accepted Joseph I as their monarch, and his name became a symbol of the hated French who had invaded Spain.

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Juana Inés de la Cruz See CRUZ, JUANA INÉS DE LA.

Juan y Santacilia, Jorge (b. 1713–d. 1773) *Spanish naval officer, scientist, and author* Born in Novelda, Alicante,

Spain and orphaned at the age of three, Jorge Juan y Santacilia concluded his formal EDUCATION at the new naval academy in CÁDIZ. He served in Spain's Mediterranean fleet beginning in 1730 and then was named in 1734 to accompany compatriot ANTONIO DE ULLOA and French scientists Louis Godin and Charles-Marie de la Condamine on an expedition to the Kingdom of QUITO to measure the length of a degree at the equator.

In addition to their scientific work, Juan and Ulloa were secretly charged to observe conditions along their route. After spending considerable time in the AUDIENCIA districts of Quito and LIMA, they left for Spain in October 1744. Four years later, they published *Relación histórica del viaje a la América meridional*, a four-volume work based on their travels that was issued in French in 1752 and in English in 1758 under the title *A Voyage to South-America*. Later editions in Spanish, English, and other languages have also appeared.

Juan and Ulloa completed their confidential report in 1749. Known as *Noticias secretas de América* and full of scathing indictments of the treatment of Amerindians by Spanish officials and clerics, it remained unpublished until 1826, when it appeared in Spanish in London. Subsequently published in a variety of editions, its use for anti-Spanish propaganda is clear in an abridged English version published in Boston in 1878 under the title *Popery Judged by Its Fruits* (see BLACK LEGEND).

In addition to authoring other works, Juan became a rear admiral (*jefe de escuadra*) of the Royal Armada, director of the Royal Seminary of Nobles, a member of the Board of Commerce and Money, and ambassador to Morocco. Following his death, the *Gazeta de Madrid* eulogized that his scientific accomplishments had given him “a place and credit among the scholars (*sabios*) of Europe” confirmed by his membership in the Royal Academy of San Fernando in Madrid, the Academy of Science of Paris, the Royal Society of London, and the Academy of Berlin.

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Antonio de Ulloa and Jorge Juan. *A Voyage to South America, the John Adams Translation* (New York: Knopf, 1964).

judiciary See ALCALDE MAYOR; AUDIENCIA; CASA DE CONTRATACIÓN; CORREGIDOR/CORREGIMIENTO; COUNCIL OF THE INDIES; RELACÃO.

Junín, Battle of (August 6, 1824) After a difficult march from the coast into the Peruvian Andes, an army of liberation of nearly 9,000 prepared for battle with the royalists. The army included veterans of the most

important battles fought to date in the struggle for independence in South America—MAIPÓ in CHILE, Boyacá in NEW GRANADA, CARABOBO in VENEZUELA, and Pichincha in the AUDIENCIA district of QUITO (see SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA, INDEPENDENCE OF). The commanding generals were Antonio José de Sucre and SIMÓN BOLÍVAR. The latter addressed the army in review at Cerro de Pasco before battle: “Soldiers! You are going to free an entire world from slavery, the freedom of the New World is the hope of the universe, you are invincible.” On August 6, 1824, the army of liberation met the royalist army commanded by Field Marshal José de Canterac in the highland plains of Junín, northeast of the Jauja Valley in PERU. Both sides used only cavalry with lances and swords in a short battle of less than two hours. Reportedly, the royalists lost about 250 men and Bolívar's army about 150. Victory gave the liberators control of the valley of Jauja, although the royalists' army withdrew to CUZCO in good enough condition to fight another day. Nonetheless, the royalists' defeat led to another withdrawal from LIMA, which they had reoccupied in February; both results encouraged Bolívar's supporters.

The Battle of Junín was the penultimate battle of the war for independence in Peru. Both royalists and liberators recognized that the next battle would decide the colony's fate and, indeed, the fate of Spain's colonial empire. The BATTLE OF AYACUCHO marked the demise of colonial Spanish America.

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Junta Central (Junta Suprema Central Gubernativa de España e Indias) The French invasion of Spain, abdications of CHARLES IV and FERDINAND VII, and forced accession of the *rey intruso* JOSEPH I to the throne created a constitutional crisis in a context of widespread military failure. Responding that sovereignty returned to the people in the absence of the monarch, Spanish patriots in the late spring of 1808 created JUNTAS in numerous locations to organize defense against the French. Although jealous of their powers, by mid-summer most juntas recognized that a central government of resistance was essential to negotiate with foreign powers and to win the WAR. The resulting Junta Central first met in Aranjuez on September 25, 1808.

The Junta Central initially had 25 deputies representing 13 juntas: Aragon, Castile, Córdoba, Granada, Jaén, Mallorca, Murcia, SEVILLE, Valencia, Asturias, Catalonia, Extremadura, and Toledo. Representatives from Madrid, Navarra, and Galicia soon joined it. The arrival of Napoleon in Spain with an army from France on November 4, 1808, and his subsequent movement toward Madrid prompted the Junta Central to abandon Aranjuez on December 1, 1808. Napoleon reached Charmartin near Madrid the following day but did not pursue the

Junta Central as its members fled to SEVILLE, arriving on December 17, 1808. Although England had agreed to support the patriots on June 15, the flight and desperate need for funds to prosecute the war led the Junta on January 22, 1809, to instruct the nine viceroalties and CAPTAINCIES GENERAL of the empire, as “an essential and integral part of the Spanish Monarchy,” to hold indirect elections for 10 deputies to join it (see VICEROY/VICEROYALTY).

Aside from a disregarded invitation to the four viceroalties and GUATEMALA and CUBA from Joseph I in July 1808, the call for elections and deputies to be sent to Spain was unprecedented. As various municipalities had done historically for representatives and agents at court, they provided the deputies with instructions indicating policy changes they were to pursue. The inequality in the number of representatives from the American realms compared to those from Spanish provinces was apparent to all. Nonetheless, in most regions of the Spanish monarchy, elections took place.

The cumbersome electoral process and the short remaining life of the Junta Central precluded representatives sent from the Americas reaching the Junta before it expired. Just before its demise, on January 1, 1810, it ordered elections for a national Cortes to be convoked as a unicameral body. In Spain, each provincial junta and city that had been represented in the historic Cortes could provide a deputy; in addition, every 50,000 inhabitants could elect another deputy. In the Americas, each province could elect a deputy, but there was no provision for additional deputies based on population.

With Joseph I accompanying an army into Andalusia in late 1809, on January 24, 1810, the Junta Central abandoned Seville for the Isle of León, where CÁDIZ was located. Five days later, it appointed a five-member COUNCIL OF REGENCY and dissolved itself, leaving it to the Regency to set September 1810 for the opening of the CORTES OF CÁDIZ.

In its brief existence, the Junta Central failed in its principal mission of winning the war against the French. Indeed, the French had effectively driven it off the peninsula and destroyed its credibility. Certainly, the prospects of defeating the French looked bleak when the new Regency assumed its responsibilities on the Isle of León on February 1, 1810. As Americans interpreted conditions on receiving news of the change in government and extent of French occupation, only the most optimistic could believe that Spain would expel the armies of the greatest power in Europe.

The very existence of juntas and the Junta Central stimulated political discussion in the colonies about fundamental notions of sovereignty, elections, equality, and a Spanish nation rather than an empire with colonies. The desire for autonomy present in 1808 grew with the French occupation of Spain. No colonists supported Joseph I, and the idea of autonomy initially meant maintaining freedom from French rule (almost always in the name of Ferdinand VII). The intellectual step from free-

dom from French rule to freedom from any external rule, however, was small. A political revolution had begun.

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juntas The creation of juntas, or ruling committees, in Spain quickly followed the abdications of FERDINAND VII and CHARLES IV and the presence of a French army. The examples stirred a desire to follow suit in a number of Spain’s American colonies.

On May 25, 1808, the Supreme Junta of Government of Oviedo was established; it was the first of many Spanish juntas created to resist the French government. Within days, other juntas existed in SEVILLE, Cartagena, Murcia, Valencia, Zaragoza, Santander, La Coruña, Jaén, Córdoba, Granada, Badajoz, Valladolid, and other locations. All claimed that sovereignty returned to the people in the absence of the monarch and that they represented the people. The JUNTA SUPREMA DE SEVILLA specified in its title Spain’s overseas dominions (the Indies) and immediately sent agents to the Americas to obtain recognition and American SILVER.

The juntas’ primary objectives were to fight against the French, to provide financial support and supplies to the MILITARY units raised, and to maintain patriotic and popular enthusiasm for the conflict. Although a number of juntas sent representatives to the JUNTA CENTRAL when it convened in August 1808, some were reluctant to give the more expansive body full authority over such things as recruiting soldiers, soliciting funds, and requisitioning arms and supplies.

After the first often confusing accounts of events in spring 1808 reached the Americas and it became clear that Spain had no single recognized government, CREOLES in the Americas who sought home rule, but rarely independence, began agitating for juntas or other bodies to rule in the name of Ferdinand VII until his return. In NEW SPAIN, VICEROY JOSÉ DE ITURRIGARAY Y ARÓSTEGUI called together an assembly of notables that met four times in August and September 1808; he was ousted by a PENINSULAR coup as a result. On August 10, 1809, a short-lived junta was created in QUITO with the marqués de Selva Alegre as president. On April 19, 1810, a junta was created in CARACAS and accompanied by the deposition of Captain General Vicente de Emparán y Orbe and the Audiencia of Caracas; they were exiled shortly afterward. A junta was created in CARTAGENA DE INDIAS on May 22, 1810. In BUENOS AIRES, a junta created on May 25, 1810, initiated home rule in the name of Ferdinand VII that continued until the UNITED

PROVINCES OF THE RÍO DE LA PLATA declared formal independence in 1816. Juntas were established in other regions as well, for example, in BOGOTÁ on July 20, 1810. On September 18, 1810, the Junta de Gobierno was created by a *CABILDO ABIERTO* in SANTIAGO DE CHILE. In ASUNCIÓN, PARAGUAY, a three-man junta was created on May 15, 1811, but by 1815, it had been transformed into the dictatorship of Dr. José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia.

The juntas had relatively short lives. While some in Spain persisted until the return of Ferdinand in early 1814, juntas in the Americas were repressed everywhere but Buenos Aires and Asunción. The return of Ferdinand VII ended their claims to legitimacy. In some regions, however, explicit declarations of independence had already appeared by 1814.

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Junta Suprema de Sevilla (Junta Suprema de España e Indias) The abdications and detention of FERDINAND VII and CHARLES IV in France resulted in the formation of numerous JUNTAS in Spain claiming to rule in Ferdinand's name until his return. The most important was the Junta Suprema de Sevilla, also known as the Junta Suprema de España e Indias, created on May 27, 1808. Its president in the critical months before the JUNTA CENTRAL convened on September 25, 1808, was Francisco de Saavedra, a native of SEVILLE and a seasoned government official with experience in the Indies as well as Spain, where he was minister of the treasury (REAL HACIENDA) in 1797–98 and secretary of state for some months in 1798.

The Junta Suprema's major accomplishments were to declare WAR against France, secure assistance from Britain, create an army that defeated the French at Bailén on July 19, 1808, and obtain financial resources from the American colonies.

The Junta Suprema quickly sent representatives to the Indies to gain recognition of its claim to represent FERDINAND VII during his absence, as well as to secure financial support for the war of liberation against the French. The only other Spanish junta to send representatives to the Americas was the Junta of Oviedo, which sent them only to NEW SPAIN.

The representatives the Junta Suprema sent to the Americas were *capitán de fragata* Juan Jabat and *capitán de reales guardias españolas* Manuel Jáuregui, brother-in-law of VICEROY JOSÉ DE ITURRIGARAY Y ARÓSTEGUI, to New Spain; Brigadier JOSÉ MANUEL DE GOYENECHÉ Y BARREDA, a native of AREQUIPA, to RÍO DE LA PLATA and PERU; *capitán de fragata* Juan José Sanlloriente to NEW GRANADA; naval officer Antonio Vacaro to CARTAGENA DE INDIAS; *comandante del navío*, the marqués del Real Tesoro to PUERTO RICO and HAVANA; *captain de navío* José Meléndez Bruna to CARACAS; and *capitan de navío* Rafael

de Villavicencio, brother of Juan María de Villavicencio, *comandante general de marina de Cuba*, to Havana.

Along with the other juntas created in Spain after the abdications and even before JOSEPH I was named monarch, the Junta Suprema exemplified the position that sovereignty returned to the people in the absence of the monarch. Coupled with the knowledge that other juntas existed, AUTONOMISTS in the colonies argued that they, too, should be able to create juntas to rule in Ferdinand's name.

The arrival of the Junta Central in Seville on December 17, 1808, marked the displacement of the Junta Suprema de Sevilla from its previously central role in organizing resistance to the French.

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Juzgado General de Indios The Spanish Crown quickly decided that native laws and customs were to be respected as long as they did not conflict with Christianity and were not clearly unjust. Administrative decisions were to resolve cases of little import in order to prevent protracted litigation and limit costs.

After nearly 60 years of viceregal experience, jurisdictional issues, and excessive costs to NATIVE AMERICANS, the General Indian Court, or Juzgado General de Indios, of colonial Mexico was created to solve the problem of providing prompt and inexpensive justice. Ultimately regarding them as *miserables* under a judicial doctrine that gave minors, widows, and the poor special rights, the Crown authorized a separate tribunal in 1591 for civil cases involving indigenous people, and in 1592, the VICEROY determined that a dedicated tax of a half-real added to TRIBUTE would support it. The General Indian Court opened in 1592, and PHILIP III approved both the court and its funding in royal *cédulas* of 1605 and 1606. The court handled cases until its abolition in 1820.

The court had alternate first-instance jurisdiction over cases between Indians and when Spaniards brought charges against Indians, but theoretically not the reverse. The court also had alternate jurisdiction in criminal cases against Indians. In addition, indigenous people could take petitions to the viceroy for administrative resolution. In practice, the Indian court brought together viceregal jurisdiction in native matters with a resultant intertwining of judicial and administrative functions. Among other cases, the Indians used the court to deal with issues regarding land, complaints against local Spanish officials, and complaints against Spaniards concerning labor.

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K

Kino, Eusebio (b. 1645–d. 1711) *Italian Jesuit missionary in New Spain* Born in the southern Tyrolean Alps in Segno, Italy, Eusebio Kino joined the Upper German Province of the Society of Jesus in 1665 and proved an impressive student of mathematics, astronomy, and cartography (see JESUITS). He taught mathematics and astronomy at Ingolstadt and subsequently mathematics at Jesuit *COLEGIOS* in SEVILLE and Puerto Santa María. Unsuccessful in his desire to serve in the Far East, the Jesuit was sent to the northwest of NEW SPAIN and instructed to establish a mission there. He left Spain in May 1681; upon his arrival in MEXICO CITY, he was named cosmographer of an unsuccessful expedition to Baja California led by Admiral Isidro de Atondo. Before leaving the capital, Kino published *Astronomical Exposition*, a work about the comet of 1680 considered a personal attack and consequently vigorously disputed by CARLOS DE SIGÜENZA Y GÓNGORA, a prominent CREOLE intellectual who had been ejected from the Society of Jesus.

In 1687, Kino journeyed to northern Sonora, known at the time as Pimería Alta, and established missions. On his many travels throughout northern and western New Spain, he mapped the region and discovered that California was a peninsula rather than an island.

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kuraka (curaca) A lord or chieftain, a *kuraka* was the leader and representative of an Andean kin group (*ayllu*) to which he was connected by kinship and reciprocal

loyalties and obligations. *Kurakas’* power and privileges varied, for they held authority at different levels. A *kuraka* represented an ethnicity as a whole; below him to the *ayllu* level were *kurakas* for each of the nested social groups that made up the ethnicity.

As a community’s leader, the *kuraka* was to adjudicate disputes, ensure fair access to resources, and arrange for the group to fulfill its obligations to the state. As compensation, he requested and typically received favored access to the community’s resources, including land, labor, and goods. Completing the cycle of reciprocity, the *kuraka* distributed wealth to his kin.

The Spaniards recognized *kurakas* as nobles and extended varying privileges to them, for example, exemption from sumptuary legislation and requirements for personal service. Unlike indigenous commoners, who had the legal status of minors, *kurakas* were recognized as full adult members of colonial society.

Kurakas were vital intermediaries between their peoples and Spanish *encomenderos* and officials (see *ENCOMIENDA*). Thus, they were responsible for the collection and delivery of TRIBUTE, construction of churches and payment of clerics, and provision of workers for labor drafts. They also arranged for labor provided to Spaniards in return for cash; indeed, other than through the application of force, Spaniards were unable to gain access to indigenous labor without a *kuraka’s* involvement. For example, a Spaniard would pay a *kuraka* for a certain amount of cloth that the *kuraka* would then obtain from his community by providing yarn, food, and drink, in addition to ongoing administrative services and support in times of need.

As cultural brokers, *kurakas* could use the Castilian language, sign legal documents, and arrange commercial transactions with Spaniards. They often adopted Spanish

customs and clothing and over time accumulated private property in the European manner.

A *kuraka*'s ability to marshal his community's labor rested on his kin continuing to accept his legitimacy as their leader. He was thus caught between Spanish demands for labor and goods on the one hand and his community's perception that what he was requiring exceeded what he was providing. Given that Spanish officials considered *kurakas* personally liable for tribute and labor, the benefits of *kuraka* status dwindled, especially as the native population declined.

While 16th-century *kurakas* sold their kin's labor, by the 18th century, *kurakas* were selling goods to their communities just as non-Indian merchants did. The bonds of reciprocity characteristic of Andean relation-

ships had loosened, although *kurakas* continued to consider themselves Andeans and were still recognized as leaders by their communities.

See also *AYLLU* (Vol. I); *KURAKA* (Vol. I).

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labor See DEBT PEONAGE; ENCOMIENDA; MITA; OBRAJE; REPARTIMIENTO; SLAVERY; YANACONAJE.

La Plata (Chuquisaca, Charcas, Sucre) Also known in the colonial period as Chuquisaca and Charcas and today as Sucre, La Plata was located near densely populated communities in a temperate highland valley of the Andes in the *AUDIENCIA* district of CHARCAS, at an altitude of 9,200 feet (2,804 m). The city was founded on an indigenous town in the late 1530s by Pedro de Anzúes, an associate of Francisco Pizarro, and became the home of numerous *encomenderos* (see ENCOMIENDA). Its future was secured when SILVER was discovered at POTOSÍ, located at an inhospitable although inhabitable altitude of more than 14,000 feet (4,267 m).

Laid out in the typical grid pattern, La Plata became the administrative center of the lands under the jurisdiction of the Audiencia of La Plata created in 1559 and installed in 1561. The jurisdiction included Charcas, known in the 18th century as Upper Peru, and briefly CUZCO, as well as the governorships of PARAGUAY, Tucumán, and BUENOS AIRES. La Plata was the see of the Bishopric of La Plata created in 1552 and was granted archiepiscopal status in 1609. In 1624, the Royal and Pontifical University of San Francisco Javier opened under the supervision of the JESUITS. It provided EDUCATION primarily to students from La Plata and other parts of the *audiencia's* district.

Erected in a central agricultural valley of Charcas, La Plata became an important supplier of foodstuffs and livestock to the relatively nearby MINING centers of Potosí and Porco (see AGRICULTURE). It later became a stop on the road from the city of Santa Cruz in the lowlands to

Potosí; the city benefited from tax on the tropical products being transported.

The creation of the VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA brought the *audiencia* district of La Plata under its jurisdiction and thus gave the VICEROY in Buenos Aires legal access to the silver of Potosí and other mines of Charcas. The city of La Plata became the capital of the intendency of the same name in 1783 (see INTENDANT).

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La Serna, José de (b. 1770–d. 1832) *general and last viceroy of Peru* Born in Jerez de la Frontera, Cádiz, Spain, La Serna entered the artillery corps as a cadet at the age of 12. He participated in Spain's international wars in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, was captured by the French but escaped to rejoin the Spanish army, and attained the rank of brigadier at the end of Spain's successful war of independence against Napoleon's armies. Named commander of the Army of Upper Peru, he reached PERU in September 1816, claiming to be under the direct orders of the Spanish monarch and independent of the new viceroy, JOAQUÍN DE LA PEZUELA. Conflict between the absolutist Pezuela and the liberal La Serna and his allies ultimately resulted in a military coup in January 1821 that ousted the former and made La Serna his replacement. The liberal government that had taken control of Spain following the RIEGO REVOLT ultimately confirmed La Serna as viceroy. By this time, JOSÉ DE SAN

MARTÍN and his army of liberation had already landed south of LIMA. In July 1821, La Serna withdrew from the capital and took his forces to CUZCO, their base until the battles of JUNÍN and AYACUCHO in 1824 ended Spanish rule in Peru. Seriously wounded at the Battle of Ayacucho, in 1825, La Serna returned to Spain, where he was granted the title count of los Andes by the restored FERDINAND VII and died.

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letrado Men with one or more university degrees in civil law, canon law, or both, *letrados* staffed the high councils of Spain and the regional courts known as chancelleries and *AUDIENCIAS* and held many of the most prestigious positions in the CATHOLIC CHURCH and INQUISITION. Important as Crown officials by the end of the 14th century, their significance increased after Ferdinand and Isabella formally restricted a number of positions to them. Not only were the *letrados* formally educated, but their knowledge of Roman law brought additional value in expanding royal prerogatives against other jurisdictions.

With *letrados*' worth proven in Spain, successive monarchs named them to posts in the colonies. The creation of an *audiencia* in SANTO DOMINGO in 1511 testified to the Crown's intention that justice would accompany settlement and conquest and that *letrados* would be prominent in the new colonies. As more *audiencias* were created, more *letrados* were needed to staff them as judges, Crown attorneys, and, in some cases, president. In total, more than 1,400 *letrados* were named to the colonial *audiencias*.

The restriction of certain positions to *letrados* created a direct link between UNIVERSITIES and royal employment. While universities in Spain—Salamanca, Valladolid, Alcalá de Henares, SEVILLE, and Granada in particular—were important sources of *letrados*, colonists sought their own universities so that American-born youth could obtain the requisite EDUCATION for employment in the high offices of state and church. Recognizing the legitimacy of this request, the Crown authorized the creation of universities in the colonies, first in MEXICO CITY and LIMA in 1551; a pool of American-educated *letrados* was soon available.

Formal study of law at a university was required to become an attorney in Spain and its empire. Either subsequent training in the office of a practicing attorney or judge or completion of an advanced degree in civil or canon law at one of several universities in Spain was also necessary. With the prerequisites met, it was possible to

follow a career that culminated in a position on a high court or even council or a high post in the church or Inquisition. The most professional of all employees in state and church, *letrados* were the human core of the empire.

Letrados were living evidence of the importance of law and its formal study in Spain and the empire. Britain, in contrast, did not require university training for lawyers or judges.

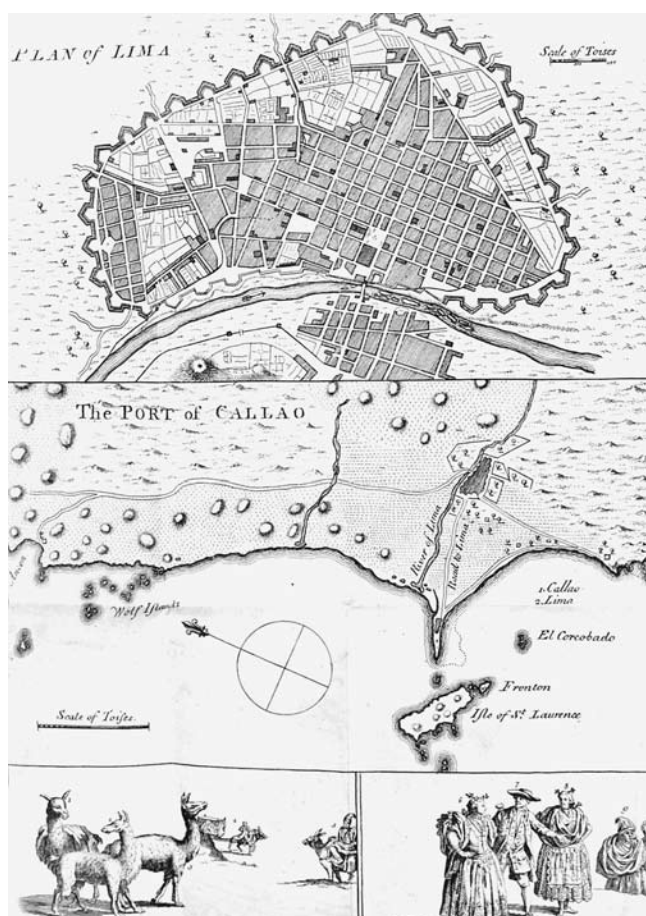
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Lima Founded by Francisco Pizarro on January 18, 1535, as the Ciudad de los Reyes (City of the Kings), Lima, with a name that was a corruption of Rimac, soon became the capital of the VICEROYALTY OF PERU, created in 1542. Its location near the Pacific coast gave it advantages in communication and as an entrepôt for TRADE not available in the former Inca capital of CUZCO. Building on an existing indigenous town, Pizarro's residence replaced that of the local chieftain, while the church that would later become a cathedral was constructed on the site of an indigenous temple. Both were located on the PLAZA MAYOR, as were the offices of the city council. On the fourth side were sites for retailers. Since the governor's residence backed against the River Rimac, the standard grid pattern of streets emanated in three directions rather than the customary four. The city's founders received house lots closest to the *plaza mayor*; the native population was located in an adjacent parish known as El Cercado.

Although rare and somewhat inexact, early population figures for Lima convey a sense of the city's diverse population. By the mid-1550s, the city had a slave population of at least 1,500 (see SLAVERY). A count in 1593 revealed a population of 12,790, of which 6,690 were blacks or mulattoes (see MULATO). A census in 1614 revealed substantial growth with 11,867 Spaniards, 10,386 blacks, 744 mulattoes, 1,978 Amerindians, and 192 mestizos, for a total of 25,167 (see MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO). A set of figures compiled in 1636 gave the following: blacks, 13,620; mulattoes, 861; Spaniards, 10,758; Indians, 1,426; mestizos, 377; and Chinese, 22. Despite the apparent precision of the counts, none can be considered accurate. What is striking, nonetheless, is that Spaniards born in Spain and in the colonies were a minority of the city's population from at least the late 16th century.

By 1560, Lima was already firmly established as the capital of the viceroyalty and the region under the jurisdiction of its *AUDIENCIA*. With a VICEROY, *audiencia*, treasury office, archbishop, long-distance wholesale merchants and retailers, a wide range of artisans, a city council, domestic servants, and slaves, Lima was fast approaching its mature configuration. Although the Crown authorized a university for Lima in 1551, it was



Backed against the Rimac River, Lima was capital of the Viceroyalty of Peru. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

not until the 1570s that a DOMINICAN school was turned into the UNIVERSITY OF SAN MARCOS (see UNIVERSITIES). The arrival of the Society of Jesus in 1568 was soon followed by the creation of the Colegio of San Pablo (see COLEGIO/COLEGIO MAYOR). The introduction of the Tribunal of the INQUISITION in 1570 opened an era of its own. By the end of VICEROY FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO's tenure in 1581, almost all of the institutions that would enable Lima to dominate the viceroyalty were in place.

The wealth of Lima's institutions was most visible in the public displays that accompanied the arrival of a new viceroy, the accession of a new monarch in Spain, and major religious occasions. A celebration by the city's artists on December 2, 1659, included floats with comic figures, eight costumed Incas, figures of all of Peru's viceroys, and others. In addition, the chronicler Mugaburu noted, "there were very brave bulls the rest of the afternoon."

When the celebrated travelers JORGE JUAN Y SANTACILIA and ANTONIO DE ULLOA visited Lima in the middle of the 18th century, they recorded that the city had 19 male convents and colleges (four Dominican, three FRANCISCAN, three AUGUSTINIAN, three MERCEDARIAN,

and six JESUIT), 14 nunneries, and 12 hospitals, most restricted to a single clientele, for example, poor clerics, mariners, WOMEN, NATIVE AMERICANS, and lepers.

Lima through its port of CALLAO served as the Pacific terminus and distribution center for Peruvian SILVER and imported merchandise for the duration of the fleet system (see FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM). Lima secured its own merchant guild (*CONSULADO*) in 1613. Into the 19th century, Callao was South America's most important Pacific port.

Lima's location made it prone to EARTHQUAKES. It experienced a number of them in the colonial era, the most destructive occurring in 1687 and 1746. The earthquake of October 20, 1687, and its aftershocks damaged the city severely. Viceroy Melchor de Navarra y Rocafull, duque de la Palata, moved out of the viceregal palace and spent more than two months living in improvised housing in the *plaza mayor*. More important, the quake brought devastation to WHEAT fields near Lima by disrupting ancient irrigation systems. As a consequence, merchants in Lima began importing grain by ship from CHILE, a practice that continued into the 19th century. The earthquake and accompanying tsunami of 1746 demolished Lima's port of Callao and sank 19 ships in the harbor; approximately 95 percent of the port's population of some 4,000 were killed. Damage to the city itself was extensive, although it was spared the losses of Callao.

A census of Lima's population in 1790 as published by the *MERCURIO PERUANO* revealed a city of 52,627 excluding MILITARY personnel and 47,796 excluding clerics and others living in religious communities. Of the latter number, 17,215 were classified as Spaniards; 8,960 as blacks; and 3,912 as Indians. Some 17,709 persons were *CASTAS*, or of mixed ancestry, and 9,229 were slaves. In terms of occupation, there were more than 1,000 artisans, 474 white servants, 426 government employees, 393 merchants (*comerciantes*), 287 grocery store operators (*pulperos*), 91 lawyers, and 21 physicians. No fewer than 49 inhabitants boasted titles of nobility.

Although pessimists had feared doleful economic repercussions following the transfer of Upper Peru with its mines at POTOSÍ to the new VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA in 1776, rising silver production in Lower Peru had eclipsed that of CHARCAS in the 1790s and helped to sustain the city's ECONOMY.

A bastion of royalist support because of historic commercial ties to Spain and resultant benefits, fear of racial war engendered by the TÚPAC AMARU II revolt, and the decisive actions of Viceroy JOSÉ FERNANDO DE ABASCAL Y SOUSA, Lima was the prize sought by the invading army led by JOSÉ DE SAN MARTÍN that landed in PISCO on September 8, 1820. The withdrawal of royalist forces from the city by generals José Canterac and JOSÉ DE LA SERNA in late June and early July 1821 resulted in San Martín's securing through coercion a declaration of independence for Peru dated July 28 and ultimately signed by 3,504 citizens. With undefeated royalist forces in the Andes, however,



This 1825 drawing features women of Lima wearing a distinctive shawl, which often covered one eye and earned them the nickname *tapadas* (covered women). (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

the declaration was a statement of the invaders' intention rather than a final victory. Royalists would occupy Lima from February until December 1824 before Peru, with the exception of the fortress at Callao, was independent.

See also LIMA (Vols. I, III, IV).

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***limpieza de sangre* (*limpeça de sangue*)** The concept of purity of blood or unsullied lineage arose out of anti-Semitism in late medieval Castile. Following a series of vicious anti-Jewish riots in 1391, large numbers of Jews converted to Christianity and became known

as *CONVERSOS* or New Christians. Subsequent riots in Toledo in 1449 produced the first statute of *limpieza de sangre*, when on June 5 the city excluded all persons with Jewish ancestry from holding municipal office. Ciudad Real followed suit in 1468. The introduction in 1480 of the Tribunal of the INQUISITION emphasized the division between Old Christians, without Jewish ancestors, and New Christians, the primary initial target of the Inquisition. As the Inquisition began functioning and anti-*converso* feeling reached fever pitch, about 1482 the Colegio Mayor of San Bartolomé at the University of Salamanca adopted a policy of excluding *conversos*. In 1483, the pope prohibited New Christians from being episcopal inquisitors, and the military orders of Alcántara and Calatrava began excluding descendants of Jews and Muslims (see ORDERS, MILITARY AND CIVIL). The requirement for purity of blood spread to other university colleges, CATHEDRAL CHAPTERS, UNIVERSITIES, and religious orders.

Aristocrats and royalty shared Jewish lineage to such an extent that it almost seemed as if descent from peasant stock alone would guarantee purity of blood. Throughout the remainder of the colonial era proof of *limpieza de sangre* was required for entry into a Spanish or Portuguese military order; indeed, one attraction of membership in a military order was that passing the rigorous examination of lineage served as a guarantee of blood purity. In the case of the Order of Santiago, this meant proving *limpieza de sangre* through the fourth generation.

The burden of proving one's blood purity rested on the individual who sought its confirmation. Part of demonstrating blood purity involved documenting legitimacy. This required producing notarized copies of parish records in which marriages were recorded. The proofs (*pruebas*) of blood purity for candidates for military orders in Spain routinely noted whether or not the candidate had resided in the INDIES.

While documented blood purity classified one as an Old Christian, it did not, of course, equate to nobility. In the absence of royal dispensation, however, documented noble status included *limpieza de sangre* as one condition. Thus, candidates for military orders needed to demonstrate both. In addition, the idea of blood purity was extended to include *limpieza de oficios*, or proof that ancestors had not engaged in certain types of dishonorable employment, for example, as artisans or petty retailers. Thus blood purity, legitimacy, type of employment, and honor divided Spanish society. The emphasis on purity of lineage continued well into the 19th century.

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Liniers y Bremond, Santiago de (b. 1753–d. 1810) *French hero in defeat of British invasion in 1806 and*

viceroys of Río de la Plata Born in Niort, France, Santiago de Liniers y Bremond followed his father in a naval career. Because the Second Family Compact between France and Spain in 1743 granted Frenchmen the same rights and responsibilities as Spaniards in the Spanish MILITARY, he went to CÁDIZ and joined the Spanish navy. In May 1775, he was sent to Cartagena de Levante, Spain, and the following year he joined the expedition led by PEDRO DE CEVALLOS to remove the Portuguese from COLÔNIA DO SACRAMENTO in the BANDA ORIENTAL. He participated in 1781 in the successful campaign to regain Menorca from the British and the following year in the failed effort to retake Gibraltar. He advanced to the rank of *capitán de fragata* in December 1782. With limited opportunities available during the subsequent interlude of peace, in 1788, he accepted a posting to MONTEVIDEO. VICEROY Joaquín del Pino named Liniers interim governor of the 30 former JESUIT missions in October 1802, but his service was brief. His wife died on the return trip, and he reached BUENOS AIRES in May 1805 with his eight children.

Following the British invasion under Colonel William Carr Beresford in 1806, Liniers organized a military force of about 1,300 men in Montevideo that engaged the British forces and forced their surrender on August 12. In recognition of the officer's valor, the city council and other citizens, in a *CABILDO ABIERTO*, petitioned Viceroy RAFAEL DE SOBREMONTTE, who had fled to Córdoba, to name Liniers military commander of the viceroyalty. The Crown recognized Liniers's accomplishment and promoted him to *brigadier de la armada*.

Correctly anticipating another invasion, Liniers took the lead in organizing an effective militia of some 8,000 men under his command. On October 15, 1806, the unit known as the Patricios was created with participation limited to men born in the intendency of Buenos Aires; choosing their commander by vote, they selected Cornelio de Saavedra (see INTENDANT). The creation of numerous regiments based on place of birth increased the status of CREOLES in the Buenos Aires elite because of their higher numbers in the militia.

In February 1807, several thousand British troops took Montevideo. Then, 8,000–9,000 troops for a second British invasion of Buenos Aires led by General John Whitelocke landed on June 28, 1807. Unsuccessful in dislodging the defenders and suffering heavy losses, Whitelocke surrendered on July 7, 1807, although MARTÍN DE ALZAGA rather than Liniers emerged the hero. The viceroy Marqués de Sobremonte, who had fled to the interior of the VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA in 1806 and again in early 1807, was deposed by the Audiencia of Buenos Aires in February 1807 and replaced by Liniers, the war hero of 1806, an appointment confirmed by the Crown.

Liniers's tenure as viceroy was brief. When word of the abdications of CHARLES IV and FERDINAND VII and the French invasion of Spain reached Buenos Aires, the

viceroy was quickly charged by supporters of the city council with being pro-French, for using his office for personal financial gain, and for exhibiting questionable morals as a result of his relationship with La Perichona, his French lover.

The attempted coup of January 1, 1809, led by Alzaga and several PENINSULAR militia units failed only when the creole militia led by Saavedra occupied the central plaza in support of Liniers. Backed by the creole militia and plebeians in Buenos Aires, Liniers remained as viceroy until replaced later in the year by BALTASAR HIDALGO DE CISNEROS, a seasoned naval commander. Liniers's services, however, were recognized with a substantial pension, land, and the title count of Buenos Aires.

Viceroy Cisneros allowed Liniers to move to the interior town of Alta Gracia, where news of the May revolution of 1810 in Buenos Aires reached him. He helped organize resistance to Buenos Aires but failed to get reinforcements from either LIMA or Montevideo. On route to Lima, he was captured and executed for treason by a military force sent by the junta of Buenos Aires.

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Lisboa, António Francisco See ALEIJADINHO.

literature The Europeans' discovery, exploration, conquest, and settlement of the New World provided content for literary and historical works that began with Christopher Columbus's first letter, published in Rome in 1493. By 1560, various accounts of triumph and travail and about the Amerindians encountered were in print, despite an order of 1527 banning publication of works that could inform FOREIGNERS about the INDIES. In 1556, PHILIP II required the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES to approve any book on an American topic, and in 1577, he banned works on native cultures. Nonetheless, other books did appear, for example, *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (1590) by the Jesuit JOSÉ DE ACOSTA and El Inca GARCILASO DE LA VEGA's *La Florida del Inca* (1605), *Comentarios reales de los Incas* (1609), and *Historia general del Perú* (1616).

Excluding religious tracts that included sermons, funeral orations, and catechisms, history was the dominant theme of both prose and poetry from the 16th into the 18th centuries, with writers born in Spain accounting for much of the historical writing in the 16th century and part of the 17th century. PENINSULAR Alonso de Ercilla's *La Araucana*, published in three parts in 1569, 1578, and 1589, was a poetic narrative recounting the Spanish victory over the ARAUCANIANS, but portraying the Araucanians as the heroes. CREOLE Juan Flórez

de Ocariz published the first volume of *Genealogies of the New Kingdom of Granada* in Madrid in 1674. Using prominent families to organize his material, he tracked family ties often to the mists of time in Spain and provided information about the many persons included. While not traditional history, it documented the concern with lineage and family that characterized much of creole society. Another creole from BOGOTÁ, José Oviedo y Baños, authored *History of the Conquest and Settlement of Venezuela*, published in Madrid in 1723. It identified the heroes and villains of VENEZUELA's conquest and treated both Spaniards and NATIVE AMERICANS with respect.

Mexican dramatist Juan Ruiz de Alarcón was a lawyer and officeholder who spent much of his life in Spain. Burdened with a hunchback and bow legs that made him the butt of ridicule by jealous rivals, between 1617 and 1634, he wrote a number of humorous plays that enjoyed popular success in the Spanish theater and placed him among the finest dramatists of his age. Among his best plays were *La prueba de las promesas* (*The Proof of the Promises*), *Las paredes oyen* (*The Walls Have Ears*), and *La verdad sospechosa* (*The suspect truth*). Ruiz de Alarcón's work inspired other authors, for example, the celebrated 17th-century French playwright Molière.

Poetry was an important form of entertainment among the literate elites of colonial Spanish America, and frequent poetry contests in the 17th century brought forth numerous poor poems. There were some masters of the genre,



Born in New Spain, Juan Ruiz de Alarcón was one of the four most noted dramatists of Spain's Golden Age. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis).

however. Many contemporaries in NEW SPAIN (Mexico) and Spain, where a number of her writings were published, considered SOF JUAN INÉS DE LA CRUZ the best of America's poets. Her contemporary, CARLOS DE SIGÜENZA Y GÓNGORA, was also known for the quality of his poetry.

Travel literature appeared from time to time, but Spain's efforts to keep foreigners and especially non-Catholics out of the empire limited the potential practitioners of this genre. Timely publication, moreover, often foundered on the Spanish Crown's continued desire to restrict knowledge of the colonies. Thus, the extremely informative work by Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendium and Description of the West Indies*, written in the early 17th century, went unpublished until the mid-20th century. An exceptional case indicating a new openness by the Spanish Crown was the relatively rapid publication of *A Voyage to South America* by JORGE JUAN Y SANTACILIA and ANTONIO DE ULLOA. It was an account of the scientific expedition the two young peninsulars had made with the French scientist Charles-Marie de la Condamine, who published his own account in Paris in 1745–46. The original edition of Juan and Ulloa's *Voyage* appeared in 1748 in Spanish; German, French, English, and Dutch editions followed. The multivolume publications of Alexander von Humboldt in the early 19th century are remarkably detailed. Italian Jesuit Giovanni Antonio Andreoni published in Lisbon in 1711 *Cultura e opulência do Brasil por suas drogas e minas*, an important work on BRAZIL's natural resources and ECONOMY.

In the 18th century, writers often turned to scientific topics and contributed, especially toward the end of the century, to periodicals that sought, among other things, to make their region known and to spread current knowledge to the literate populace. Thus, for example, contributors to the *MERCURIO PERUANO* in LIMA (1791–95) wrote articles about MINING, health, and chemistry.

Some of the most potent writing of the late 18th century came from exiled American JESUITS who yearned for and extolled their homelands against the belittling criticisms of European writers such as Corneille de Pauw, Georges-Louis Leclerc Buffon, Guillaume-Thomas Raynal, and William Robertson. Mexican FRANCISCO JAVIER CLAVIJERO took aim at the philosophes' claims in *Storia antica*, a four-volume work originally published in Italian in 1780–81. Ecuadorean Jesuit Juan de Velasco similarly attacked the “sect of anti-American philosophers” in *History of the Kingdom of Quito*, published in Spanish in 1789. In 1799, the year after his death, Peruvian Jesuit Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán's *Letter to the Spanish Americans*, completed in 1791, was published in French; a first English edition appeared with the help of FRANCISCO DE MIRANDA in 1808, and it appeared in Spanish in 1810. A scant 23 pages in length, Guzmán's *Letter* characterized the centuries of Spanish rule as “ingratitude, injustice, slavery, and desolation” as it called for independence from Spain.

See also LITERATURE (Vols. I, III, IV).

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llanero *Llaneros* were the plainsmen or cowboys of VENEZUELA's tropical plains, the Llanos. Typically of mixed ancestry, *llaneros* were the equatorial variant of the GAUCHOS of the Río de la Plata region and the vaqueros of northern NEW SPAIN. Illiterate and uncouth, their manners were described by an early 19th-century Englishman as “the most unpolished and almost uncivil I ever met with.” The *llanero* rode clad in pants and with a handkerchief around his head; if the countryside allowed it, he was barefoot. In addition, he had a poor man's poncho, or *cobija*, which was six feet (1.8 m) square. It served as protection against rain and burning sun, as well as a ground cover at night. A horse to ride and a knife or machete for protection and mundane tasks were the indispensable companions of every *llanero*. Similarly, gambling was a passion, whether on a cockfight or a game of cards. As with gauchos, *llaneros'* interest was CATTLE rather than land. They believed in common grass and pasture.

Llaneros were tough, used to deprivation, and ready to kill man or beast, and their support became a key to success in the wars of independence in Venezuela and their extension into NEW GRANADA. The first leader of the *llaneros* to emerge in the wars was JOSÉ TOMÁS BOVES, an Asturian who was a cattle dealer in the town of Calabozo. Imprisoned in the town by the First Republic, he was freed by royalists in May 1812. Promising booty taken from the propertied whites who looked down on them, Boves attracted black and PARDO *llaneros* and some Canarians.

After a defeat by republican forces, Boves retreated and organized his followers as a cavalry with lances. His call for war to the death on whites issued at Guayabal on November 1, 1813, was directed to the *llaneros*, and they responded. In July 11, 1814, Boves and the *llaneros* took Valencia; on July 6, SIMÓN BOLÍVAR evacuated CARACAS, and the *llaneros* soon imposed unspeakable atrocities on those who had not fled. On December 5, 1814, Boves was killed in a battle at Urica that destroyed the republican forces. Bolívar had already escaped Venezuela on September 8. The Second Republic was over.

The *llaneros* entered the fray again in 1817, this time under the leadership of José Antonio Páez, son of a minor Spanish official and, since fleeing justice, a resident of the

Llanos who had mastered the requisite skills of arms and horsemanship to win the respect of his comrades. He led his private *llanero* army against the royalists, since after their return to power, they had the goods to plunder. He became republican commander-in-chief of the border region between Venezuela and New Granada and pursued guerrilla war. In January 1818, he came to terms with Bolívar, putting the *llanero* cavalry of some 4,000 men at his service.

Complemented by foreign legionnaires who joined Bolívar and Páez along the Orinoco River, the *llaneros* were central to Bolívar's ultimate success. A threat wherever they were posted, the *llaneros* joined in the Battle of CARABOBO and thus contributed to the liberation of Venezuela. With *llaneros* as the base of his support, Paéz emerged as Venezuela's hero, caudillo, and president.

See also PÁEZ, JOSÉ ANTONIO (Vol. III).

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Logia Lautaro FRANCISCO DE MIRANDA is credited with establishing in London in 1797 a secret organization along Masonic lines that promoted the idea of independence for Spanish America. Referred to as the Logia Lautaro (Lautaro Lodge), Gran Reunión Americana (Great American Assembly), and Sociedad de los Caballeros Racionales (Society of Rational Gentlemen), Miranda's lodge allegedly was used as a model for an affiliate created in CÁDIZ in 1811 and also given the name *Logia Lautaro*. The name *Lautaro* commemorates the celebrated ARAUCANIAN chieftain who defeated Pedro de Valdivia in 1553 and forced the evacuation of Concepción, CHILE, in 1554 and again in 1555. Because secrecy was imperative, little is known about any of the lodges.

JOSÉ DE SAN MARTÍN and Carlos Alvear allegedly belonged to a secret society in Cádiz, probably the Logia Lautaro, and used it as the model for the Logia Lautarina that they established in BUENOS AIRES in 1812 and for a Chilean version created in 1817 at the insistence of San Martín and with the support of BERNARDO O'HIGGINS, himself a member of Miranda's lodge. Historian Jay Kinsbruner avers that the Logia Lautarina in SANTIAGO DE CHILE "governed Chile" between February 1817 and August 1820, when San Martín's expedition left for Peru.

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López de Gómara, Francisco (b. 1511–d. before 1566) *Spanish biographer of conquistador Hernando Cortés* The first biographer of conquistador Hernando Cortés, Francisco López de Gómara was born in Old Castile, obtained a classical EDUCATION, and spent a decade in Italy, where he was a protégé of humanist Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. In 1541, he joined the embarrassingly unsuccessful expedition to Algiers; at that time, he met Cortés and subsequently served as his secretary and chaplain until the conquistador died in 1547. With the death of his employer, Gómara retired to Valladolid, where he devoted himself to writing, especially chronicles of the conquest.

In 1552, López de Gómara published *Historia general de las Indias* (General history of the Indies). Prince Philip, the future PHILIP II, promptly ordered the work suppressed, perhaps due to the influence of DOMINICAN friar Bartolomé de Las Casas, whose view of the conquest was markedly different from that of either Cortés or López de Gómara. Philip repeated the order in 1566 and in 1572 decreed the confiscation of López de Gómara's papers; these included a manuscript written in Latin of the *Life of Cortés*.

López de Gómara's *Historia general* focused on his former employer and undoubtedly drew heavily on conversations they had enjoyed. The credit he gave Cortés for the conquest of Mexico rankled the aging conquistador Bernal Díaz del Castillo and provoked him to complete his *True History of the Conquest of Mexico*, the title of which contrasted with the "lying histories," of which he considered López de Gómara's work a fine example. Certainly, the writing style of the two authors was very different. López de Gómara was a classical stylist, whereas Díaz del Castillo was an untutored writer who told a compelling story.

Not surprisingly, López de Gómara's *Historia general* contained descriptions of Spanish cruelty to the Amerindians that served as a source for contemporary writers who sought to blacken Spain's reputation, for example, the Dutch propagandist Philip Marnix of Sainte-Aldegonde (see BLACK LEGEND).

See also CHRONICLERS (Vol. I); CORTÉS, HERNANDO (Vol. I); DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO, BERNAL (Vol. I).

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Madrid, Treaty of (1670) Under the Treaty of Madrid signed in 1670 by Spain and England, the Spanish recognized English possessions in the New World. These included the Atlantic colonies, as well as JAMAICA and other possessions in the West Indies. England agreed to recall its privateers to end hostilities against Spanish possessions in the Western Hemisphere and not to engage in illegal TRADE there.

While the treaty served as the foundation of foreign relations between Spain and England until the WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION, it allowed eight months after signature for its announcement in the Americas. Its signature, moreover, came after Governor Sir Thomas Modyford of Jamaica had in effect declared WAR on Spain in July 1670, following several Spanish attacks on ships and settlements on the island. The interval was important, for it allowed Modyford to commission HENRY MORGAN as a privateer and the latter to lead the largest buccaneer expedition ever against a Spanish possession, in this case PANAMA. In the aftermath of the BUCCANEERS' success, Spain decried what it considered deceptive behavior. The arrest of Modyford and his transport to London and brief imprisonment there accomplished little, especially when the English government knighted Morgan and sent him back to Jamaica as deputy governor.

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Peter Earle. *The Sack of Panamá: Sir Henry Morgan's Adventures on the Spanish Main* (New York: Viking Press, 1981).

Madrid, Treaty of (1750) Signed by Spain and Portugal on January 13, 1750, the Treaty of Madrid provided Spain with the control it sought over the River

Plate and gave Portugal expansion of its base in Rio Grande, BRAZIL. Portugal was to receive the lands of seven of the 30 GUARANÍ missions and would give Spain the fortified entrepôt of COLÔNIA DO SACRAMENTO, while yielding claims to free navigation in the estuary of the RÍO DE LA PLATA. In addition, Spain would grant Portugal some territory in Amazonia in the north.

Added to the actual loss of land, the expulsion of the JESUITS and their 30,000 indigenous charges from the seven missions provoked outrage in Spain. Portuguese, in turn, objected to the loss of trade through Colônia. While the Jesuit general ordered compliance, the Black Robes in PARAGUAY were beside themselves with anger. Although their missives provided fodder for their enemies, the priests, nonetheless, acceded; the Amerindians who were ordered to move refused and initially defeated Spanish and Portuguese expeditions in 1754. The bloody defeat of the Indians in 1756 provided additional ammunition for the Jesuits' opponents but ultimately was for naught.

The abrogation of the treaty in 1761 gave the destroyed missions back to the Jesuits and Guaraní and specified a return to pretreaty status. Failure to agree on what that status was, however, brought war in 1762–63 and resulted in the Spanish seizing Colônia and expelling the Portuguese from most of Rio Grande.

The Treaty of Madrid brought to a close the provisions of the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494, which had established the boundary between Spanish and Portuguese possessions. Despite several exceptions, it effectively recognized that each country would retain the land it occupied. Thus, Brazil expanded at the expense of the Spanish colonies and assumed approximately the shape it has today.

See also TORDESILLAS, TREATY OF (Vol. I).

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Magellan, Strait of Just over 330 nautical miles (611 km) long and 2.5 to 15 miles (4–24 km) wide, the Strait of Magellan separates mainland South America from Tierra del Fuego. It bears the name of Ferdinand Magellan, the Portuguese commander sailing for CHARLES I who encountered the strait and led his small expedition through it into the Pacific in 1520, during what became the first circumnavigation of the globe.

In 1577, Francis Drake entered the strait with three ships from the Atlantic side, but storms in the Pacific scattered them. Left with one ship renamed the *Golden Hind*, he sailed north along the coast, raiding Spanish towns along the route, before crossing the Pacific and ultimately returning to England. Thomas Cavendish in 1586 followed a similar route and also engaged in raids on Spanish towns, returning to England with the treasure from an intercepted MANILA GALLEON.

Storms, winds, and a difficult passage limited the use of the strait before the age of steam-powered ships.

See also MAGELLAN, FERDINAND (Vol. I).

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Maipó, Battle of (Battle of Maipú) (April 5, 1818) Fought on the plains near SANTIAGO DE CHILE on April 5, 1818, the Battle of Maipó pitted the Army of the Andes, led by General JOSÉ DE SAN MARTÍN, against royalist forces under General Mariano Osorio. The background to the battle included San Martín's army successfully crossing the great cordillera, defeating the royalist army under General Rafael Maroto at the BATTLE OF CHACABUCO on February 12, 1817, and entering Santiago. Subsequently, however, San Martín suffered a disastrous loss in the Battle of Cancha Rayada on March 19, 1818. Between the two battles, at Talca in early February 1818, BERNARDO O'HIGGINS signed a declaration of CHILE's independence from Spain.

The Battle of Maipó resulted in heavy losses for both royalists and the army under San Martín. Reportedly, of Osorio's 4,500 troops, at least 1,500 were killed and almost 2,300 were taken prisoner. Some 800 of San Martín's men were killed and 1,000

wounded. Although costly, the victory ensured Chilean independence.

The royalists' loss at Maipó had immediate repercussions in LIMA. General Osorio was the son-in-law of VICEROY JOAQUÍN DE LA PEZUELA, and his defeat tarnished the reputation of the already unpopular executive. The Chileans' victory also immediately cost the merchants of Lima nearly 1 million pesos, while simultaneously turning PERU's most important trading partner into a foreign state. Most important, as the inhabitants in Lima were fully aware, the defeat of the royalist army in Chile opened the way for San Martín, once he had adequate sea power, to move north to the Peruvian capital. As San Martín stated, Maipó "decided the fate of South America" (see SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA, INDEPENDENCE OF).

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maize NATIVE AMERICANS domesticated maize, or corn, of many varieties long before the Spanish conquest, and when Europeans reached the Americas, it was grown from southern Canada to southern CHILE. It remained the most important staple in the diet of many indigenous people. Although manioc, or cassava, was a staple in many lowland areas, for example, coastal BAHIA, maize was the favored food plant where it grew easily, especially in cool and relatively dry highlands. Its yield per unit of land was substantially higher than that of WHEAT, which Spaniards overwhelmingly preferred. In NEW SPAIN, the normal seed yield ratio of maize varied, with 1 to 100 or 1 to 200 considered normal to good. Europeans considered maize, as one 16th-century writer put it, "a more convenient food for swine than for men."

Amerindians of Central Mexico and the Maya in Yucatán ate maize on a daily basis; in PERU, Amerindians ate maize and also made it into the alcoholic beverage *chicha*. Because Native Americans had discovered a complex process known as nixtamalization, the protein value of maize was considerably enhanced, and its consumption, in combination with beans, formed the basis of a nutritious diet.

Native peoples in Mexico usually ate maize in the form of tortillas. WOMEN started the preparation in the evening, simmering the kernels in a solution of mineral lime that caused nixtamalization. Before sunlight the next day, they started grinding the corn into a dough (*masa*). Before each meal, they shaped the dough into round, flat



Indigenous women often spent five hours or more a day making *masa* and tortillas. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

tortillas and cooked them on a griddle. All *masa* had to be used on the day of its preparation or it started to ferment. Tortillas had to be eaten soon after preparation, as they became hard and inedible in just a few hours. Preparing tortillas for a large family occupied a woman for five or six hours each day.

The growth cycle of maize remained central to native life throughout the colonial era. Planted annually, maize required water and weeding; it took about six months to mature and could be stored. Hand planting using a digging stick (*coa*) resulted in higher yields than using draft animals and plows. Indigenous people planted several kernels of maize together in “hills” that were arranged in rows; an estimated 16,000 kernels were planted per acre. After a harvest, they stored the maize for the winter. Good harvests signified prosperity; poor yields meant hardship, if not starvation. The supply of maize was greatest after a harvest, but by late summer, fall, and early winter prices typically increased in response to shrinking supply. The distance from market also affected prices. A harsh frost on August 27–28, 1785, ruined the crop and resulted in the highest maize prices in the Valley of Mexico during the colonial era. Conditions were so bad that people starved to death, and the government suspended the collection of *TRIBUTE*. Then, following nearly three decades of rising prices for maize, drought in the summers brought successive harvest failures and famine. Suffering among the poor in the

Bajío reached the point where they responded eagerly to MIGUEL HIDALGO Y COSTILLA’S GRITO DE DOLORES in September 1810.

See also MAIZE (Vols. I, III).

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mameluco The offspring of white and indigenous parents in BRAZIL were known variously as *mamelucos*, *mestiços*, and *caboclos*. Part of the mixed-race population generically termed *pardos*, this latter, more inclusive group also took in *mulattoes* and *cabras*, or persons of undefined mixed racial background (see *MULATO*).

By the late 17th century, mixed-race inhabitants were a majority of Brazil’s population, although the extent of *mameluco* presence varied geographically. Second only to NATIVE AMERICANS in MARANHÃO-Pará, *mamelucos* were less numerous than Africans, mulattoes, and whites in the ports of Recife, SALVADOR DA BAHIA, and RIO DE JANEIRO

and the adjoining regions. In SÃO PAULO, however, *mamelucos* constituted a majority of the population.

Mamelucos descended from shipwrecked Portuguese and their indigenous wives; the daughters of native chieftains were among the first settlers of the town of São Paulo, founded by JESUITS in 1554. These *mamelucos* and their families were the foundation for the subsequent “great *paulista* families.” Starting in the late 16th century, they were leaders and major participants in the *BANDEIRAS* that sought Amerindians to enslave in the interior of Brazil. As would later be the case in nearby Santana de Parnaíba, most “whites” were *mamelucos* or their descendants who identified with Portuguese culture, although they typically spoke *lingua geral* and were knowledgeable in indigenous ways.

Restrictions on *mamelucos* were similar to those placed on mestizos in Spanish America (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*). For example, they were forbidden to own lethal weapons unless engaged in an expedition to find escaped slaves.

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Manila galleons Miguel López de Legazpi and the soldiers, sailors, and other Spaniards on the three ships that survived the voyage from ACAPULCO landed in the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS in January 1565. Legazpi claimed the land for PHILIP II, established a Spanish presence at Cebu, and in 1571 founded a Spanish city at Manila Bay. Andrés de Urdaneta led a successful return to Acapulco in 1565 and established a route using the westerlies in the northern Pacific. This route was employed, with a costly modification in the late 17th century, for the remainder of the colonial era. With Urdaneta came some cinnamon, the first product from the East to reach NEW SPAIN and but a taste of the exotic spices and other items from the Orient henceforth obtained from Chinese merchants in Manila. By 1576, TRADE with China via Manila was well established. It grew rapidly, bringing silks of varied weaves and colors, stockings, bedspreads, tablecloths, napkins, women’s combs by the thousands, fans, spices, and innumerable other objects. For the next 250 years, Manila’s primary role was to be the entrepôt through which flowed Chinese silks and other luxuries to the American colonies and SEVILLE in exchange for SILVER from New Spain and PERU.

From Acapulco, which replaced Huatulco as Mexico’s major Pacific port and became the only port in New Spain authorized for trade with the Philippines, licensed galleons sailed annually for Manila, a voyage that usually

took 75–85 days. The return voyage often took five or six months, although some ships made it in four months and others took eight or slightly longer. The longer the voyage, the greater the probability that crew and passengers would be afflicted by scurvy; in the worst cases, well over 100 persons might die during or shortly after the voyage. In the most extreme cases, everyone on board perished.

The 16th-century trade with Manila resulted in considerable reshipping of goods from New Spain to Peru, with its rising production of silver. In 1582, Philip II quickly ended attempts by merchants in LIMA to trade directly with the Philippines. He also prohibited Peru from importing or selling goods brought from the Philippines via New Spain, although he later relented, allowing some trans-shipment to the buoyant South American market. Underpinning demand was both the low price of East Asian textiles and consumer taste.

Under pressure from merchants in Seville and fearing a decline in taxes from the Atlantic trade, the Crown started to impose restrictions on trade between the Philippines and New Spain between 1587 and 1593 and also to limit trade in general between Peru and the northern viceroyalty. Until 1593, several ships sailed from Acapulco to Manila each year; subsequently, only two were permitted to sail. The sailings continued until 1815. All trade between New Spain and Peru, however, was definitively prohibited in 1631 and again in 1634; when it was reopened in 1774, the Crown limited it to American products. The prohibitions stimulated illicit trade, including trans-shipped items brought from Manila. In the 1740s, JORGE JUAN Y SANTACILIA and ANTONIO DE ULLOA reported the extensive availability of goods from the Orient on the Pacific coast of South America.

The galleons leaving New Spain carried missionaries, royal officials, provisions for the trip, and especially silver, as well as small quantities of COCHINEAL, olive oil, and Spanish WINE. In 1593, the Crown limited the export of silver to 500,000 pesos carried on two ships; this legal limit was not raised until 1702, when it increased to 600,000 pesos. In 1593, Philip II limited the trade to two galleons able to carry 200 tons each, when in 1589, there had been galleons that carried 700 tons each. In fact, the ships were frequently larger and more heavily laden than prescribed. By 1614, ships that carried 1,000 tons or more were employed in the trade, and in 1616, one fleet had an enormous ship, which could carry over 2,000 tons. Although the Crown raised the legal tonnage to 560 in 1720, the use of significantly larger ships was routine. One ship employed from 1746 to 1761 had a tonnage of 1,710.

The value of the Manila trade had challenged the Atlantic trade from VERACRUZ to Spain by 1600. Reportedly 12 million pesos had been smuggled out of Mexico for the Manila trade in 1597. An estimated 5 million pesos annually, much of it from Peru, were going to Manila in the early 17th century. Until 1620, it appears

the Manila trade continued to increase, with the profit margin on silk sufficiently high that merchants transhipped silk across Mexico to Veracruz for shipment to Spain.

The richness of the Manila trade attracted foreign interlopers anxious to seize a ship laden with silver or even silk. The English managed to take four galleons, one in 1587 and three in the 18th century. The Dutch, however, never took any. Thus, while more than 30 galleons were lost in the history of the Manila galleons, seizure by enemies was far less of a concern than shipwrecks resulting from storms and incompetence.

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Mapuche See ARAUCANIANS.

Maranhão Located east of the Amazon River, Maranhão was one of the original donatary provinces of BRAZIL but was not occupied by the Portuguese until the early 17th century. The French established a small presence in northern Maranhão in 1568, including a settlement on Maranhão Island in 1612; they remained until 1615, when the Portuguese drove them out and established the port town of São Luís do Maranhão. In 1616, Belém was founded at the mouth of the Amazon. In 1621, Maranhão was joined with the provinces of Ceará and Pará to form the Estado do Maranhão and administered as a unit apart from the Estado do Brazil, which constituted the remainder of the colony. Although reorganized in 1751 as the Estado do Grão Pará e Maranhão, with Belém as its capital, the division continued until 1772.

There was good reason for separating the far northwestern captaincies. It was both safer and faster to sail from Lisbon to the port of São Luís, a voyage of about five weeks, than it was to sail from São Luís to SALVADOR DA BAHIA. In contrast, it took 80 or 90 days to sail from Lisbon to RIO DE JANEIRO. The connection of Maranhão to Lisbon was so reasonable that the bishops of Belém and São Luís were subordinate to the archbishop of Lisbon rather than Salvador, and legal cases were appealed directly to Lisbon rather than to a colonial *RELAÇÃO*. The TREATY OF UTRECHT recognized Portuguese claims to

land extending to the present northwestern boundary of Brazil.

Despite a prohibition in 1570, enslaved Amerindians were taken on various pretexts to provide the labor for the small number of Portuguese in Maranhão. FRANCISCANS took the lead in missionizing the indigenous people, but JESUITS also become predominant after 1655. Under the direction of Antonio Vieira, they sought to congregate NATIVE AMERICANS in *ALDEIAS* and to limit colonists' access to them. The result was predictable. In 1661–62, the colonists expelled the Jesuits; they repeated the process in 1684, provoking a royal compromise in 1686, the *Regimen of Missions*. This authorized the settlement of Amerindians in *aldeias* but provided colonists' access to their labor under conditions similar to those found in *REPARTIMIENTO* and *MITA* in the Spanish colonies. With just some 800 Europeans in the whole of Maranhão, including Belém and São Luís, in 1672, the captaincies of Portuguese Amazonia were poor. Exchange was by barter, and cotton cloth was used to pay workers, all coerced to some degree. The number of natives in *aldeias* by the 1740s was about 50,000.

During the era of the MARQUÊS DE POMBAL, the relatively neglected northwestern region received attention as the powerful minister sought to convert the mission-dominated indigenous labor system into a commercial PLANTATION system in order to expand exports and revenues. He went as far as encouraging marriages between Portuguese and Amerindians and to make the Indians full royal subjects. In 1757, he ended the religious orders' control over the *aldeias*, replacing them with a lay Directorate of Indians. This lasted until 1799, by which time the increased contact with Portuguese had led to more EPIDEMICS and reduced the native population under Spanish control in the Amazon Basin to fewer than 20,000.

In Maranhão, the Pombaline approach resulted in expanded production of rice and cotton on plantations worked with African slave labor (see SLAVERY). Centered near Caxias, 184 miles (296 km) southeast of São Luís, commercial exports of cotton, a plant native to Brazil, began in 1760. By 1800, production had increased by 800 percent. Rice exports, negligible in 1767, exceeded 320,000 *arrobas* in 1807, becoming the second most important crop in the captaincy. Both cotton and rice were exported to Portugal via the port of São Luís do Maranhão. CATTLE ranches in the interior (*SERTÃO*) and Piauí helped to support the plantations. By 1800, the captaincy's population was nearly 80,000; 46 percent were slaves, and nearly two-thirds were black or mulatto (see *MULATO*).

Accustomed to considerable latitude in running its affairs and more attached to Lisbon than to Rio de Janeiro, Maranhão and the other three northern provinces supported the Cortes rather than the prince-regent Pedro in 1822. With the invaluable assistance of THOMAS, LORD COCHRANE and his audacious naval maneuvers,

Pedro won Maranhão the following year by force of arms.

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Martín de Porres (b. 1579–d. 1639) *mulatto Peruvian saint* Born in LIMA, PERU, to a Spanish father and a free black mother from PANAMA, Martín de Porres was an illegitimate son whose father long refused to recognize him. In his teens, he entered the Dominican convent in Lima as a servant (*donado*) (see DOMINICANS). He quickly demonstrated his concern for the sick and the poor, bringing them to the convent for rest and treatment. His piety and successful cures brought full admission to the Dominican order, despite his racial background. He was instrumental in the creation of a foundling hospital and an orphanage.

The belief that Fray Martín de Porres had performed many miracles led to an effort to secure his beatification. A chronicler in Lima noted that on November 23, 1686, the file was closed and escorted from the cathedral to the Dominican convent “accompanied by all the Dominican order, the chief constable of the city, and many illustrious persons. All the mulatto women came out with banners, dancing ahead in great joy.” Martín de Porres was beatified in 1837 and canonized in 1962, the first person of African and European descent to be so honored (see MULATO).

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Mato Grosso Located in central-west BRAZIL and adjacent to CHARCAS on the southwest, Mato Grosso was a sparsely populated frontier land. Part of it was placed under the JESUITS in 1607 and became the location of MISSIONS and, for several decades, raids for slaves by BANDEIRAS operating out of SÃO PAULO. CATTLE intended to help support the missions remained after the Jesuits and their charges had abandoned the region.

GOLD discovered on the Coxipó and Cuibá Rivers in 1718 or 1719 and on the Guaporé River farther north in about 1734 attracted miners anxious to make their fortunes. Fewer Portuguese immigrated to participate in the gold rush to Mato Grosso than had done so earlier to the MINING camps of MINAS GERAIS. More difficult travel, awareness that many men who had gone to Minas Gerais had failed to strike it rich, and the higher cost of slave labor and provisions all served to dissuade them (see SLAVERY).

From 1720, annual expeditions used rivers to transport food, equipment, slaves, and sometimes livestock from São Paulo to the mining camps of Mato Grosso, notably Cuiabá and Vila Bela. The voyage was treacherous, with numerous rapids and the threat of attack by the Payaguás and the GUAYCURUANS; between them, they may have killed as many as 4,000 travelers in the 18th century.

Four years after Goiás, in 1748, Mato Grosso was separated from the captaincy of São Paulo and made its own captaincy. The modest population of Mato Grosso, under 30,000 in 1800, however, precluded much of an administrative structure. The nearest *RELAÇÃO* was the one created for RIO DE JANEIRO in 1751.

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mayorazgo A *mayorazgo*, or entailed estate, in Spain and Spanish America passed undivided from one single heir to the next and thus preserved substantial financial resources within a FAMILY through successive generations. The term referred to the holder of the estate as well as to the property. The comparable institution in Portugal and BRAZIL was a *morgado*.

Formed initially by an assignment of property from the heritable estate as authorized by the Crown, a *mayorazgo* could be augmented in each generation by its holder adding up to one-third of the value of the heritable property after the widow's claims were paid. Thus, it was a means for circumventing Castilian inheritance laws, which required the full dispersal of an estate in each generation. It was also often used as collateral for loans, even though this was prohibited. Up to $\frac{7}{15}$ of an estate could be consolidated in a *mayorazgo*, whose purpose, as JUAN FERMÍN DE AYCINENA Y DE YRIGROYEN's stated, was “to perpetuate the splendor of my house and lineage, and to better serve God and King.”

Entails included landed property, at times on a large scale, but also possessions such as houses, jewels, carriages, libraries, paintings, animals, slaves, and religious relics. Titles of nobility and some inheritable government positions, such as the office of alderman (*REGIDOR*), were also included. Founders of *mayorazgos* could impose a variety of conditions, for example, naming the initial heir and path of succession and excluding potential heirs with specified disabilities, such as deafness, blindness, and insanity.

Most titled nobles in NEW SPAIN were among the approximately 100 families that employed *mayorazgos*. The entails themselves varied significantly in value; most were between 30,000 and 300,000 pesos, but some found-

ers provided only modest assets. In some cases, a lengthy legal procedure could terminate an entail and divide the property involved. In 1789, the Crown required evidence that a proposed entail would provide an annual income of at least 4,000 pesos before authorizing its foundation.

From 1816, nobles with *mayorazgos* in Mexico increasingly sought disentanglement as a way to protect themselves from taxes and to raise cash. The Spanish Cortes on September 27, 1820, decreed an end to entail in both Spain and America. The return of FERDINAND VII resulted in its reestablishment in Spain in 1823, but it was finally abolished in 1836. The abolition of secular, as distinct from clerical, entail in the former Spanish colonies occurred between the 1820s and the 1850s. Brazil abolished entails in 1835.

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media anata A variation on the medieval papal annates, the *media anata* was a tax imposed by the Spanish Crown in 1631. It required royal officials to pay the Crown one-half of the first year's salary and emoluments of their position, the latter affecting provincial officials without fixed salaries and *encomenderos* (see *ENCOMIENDA*). The *media anata* was also to be paid on nonecclesiastical *mercedes*, honors, and *rentas* given by the monarch or his delegate, for example, the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES, a VICEROY, or a captain general. In 1664, the Crown ordered the tax to be paid in two equal payments, the first in cash at Court and, after having arranged for a bondsman, the second at the treasury office (*real caja*) where the position was located; in the latter case, the person paying the tax was also to pay the cost of shipping the money to Spain and all applicable taxes. In times of extraordinary fiscal penury, the Crown required that new appointees pay an *anata entera*, or entire year's salary, rather than the *media anata*.

Officers were not required to pay the *media anata* if their responsibilities were solely MILITARY. If assigned to administrative posts with civil responsibilities such as governor or captain general, however, they were assessed.

In a *cédula* of May 26, 1774, CHARLES III allowed the *media anata* to be paid in four parts rather than two. When the Crown created new positions for the American *AUDIENCIAS* in 1776, the appointees were exempt from the tax simply because the positions were new. Another change required promoted employees to pay only on the increase of salary.

The *media anata* produced revenues of 40,000–50,000 pesos annually in Mexico during the 1790s. The figure for Peru was 8,000–15,000 pesos.

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medicine See *CURANDERA/CURANDERO*; *PROTOMEDICATO*, *ROYAL TRIBUNAL OF*.

Menéndez de Avilés, Pedro (b. 1519–d. 1574)

Spanish naval commander and founder of St. Augustine, Florida Born in Avilés into an Asturian hidalgo family with good connections, as a young man Pedro Menéndez de Avilés became a successful privateer. He first went to the INDIES in 1550 and quickly became a captain general for FLEETS sailing there. His Asturian origins and royal commission, however, provoked antagonism from the Consulado of Seville, which was accustomed to running the TRADE its own way (see *CONSULADO*; *SEVILLE*). Despite the French sacking of HAVANA in 1555, Menéndez made a safe round trip. Although enemies secured his arrest on charges that he and his brother had smuggled in a substantial amount of SUGAR and COCHINEAL, as well as passengers, he won the case on appeal (see *SMUGGLING*).

Having served the Crown in Europe and commanded successful fleets to the Indies, Menéndez was chosen to lead an expedition to Florida after PHILIP II determined to respond to the colony the French had established in 1562. After studying Menéndez's plan for creating a fort and settlement there, Philip licensed him to carry it out, rather than pursuing it as a Crown-sponsored expedition. Thus, Philip named the Asturian *ADELANTADO* of Florida, a title he could pass on to his heirs, and a detailed contract was signed. It committed the leader to providing settlers and slaves, livestock, and Christianization of the native population, and authorized him to grant land in addition to substantial trading concessions, among other privileges.

Menéndez recruited heavily from FAMILY and friends from Asturias and Santander. Accompanying him were artisans and craftsmen who could help establish a Castilian civilization in the new colony. After a difficult voyage that weakened the expedition, the soldiers, sailors, and others landed on September 8, 1565, claimed the land for Philip II, and quickly founded the municipality of St. Augustine. On the dawn of September 20, the Spaniards attacked the French fort Caroline and slaughtered the defenders. Menéndez quickly sailed to HAVANA to arrange for the delayed portion of his expedition to proceed to St. Augustine. Illness, starvation, desertions, and Amerindian attacks had reduced the first expedition, spread among several settlements, by nearly half. When Menéndez

reached St. Augustine, he found it burned; as a result, he returned to CUBA in May 1556 to seek supplies.

Although the Florida enterprise had not gone as anticipated, Menéndez received additional appointments and honors from a grateful monarch. In Menéndez's absence, in 1568, the French demolished the fort erected at San Mateo. St. Augustine was the only remaining Spanish outpost in Florida. Menéndez died in Spain.

See also MENÉNDEZ DE AVILÉS, PEDRO (Vol. I).

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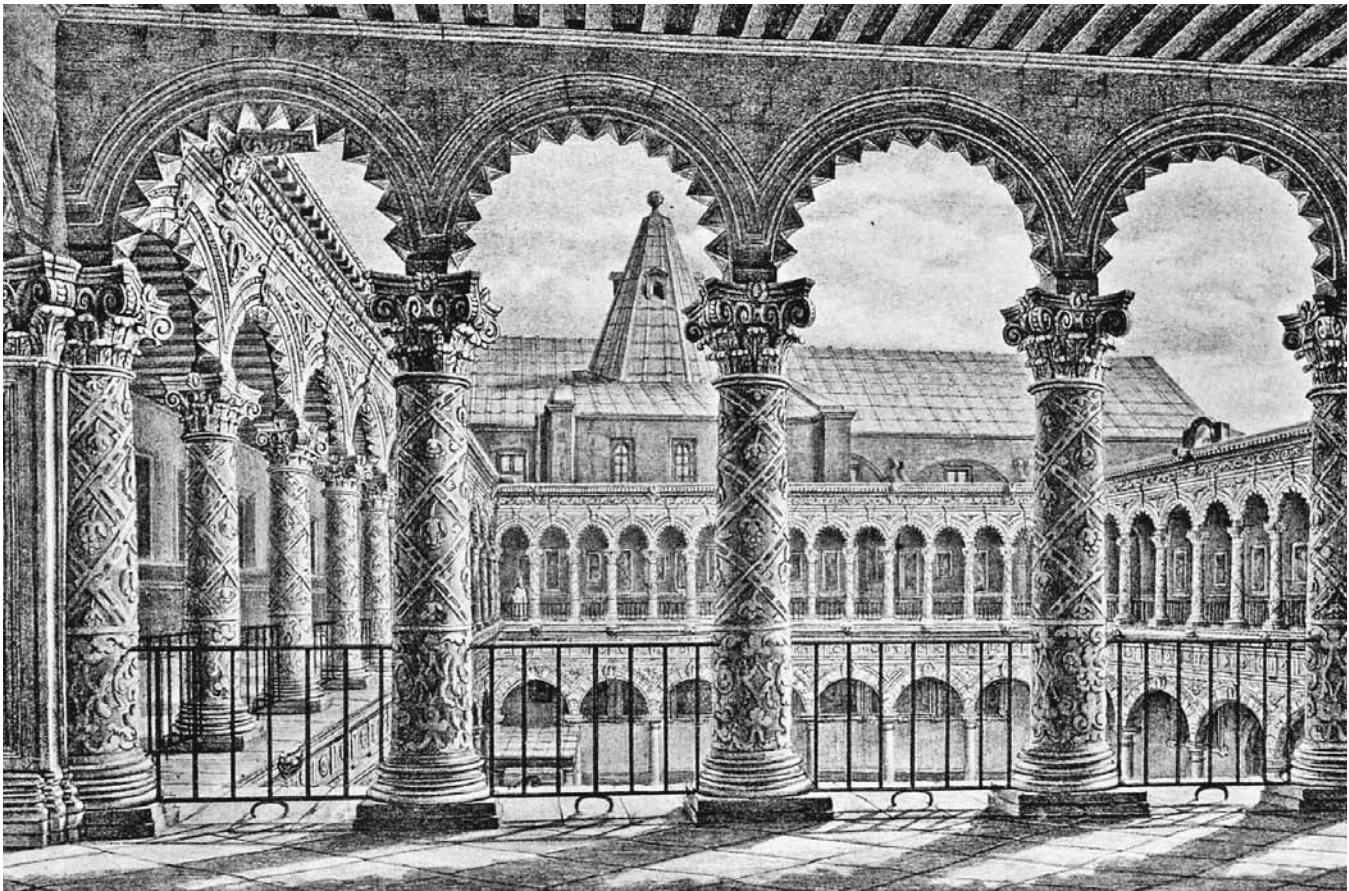
Mercedarians Friars of the Order of Mercy, founded in Barcelona by Saint Peter Nolasco in the early 13th century for the ransom of captive Christians, were present in the Americas starting with Christopher Columbus's second voyage in 1493. During the 16th century, the Order of Mercy sent 387 friars to Spanish America. Other PENINSULARS, as well as CREOLES, joined the order in the Americas.

By the middle of the 16th century, Mercedarians had established convents in HISPANIOLA, GUATEMALA, and in

a number of locations in the VICEROYALTY OF PERU. The convents served as bases from which to establish schools for Spaniards and Amerindians and to send missionaries to convert and minister to NATIVE AMERICANS in ENCOMIENDAS, indigenous villages, and the *congregaciones* and *reducciones* into which inhabitants of several villages were regrouped (see CONGREGACIÓN; REDUCCIÓN).

Mercedarians established their first convent in Spanish America in SANTO DOMINGO in 1514. Five years later, the Mercedarian Bartolomé de Olmedo was the first Spanish cleric in NEW SPAIN, arriving with Hernando Cortés in 1519 and baptizing some 2,500 indigenous people, including the interpreter La Malinche. The order, however, did not follow up on this initial advantage. Rather, its efforts accompanied conquest and settlement in Central and South America.

The order established a convent in PANAMA in 1522; in Santa Marta, NEW GRANADA in 1527; and in León, NICARAGUA in 1528. Convents followed in QUITO and CUZCO in 1534 and in LIMA and GUAYAQUIL in 1535. The first Mercedarian entered Guatemala in the mid-1530s, and the first church and convent were completed in Santiago de los Caballeros in 1538; by 1600, the order had six convents in Guatemala. Mercedarians established convents, especially in the 1540s, in a number of CITIES



Cloister in a Mercedarian convent, New Spain. The Mercedarians were one of the most important religious orders in the Spanish colonies. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

in Peru, including Huamanga and AREQUIPA in 1540, LA PLATA and La Paz in 1541, and POTOSÍ in CHARCAS in 1549. A convent was founded in Santa Cruz de la Sierra in 1557 and in Mendoza in 1562. CHILE received convents in SANTIAGO DE CHILE in 1548 and later in Concepción and other towns. By the early 17th century, the Archbishopric of LIMA had 16 Mercedarians serving parishes, part of a minority of 67 friars who joined 108 secular clergy in the 162 parishes. The order joined the AUGUSTINIANS in favoring the use of EDUCATION rather than force in dealing with native superstition and religious beliefs.

By the time the Mercedarians turned their attention to Mexico, FRANCISCANS, DOMINICANS, and Augustinians were well entrenched across the most populated regions of New Spain. Nonetheless, in 1597, the Mercedarians founded convents in Antequera and PUEBLA.

In BRAZIL, the Mercedarians were less numerous than the JESUITS but engaged in missionization as well as economic activities, including large-scale CATTLE RANCHING. The Portuguese Crown between 1693 and 1695 assigned regions of the Amazonia to different religious orders. The Mercedarians were charged with the Urubú, Aniba, and Uatuma Rivers in addition to parts of the lower Amazon. Their convent was located at Belém. In 1750, they had only three ALDELAS in the Amazon river valley while Jesuits, Carmelites, and Franciscans had a total of 60. In the 1760s, the Crown recalled the Mercedarians to Portugal and seized their cattle ranches on the island of Marajó.

The peninsular friar Diego de Porres was the Mercedarians' most illustrious figure in colonial Latin America. Entering the order in Peru at the age of 26 or 27, he became a zealous missionary in the highlands of Peru. In addition to preaching to, baptizing, and marrying many indigenous, he was responsible for the construction of more than 200 churches in native towns.

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Mercurio peruano This publication by LIMA's Amantes del País, a local economic society, appeared from 1791 to 1795 (see *AMIGOS DEL PAÍS*, SOCIETIES OF). At first it attracted writers who considered themselves adherents of the ENLIGHTENMENT's emphasis on useful knowledge. Initially shielded by pseudonyms, membership included CREOLES, notably university professor and future *OIDOR* of Lima José Baquijano y Carrillo and future *protomédico* of Lima HIPÓLITO UNANUE; PENINSULARS, especially *OIDOR* Ambrosio Cerdán y Pontero and Fray Diego Cisneros; as well as Italian-born Josef Rosi y Rubí.

The periodical appeared twice a week and through its articles aimed to inform readers about PERU and introduce scientific and modern methodology that could be used to address everyday as well as scientific problems. Thus the *Mercurio* published articles on the history of the UNIVERSITY OF SAN MARCOS and on commerce in Peru, mechanized MINING techniques, ways to avoid dangers during pregnancy, and the advantages of burial in cemeteries over that in churches. In many issues it also published a lengthy compendium of modern chemical terms.

Supported by VICEROY FRANCISCO GIL DE TABOADA Y LEMUS, the *Mercurio* caught the attention of royal officials in Madrid. Complying with a royal order of June 9, 1792, the viceroy sent a full run of the periodical with an endorsement that the publication was “very useful and desirable” and its authors deserved commendation. In anticipation of rewards in the form of government appointments, several of the leading contributors left for Spain in 1793. Their exodus foretold the end of the *Mercurio*. Short of both contributors and readers, the periodical succumbed. Its ephemeral existence testified to both the existence of enlightened individuals in Lima and their modest number.

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mercury Also known as quicksilver, mercury was essential for the amalgamation, or patio, process that enabled miners to separate SILVER from ore too poor for profitable smelting. The Spanish Crown quickly established a monopoly to oversee its sale (see MONOPOLIES, ROYAL).

The amalgamation process was introduced to the Americas in NEW SPAIN in the mid-1550s. It was adopted by nearly all mines in ZACATECAS by 1563, for miners could now make a profit processing ore that yielded no more than an ounce and a half of silver per 100 pounds (45 kg).

The capital investment required for the patio process included the construction of stamp mills and, in the early 18th century, a device known as the *arrastré* to crush the ore, powered mainly by MULES in Zacatecas and most other northern Mexican MINING centers. At Central Mexico sites, water powered the stamp mills. Other equipment had to be purchased as well. The mills employed mostly wage laborers.

Workers transported crushed ore to a large, circular, stone-paved patio and heaped it into large piles, to which water was added. After salt and mercury had been incorporated into the mixture, it was spread into a thin *torta* to the edge of the patio and then mixed by men with shovels or sometimes mules driven across the patio. The process

might take up to three months; it ended when the mercury specialist (*azoguero*) decided the mercury had “taken up” the silver in the ore.

Workers then removed the *torta* in small batches to washing tubs, where mules rotated paddles. The mixing caused the heavier particles of silver and mercury amalgam (*pella*) to sink to the bottom of the tub; the film on the top was removed and placed in settling troughs to capture any remaining amalgam. The amalgam was next squeezed through canvas bags to remove loose mercury. The remaining amalgam was then put into molds and placed in a conical form (*piña*) under a metal hood. Heated from below, the mercury separated as vapor that condensed in the bell-shaped hood and was captured for reuse. The silver that remained in the *piña* was of excellent quality; it was melted into bars, often under the watch of an assayer from the local treasury office. Subsequent substantial advances came from improving the washing process and by adding ores called *magistrales* (copper or iron pyrites), which enabled the processing of previously unworkable silver ores.

Processing was somewhat different at POTOSÍ. Amerindians dominated refining until 1572, grinding ore in stone mills and smelting it in small clay furnaces. After earlier failures, in 1572, the amalgamation process was introduced successfully. The major difference from processing in New Spain was that amalgamation took place in large containers rather than in patios.

The key to the amalgamation process was an adequate supply of mercury. Astonishingly, Spain enjoyed access to the three most important sources. ALMADÉN in Spain had been a source of mercury since Roman rule. Idrija, in Slovenia, was under the rule of the Austrian HABSBURGS. HUANCVELICA in the Peruvian Andes was the source of American mercury. Spaniards began to exploit mines near Huancavelica in 1563, especially after VÍCEROY FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO claimed the district for the Crown. Until its collapse in 1786, the famous mine of Santa Bárbara provided most of the mercury used by miners at Potosí and elsewhere in Peru and CHARCAS and at times for New Spain’s mines as well. Almadén, which had long supplied most of New Spain’s mercury, provided what miners in Peru and Charcas needed during the remainder of the colonial period.

In the latter half of the 18th century, the Crown lowered the price of mercury in both New Spain and Peru, an action that stimulated silver production. Not until the 19th century were mercury and the amalgamation process rendered obsolete by the use of cyanide in processing ore. American deputies to the CORTES OF CÁDIZ in 1810 called for the free and open exploitation of all mercury mines

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mestizaje/mestizo The offspring of unions between Spaniards and Amerindians were known as mestizos. The first generation of mestizos was almost all illegitimate children of Spanish men and indigenous women. Indeed, El Inca GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, himself a mestizo, noted that the term was originally an insult and, as used by Spaniards, signified illegitimacy. By the middle of the 16th century, the number of mestizos reaching adulthood was expanding rapidly. While those recognized by their fathers grew up in Spanish society, mothers reared many more mestizos in indigenous villages.

The Crown began worrying about the implications of *mestizaje* and a growing population of mestizos by the mid-16th century. Having settled on a policy of segregating NATIVE AMERICANS and Spaniards in separate communities, or two “republics,” there was no place for mestizos. Inheritance practices that favored legitimate, usually Spanish children over illegitimate children further clouded the latter’s future in an environment in which powerful *encomenderos* could not be certain that the Crown would allow any succession to *ENCOMIENDAS*. The failed “mutiny of the mestizos” in PERU in 1567 confirmed Spanish opinion that mestizos were dangerous and willing to promote violence. With Peruvian *encomenderos* failing in their bid to turn *encomiendas* into permanent and inheritable properties, a failure that adversely affected their mestizo children, the status of mestizos declined further.

Discriminatory legislation underscored the handicaps mestizos faced. At times these included restrictions on bearing arms and securing employment in the state or CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Mestizos did enjoy some benefits over indigenous people. Importantly, they were normally exempt from TRIBUTE, unlike free blacks and *MULATOS*. In addition, they were exempt from forced labor in the *REPARTIMIENTO* in NEW SPAIN and the *MITA* in Peru. More than one frustrated Spanish official noted that mestizos who had committed crimes subsequently dressed as Indians and took refuge among their mothers’ family.

Over time, *mestizo* as a synonym for illegitimacy and a particular racial combination gave way to a cultural category that was neither Spanish nor Amerindian. In the 18th century, mestizos were passing into the expanding CREOLE population. As mestizos married mestizos, moreover, their descendants were of legitimate birth. Mestizos in the late 18th century had no sense of group identity, but the fact that their numbers were declining suggests that they blended into the creole population.

See also *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO* (Vol. I).

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Methuen Treaty (1703) The commercial treaty of 1703 between Portugal and England bears the name of its English negotiator, John Methuen. Under its terms, English woolens entered the Portuguese ports of Lisbon and Oporto duty free; Portugal, in turn, obtained favored treatment for its port wines. The Anglo-Portuguese trade was important to both parties and the treaty provided the basis for a thriving although imbalanced exchange based on the comparative advantages of each country.

The value of British exports far exceeded that of Portuguese wine, the balance Portugal paid from Brazilian GOLD. Substantial British exports went to BRAZIL via Portugal and then were smuggled into Spanish America in exchange for SILVER that, ultimately, supported British TRADE in Asia. By 1750, Portugal was an economic dependency of Britain, providing wine, gold, and, via trade in the Río de la Plata region, silver in exchange for textiles. British interest in Brazilian SUGAR and TOBACCO was nil, for its own colonies produced these commodities. As Brazil's gold remittances waned after 1760, trade with Britain declined. British exports to Portugal exceeded an average of 1 million pounds annually from 1731 to 1760 but then dropped by 1771–75 to less than half of the 1756–60 amount. The export surplus declined even more; from 1771 to 1775, it was less than 25 percent of that of 1756–60.

Under the Methuen Treaty, the amount of Portuguese wine exported to Britain increased substantially. From an average of 632 barrels annually in 1678–87, by 1788–89 exports amounted to 40,055 barrels. This equated to 90 percent of Portuguese wine exports and about three-quarters of British wine imports.

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Mexico See NEW SPAIN, VICEROYALTY OF.

Mexico, independence of Mexico as an independent country developed out of a desire in NEW SPAIN, especially among CREOLES, for greater political autonomy and explicit political equality with Spain. As 1808 opened, *novohispanos* were loyal to the Spanish

Crown; in 1821, independence was a fact. How New Spain moved from loyalty to independence in the early 19th century is a complex story that started in Spain and directly affected a substantial portion of the colony's population during the 1810s. While MIGUEL HIDALGO Y COSTILLA, JOSÉ MARÍA MORELOS Y PAVÓN, and Agustín de Iturbide are important to the story, so are royalists, notably FERDINAND VII, the CORTES OF CÁDIZ, Rafael Riego, and the MILITARY commander and VICEROY of New Spain FÉLIX MARÍA CALLEJA DEL REY. Even more important are the millions of Mexicans who paid the legal and illegal taxes and TRIBUTE that supported both insurgents and royalist forces.

Spain's most populous colony at the beginning of the 19th century had the empire's most productive SILVER MINING, most of its wealthiest families, and a per-capita income that has never since been closer to that of the United States. At the pinnacle of society were a group of families, some bearing titles of nobility, whose fortunes exceeded a million pesos. The families sometimes included successful PENINSULAR merchants, miners, bureaucrats, and planters and other large landowners; in these cases, the wife was typically a CREOLE of Mexican birth. Below this level, competition shading into antagonism between peninsulars and creoles was common.

The population of New Spain in 1810 was approximately 6 million. Of this number, about 15,000 were peninsulars; 1 million, creoles; 10,000, black slaves; and the remainder divided more or less equally between Amerindians and CASTAS, or persons of mixed ancestry (see SLAVERY). Of the small number of peninsulars, approximately half were in the military, about 1,500 in the clergy, and the remainder in the bureaucracy, commerce, and land ownership. Strikingly, about two-thirds of these peninsulars wore uniforms or robes of office and were quickly identifiable.

Although nominal silver production was at its colonial apogee on the eve of the revolt launched by Hidalgo and was by far New Spain's most valuable export, it accounted for less than 5 percent of gross domestic product, and its value compared to that of GOLD had declined in recent years. Real wages had been dropping for unskilled and semiskilled workers for over half a century, reducing their purchasing power by about 25 percent.

Living conditions in rural areas of central New Spain had deteriorated as a result of both a rising population putting more pressure on the land and a decline in real wages. MAIZE prices rose in the fall of 1808, a consequence of inadequate supply. The following year, prices rose dramatically because of drought and a failed harvest, including in the breadbasket region of the BAJÍO, north and west of MEXICO CITY. Hunger was widespread, and unemployment, rife.

News of the fall of royal favorite MANUEL GODOY Y ÁLVAREZ DE FARIA, the abdication of CHARLES IV, and the accession of Ferdinand VII reached New Spain on June 18, 1808. Five days later, word arrived that the royal

family had departed for Bayonne, France. On July 14, came news that Ferdinand and Charles had abdicated to Napoleon. In light of these events, the city council of Mexico City asked Viceroy JOSÉ DE ITURRIGARAY Y ARÓSTEGUI to maintain authority in the absence of the monarch and to convoke a meeting of notables to discuss a course of action. Viceroy Iturrigaray did so, but before the group could meet, news arrived on July 29 of the rising against the French in Madrid on May 2. Word also reached Mexico on August 1 that SEVILLE had formed a junta known as the JUNTA SUPREMA DE SEVILLA.

The unprecedented events created a constitutional crisis centered on the question of who should rule in the absence of Ferdinand VII, who all parties agreed was the legitimate monarch. The *cabildo* of Mexico City argued that sovereignty returned to the people; the peninsular-dominated Audiencia of Mexico disagreed, claiming that the king's appointees continued as his legitimate representatives and that New Spain should recognize the Junta Suprema de Sevilla as the legitimate central authority (see *AUDIENCIA*). Viceroy Iturrigaray, who had amassed a fortune through corruption and was willing to continue benefiting from high office, seemed supportive of the *cabildo's* position. He convoked a group of 86 notables and peninsulars, thinking that the city fathers would back him as ruler of New Spain in the name of Ferdinand but without allegiance to a government of resistance in Spain. The arrival on August 29 of two representatives of Seville's Junta Suprema and, on August 31, of news that there was a junta in Asturias also claiming to rule in the absence of Ferdinand, pointed to the absence of a central government of resistance in Spain. This gave weight to the *AUTONOMISTS'* argument that New Spain should also have its own junta.

A group of peninsular merchants and their minions led by wealthy merchant and landowner Gabriel de Yermo, with the connivance of some peninsular *audiencia* ministers, ended the impasse by force. On the night of September 15, 1808, they staged a coup, arresting the viceroy, his family, and a small number of outspoken autonomists. The next day, the Audiencia of Mexico named as viceroy the senior military officer in New Spain, the octogenarian Field Marshal Pedro de Garibay. The coup d'état destroyed the legitimacy the Spanish Crown had cultivated and enjoyed for nearly three centuries. The involvement of peninsulars in the coup, moreover, sharpened creole antagonism, and antipeninsular rhetoric increased. With the premature end of the open political discussion that had marked the meetings of the notables in August and early September, some advocates of greater political autonomy and equality with Spain went underground. Creole conspiracies followed.

The timing of the Hidalgo revolt was a direct consequence of a leaked creole conspiracy. One of the conspirators, Father Miguel Hidalgo issued a call to revolt, the GRITO DE DOLORES, to assembled indigenous and *casta* parishioners on September 16, 1810, two days after

the new viceroy, FRANCISCO JAVIER DE VENEGAS, reached Mexico City. Antipeninsular in tone and declaring the abolition of tribute, Hidalgo and his coconspirators sought to attract popular support out of uncertainty that creoles would respond positively. When the undisciplined force sacked GUANAJUATO and murdered the INTENDANT, other peninsulars, and creoles who had taken refuge in the municipal granary, the massacre quickly convinced creoles to condemn the revolt and rally behind the government. Although he led his unruly force to the heights above Mexico City, Hidalgo decided not to attack the capital, probably from fear that he would lose any semblance of control. The revolt faltered, and after several costly defeats, Hidalgo was captured and executed in 1811.

The elimination of Hidalgo did not end the insurgency. Another cleric, the mestizo Father José María Morelos, charged by Hidalgo with taking ACAPULCO, continued to build a disciplined army and moved southward (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*). His successes would challenge the royalists for several years. For example, he held out at Cuautla for 72 days of siege by General Calleja's army before evacuating on May 2, 1812, albeit with heavy losses. He took the city of Oaxaca on November 25, 1812, a victory that gave him control of significant parts of southern Mexico and put him at the apogee of his power. His subsequent success in taking Acapulco, however, was basically a waste of time and resources. A congress he convoked at Chilpancingo explicitly declared the independence of Mexico on November 6, 1813, but Morelos's power was waning (see *CHILPANCINGO, CONGRESS OF*). Following internal bickering in the congress and military defeats at the hands of the royalists, Morelos was captured on November 5, 1815, and executed on December 22. With his death, the royalists no longer faced an easily identifiable leader who personified revolt. Rather, the insurgents were locally led and based groups of guerrillas and bandits that had multiplied since the time of Hidalgo.

Already in 1811, Viceroy Venegas had implemented a military strategy based on 12 regional commandancies and mobile armies, notably the Army of the Center commanded by Calleja. Within each region, villages bore the responsibility of levying and paying soldiers to protect them from guerrillas and bandits. The viceroy imposed additional taxes, while the prices of basic foodstuffs rose as a result of the rebellions. Mining production fell by perhaps 50 percent or more, most obviously in the mines around Guanajuato, site of an early rebel victory. Viceregal debt mushroomed, while commerce declined.

In addition to ongoing, localized guerrilla warfare in rural areas, royalist leaders faced the challenge posed by governments of resistance in Spain. Their repeated calls for American representatives selected through indirect elections temporarily reopened the possibility of *novo-hispanos* securing greater political autonomy and equality. The call for American representation on the JUNTA



The massacre of creoles and peninsulars who had taken refuge in the large public granary at Guanajuato, in New Spain, changed the course of Mexico's war of independence. (*Private collection*)

CENTRAL antedated the Hidalgo revolt. Issued on January 22, 1809, the document famously stated that “the vast and precious dominions which Spain possesses in the Indies are not properly colonies or factories . . . , but an essential and integral part of the Spanish Monarchy. . . [those] dominions should have immediate national representation before his royal person and form part of the Junta Central.” The number of representatives from the Americas was set at nine. On February 14, 1810, the decree calling for American representation to the CORTES OF CÁDIZ stoked the fire: “American Spaniards, from this moment you are elevated to the dignity of free men . . . your destinies no longer depend either on the ministers, the viceroys, or the governors; they are in your hands.” Complemented by unprecedented freedom of the press, these documents from Spain's successive governments of resistance confirmed that the colonists had previously not been “free men,” but now would be. As historian Jaime E. Rodríguez O. has noted, the second decree “seemed less a government decree than an insurgent manifesto.” Moreover, the colonists were again told to send instructions with their deputies to the Cortes; this open call for a list of grievances implied that redress would be forthcoming. For a second time, elections were held in Mexico

and briefly it seemed that greater political autonomy and even equality with Spain were possible.

Any illusion of equality disappeared when it became clear that peninsular deputies and some American deputies in the Cortes would not allow representation based on population; rather, it excluded men with identifiable African ancestry, a ploy that produced a majority of deputies representing Spain. Although it gave Americans unprecedented representation, this unsatisfactory result had a short life. Having returned to Spain, Ferdinand VII in May 1814 nullified all actions of the governments of resistance, including the CONSTITUTION OF 1812. He followed up by sending troops to the Americas. While the largest expedition went to northern South America under General PABLO MORILLO, several thousand soldiers were sent to New Spain.

Soon, the fervent royalist viceroy Calleja, who had replaced Venegas in March 1813, was congratulating himself on the defeat of Morelos. With Ferdinand VII in power and liberal politicians in retreat, the viceroy was ready to declare victory at hand, although in more realistic moments he knew that it was not.

The arrival of JUAN RUIZ DE APODACA as the new viceroy in September 1816, allowed Calleja to leave with

Mexico apparently largely pacified, but, in fact, roiling below the surface. The return of constitutional monarchy in Spain in 1820 opened the way for Agustín de Iturbide to forge an agreement with guerrilla chieftain Vicente Guerrero and issue a brilliant compromise, the PLAN OF IGUALA. The plan received widespread support and resulted in Mexico's independence on August 24, 1821, without any further major battles.

See also GUERRERO, VICENTE (Vol. III); ITURBIDE, AGUSTÍN DE (Vol. III).

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Mexico, University of See UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO.

Mexico City Initially referred to as *México-Tenochtitlán* and then only as *México* in the colonial period, the city was the political center of NEW SPAIN and the focal point for persons of wealth and influence. Built in the Valley of Mexico on the ruins of the Mexica capital of Tenochtitlán, Mexico City had a population in the mid-16th century that might have exceeded 95,000. Of this number, about 75,000 were Amerindians; 8,000, Spaniards; 3,000 *CASTAS*; and the remainder blacks, most of whom were slaves (see SLAVERY).

The viceregal capital of New Spain, Mexico City, by the 1550s, housed most major institutions of empire. The Audiencia of Mexico had been in place since the 1520s, although NEW GALICIA had received its own tribunal in 1548 (see AUDIENCIA). Royal treasury officials had established an office (*real caja*) in 1521, and a MINT had been operating since the mid-1530s. VICEROY Luis de Velasco, who succeeded Antonio de Mendoza in 1550, initiated a system of garrisons and towns along the highway from the capital to the recently discovered SILVER MINING center of ZACATECAS.

Mexico City also had an almost complete set of ecclesiastical institutions. The diocese of Mexico, erected in 1527, had become an archdiocese in 1547, with the archbishop a resident of the capital. FRANCISCANS, DOMINICANS, and AUGUSTINIANS were well established; the Society of Jesus would arrive in 1572 (see JESUITS). The UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO opened its doors in 1553, allowing local youth who had mastered Latin the opportunity to pursue higher

studies without travel to Spain. The Tribunal of the Inquisition opened its doors in 1571.

As the largest market in New Spain, Mexico City was the viceroyalty's base for numerous wholesale merchants who imported goods from Spain, Central and South America, and, systematically from the 1570s, East Asia via the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. It was also the site of numerous artisans—shoemakers, silversmiths, tanners, and tailors, among others—as well as lawyers and a few physicians. *OBRAJES* in the capital produced inexpensive woolen cloth.

Mexico City was still home to *encomenderos* in the mid-16th century, but their number was declining as a result of both royal policy and a dramatic reduction in the indigenous population (see ENCOMIENDA). The number of *hacendados*, however, was undoubtedly increasing, and the most magnificent homes in New Spain were located in the capital (see HACIENDA).

From the time of Hernando Cortés on, Mexico City was undisputedly the principal city of the colony, exercising a level of dominance that no other city of the viceroyalty could match. Its location, however, reflected a political decision rather than a consideration of inherent weaknesses. Built on an artificial island in Lake Texcoco, the city suffered serious floods more than a dozen times between 1555 and 1763. A flood in 1629 drove thousands of inhabitants from the city and took four years to recede. Despite massive expenditures of money and draft labor, the colonial state never solved the problem, as the Crown demanded the remission of revenue and the hinterlands of Mexico refused to contribute the sums needed for a permanent solution.

Mexico City repeatedly suffered from an inadequate supply of clean, potable water. Water in the city's canals was always polluted with sewage. Wells tapping into shallow springs several feet under the city provided impotable water for household use. Although Spaniards oversaw the reconstruction of a preconquest aqueduct from Chapultepec, this proved inadequate by the 1560s. More aqueducts were subsequently built to carry water from other sites, but the supply never met the entire city's needs.

Twice in the 17th century, in 1624 and 1692, Mexico City suffered serious riots. Both were related to the high price of MAIZE, but other causes were also present. The second riot was particularly violent, with rioters damaging, among other buildings, the viceregal palace, the offices of the city council, and the jail. In both cases, authorities restored order quickly.

As New Spain's capital, Mexico City enjoyed days of celebration with the arrival of each new VICEROY. The receptions for the HABSBURG viceroys were particularly lavish as the city council, guilds, and other corporate bodies competed for public and viceregal approval.

The city's population in 1790 was 113,240 and would rise to nearly 180,000 by 1820 as a result of significant migration associated with the war of independence (see MEXICO, INDEPENDENCE OF). As reported in the 1790 cen-



Built on a lake, Mexico City suffered repeated flooding that led to a massive project to drain the city permanently. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

sus, the number included 2,359 PENINSULARS, 49,587 CREOLES, 23,743 Indians, 269 blacks, and the remainder were persons of mixed ancestry (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*). One scholar has defined almost 90 percent of the total population at that time as “poor.” At the other extreme was a small number of extremely rich families with diverse assets, titles of nobility or other honors, success in placing children in prominent marriages and positions, and longevity at the apex of the social structure. The number of families with fabulous wealth—millionaires or nearly so—was about 100, a figure that was probably a multiple of all other millionaires in the Spanish Empire.

Mexico City was thus a city of extremes at the time of independence. While the few fabulously wealthy lived in mansions, 10,000–15,000 men, women, and children were homeless.

See also MEXICO CITY (Vols. I, III, IV); TENOCHTITLÁN (Vol. I).

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migration The movement of individuals and peoples within colonial Latin America took different forms: temporary, permanent, voluntary, and forced. By the mid-16th century, the forced migration to PERU of indigenous people enslaved in Central America had largely come to an end. The use of the *CONGREGACIÓN* and *REDUCCIÓN* in Spanish America and the *ALDELA* in BRAZIL involved the relocation of countless native villages, although the actual distances involved were often fairly modest. In 1591, the Spaniards sent more than 900 Tlaxcalans, descendants

of the famed allies of conquistador Hernando Cortés, as colonists to the CHICHIMECA frontier in northern NEW SPAIN. In return, the Tlaxcalans received noble status for themselves and their descendants, as well as exemption from TRIBUTE, certain taxes, and personal service; land; permission to restrict settlement in their districts; and other privileges.

The most extensive migration was related to the MITA of POTOSÍ. While adult males were to work in the mines under this labor draft, wives and children routinely accompanied the men, and frequently the families then remained in Potosí rather than returning to their native villages. A second migration resulting from the mita was that of indigenous people who left their villages to avoid being sent to Potosí. The price of this flight was loss of access to their lands. In turn, numerous native villages received an influx of FORASTEROS, as these migrants were known.

In Yucatán, a standard indigenous response to excessive oppression was flight to the southern and eastern portion of the peninsula where Spaniards had only nominal power. In the AUDIENCIA district of QUITO, flight to avoid TAXATION, forced labor, or other exploitation was commonplace.

MISSIONS served as both magnets for migration and stimuli for flight. The largest and most famous missions, those of the JESUITS in PARAGUAY, became home to more than 140,000 GUARANÍ at their peak in 1732. In contrast, the Jesuit missions in Chiquitos, CHARCAS, had only about 25,000 NATIVE AMERICANS in 1766; the Franciscan missions in southeastern Charcas had about the same number in 1810.

While elite families generally stayed in a given location, nonelite CREOLES and CASTAS also migrated. Typically, the objective was a better life in a new location. Thus, miners moved from one mine to another with higher-quality ore. SILVER strikes in northern Mexico attracted miners, merchants, ranchers, transporters, and others who saw an opportunity for gain. The discovery of GOLD in MINAS GERAIS in the 1690s and DIAMONDS in the 1720s produced instant MINING camps and even some municipalities following the arrival of migrants from other parts of BRAZIL and immigrants from Portugal. African slaves were forcibly moved from the SUGAR PLANTATIONS in northeastern Brazil to the mining zone (see SLAVERY).

Migration was necessary throughout colonial Latin America to maintain the population of every city. Moreover, for the population to grow, the number of migrants into a city plus surviving children had to exceed the combination of those persons leaving and the number of deaths.

See also MIGRATION (Vols. I, III, IV).

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military Formal military units and installations were few and literally far between in colonial Latin America. Spaniards who were “Indian fighters” rather than soldiers conquered what became Spanish colonies. In response to foreign interlopers, by the late 16th century, the Spanish Crown had overseen the construction of substantial fortresses at HAVANA, San Juan de Ulúa, San Juan de Puerto Rico, and CARTAGENA DE INDIAS; fortifications at PORTOBELLO were under construction as a result of the decision to move the isthmian terminus of the fleet system from Nombre de Dios. On the Pacific coast, fortifications were built in the early 17th century for ACAPULCO, in NEW SPAIN, and in the mid-18th century for Valdivia, in CHILE, and CALLAO, in PERU, to replace the fortification destroyed in the tsunami that accompanied the earthquake of 1746. Callao had already had a permanent infantry garrison from 1615, although it typically had fewer men than it was supposed to have.

In BRAZIL, the Portuguese Crown fortified the port of RIO DE JANEIRO and created the fortified trading post of COLÔNIA DO SACRAMENTO. The primary purposes of the fortifications were to protect merchant ships, prevent invasions such as that by the Dutch in PERNAMBUCO in 1630, and defend against pirate attacks.

A second group of military installations consisted of frontier garrisons, or PRESIDIOS. These spread northward in New Spain along the Royal Road leading to ZACATECAS and then north, east, and west as part of the expanding frontier. In 1758, more than 1,000 presidial troops were stationed on the northern frontier. There was also ongoing frontier warfare in southern CHILE against the ARAUCANIANS (Mapuche), with nearly 1,000 regular troops involved.

Viceregal guards were a third type of military unit. By 1555, the VICEROY of Peru was assigned companies of lancers and archers as well as infantrymen; Viceroy FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO was allowed to expand the guard to 200 men. Among other benefits, these privileged guardsmen were immune from imprisonment for debt and after 1678 viceroys could legally name their clients and relatives to serve. By the mid-18th century, the viceregal guard in Peru had only 170 men. In New Spain in 1758, 356 men made up the viceregal guard’s cavalry, halbardiers, and infantry units.

Occasionally, regular forces were deployed to maintain internal order. Troops were sent to CARACAS from SANTO DOMINGO and an additional 1,200 were sent from

CÁDIZ to quell the rebellion against the REAL COMPAÑÍA GUIPÚZCOANA DE CARACAS that began in 1749. A permanent garrison of regular troops remained after the revolt had ended. In Peru, the most important military campaigns after the rule of Viceroy Toledo were responses to the 18th-century rebellions of JUAN SANTOS ATAHUALPA and TÚPAC AMARU II.

By 1540, the Spanish Crown had authorized militia companies of infantry and cavalry. Called “urban” militias because their responsibilities were within their localities rather than colonywide, they lacked organization and were frequently untrained and undermanned and without arms, uniforms, and equipment.

In New Spain, the militias included all groups in society other than Amerindians and were organized by perceived or claimed racial background. The use of free-colored militia units started in the 1550s but was brought to an end in the 1790s by the viceroy Count REVILLAGIGEDO.

In CUBA in 1737, militiamen and officers numbered 9,068 but were neither led by regular forces nor systematically drilled or provided with adequate weaponry. In Peru, the militia in 1760 consisted, on paper, of 50 companies of infantry and 26 of cavalry, totaling 4,209 men. Companies of Spaniards, Amerindians, *MULATOS*, and free blacks were in both the infantry and the cavalry.

There were also some militia units in CUZCO. With Spain’s involvement in the Seven Years’ War, Viceroy MANUEL DE AMAT Y JUNYENT in Peru resuscitated the militia of Peru and claimed to have increased it to some 50,000 men complemented by nearly 1,000 regular troops.

One of the most celebrated uses of militias occurred in the Jesuit MISSIONS in PARAGUAY. The JESUITS created trained and disciplined GUARANÍ units that Spanish authorities used on some 70 occasions. In response to the demand that they move in accord with the terms of the TREATY OF MADRID OF 1750, the Guaraní revolted. It took a joint Spanish and Portuguese military campaign to suppress them.

In Brazil, the most important military units of the interior were the private armies of *bandeirantes* who enslaved NATIVE AMERICANS, especially in the 17th century (see *BANDEIRAS*). In the 18th century, the CAPTAINCIES GENERAL normally had military forces comprised of white infantry regiments, a regiment of free mulattoes, and some Indian troops. Typically weapons, uniforms, and fortifications were in poor condition. Moreover, few young men had any interest in military service, for compensation was poor and usually late, and discipline was severe.

Under PHILIP V and his successors, the Spanish Crown organized the Army of the Americas to include a permanent group of battalions stationed in the INDIES, complemented by a reinforcement army of 2,500 stationed in Spain. Regular troops, usually battalions, were assigned to selected strategic locations, for example,

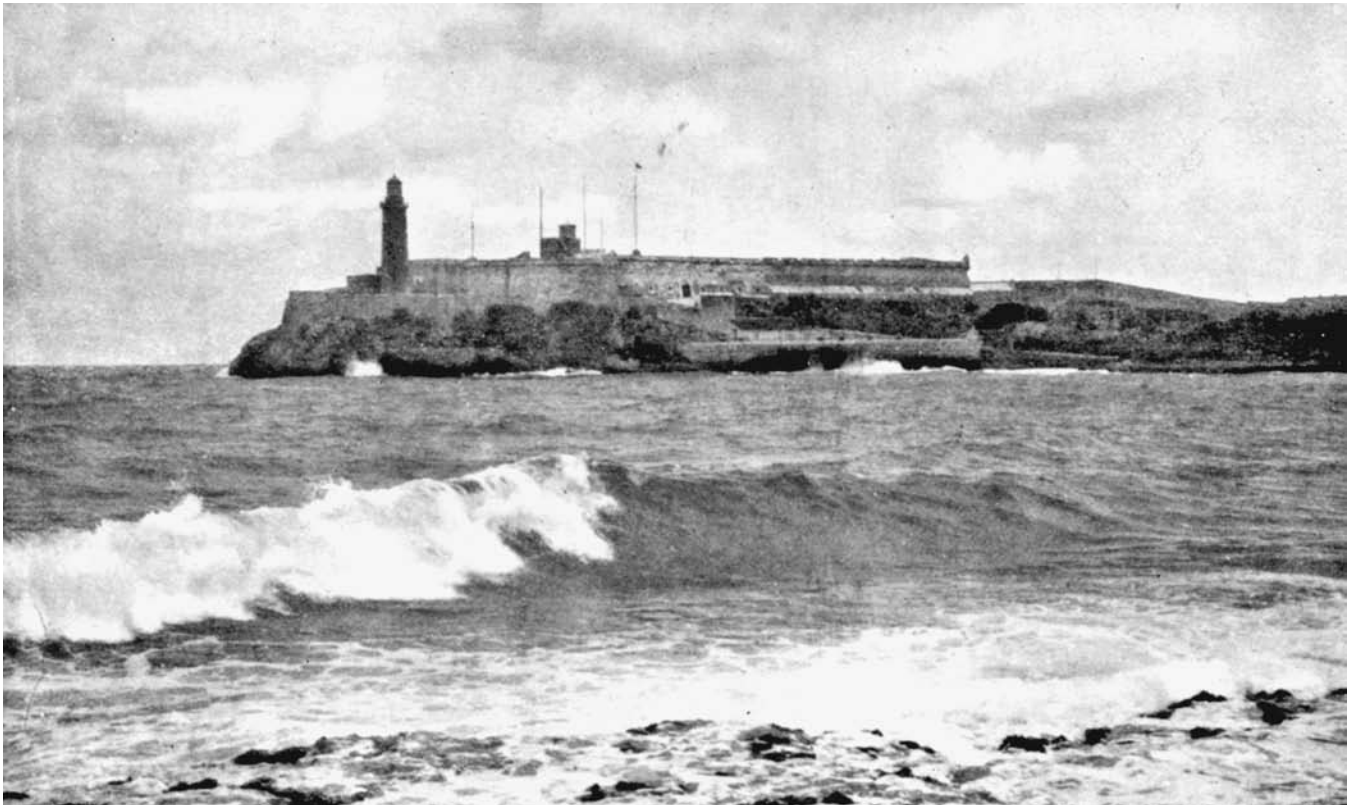
Havana in 1719; Cartagena in 1736; Santo Domingo in 1738; PANAMA and San Juan, PUERTO RICO, in 1741; Veracruz in 1749; Callao, Valdivia, and Concepción in 1753; Yucatán in 1754; Guiana in 1767; Cumaná and Trinidad in 1769; and Santa Catalina and Colônia in 1776; BUENOS AIRES in 1778; and Santa Fe de BOGOTÁ in 1798.

During time of war, Spanish battalions would provide reinforcements, while tropical diseases would ravage the enemy. In Havana and Cartagena, only one-fifth of each battalion was to be CREOLE, while in Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico this percentage increased to one-half. In practice, by the 1740s and 1750s, creoles exceeded their allotment, at least in Havana where 41 percent were officers in 1758, albeit almost exclusively in the lower ranks. Havana had regular troop strength of 2,330 men in May 1762. In Peru in 1760, the regular (*fijo*) forces consisted of two companies of the viceregal guard, one battalion at Callao, a detachment in Tarma and another in Jauja, for a total of 591 troops. Chile at the same time had 963 regular soldiers. The Spanish Empire as a whole never had more than 14,000 men in the Army of the Americas before the loss of Havana in 1762.

Military reforms after the Seven Years’ War were designed to provide a core of regular troops commanded by PENINSULARS in each colony. Since standing armies were very expensive, reorganized militia would provide much of the necessary manpower. After the shocking, although temporary, loss of Havana to the British in 1762, the Crown strengthened the regular forces in Cuba; the veteran garrison in 1769 was authorized 3,354 men plus officers; the reorganized militia following the Seven Years’ War was authorized 7,500 men plus officers. The militia included four white infantry battalions, one *PARDO* (mulatto) battalion, and one *moreno* (black) battalion. This was the first step in reforming the Army of the Americas.

While the reforms had merit as a way to stretch resources, they required regular rotation of new peninsular troops to work. In addition, the militia had to be disciplined, trained in the use of arms, and have access to adequate arms, ammunition, and uniforms. In all of these areas, the post-1763 military was only partially successful. A regular rotation of regular troops from Spain quickly became too expensive to continue, so units recruited in the Americas, often enlisting men, including criminals, who subsequently deserted. At the same time, the expansion of the number of military personnel encompassed by a military *FUERO* reduced respect for the civil judicial system in some regions of the empire.

The most contested colonial border involving regular armies was that between Brazil and the Río de la Plata region over what historian Dauril Alden has called the “debatable lands.” MONTEVIDEO was established in 1724 as a military base on the north shore of the estuary of the RÍO DE LA PLATA. In October 1762, a successful Spanish army wrested Colônia do Sacramento



El Morro was a major defensive bastion constructed at Havana, Cuba. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

from the Portuguese. Required to return the fort to the Portuguese under the ensuing Treaty of Paris, Spain sent an even larger force in 1776 and was again victorious. Spain's colonial army also proved successful as France's ally in war with Britain from 1779 to 1783, defeating the British in the Battles of Mobile and Pensacola, winning back East Florida, and gaining British recognition of West Florida as a Spanish possession.

Militia units in Buenos Aires proved indispensable in defeating the British invaders in 1806 and 1807. Their victory increased the creoles' self-confidence and facilitated the city's de facto independence from 1810.

The wars of independence in Spanish America were fought by military forces, although the armies were very small compared to European standards of the time. Commanders employed regular army troops and militias. The use of amnesties meant that some men fought both for and against independence at different times. Both royalists and insurgents used irregular forces such as the *LLANEROS* in Venezuela. Black slaves were often promised freedom in return for fighting—provided the side they chose won.

The creole elites of Spanish America, whose neutrality or support made achieving independence politically possible, lacked deep roots in military service. Ironically, it was the military that emerged as the most powerful political voice in many of the newly independent states.

See also *MILITARY* (Vols. III, IV).

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Minas Gerais Initially part of BRAZIL's captaincy of RIO DE JANEIRO, the region that would become the captaincy of Minas Gerais (general mines) in 1720 was first a site for *BANDEIRAS* from SÃO PAULO seeking Amerindians to enslave, although there was no substantial native

population there. This changed when in the 1690s GOLD was discovered along tributaries of the São Francisco River in the highlands of Minas. A rush of men seeking a quick fortune came from both elsewhere in Brazil and Portugal, especially from Minho. Minas's population may have included 50,000 miners by 1705, although there are no firm counts. The MINING camp of VILA RICA DO OURO PRÊTO (rich town of black gold) became a formal town in 1711 and a favored site of residence for successful miners and the merchants and officials who dealt with them. Vila Rica was to Brazil what POTOSÍ was to PERU. There were two other mining districts by 1710; their centers were São João del Rei and on the Rio das Velhas, where the leading camps were Sabará and Caeté. The discovery of DIAMONDS at Serro do Frio in the mid- to late 1720s initiated a new rush of miners in pursuit of the precious gems. The quantities unearthed were so great that the value of diamonds declined in Europe.

Prices in Minas Gerais were exorbitant compared to those on the coast. The demand for slaves resulted in prices more than doubling (see SLAVERY). This squeezed SUGAR planters in northeastern Brazil since price increases for the sweetener did not keep pace. Additionally, some planters sold slaves to men heading to the gold camps, thus increasing a shortage of labor in the sugar economy.

As was typical in mining camps elsewhere, those in Minas suffered from a surfeit of young males compared to the number of marriageable women. Men migrating from Portugal were apt to arrive with brothers, but neither wives nor sisters. In the district of Sabará, white males outnumbered white women by a ratio of three to two in 1776, well after the mining boom was over, and continued their numerical lead throughout the remainder of the colonial period. Established coastal elite families, moreover, preferred to send their daughters to convents in SALVADOR DA BAHIA or Portugal than have them marry a man in Minas. With white slaveowners and few white women, the MULATO population born out of wedlock expanded rapidly. In some cases, the white owner and father of illegitimate mulatto children freed them in his will and even named them heirs. Thus, mulattoes might inherit slaves and become slaveowners themselves. That over half of the population of Sabará was still enslaved in 1805, more than 50 years after gold mining had peaked, reveals the limits of manumission through will or purchase.

Black slaves were the preferred laborers in the gold camps of Minas Gerais. Their importance for royal revenue in the form of the QUINTO, or 20 percent tax, levied on gold was summarized by Brazil's governor in 1703: "no slaves, no fifth." Abandoning earlier limitations on the importation of slaves in Minas, in 1709, the Crown allowed the paulistas to purchase and sell slaves as they wanted.

Male slaves far outnumbered females. One owner had 28 males and one female slave. Typically, female slaves accounted for between about 12 and 20 percent of

a miner's slaves. Adult slaves numbered 100,141 in 1735 according to capitation tax records; the same source gives a figure of 86,797 in 1749. Both numbers are undoubtedly low. At the beginning of the 19th century, the slave population was approximately 216,000, 54 percent of the captaincy's total population. Of the free population, almost two-thirds were either black or mulatto.

With the decline in gold production that began in the 1750s, the prosperity of Minas Gerais yielded to economic stagnation that continued to the end of the colonial era and beyond. One symptom of the economic difficulties was the MINEIRO CONSPIRACY.

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mineiro conspiracy In December 1788, six Brazilian-born men met in VILA RICA DE OURO PRÊTO, capital of the once-booming captaincy of MINAS GERAIS, to plan a revolt that would occur at the time an anticipated per-capita tax (*derrama*) was imposed. They believed the occasion would be right for stimulating a popular revolt, assassinating the governor, and proclaiming a republic. The conspirators, all debtors with strong financial reasons to want a fresh start under a new regime, anticipated little public opposition. Some ideologues and other men who desired independence stood behind the conspirators. While not unanimous in a program of reform, they agreed on emphasizing the benefits for Minas Gerais. At its core, the revolt was proposed by men representing their own interests and those of other local oligarchs.

Word of the conspiracy leaked, and the *derrama* was not imposed by the governor of Minas Gerais as expected. The informer was one of the conspirators, who expected to have his debts waived in return for having exposed his companions. By early 1789, the conspirators were in disarray. In May 1789, conspirator Joaquim José da Silva Xavier, known as "Tiradentes" (tooth puller), was arrested; other conspirators were quickly taken as well.

In October 1790, the government in Lisbon rebuked the governor for his delay in informing it about the conspiracy and ordered him to live in Vila Rica. It also decided to rotate Portuguese troops through the capital every three years. In addition, it rewarded the persons the governor had recommended. Ultimately, Tiradentes became the scapegoat of the case and was hanged. The entire episode demonstrated arbitrary repression by the government and its need to change direction in order to

regain the support of alienated Brazilians of good family and substance. Tiradentes is now a symbol of nationalism in BRAZIL.

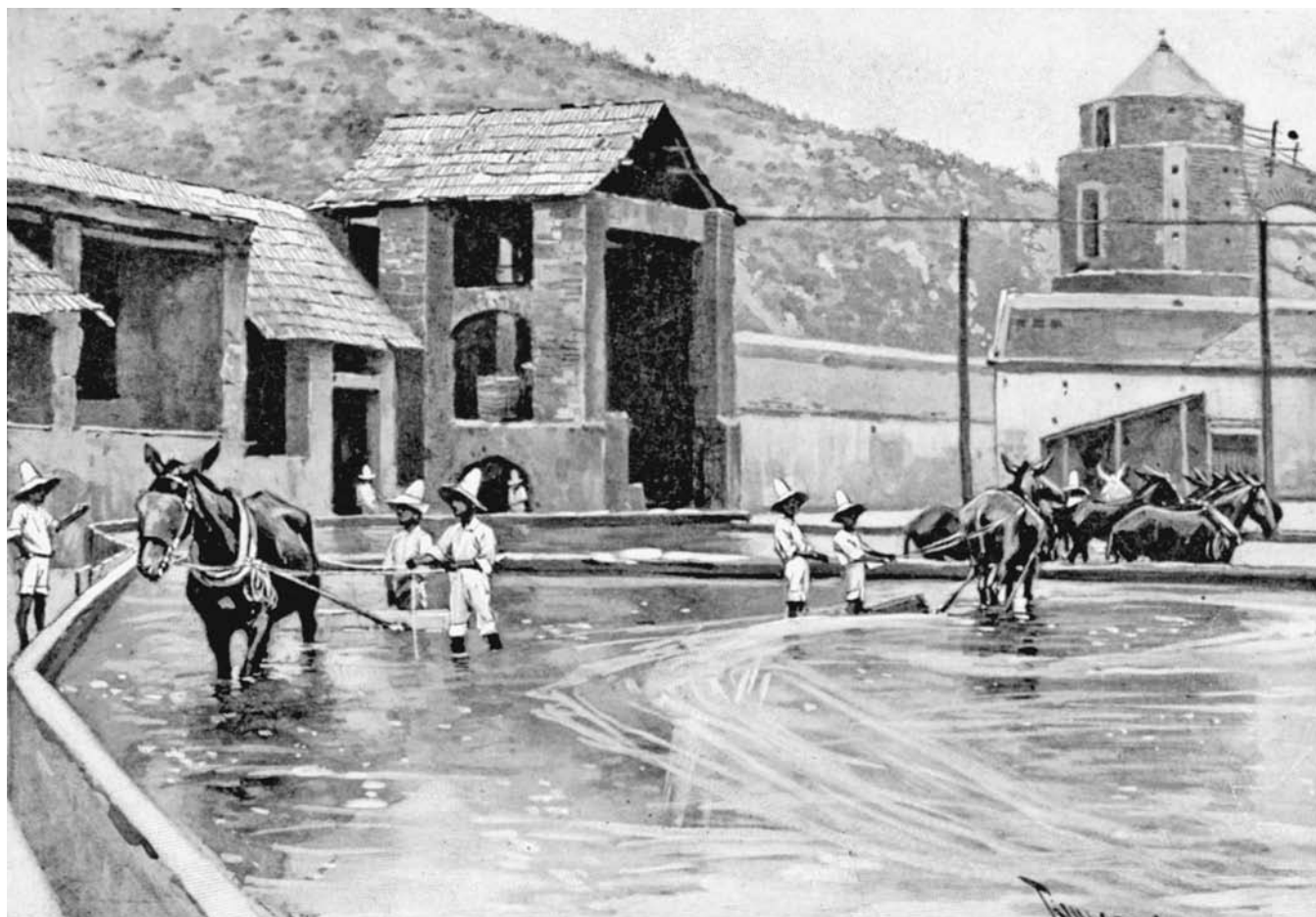
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mining GOLD and SILVER exerted a magnetic force on Spaniards in the New World. Without the discovery of metallic riches, Christopher Columbus's voyages would have been little more than expensive curiosities. Gold discovered in HISPANIOLA ensured that this was not the case, and conquistadores and early settlers invariably pursued leads strengthened by rumors of precious metals. While gold initially was on center stage, silver quickly surpassed it in quantity and total value in Spanish America. In BRAZIL, gold discovered at the end of the 17th century in MINAS GERAIS became a valuable export during the first half of the 18th century and enabled Portugal to make up its trading deficit with Britain.

By 1560, the most noted Spanish mining camps of the colonial era were in production. Although prospectors would find additional sites, including some that produced boomtown silver rushes, the importance of the mines at POTOSÍ in CHARCAS and ZACATECAS and GUANAJUATO in NEW SPAIN remained. Gold production in Spanish America was primarily in NEW GRANADA, although CHILE was also a source of gold, especially in the latter half of the 18th century.

Silver production required locating ore containing silver in sufficient quantities that it could be separated profitably with the technology of the time. This meant that miners had to break the ore loose and separate those parts with silver-bearing mineral. Workers then carried the silver ore to the surface where animals, MULES in New Spain and mules or llamas in PERU, carried it to the reduction works, or *hacienda de minas*. There, the ore was crushed in a stamp mill (*molino*) powered by mules. Initially, miners next employed smelting, a well-established process in Europe known by Basque and Andalusian as well as German miners who were in the CARIBBEAN in the early 16th century. Commercial smelting used a blast furnace three to six feet (1–1.8 m) high



The patio process using mercury enabled using lower-quality silver ore than smelting did. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

that was built of stone with chimneys of adobe. This vertical column was pierced for crushed ore and the introduction of charcoal as fuel, removal of slag and metal, and insertion of the nozzle of a bellows operated by mule power. To smelt small quantities of good ores, individuals often built smaller furnaces that were operated with a hand bellows. The only mineral needed in smelting was lead; if not present in the ore, it had to be added during the smelting process.

In the mid-1550s, miners in New Spain began using the amalgamation, or patio, process that employed MERCURY in separating silver from ore. Its great advantage over smelting was that silver could profitably be obtained from lower-grade ore. The new process spread quickly, and in less than a decade was being used in most reduction works.

In the mines at Porco and Potosí, indigenous miners employed native technology, notably the wind oven, or *guayra*, which dominated processing into the early 1570s. Although efforts to employ the amalgamation process were made in Peru in the 1560s, only in the following decade were they successful, thanks to the work of Pedro Fernández de Velasco, who brought knowledge of the process in New Spain and modified it to work in Peru.

The amalgamation process required mercury and salt; after its discovery in the first decade of the 17th century, *magistral*, probably a mixture of copper and iron pyrites, was added to the process. Salt and *magistral* were readily available. Mercury was another matter. Fortuitously, Spain possessed at ALMADÉN mercury mines worked from Roman times. The discovery of mercury at HUANCVELICA, Peru, provided a second source of considerable importance. The third source, although its mercury was only sent to the colonies occasionally, was Idrija, in Slovenia, which was under the control of the German HABSBURGS. The Spanish Crown made mercury a royal monopoly (see MONOPOLIES, ROYAL). Its sale was itself a source of revenue; by facilitating the production of silver, the Crown benefited from additional TAXATION, usually at rates of 10 to 20 percent, on the precious metal.

Large and successful silver mining operations required a substantial labor force and provisions to sustain it, as well as tools, mercury and salt, TRANSPORTATION, timber and charcoal, and significant capital investment in reduction works. Labor for the mines varied by location and over time, but Amerindian labor through ENCOMIENDAS was often the initial source. Rotational drafts were subsequently employed, the largest and longest-lived being the MITA at Potosí. Black slave labor was particularly important in the gold mines of the Chocó in New Granada and Minas Gerais (see SLAVERY). In some mines, especially in New Spain, wage laborers became important over time. An incentive available in some mines was ore known as the *pepena* or *partido* in New Spain, and the *guachaca* in Peru. Workers left the mines with this ore and sold it for a price that could exceed a day's wages. Indeed,

wage laborers in New Spain often migrated from mine to mine as richer lodes were discovered.

The Spanish Crown established royal treasury offices (*cajas reales*) near the sites of important finds. There, miners were to register and pay tax on their silver. The amount charged was normally 20 percent (*QUINTO*) but was reduced to 10 percent in New Spain in 1548 and finally, in 1736, in Potosí. The Portuguese Crown also charged 20 percent on gold.

The actual amounts of silver and gold that were mined remain unknown. In terms of silver, even the method of calculation that takes registered as well as unregistered bullion into account does not include the silver exported to Manila. Similarly, only a fraction of the gold production in New Granada, Minas Gerais, and MATO GROSSO was registered.

See also MINING (Vols. I, III, IV).

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Ministry of the Indies PHILIP V's victory in the civil war in Spain that accompanied the WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION enabled him to reduce his reliance on the councils favored by the HABSBURG monarchs and to create secretaries of state or ministers who reported directly to him (*vía reservada*). In 1714, he created the position of secretary of state for the Indies and endowed the office with responsibility for administrative matters (*de gobierno*). Simultaneously, he reduced the responsibilities of the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES to judicial matters, the *PATRONATO REAL*, patronage over judicial and ecclesiastical positions, and the *gobierno municipal*. Its reduced size, mandated in 1717, confirmed its more limited role.

In January 1721, the new organizational scheme took the form it would have for most of the 18th century with the creation of a Ministry of the Navy and the Indies. This included responsibilities for WAR, finance, and commerce as well as "grace and justice" (*gracia y justicia*). The minister was responsible for taking recommendations from the Council of the Indies to the monarch for his signature.

Between 1726 and 1754, the Ministry of the Navy and the Indies was also combined with Finance for 26 years, with War for 19 years, and with State for two years. After the fall of the marqués de la Ensenada in 1754, FERDINAND VI split the minister's three portfolios and divided the departments for the Indies and the Navy. Only the Ministry of the Indies was specialized geographically.

Nonetheless, Julián de Arriaga was responsible for both Navy and the Indies from 1754 to 1776. Following his death, JOSÉ DE GÁLVEZ Y GALLARDO became minister of the Indies, a post he held until his death in 1787, when CHARLES III divided his responsibilities between Antonio Porlier as minister of grace and justice of the Indies and Antonio Valdés as minister of the navy, war, and commerce. In 1790, the separate ministers for the Indies were abolished, and their responsibilities were combined with those of their counterparts for Spain. The CONSTITUTION OF 1812 created a minister of *ultramar*, as the overseas realms were then known. After abolishing the constitution in 1814, Ferdinand VII named a minister of the Indies but eliminated the position the following year. The RIEGO REVOLT of 1820 brought back the constitution and the position of minister of *ultramar*.

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mints The initial absence of coinage in the Americas meant that barter was the primary method of exchange in the early years of colonization. When GOLD and SILVER were available, they were exchanged on the basis of weight (*peso*), the origin of the monetary unit of the same name.

In 1535, the Spanish Crown ordered Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza to erect in NEW SPAIN the first royal mint (*casa de moneda*) in the colonies. Its charge was to coin silver upon which the royal *QUINTO* had been paid. The first silver coins probably were stamped in 1536. Copper coinage appeared in 1542. During the reign of PHILIP II, the copper coinage (*vellón*) was discontinued, and silver pesos of eight reales were minted; this peso of 272 *maravedís* was the famous Spanish dollar, or piece of eight, used around the world.

Although a mint was established in LIMA in 1568, it was too far from the sources of silver to be successful. Ostensibly transferred to POTOSÍ in 1572, it continued to issue coins on occasion for some 20 years more. In 1683, it was reestablished. Gold was minted in NEW GRANADA in at least part of the 17th century, but gold coins were rare throughout the Americas. SANTIAGO DE CHILE gained a mint in the 18th century.

Originally, the Spanish Crown awarded contracts to individuals who operated the mints and charged miners a set fee for coinage. Subsequently, it sold the position of treasurer-administrator of the mint; the post in MEXICO CITY brought 130,000 pesos in 1584, while in Potosí in 1656 it yielded 124,000 pesos. In 1728, the Crown assumed direct administration of the mints and took immediate steps to produce coins that could not be clipped or otherwise adulterated. Regardless of the administrative structure, the colonies always suffered a

shortage of coinage, and many merchants issued tokens in the absence of small change.

In BRAZIL, the only mint available in the early days of the gold boom in MINAS GERAIS was a portable model that produced low-value coins for the colony. Serious minting was done only in Portugal at the beginning of the 18th century, but in 1703, a royal mint was founded in RIO DE JANEIRO. By 1725, there were also mints at SALVADOR DA BAHIA and VILA RICA DO OURO PRÊTO.

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Miranda, Francisco de (b. 1750–d. 1816) *early creole advocate of Spanish-American independence* The son of Canary Islander Sebastián de Miranda Ravelo and Francisca Antonia Rodríguez de Espinosa, Francisco de Miranda was born in CARACAS. Educated at the University of Caracas, he received a baccalaureate in 1767 and in 1771 went to Spain for additional EDUCATION. His father bought him an appointment as captain in the Princess's Regiment in 1773, and Miranda served in North Africa. At his request, he was transferred to a unit going to America in 1780. In HAVANA, he became aide-de-camp to Juan Manuel de Cagigal, acting governor of CUBA and soon his supporter. Present at the successful Battle of Pensacola in 1781, Miranda went into exile in 1783 to avoid arrest on charges of espionage. Sailing to the United States with a recommendation from Cagigal, he quickly made influential acquaintances and determined to become a Spanish-American version of George Washington. By late 1784, he was committed to the independence of Spanish America.

For the next two decades, Miranda traveled in Continental Europe, Turkey, Russia, and Britain. A linguist, raconteur, and prevaricator, he was in France in 1789 and in England the following year talking with Prime Minister William Pitt about Spanish Americans' desire for independence from Spain. In Miranda's view, all they needed was British assistance. Miranda's plea failed, and in 1792, he was back in France, where he became a lieutenant general in the French army as a result of fabricated claims that he had been a brigadier general in the American Revolution. Caught in the political maelstrom of the French Revolution, he was ordered to leave the French Republic in 1796. He finally departed in 1797 but not before meeting with a handful of other Spanish Americans and signing a petition to Pitt that called for British support for independence in Spanish America. England then became the Venezuelan's base of operation.

Central to Miranda's argument was the belief that Spanish Americans wanted independence and

would immediately support an expedition to secure it. Unsuccessful in gaining British backing, he returned to the United States where he managed to obtain a ship and recruit mercenaries. Sailing to VENEZUELA in 1806, he landed near Coro. The welcome he expected, however, never materialized.

Although Miranda returned to England in 1808 with his credibility severely damaged, he devoted the next two years to keeping Spanish-American expatriates focused on independence, using a Masonic lodge he may have founded in 1797 as a means to do so.

Miranda's last hurrah was in Venezuela in 1811–12. A precocious independence movement had grown out of Caracas's response to the abdications of CHARLES IV and FERDINAND VII. Miranda, who had returned to Venezuela with SIMÓN BOLÍVAR, was active in promoting full independence; the First Republic was created on July 5, 1811. Faced with royalist resistance and then a terrible earthquake that struck Caracas on March 26, 1812, the republic gave military and political authority to Miranda. A royalist victory over Bolívar's forces at Puerto Cabello in early July 1812 led to surrender and Miranda's arrest. Sent to CÁDIZ as a prisoner, he died in jail.

An idealist, visionary, and self-appointed advocate for CREOLES' rights, Miranda was neither a skilled military commander nor a politician. His importance lies in keeping the idea of independence alive for more than a quarter of a century.

Further reading:

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missions The Crowns of Castile and Portugal accepted the responsibility and major expense of promoting the Christianization of indigenous peoples in the New World as the quid pro quo of papal grants creating the *PATRONATO REAL* and the *padroado real*. By the mid-16th century, the daunting magnitude of this responsibility was becoming clear. To carry it out, the Castilian monarchs turned to the mendicant orders of FRANCISCANS, DOMINICANS, AUGUSTINIANS, MERCEDARIANS, and, later, JESUITS for clerics. The Portuguese monarchs depended primarily on the Jesuits. These friars and priests, in turn, used missions as critical components of the conversion effort.

Evangelization efforts followed conquest throughout the Americas and in some cases proceeded into lands with no previous experience with Spaniards or Portuguese. In the early years of missionary activity, clerics devoted considerable time and effort to learning native languages so they could communicate with the NATIVE AMERICANS they sought to convert. NEW SPAIN in about 1570 had numerous mendicant establishments located between the Dominican outposts at Huamelulo and Tehuantepec in

the south and the Franciscan missions at Topia, Peñol Blanco, and Durango in the far northwest and Tampico on the Gulf of Mexico. In GUATEMALA in 1555, perhaps 50 or 60 Dominicans, Franciscans, and Mercedarians served about 90 towns. In PERU, the Franciscans had established convents in a number of locations by 1570 as places of rest and prayer for the wandering missionaries and begun to accept responsibility for indigenous Indian parishes (*DOCTRINAS DE INDIOS*). They were serving 59 parishes and nearly 120,000 indigenous people. Franciscans remained in charge of the *doctrinas* until 1752, when the Crown secularized them. In CHILE, the first Dominicans arrived in 1557 and the first Jesuits in 1593. Franciscans established missions in Araucanía, but they totaled only 15 in 1789 and served fewer than 2,000 Amerindians (see ARAUCANIANS). Among the most noted missions were the 30 established by the Jesuits in their province of PARAGUAY. At the time of the Society of Jesus's expulsion in 1767, between 70,000 and 100,000 Amerindians were resident in them.

Missions staffed by one or more clerics and often, by the late 16th century, complemented by a small garrison (*PRESIDIO*) were used in the north of New Spain for gathering together nomadic indigenous groups or those living in small villages (see CHICHIMECAS). In their bringing Native Americans together to facilitate Christianization, they were similar to the *ALDEIAS* in Brazil and the *reducciones*, *congregaciones*, and *doctrinas* in Spanish America (see CONGREGACIÓN; REDUCCIÓN).

The missionaries sought to indoctrinate their charges, always considered minors rather than full adults, with Christian beliefs and, ultimately, to integrate them into the European culture of the colonists. The approach employed by the Franciscans started by requiring native people to attend classes at which the Christian doctrine was taught. Children under the age of 10 attended for two hours a day; those from 10 to 16 attended three days a week. The clerics encouraged all persons of tributary age to participate three days a week. Among the articles taught were the Sign of the Cross, the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the seven sacraments, and the seven capital sins.

The Spanish Crown's renewed decision to replace mendicants and Jesuits in long-standing missions with secular priests in 1749 resulted in an expanded missionary effort on the outskirts of the empire as the displaced clerics sought new opportunities. The activities of the Franciscans in Alta California beginning in the late 1760s exemplified this.

The missionary efforts of thousands of mendicants and Jesuits and subsequent ministrations by secular clergy were largely responsible for the imposition of Catholicism on millions of Amerindians and, indirectly, for the prevalence of Catholicism in Latin America today. At the same time, the well-intentioned desire to facilitate instruction in Catholicism and the introduction of Iberian customs by congregating the indigenous

in *reducciones*, *congregaciones*, *doctrinas*, and missions also unintentionally created living conditions conducive to the spread of infectious diseases and raised the rate of depopulation. In the Andes, which in the 1570s was spared the extent of epidemic disease that then afflicted New Spain, the creation of *reducciones* under Viceroy FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO changed settlement patterns from scattered small communities into villages with several thousand indigenous residents. Unfortunately, the new villages did ultimately prove lethal. Between 1585 and 1591, several EPIDEMICS ravaged the area. Demographic historian Noble David Cook summarizes: “Quickly, Toledo’s living utopia turned into a death trap for the Amerindian peoples of the Andes.”

Despite the tragedy of demographic disasters, the Christianization effort continued among the indigenous peoples. Missions were largely responsible for Native Americans throughout the Americas accepting Christianity, albeit with varying commitment and doctrinal purity.

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mita The term *mita* refers to a system of rotational labor drafts employed in the Andes in ways that, at least theoretically, benefited the public; *REPARTIMIENTO* was the term used for such drafts in NEW SPAIN. Indigenous rulers in the Andes used draft labor prior to the conquest, but colonial administrators adapted the system to their own ends, including most destructively in SILVER MINING at POTOSÍ and MERCURY mining at HUANCAMELICA. The objective was to provide cheap labor; the mandated wages were well below market value.

In the early 1570s, VICEROY FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO required most TRIBUTE-paying male Amerindians between ages 18 and 50 to spend one-seventh of their time on *mita* service, although in some places, for example, the Audiencia of Quito, one-fifth of the eligible population was drafted. The terms of service were one year out of seven for the Potosí mining *mita*, which affected indigenous people in 16 provinces, and two out of 14 months for indigenous people in the 11 provinces required to supply workers to Huancavelica, where mercury was mined. Other *mita* service included working in textile factories (*obrajes*), labor in AGRICULTURE, servicing the supply stations (*tambos*), domestic service, and public works. For example, indigenous people of the province of Huarochirí near LIMA were assigned, among other tasks, to supply Lima with ice from the mountains, to work on coastal HACIENDAS that grew food for the capital, and

to maintain the roads and *tambos* of the province on the route to Cuzco.

The *mita* for Potosí began in 1573 and was expanded twice before Toledo left office; his successors would periodically modify it. It drew upon 16 highland provinces—Chichas, Porco, Chayanta, Cochabamba, Paria, Carangas, Sicasica, Pacajes, Omasuyos, Chucuito, Paucarolla, Lampa, Asangaro, Canas y Canches, Quispicanches, and Condesuyos—that extended some 600 miles (966 km) from Cuzco into CHARCAS and southern Peru. The objective was to provide a stable workforce of unskilled labor for the mines. At its inception, the draftees, or *mitayos*, were to spend one week out of three working in the mines and mills; during the other two weeks, they could earn cash by hiring themselves out for wages or engage in other activities. At its peak, the Potosí *mita* was to provide 14,296 *mitayos*; 4,426 were assigned to each of the three weekly shifts in the mines and mills and the remainder to other service. Initially, 1,119 were ordered into the mines and 3,073 to the mills each week. As the mines extended farther into Cerro Rico, however, a greater number of *mitayos* was assigned to them. Mine operators, moreover, callously disregarded safeguards that Toledo had built into workers’ assignments. For example, the viceroy had ordered that ore carriers (*apiris*) make no more than two trips into the mines daily; by the 1590s, a standard quota was 19 trips per day carrying a specified amount of ore, despite the viceroy’s prohibition. Mine operators refused to pay specified travel allowances and withheld some or all of the artificially low wages. Conditions within the mines, never good, worsened as the depth increased. Accidents and illness were common.

By 1603, the number of *mitayos* actually working in Potosí was about 4,600, some 4,000 in the mines and 600 in the mills. The total was less than a quarter of the indigenous people working in the Potosí mining industry, excluding some 10,000 engaged in transporting food from other areas and earning higher pay under better conditions. At root, the issue was simply that wage-earning and often higher-skilled Indians (*mingas*) refused to do the jobs forced on *mitayos* for low pay in terrible conditions. Thus, the presence of *mitayos* in the mines was central to the entire enterprise, while saving the mine owners five pesos a week for each ore carrier used.

Viceroy duque de la Palata reduced the size of the labor draft to 5,658 in 1688 and Viceroy count of la Monclova to 4,101 in 1692. Rather than changing the number of *mitayos* actually sent to Potosí, the latter figure confirmed it. Each week 27 mills received 40 *mitayos* in an allocation scheme followed throughout the 18th century, although the epidemic of 1719–20 reduced the ability of the affected provinces to supply the required number of workers. Despite a 1732 royal decision to include FORASTEROS when determining a province’s annual quota, the number of *mitayos* was reduced to 3,199 in 1736. As the 18th century drew to a close, the numbers of actual

mita workers and *mingas* in Potosí were 2,376 and 2,583, respectively.

The establishment of work quotas defined by weight of ore carried from the mines and the number of trips increased in the 18th century. The quota increased from 15 loads per night in 1750 to 30 in 1767. Although the number of loads varied, a *mitayo's* workload probably doubled during the 18th century, when family assistance became necessary to meet the quota. Instead of the statutory 17 weeks of *mita* labor, in the 18th century, *mitayos* worked for an average of 46 weeks; in addition, their hours of labor increased. The result was almost triple the amount of work per *mitayo* than various ordinances allowed. The protracted service inside mills, moreover, increased the risk of death by silicosis.

Not surprisingly, many indigenous people in the provinces subject to the Potosí *mita* fled to avoid serving. Others served once and then remained in Potosí, where they worked as wage earners; some paid their *KURAKA* the amount needed to hire a substitute. Regardless, *kurakas* in the subject provinces found it increasingly difficult if not impossible to send their assigned quota of *mitayos* to Potosí. In the early 1600s, *corregidores* of Potosí started fining *kurakas* for not meeting their quotas or for sending unfit *mitayos* (see *CORREGIDOR/CORREGIMIENTO*). Soon, the moneys collected were sufficient to hire *mingas* to replace the *mitayos*, and they regularly did so. By 1608, some 20 percent of the annual draft was provided by “delivery in silver” by the responsible *kurakas*. The practice mushroomed, and in 1626, the Crown asked Viceroy marqués de Guadalcázar to investigate the truth of a charge that 3,200 of 4,000 *mitayos* had been delivered “in silver.” In fact, mine owners frequently pocketed the money (a practice known as “Indians in the pocket,” or *indios de faltriquera*) rather than hiring *mingas*. By the late 17th century, mine owners were abusing *kurakas* for payments they could no longer make. Registered silver, meanwhile, had fallen to less than half the amount produced at the beginning of the century. Although other workers and reduced TAXATION helped increase production in the 18th century, in 1801–02, about 15 percent of *mitayos* were still commuting their service by cash payment.

The *mita* was also employed in the Kingdom of QUITO, although it lacked an equivalent to Potosí. Amerindians subject to *mita* service in the mines of Zaruma fled the *reducciones* (villages) in which they were *originarios* (native-born Indians with rights and responsibilities) in order to escape it (see *REDUCCIÓN*). Other *mita* assignments included working on Spanish farms and estates, personal service, and public works. By the late 16th century, the *mita* had replaced the *ENCOMIENDA* as the primary form of labor organization. In 1589, some 7,000 *mitayos* were distributed to landowners to provide labor in fields, watch livestock, and undertake other tasks. Beginning in 1609, Amerindians were to be paid for *mita* labor on Spanish properties, which included textile mills, farms, ranches, vineyards, and SUGAR PLANTATIONS (but

not sugar mills, or INDIGO or COCA plantations). Terms of domestic service were to be from 15 days to a year; service on ranches was from three to four months.

Fleeing *mita* service was widespread in the Andes, and by 1600, nearly every indigenous town had absentees whose flight might also free them from tribute. Some *mitayos* who served their term attached themselves to Spaniards and never returned to their indigenous village, giving up access to their communities's lands but gaining an exemption from future *mita* service.

For Amerindians, the *mita* became a hated symbol of colonial rule. One aged *mitayo* in 1797 reported having served six times in the *mita* for Huancavelica. Although the Potosí *mita* had long not yielded the number of workers intended by Viceroy Toledo, it lasted into the 19th century. The CORTES OF CÁDIZ abolished the *mita* on November 9, 1812, but FERDINAND VII reestablished it. Finally, the Liberator SIMÓN BOLÍVAR terminated it in 1825.

See also *MITA* (Vol. I).

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Mogrovejo, Toribio Alfonso de (b. 1538–d. 1606) *Spanish archbishop of Lima and saint* Born in Mayorga de Campos, León, Spain, educated in law at the University of Salamanca, and ordained in 1578, the austere and pious second archbishop of LIMA, Toribio Alfonso de Mogrovejo, arrived in the viceregal capital in 1581. He immediately started learning Quechua so he could converse with the indigenous population. A strong leader who firmly established the diocesan clergy in PERU, in 1582, he convoked the Third Council of Lima, a gathering of bishops from PANAMA TO PARAGUAY that he and his ally Jesuit JOSÉ DE ACOSTA dominated.

The council stimulated missionary activity. As part of this, Mogrovejo sponsored the publication of a widely used catechism written largely by Acosta. It was the first book to be published in Lima and appeared in a trilingual edition of Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara. Mogrovejo's personal travels in the viceroyalty set the precedent for episcopal visitation. During his visitations, he encouraged

indoctrination and conversion of the indigenous people and campaigned against their abuse by colonists. Nonetheless, he was no advocate for the ordination of Amerindians, the Third Council skirting the issue where the Second Council of Lima (1567–68) had forbidden it.

In 1591, the archbishop founded the seminary in Lima that bore his name. He died in Saña while on a visitation and was canonized in 1726 as Saint Toribio.

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monopolies, royal The ability to control the production, distribution, and price of commodities on the one hand and honors, appointments, and other rewards on the other were cardinal principles of Iberian rulers. Both underscored the centrality of royal rule and emphasized the monarch as the ultimate source of patronage and favor, even if he or she delegated powers of appointment and leased out monopolies over commodities.

The Spanish Crown established a monopoly over colonial TRADE through the CASA DE CONTRATACIÓN and the Consulado of Seville, which lasted into the 18th century (see CONSULADO; SEVILLE). For most of the colonial era, it granted monopolistic contracts for the importation of African slaves (*ASIENTOS*). In addition, it created monopolies for a number of commodities and services. These included MERCURY, alum, playing cards, gunpowder, salt, pepper, snow, stamped paper, cock fighting, TOBACCO, and minting coins. It also had a monopoly over the sale of bulls of the Santa Cruzada. Until the mid-18th century, when it began to administer the taxes directly, the Crown typically licensed or leased the operation of a monopoly for a specific period of time at a predetermined amount.

Of the monopolies over commodities and services, the most important ones were those associated with SILVER MINING, especially mercury. The Crown had a monopoly on production and distribution of mercury at ALMADÉN, Spain, and created a counterpart for the mercury produced at HUANCAMELICA in PERU. This enabled it to set the price of mercury and also to channel distribution. Tobacco monopolies set up throughout the colonies in the 18th century became important sources of income. The monopoly in NEW SPAIN controlled production, manufacture, and distribution of tobacco and its products. Much of the income from this monopoly was sent directly to Spain rather than expended in the colonies.

The Crown's right to sell bulls of the Santa Cruzada began as a reward from the papacy during the Reconquista fought against the Moors in Spain. These indulgences were sold annually at rates that varied according to the status of the purchaser. Although the funds collected

went into the royal treasury (REAL HACIENDA), they were considered an ecclesiastical tax, and clerics generally oversaw their collection.

The monopoly over snow was established in LIMA in 1634 and in MEXICO CITY in 1719. The tax farmer received the right to supply the relevant city with hard-packed mountain snow to be used for cooling drinks.

In the 18th century, both the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns supported monopolistic companies. The REAL COMPAÑÍA GUIPÚZCOANA DE CARACAS operated as a joint stock company with a monopoly on legal trade between Spain and VENEZUELA between 1728 and 1785. In 1740, the Real Compañía de la Habana was established with a monopoly over trade between CUBA and Spain; it experienced heavy financial losses when the British took HAVANA in 1762. Both companies were charged with reducing contraband. The MARQUÊS DE POMBAL created the COMPANHIA GERAL DO COMÉRCIO DO GRÃO-PARÁ E MARANHÃO in 1755 with monopolistic trading authority for the two captaincies in its title and soon afterward, the Pernambuco Company (see PERNAMBUCO). Both exported agricultural products from their respective regions and imported slaves. With the fall of Pombal in 1777, the companies perished.

The American deputies to the CORTES OF CÁDIZ sought the elimination of all government monopolies. Their proposal was approved but not implemented.

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Montevideo The capital of present-day Uruguay was founded in 1724 by Bruno Mauricio de Zabala, governor of BUENOS AIRES, as a MILITARY base on the northern shore of the estuary of the RÍO DE LA PLATA. Created in response to Portuguese expansion, and quickly an important hindrance to communication between COLÔNIA DO SACRAMENTO and outposts in southern BRAZIL, Montevideo's location enabled it to become a commercial center and, as population increased, the administrative center of what was termed the BANDA ORIENTAL. Its MUNICIPAL COUNCIL held its first meeting in 1730.

Montevideo had some 450 inhabitants in 1730, reportedly nearly 1,700 in 1757, and almost 4,300 in 1769. In 1800, Montevideo had fewer than 10,000 inhabitants, about a quarter of whom were black and mulatto, a reflection of its role as a slave port (see MULATTO; SLAVERY). The city is credited with a population of about 14,000 five years later. In 1775, a Portuguese fleet unsuccessfully attacked the city.

Montevideo's location made it a useful port of call. Foreign shippers engaged in TRADE with southern Brazil often stopped there. Merchants from Buenos Aires in some cases had assistants as well as warehouses in Montevideo. The expansion of *COMERCIO LIBRE* in 1778 opened Montevideo's port, as it did that of Buenos Aires. The former never had more than a quarter of the trade of the latter, but it was important in the trade of hides and slaves. In the 1780s, both Montevideo and Buenos Aires began to export jerked beef.

Prior to the second failed British invasions of Buenos Aires, Lieutenant General John Whitelocke arrived at Montevideo in 1807. He was immediately followed by British merchants. After his defeat in Buenos Aires, Whitelocke returned to Montevideo with his surviving soldiers before sailing to Britain. British merchants remained and were soon allowed into Buenos Aires to sell goods, the TAXATION on which provided revenue for SANTIAGO DE LINIERS Y BREMOND's government. Liniers's decision to allow the British merchants to trade in the city provoked an unsuccessful coup led by CONSULADO merchant MARTÍN DE ALZAGA.

As Buenos Aires moved toward de facto independence in 1810, Montevideo became the center of royalism. The forceful royalist governor FRANCISCO JAVIER ELÍO opposed Liniers in 1808; two years later, he returned with an appointment as VICEROY of RÍO DE LA PLATA but could not make his writ effective beyond Montevideo. Rural rebellion outside of Montevideo developed into a movement for independence under JOSÉ GERVASIO ARTIGAS, and soon the city was under siege. During the next three years, both the Portuguese and forces sent from Buenos Aires entered the conflict. In June 1814, Montevideo surrendered to the government of Buenos Aires in the face of attacks from land and sea. Spain no longer had a base in the estuary of the Río de la Plata.

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Morelos y Pavón, José María (b. 1765–d. 1815) *casta* priest and insurgent leader in Mexico's war of independence Born in Valladolid, NEW SPAIN (present-day Morelia, Mexico), José María Morelos y Pavón was the son of *CASTA* parents. He received his first schooling from his grandfather but dropped out of school following the death of his father in 1779 and worked for a decade as a mule driver for his uncle. In 1790, he entered the Colegio of San Nicolás in Valladolid, of which MIGUEL HIDALGO Y COSTILLA was rector. He subsequently studied for the priesthood at the Tridentine Seminary in Valladolid. After receiving a baccalaureate from the



The cleric José María Morelos kept the movement for independence alive after Miguel Hidalgo's execution. (Private collection)

UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO, he was ordained in 1797 and two years later became curate of Cuarcuaro, where he stayed until joining the Hidalgo revolt in 1810. The revolutionary priest Hidalgo instructed his younger compatriot to take ACAPULCO.

Unlike Hidalgo's strategy of using a large number of indigenous people in assaults, Morelos trained a much smaller, disciplined force. His approach paid dividends, and in less than a year, he had defeated royalist armies repeatedly and made himself master of most of the modern state of Guerrero. Through four campaigns, he occupied much of southern Mexico. He took the city of Oaxaca in November 1812 and captured Acapulco in April 1813 and its fortress on August 20.

In 1813, Morelos convoked a congress at Chilpancingo that, on September 13–14, declared Mexico independent and approved important policies and an agenda for implementation (see CHILPANCINGO, CONGRESS OF; MEXICO, INDEPENDENCE OF). These included the determination that sovereignty resided in the people and was deposited in a national congress; Catholicism would be the only religion allowed in Mexico; judicial, executive, and legislative power would be divided; only Americans would hold public office; taxes would be reformed and affect all persons; racial distinctions would end and slavery would be abolished; and PENINSULARS' property would be confiscated. When the congress met again at Apatzingán on October 22, it created a strong legislature but a weak executive.

Morelos's unsuccessful fifth military campaign, begun in late 1813, culminated with his capture and imprisonment in November 1815. He was defrocked and executed on December 22, 1815.

Morelos made two major contributions to Mexican independence. First, he kept rebellion alive after the failure of Hidalgo's revolt. Second, he clarified and made explicit the goals of his own rebellion. After the meeting of the congress at Chilpancingo, there was no doubt that Morelos sought complete political independence and a constitutional form of government as primary objectives but had other social and economic objectives as well. If implemented, the changes would replace a social structure erected on the bases of discrimination and economic privilege with one that reflected a more modern approach to social organization. The city of Valladolid was renamed Morelia in honor of Morelos in 1828.

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Moreno, Mariano (b. 1778–d. 1811) *early creole advocate of Spanish-American independence* Mariano Moreno was born in BUENOS AIRES and studied at the university in LA PLATA (Sucre). He obtained a degree in theology, studied law, traveled to the mines of POTOSÍ among other destinations, and married. Returning with his new family to Buenos Aires in 1805 to practice law, he became a *relator* of the AUDIENCIA and a legal adviser (*asesor*) to the MUNICIPAL COUNCIL (*cabildo*).

Moreno and his family absented themselves from Buenos Aires during the British invasion of 1806. A supporter of MARTÍN DE ALZAGA's attempted coup on January 1, 1809, later in the year Moreno represented the region's stockmen in a strong position paper supporting free TRADE. An advocate of complete independence from Spain, he was named one of two secretaries (without votes) to the seven-member junta established on May 25, 1810. He resigned from the junta after a revolutionary faction he headed lost control in December 1810 and conservative delegates from the interior of the viceroyalty were admitted. In March 1811, Moreno's followers founded a political club, which would be refounded in January 1812 as the Patriotic Society. Moreno died at sea on his way to take up a diplomatic appointment in Britain that was, in essence, exile.

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Morgan, Henry (b. ca. 1635–d. 1688) *Welsh buccaneer leader in the Caribbean* A Welshman of good family who almost certainly arrived in the Western Hemisphere as a soldier with the English expedition that captured JAMAICA in 1655, Henry Morgan by the mid-1660s was a successful, married privateer starting to purchase PLANTATIONS. Armed with a commission from Jamaica's governor, Sir Thomas Modyford, he led some 500 men in the capture of PORTOBELLO in 1668, a success that brought substantial riches to himself and the 400 or so survivors of the expedition.

In 1671, Morgan led an even more audacious expedition of some 2,000 men, about a third French and the remainder English, across the Isthmus of PANAMA to its capital city. The buccaneers' victory was followed by the Spaniards setting the city on fire to prevent Morgan from using its arms, ammunition, and naval stores. Because the spoils were only about half of those taken in Portobello and owing to the much larger size of the expedition, the BUCCANEERS received only a fraction of the amount gained by the earlier victors.

Although sent to London as a prisoner in the general English crackdown on privateers, Morgan returned to Jamaica with a knighthood and an appointment as deputy governor. He devoted himself to local politics, food, and drink. He died in Jamaica of dropsy.

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Morillo, Pablo (b. 1778–d. 1837) *Spanish royalist general in Venezuela and New Granada* Born in Fuentesecas, Spain, Pablo Morillo entered the MILITARY as a soldier in 1791. Despite service in action and being captured and wounded at Trafalgar in 1805, he was still a sergeant when the French invaded Spain. The war of independence gave him multiple opportunities to display his skills, and he advanced to the rank of field marshal. He refused to support the CONSTITUTION OF 1812, a position that added to his credentials for appointment as the commander in chief of the Expeditionary Army sent to reconquer northern South America in 1815. His broad powers also included those of governor of CARACAS, president of the Audiencia of Caracas, and captain general of VENEZUELA; the ability to suspend the AUDIENCIA and to disband the predominantly PARDO armies led by JOSÉ TOMÁS BOVES and Francisco Tomás Morales; and the right to modify any or all of the instructions he had been given.

Morillo left Spain with an army of 10,500 men on February 17, 1815, and reached Venezuela in early April. Unfortunately for his mission, the expedition's flagship exploded between Margarita and Caracas. The loss of more than 1 million pesos for salaries, military supplies of all kinds, and the officer corps' personal equipment

meant that he immediately had to raise taxes from the Venezuelans in order to reconquer NEW GRANADA. To do so, he created a military government in Venezuela under Brigadier Salvador Moxó, a hardline royalist who soon began selling confiscated properties to raise funds. Moxó considered almost all inhabitants to be rebels and employed repressive measures that breathed new life into the republicans. On June 10, 1815, Morillo suspended the Audiencia of Caracas and appointed a Tribunal of Appeals; the action guaranteed that the ousted ministers would appeal to Spain against the general's dictatorship. On December 20, 1815, the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES ordered the *audiencia's* immediate reestablishment, which occurred on May 25, 1816.

Morillo's charge involved restoring royalist rule to NEW GRANADA as well as Venezuela. He left Caracas for Puerto Cabello on June 2, 1815, and departed for New Granada on July 13, 1815. Arriving at Santa Marta, he was soon engaged in a lengthy siege of CARTAGENA DE INDIAS that ended only with its occupation on December 6. Aided by the insurgents' war fatigue, royalist commanders took BOGOTÁ in May and Popayán in June 1816; by October 1816, the reconquest of New Granada was complete. In Bogotá, Morillo's designee, Juan Sámano, employed a variety of cruel punishments, including execution, fines, forced labor, imprisonment, and conscription, that left almost no elite family untouched. As in Venezuela, the savage repression created enemies and new resistance in New Granada. While both regions were under royalist rule, the demands of Morillo's commanders turned many members of local elites against Spanish rule and made them more receptive to the idea of complete independence from Spain.

Morillo left for Venezuela in November 1816 and arrived in January 1817. Advance forces under General Miguel de la Torre crossed the Andes, ran into José Antonio Páez and some 1,300 LLANEROS on January 28, 1817, and barely escaped. While Morillo was en route, SIMÓN BOLÍVAR reached Barcelona on December 31, 1816, with men, arms, and supplies from Alexander Pétion's government in Haiti. Instead of staying near the coast, Bolívar went into the plains of the Orinoco River. In April 1817, he joined Manuel Piar in the siege of Angostura. The withdrawal of the royalists from the region in July and August left Bolívar to face rivals within the patriot ranks. On October 16, 1817, he executed Piar for conspiring against him. Leaving Angostura on December 31, 1817, Bolívar met Páez and his *llaneros* on January 30, 1818.

On March 16, 1818, Morillo's forces defeated those of Bolívar at Semen. The defeat of Páez on May 2 forced the rebels back to Angostura, where Bolívar called a congress that met on February 15, 1819. The following month the Liberator's forces left Angostura and fought Morillo's forces in the Apure. With news of Francisco de Paula Santander's victory over the royalists at Casanare, on May 27, 1819, Bolívar led his troops to

join Santander's and then led the combined forces across the Andes. Successful in battle at Boyacá on August 7, 1819, the way to Bogotá was open, and Bolívar's forces entered the capital on August 10. Meanwhile, Morillo continued to rule in Caracas.

The liberal government established after the RIEGO REVOLT that began on January 1, 1820, restored the CONSTITUTION OF 1812. Mistakenly believing that this would end the independence movements, Spain's government ordered Morillo to negotiate; on November 26, 1820, a six-month armistice was signed. Having turned his positions over to General Miguel de la Torre on December 3, Morillo left for Spain two weeks later. The defeat of the royalists at CARABOBO on June 24, 1821, meant independence for Venezuela.

Back in Spain, Morillo served as captain general of New Castile until FERDINAND VII's return to absolutism forced him into exile in France in 1823. Returning to Spain some years later, he served as a commander against the Carlists. He died in Barèges, France, where he had gone to improve his health.

Morillo's effectiveness as a military commander resulted in the reestablishment of royalist control in Venezuela and New Granada. Having won the civil wars, he proceeded to lose the peace, a process aided by hard-line subordinates whose actions gave new strength to the patriots. By the time Morillo left Venezuela, the end of Spanish rule was imminent.

See also PÁEZ, JOSÉ ANTONIO (Vol. III); SANTANDER, FRANCISCO DE PAULA (Vol. III).

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mulato (mulatto) The terms *mulata* and *mulato* (rendered *mulatto* in English) most commonly applied to persons whose parents were European (typically the father was Spanish or Portuguese) and black (usually the mother). In GUATEMALA, *mulato* also applied to persons of Indo-Spanish descent, and in parts of NEW SPAIN, it included persons of Indo-Afro descent, a combination often referred to as ZAMBO. PARDOS was another term applied to mulattoes and, in Buenos Aires, to any person with some African ancestry.

The *sistema de castas* used the perceived proportion of Spanish ancestry as the basis for social hierarchy. Nonetheless, mulattoes fell below mestizos for, in addition to a background of SLAVERY, mulattoes, as other CASTAS, were damned by presumed illegitimacy. If free, they paid TRIBUTE, as did other *castas*, free blacks, and Amerindians. Mulattoes also ranked below Spaniards, Amerindians, and mestizos in their legal condition; only slaves were below them.

Colonists made a distinction between imported African slaves (*bozales*) and those born in the colonies

(creoles). The latter were reared in colonial settings in which they grew up speaking Spanish or Portuguese and, at least superficially, in the Catholic faith. They wore European-style clothing, ate food that included plants and animals of the COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE, and lived according to a European calendar. These characteristics gave the creole slaves an advantage over the *bozales*, most of whom were employed in fields, mills, mines, and other strenuous labor. Creole slaves and enslaved mulattoes were more likely to work for urban masters as domestics or to be taught artisan skills that furthered the master's interests and offered the opportunity to earn money that could be applied to buying freedom.

The continued importation of African slaves kept them more numerous than *mulatos*, but two censuses in LIMA in the early decades of the 17th century identified *mulatos* as a distinct group. Significantly, *mulatas* (female mulattoes) outnumbered *mulatos* (male mulattoes) in both cases.

Spanish and Portuguese males found *mulatas* very attractive, as did Thomas Gage who in MEXICO CITY observed them wearing fashionable necklaces, jeweled earrings, pearl bracelets, and clothing with GOLD and SILVER lace. Those who served as concubines and their female children were among the *mulatos* most likely to gain manumission. The offspring of free *mulatas* were free.

The most important distinction among mulattoes was between those who were slaves and those who were free. Nonetheless, mulattoes suffered numerous legal restrictions. In addition to being tributaries, they were liable to be sentenced to labor in mines for crimes; prohibited from carrying arms except when engaged in militia service; prohibited from becoming notaries (*escribanos*); and banned from residing in indigenous villages. *Mulatas* were subject to sumptuary legislation that, although often unenforced, forbade them from wearing gold, silk, and pearls.

Mulatto militia companies were present in many Spanish colonies, typically under the term *pardos*. CUBA, New Spain, NEW GRANADA, and PERU had *pardo* militia units. In some cases, mulattoes served as officers as well as common militiamen.

The number of mulattoes increased substantially over the colonial era. A census in Lima in 1614 revealed 10,386 blacks and 744 mulattoes, a number that is low. In 1790, the city had 8,960 blacks and 5,972 mulattoes. A summary of census figures for Peru in 1795 did not distinguish blacks from mulattoes; free blacks, however, numbered 41,004 and black slaves 40,385. In Mexico City at the same time, the mulatto population totaled 6,977, while the black population numbered only 269, a reflection of the relatively few African slaves imported after 1640. In New Spain as a whole, the black population increased from 20,569 in 1570 to 35,089 in 1646, and then declined to 6,100 in 1793. The mulatto population, in contrast, rose from 2,435 in 1570 to 369,790 in 1793, when it accounted for nearly 10 percent of the total

population of the viceroyalty. VENEZUELA's population count in 1810 did not distinguish free mulattoes from other *castas*, lumping them together as *pardos*, a grouping that constituted more than 45 percent of the population, or 197,740 people. Black slaves accounted for 15 percent of the population, numbering 64,462. In Cuba in 1778, the males of military age, 15–45, included 4,143 free mulattoes and 2,332 free blacks. Between 1774 and 1791, the free colored population grew more rapidly than either the whites or the slaves. The flood of African slaves imported to work on PLANTATIONS after 1791 resulted in the slave population totaling 199,145 and the free colored population numbering 114,058 in 1817.

See also *MULATO* (Vol. I).

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mules The offspring of donkey stallions, or jacks, and horse mares, mules reached the Americas with Christopher Columbus in 1495. Shipped from CUBA to the mainland by the early 1530s, they replaced indigenous porters in Mesoamerica and complemented the use of llamas in the Andes. With colonial “roads” often merely trails except on some plains and plateaus, mules became the major transporters of goods of all kinds in colonial Latin America. In addition to being stronger and less skittish than horses, their advantage was their ability to carry easily cargoes of 200 pounds (91 kg) 25 to 30 miles (40–48 km) a day or up to 300 pounds (136 kg) 12 or 13 miles (19–21 km) a day. In contrast, a llama could carry 50 to 100 pounds (22–45 kg) about 10 miles (16 km) a day, and a burro could carry 100 to 150 pounds (45–68 kg) about 20 miles (32 km) a day. Mules also were ridden like horses and reportedly were more comfortable.

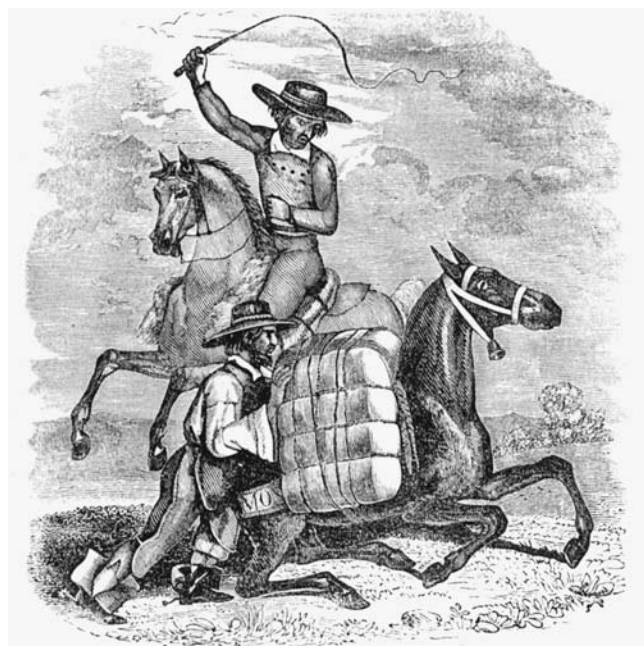
Mules and hinnies, the offspring of a horse stallion and a female donkey, or jenny, were bred throughout the colonies in large numbers. The largest-scale breeders were in present-day Argentina. Mules from the Pampas were driven north to Córdoba and then to a fair in Salta, a site with excellent pasturage. There, 60,000 might be sold to transporters doing business in the Andes. Carrying MERCURY, fuel, WINE, cloth, and other goods to POTOSÍ and other MINING districts and transporting SILVER and lesser quantities of GOLD to other markets and ports required enormous numbers of mules. Rio Grande do Sul was an important source of mules in BRAZIL, serving particularly the mining district of MINAS GERAIS, which was dependent

on slaves, burros, and mules for transport to SÃO PAULO and RIO DE JANEIRO. In PANAMA, mules to transport silver and other products across the isthmus were imported from NICARAGUA, HONDURAS, COSTA RICA, and CARTAGENA DE INDIAS; the brutal passage killed many of them.

Professional muleteers were most evident in the Andean regions of PERU, CHARCAS, and the Kingdom of QUITO. The mountains made TRANSPORTATION difficult and expensive, but the profit on shipped goods kept the muleteers busy. In the 18th century, a mule load of wine or brandy from AREQUIPA to CUZCO cost nine to 12 pesos, while the same load to Potosí was 24 or 25 pesos. In VENEZUELA, CACAO shippers employed mules when river transport, often used by smugglers, was not available, although the cost was significantly higher. Ready access to muleteers and their trains was critical for moving cacao to CARACAS in a timely manner.

Transporters charged on the basis of days of travel rather than distance, an approach that took into account terrain and season. And, the time of travel was often lengthy. From Arequipa, Peru, mule trains required up to 40 days to travel to LIMA, 60 days to Cuzco, 90 days to La Paz, and 150 days to Potosí. VERACRUZ to MEXICO CITY in 1803 typically took 20 to 35 days by mule train.

By 1550, about 100 mule trains were carrying goods between Mexico City and Veracruz. In 1803, Alexander von Humboldt estimated that 70,000 mules were used in the trade. Muleteers purchased them at minimal cost from northern Mexico and the lowlands near Veracruz. A mule train from Orizaba to Veracruz in 1812 contained more than 2,000 mules.



Mules were the most important form of land transportation in the Latin American colonies. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

At the beginning of the 17th century, the president of the Audiencia of Guadalajara and his relatives and dependents turned supplying mules to miners into a lucrative source of income. Miners used them for transportation as well as power for ore-crushing equipment.

CORREGIDORES distributed mules to Amerindians in *repartos de mercancías* at inflated prices; for example, in the 1720s in Chalco, Mexico, mules for which a *corregidor* paid six to 12 pesos were distributed to indigenous recipients, who were charged 28 to 30 pesos. Mules were also distributed to NATIVE AMERICANS by *corregidores* in Peru. When the *REPARTO* was legalized in Peru and an official list of the quantity of goods and their sale prices was compiled in 1753, 95,500 mules accounted for more than 3.4 million pesos, nearly 60 percent of the total *reparto*. About 20,000 mules were used annually in late 18th-century TRADE between Mendoza and SANTIAGO DE CHILE.

An estimated half-million mules were providing transportation in Spanish America at any one time in the late 18th century. A similar number has been suggested for Brazil.

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municipal council Spanish cities, villages, hamlets (*lugares*), and large indigenous *pueblos* had a municipal council as the institution of local government. With the exceptions of frontier posts that developed into municipalities and MINING camps, Spanish municipal councils known as *cabildos* or *ayuntamientos* were created immediately after a municipality was founded. In BRAZIL, the council was known as a *senado da câmara*. The male adult citizens (*VECINOS*) of towns were eligible for election or appointment to their positions. Racial and social restrictions could also come into play; generally, the smaller the municipality, the less important they were.

Spanish municipalities had jurisdiction not only of the urban area but also of a substantial surrounding hinterland that extended until it met that of the next town. Thus 17th-century BUENOS AIRES had a jurisdiction of some 300 miles (483 km) before meeting that of Córdoba. MEXICO CITY's city council originally claimed a jurisdiction that the Crown considered outrageous and in 1539 was limited to 15 leagues in each direction, still a substantial jurisdiction.

A Spanish municipality's councilmen or aldermen were known as *REGIDORES* and occasionally, for example, in Potosí, as *veinticuatro*s. The number varied from four

to six for small towns to 12 or more for the cities of LIMA and Mexico City. Each January 1, the aldermen in Spanish municipalities elected one or two *alcaldes ordinarios* who served as judges of first instance. The district *CORREGIDOR*, *ALCALDE MAYOR*, or governor normally chaired meetings of the council. In addition, municipalities had a number of other positions under its direction; these included a sheriff or chief constable (*alguacil mayor*), a municipal standard-bearer (*alférez mayor*), an inspector of weights and measures (*fiel ejecutor*), a public trustee (*depositario general*), and a collector of fines (*receptor de penas*). Other posts included notary (*escribano*), attorney (*síndico* or *procurador general*), overseer for city property (*mayordomo*), and rural constables (*alcaldes de la hermandad*). Whether a municipality had some or all of these positions, or even more, depended on the size of its population.

In Brazil, the jurisdiction of town councils extended into their hinterlands, and the general organization of the councils was very similar to that in Spanish America. The number of aldermen (*vereadores*) was usually three or four, and judges numbered one or two. Brazilian councils had more authority for many years, as it was only in 1696 that the Crown named royal judges (*juizes de fora*) to preside over selected town councils and their elections; this

ultimately enabled the Crown to reduce local privileges. Unlike in Spanish America, municipal councils remained elective rather than being sold or inherited. Town government in the Portuguese colony, however, only became an effective principle of territorial organization in the second half of the 18th century with the settlement of interior regions resulting from the GOLD boom.

Indigenous villages in Spanish America with at least 40 inhabitants also had municipal councils, the size depending on the number of residents. An *alcalde mayor* served as the local magistrate for minor infractions. *Regidores* issued local regulations; *alguaciles* were the villages' constables. Unlike in Spanish municipalities, *regidores* in Amerindian villages were elected annually, and the Crown did not sell the post. The positions of *alguacil* and *escribano*, in contrast, were salable and inheritable. There was no comparable indigenous village government in Brazil.

Municipal councils were responsible for the provision of public services and the regulation of a variety of activities for their communities following the initial distribution of lots for homes and gardens. For example, they oversaw public safety and public events such as holidays and processions; monitored weights, measures, and in some cases prices in the market; maintained a jail; responded to external threats; and represented the municipality in dealings with royal officials.

Municipal councils usually had limited resources at their disposal. Fees charged for use of common lands (*ejidos*) or other municipal property were sources of revenue. Others included fees for licenses or charges for using a public utility. Royal restrictions on local TAXATION, however, meant that the resources available to municipal councils were often inadequate to maintain streets, bridges, and a water supply.

INTENDANTS in the Spanish colonies had the responsibility to improve urban administration and services. This typically included increasing the resources available to the municipal councils through taxation. By the late 18th century, a number of municipalities were stronger than at any time since the first decades after their creation.

In times of crisis, the Spanish American municipal council could convoke a town meeting of prominent citizens. Known as a *CABILDO ABIERTO*, this expanded group became important in responding to the constitutional crisis of 1808.

See also *CABILDO* (Vol. I).

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Municipalities proudly displayed their coat of arms. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

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music Music was an important part of colonial life, both through its use in formal religious and secular events and as an entertainment. Musicians had a potentially marketable skill and might be Amerindian, European, or *CASTA*. Well before 1560, the religious orders were instructing NATIVE AMERICANS in music and using music in their services. Mestizos were performing musicians by the 1560s, and the mestizo Diego Lobato, in QUITO, in 1574 was hired to compose as well as to sing and play the organ (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*). In MEXICO CITY, the fledgling press first published music in 1556. The Third Council in Mexico in 1585 reaffirmed and in some cases tightened earlier regulations stipulating the level of musical proficiency required for certain ecclesiastical positions. The director (*maestro de capilla*) or precenter (*chanfre*) of music in a cathedral could be fined if the choir sang a wrong note.

Convents such as that of Santa Clara, founded in Cuzco in 1558, became centers of musical instruction and performance, as well as employers of musicians. In 1664, for example, the convent hired the cathedral's organist to teach music to the nuns for two years. His responsibilities were to provide daily instruction in singing, organ, and harp to a group of nuns and "all the music that might be required in the festivities organized by the convent," festivities that gave the convent an opportunity to display its musical excellence as well as flatter real or potential patrons and skewer its opponents. Playing polyphonic music was common.

Private music lessons might cost 50 to 150 pesos a year but after two years would have resulted in a saving of 800 or more pesos in a daughter's dowry to a nunnery. Convents at times considered musical talent worth reducing the dowry required for entry. In 1694, an organ builder offered to provide a new organ to a convent as a dowry for his daughter becoming a nun.

In contrast to the rich musical tradition of nunneries, many male convents were content with plainchant accompanied by organ; they hired professional musicians to perform more complex music. Others, however, placed more emphasis on musical instruction and performance. The JESUITS, in Cuzco at least, took pains to provide their students with musical EDUCATION; it included singing and playing keyboard instruments. The MERCEDERIANs in SANTIAGO DE CHILE, Chile, in the 17th century, owned instruments that included an organ, dulcian, cornets, and wind instruments. By the 18th century, they had added a clavichord, harpsichord, harp, and other instruments.

Besides keyboard instruments, colonial musicians used harps, guitars, drums, wind instruments including the bassoon (*bajón*) and shawm (similar to an oboe but with a double reed), flutes, small flutes (such as the flageolet, which resembles a recorder or *chirimía*), trumpets, sackbuts (an early trombone), crumhorns (double reed wind instrument with a curved end), string instruments, and others. African drummers were noted along the processional route of the new VICEROY OF PERU Antonio de Mendoza during his formal entrance to LIMA in 1551. Marimbas and jawbone clackers were other instruments favored and introduced by Africans. The renegade friar Thomas Gage commented on the castanets and guitars that accompanied dancers at Huejotzingo, between PUEBLA and Mexico City.

By 1553, the cathedral in Cuzco had two organs. A new organ in Lima in 1625 cost the substantial sum of 6,000 pesos, and in 1638, a Franciscan friar completed a 600-pipe organ for the order's convent in Quito. By 1625, the cathedral in Lima had recruited the best musicians from the other cathedrals in Peru and from that date forward led in musical talent and innovation. In 1631, the first piece of polyphony in the Americas was printed in Lima, and the first opera composed and produced in the Americas, by PENINSULAR Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco, chapelmaster (1676–1728), was performed in Lima in 1701. Joseph de Orejón y Aparicio, organist in Lima (1742–60) and briefly chapelmaster, was reputedly the finest CREOLE composer before independence.

The Viceroyalty of Peru had families of indigenous and creole musicians. In Trujillo, Bernardo García, his son, and his grandson were organists in the cathedral. In Lima, creole Miguel García del Águila was an organist, as were his two sons. In Quito, the Ortuño FAMILY dominated cathedral music for 70 years.

While some instruments were imported from Spain, others were made in the colonies. Workshops in Pátzcuaro, NEW SPAIN, manufactured high-quality bells, trumpets, sackbuts, guitars, harps, and organs. In the second half of the 18th century, pianoforte makers had orders, although pianofortes made in England, Spain, and Germany were being imported; one merchant in 1804 listed 14 from Cartagena, Spain, for sale. Church authorities were particularly partial to organs. One was in use in Mexico City in 1530, and some were even portable, being used in processions and theatrical performances.

One historian of colonial music has argued that peninsular Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, the director of music (*maestro de capilla*) at the cathedral of PUEBLA from 1629 to 1664, was "the most competent and imaginative," as well as the most prolific, composer in the Americas. Both the polyphonic music and plainchant in Puebla's cathedral were considered excellent, a result of its substantial program of training boys and young men to sing, play instruments, and compose.

Music was a popular form of entertainment in the homes of the wealthy. Even in Santiago, CHILE, women in

the early 18th century were playing in salons instruments that included the harpsichord, spinet, violin, castanets, tambourine, guitar, and harp.

Popular music or the music of the street was often associated with Africans and typically involved rhythmic drumming and dancing. Already in 1563, authorities in Lima's city council were trying to restrict the places slaves could dance, but their efforts were never successful for long. In Mexico City in the 1570s, the city council prohibited dancing in the central plaza on feast days. Jesuits in Lima encouraged slaves' love of music, and in the 17th century assembled an excellent band of black musicians who played a variety of instruments, including drums, trumpets, and flutes.

Dancing and singing were allowed in taverns (*pulquerías*) in Mexico City, but these activities, accompanied by drinking and gambling, extended into the streets where musicians played as the poor of all backgrounds tried to forget their hard lives. Taverns (*chicherías*) in Potosí served the same purpose and were frequented by Andeans, Africans, poor Spaniards, and persons of mixed background. "At all hours of the night one hears the drums . . . and as they dance around in circles they keep drinking." An Italian friar in Mexico City in the 1760s noted that the aristocrats danced "French-style," and their parties caused no scandal. A second type of party, the *sarao* (soirée), involved "a medley of songs, music, dancing, drunkenness, and other ills." Even worse were the parties frequented by commoners and marked by a

variety of indecent dances. Although forced inside in late colonial Mexico, similar parties often included songs and dances described by the offended as "crude, scandalous, profane."

Portugal had a rich musical tradition, and at least some of this crossed the Atlantic to BRAZIL. Gregorian chanting accompanied by organ was a staple of the religious orders and evident in their convents in SALVADOR DA BAHIA, RIO DE JANEIRO, Recife, and elsewhere. In VILA RICA DO OURO PRÊTO in MINAS GERAIS, the religious brotherhoods (*irmandades* and *confrarias*) competed in their music as well as their buildings. Pipe organs were difficult to deliver to Vila Rica and accordingly prized and kept in good condition. Bassoons, trumpets, flutes, oboes, and other instruments also were available. Professional groups of 12 to 16 singers hired out to the brotherhoods. The city also had an opera house and a theater by 1770. In addition to the music of high religion and culture, noted professional mulatto musicians provided the music to accompany dancing in the streets (see *MULATO*).

See also MUSIC (Vols. I, III, IV).

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N

Native Americans By the middle of the 16th century, Europeans and their descendants had encountered Native Americans throughout most of Spanish America and parts of BRAZIL. The most advanced cultures—the Nahuas (and others in the Aztec Empire) and the Incas—were under Spanish domination. Of the enormous variety of other native peoples, some were under Spanish and, to a much lesser degree, Portuguese rule, while others remained unconquered. By 1550, infectious disease, a change in diet, overwork, and a variety of abuses had already significantly reduced the number of indigenous people. Although location affected the virulence of diseases, the more advanced civilizations perhaps suffered the most, for their greater populations, social organization, and economic productivity made them especially attractive to conquistadores and early settlers. The remainder of the colonial period was marked on the one hand by the interplay of colonial institutions of exploitation, including mandatory labor and TRIBUTE, and imposed Catholicism and on the other by Amerindians' desire and ability to circumvent colonial exploitation and indoctrination by continuing some traditional practices, using the judicial system, passive resistance, and flight.

The decline in native population, the implementation of the *CONGREGACIÓN* and *REDUCCIÓN*, and concern over vagrants afflicting indigenous villages led the Spanish Crown, especially from the 1570s, to implement a policy of segregating Native Americans from Spaniards. This segregation into two “republics” (*república de españoles* and *república de indios*) sought to protect Native Americans by limiting their contact with non-Indians, other than their own mestizo children (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*). A 1578 decree ordered the complete exclusion of mestizos, mulattoes, and blacks from native villages; one in 1600

excluded Spaniards (see *MULATO*). Continued mixing and a lack of effort to create new towns for the excluded groups doomed the policy to widespread failure. Even in CITIES originally established with a separate indigenous district, for example, LIMA, segregation quickly failed.

The cultural variety among Native Americans continued after conquest, but the forms of imperial administration evident in the Aztec and Inca Empires disappeared. Importantly, however, at the subimperial level a great deal of preconquest culture and organization remained. The Spanish Crown recognized local rulers (*CACIQUES*, and *KURAKAS*) and nobles (*principales*) as *hidalgos* and permitted the continuation of some privileges that separated them from commoners (see *HIDALGUÍA*). *Caciques* and *principales*, for example, were allowed to ride horses and MULES, carry swords and firearms, and wear Spanish clothing.

The continuity of indigenous cultural practices was most evident at the village level where *caciques* and nobles tended to dominate despite Spanish efforts to restrict them. Even when Amerindian nobles continued to hold local offices, for example, in villages in the Andes, pressure by Spaniards rendered them unable to sustain the level of reciprocity and redistribution that had marked precolonial times. Thus, Native American commoners increasingly considered that native authorities were demanding labor and tribute in excess of the reciprocal benefits they provided.

Caciques, *kurakas*, and other local rulers, such as *batabs* in Yucatán, found themselves in the frequently difficult position of serving first as middlemen between Spanish *encomenderos* and then between provincial administrators (*alcaldes mayores* and *corregidores*) and their peoples (see *ALCALDE MAYOR*; *CORREGIDOR/CORREGIMIENTO*; *ENCOMIENDA*).

Assigned an amount of tribute based on usually outdated censuses, they were personally responsible for seeing that it was paid. Ongoing population decline, for example, in Central Mexico until the mid-17th century, meant that the survivors had to pay tribute for deceased persons still on the books. Shortfalls could result in the imprisonment of the responsible cacique. Over time, many but certainly not all local rulers became indistinguishable from commoners to Spaniards; within villages, however, caciques continued to have some authority.

The Spanish Crown's land policy ensured the continuation of settled indigenous groups with communal holdings. While the use of *congregaciones* and *reducciones* forced Native Americans to relocate, those who remained in the new locations had access to village lands. While Spaniards often usurped land or purchased it illegally, and might also have "legalized" these actions through a special payment for title confirmation known as a *composición*, many indigenous villages retained substantial amounts of land at independence.

Amerindians throughout Latin America were subjected to religious indoctrination by Catholic friars and priests. The result was typically a blend of preconquest and Catholic beliefs. Acting on the premise that Native Americans could never be full adults, the Tribunal of the INQUISITION in general exempted them from its jurisdiction.

The same attribution of permanent minority affected the standing of Native Americans in legal proceedings. No individual Amerindian's word was equal to that of a Spaniard in court. Nonetheless, native villages frequently and with considerable success used the legal process to protest land usurpation, in particular, despite the costs of litigation.

The Spanish Crown required Native Americans to pay tribute throughout the colonial era. This direct tax levied on the conquered peoples was evidence of their "commoner" status and implied, by extension, that Spaniards were of "noble" status. Indeed, paying tribute became, first and foremost, explicit documentation of Native American status, although in 1572, PHILIP II ordered free blacks, mulattoes, and ZAMBOS to pay it as well. Ostensibly a symbol of vassalage, in practice tribute was both a source of income, first to *encomenderos* and then, increasingly, to the royal treasury (REAL HACIENDA), and a way to force Amerindians into a cash ECONOMY. While *encomenderos* had accepted goods they could use or sell as tribute, by the mid-1560s, indigenous people in NEW SPAIN were required to pay in cash. This forced them to enter the market either as laborers or vendors of their produce in order to obtain the requisite cash. The amount of tribute varied by region.

The CATHOLIC CHURCH also required payment from Native Americans. This included either the tithe or a substitute for it. The tithe was also required of Spanish producers of agricultural products and livestock, as were fees for a variety of religious services. Between tribute and payment to the church, the fiscal demands on

Amerindians were substantial. In Yucatán, a family in the 17th century annually paid 38 reales to the state and 34.5 reales to the church. At that time, an adult male received three reales a week when engaged in the labor required by the state (*servicio personal*) but, of course, incurred expenses during the period of service.

In some areas of very early contact, abuse, and enslavement, for example, in HISPANIOLA, the indigenous population became virtually extinct. In many locations throughout Spanish America, however, native populations had increased from their 17th- or early 18th-century nadirs by the early 19th century, although nowhere did they return to precontact size. The total Native American population at the time of independence was probably between 5 and 6 million, or about 15 percent of its size before European contact.

See also AZTECS (Vol. I); INCAS (Vol. I); NATIVE AMERICANS (Vols. I, III, IV).

Further reading:

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New Christian See CONVERSO.

New Galicia (Nueva Galicia) The *AUDIENCIA* district of New Galicia, also known as GUADALAJARA, after its capital from 1561, encompassed the governorship of New Galicia; New Vizcaya, created in 1562; New León, established 1596; New Mexico, established 1598; and the Californias. It stretched north from the Audiencia of Mexico into present-day United States, west to the Pacific Ocean, and east to the Gulf of Mexico.

The Audiencia of Guadalajara was established in 1548. In the 1620s, the president of the *audiencia* named 90 *corregidores* and *alcaldes mayores*, and the governor of New Vizcaya appointed another 27 (see *ALCALDE MAYOR; CORREGIDOR/CORREGIMIENTO*). The introduction of the INTENDANT system divided New Galicia into the intendancies of Guadalajara, San Luis Potosí, and ZACATECAS.

From the initial brutal conquest by Nuño de Guzmán came the assignment of NATIVE AMERICANS in *ENCOMIENDAS* to conquistadores and subsequently to the first settlers. Following the Mixtón War of 1541–42, Spaniards continued to move north. The discovery of SILVER at Zacatecas in 1546 produced a boomtown and corresponding demand for laborers, beef, leather, tallow, and other supplies. The Royal Road north from MEXICO CITY led to Zacatecas, and a road from Guadalajara to Zacatecas was also developed. Within this triangle fell the BAJÍO, a fertile region that became a major source of agricultural products for the MINING areas (see AGRICULTURE).

The native population of New Galicia declined from an estimated 855,000 in 1519 to about 69,000 in 1650; in the latter year the non-native population, which had been expanding since the Spaniards' arrival, totaled some 61,500. Both native and non-native populations expanded subsequently, but at some point between 1650 and 1700, non-Indians exceeded the number of Amerindians. By 1821, there were some 350,000 non-natives, and 260,000 persons classified as Indians.

The population of the capital city of Guadalajara sextupled during the 18th century. It totaled about 35,000 in 1803, which put great pressure on the food supply and raised the number of underemployed.

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New Granada, Viceroyalty of The New Kingdom of Granada, or simply New Granada, was but one name for the *AUDIENCIA* district of Santa Fe de Bogotá. Later, the name also applied to the viceroyalty of which Bogotá was the center. Despite an earlier, unsuccessful experiment with a VICEROY from 1717 to 1723, the Spanish Crown responded to continued foreign threats in the CARIBBEAN by establishing the Viceroyalty of New Granada in 1739. Created almost entirely from the VICEROYALTY OF PERU, the new viceroyalty's territory included most of present-day Colombia, VENEZUELA, Ecuador, and PANAMA: In the north, the viceroy's jurisdiction extended to the southern boundary of GUATEMALA; in the south, it ran to the Amazon River marking the southern limit of the province of Mainas; it included the presidency of QUITO in the west and claimed the province of Guiana to its boundary with BRAZIL in the east. Thus, the viceroyalty had a Caribbean coast, on which the ports of La Guaira and CARTAGENA DE INDIAS were most important, and a Pacific coast, where GUAYAQUIL was preeminent. The Andes mountain ranges were the dominant geographic feature in the *audiencia* districts of Santa Fe de Bogotá and Quito where, as a consequence, poor and expensive TRANSPORTATION was a constant limitation. Indeed, New Granada was fragmented in many ways thanks to long distances, rugged terrain, and effectively autonomous Spanish settlements and indigenous villages.

When founded, the viceroyalty had three *audiencias*: Quito, Bogotá, and Panama. The last was terminated in 1751 in belated acknowledgment that the era of galleons and transisthmian TRADE was over. A new tribunal was founded in CARACAS in 1783, complementing the captaincy general authorized in 1777 (see CAPTAINCIES GENERAL).

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

Estimates of the native population at the time of conquest of New Granada vary from 850,000 to more than 4 million. Scholars agree, however, that the number, as elsewhere in the Americas, declined disastrously. The decision of the conquistadores and early settlers to reside where there were large numbers of Amerindians, notably in the Chibcha region where Bogotá and Tunja were founded, facilitated the introduction of EPIDEMICS whose effects were exacerbated by abuses perpetrated by *encomenderos* and their successors (see ENCOMIENDA).

A census of 1778–80 revealed that New Granada's population was less than 800,000. Some 45 percent (360,000) of that number lived in the Eastern Cordillera of the Andes between Bogotá and Pamplona. About 10 percent (82,500) lived in adjoining areas. About 20 percent (162,000) of the population resided on the Caribbean coastlands in the provinces of Cartagena, Santa Marta, and Riohacha. Another 11.5 percent (91,000) lived in the province of Popayán and adjacent highlands. In the Western Cordillera, where Antioquia was the major settlement, were some 46,000 people. The Pacific lowlands, including Barbacoas and the CHOCÓ, had important GOLD fields, but only about 4 percent (30,500) of the colony's population.

By the time of the census, New Granada had become a society with a plurality (46 percent) of "free of all colors," in the census's terminology (see MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO). Whites accounted for 26 percent of the population; NATIVE AMERICANS, 20 percent; and black slaves, 8 percent. Amerindians were a majority in the province of Pasto, the Llanos of Casanare, and the frontier regions along the coasts.

SPANISH CITIES AND INDIGENOUS VILLAGES

Located in a populous and fertile area of the Eastern Cordillera, Santa Fe de Bogotá became New Granada's capital and largest city. With the support of the *audiencia*, its merchants and *encomenderos* were able to develop a royal road to the Magdalena river port of Honda and use it to supply the highlands to the east; thus, Bogotá became a distribution center for imports. The city's population included only about 2,000 Spaniards in 1630, when LIMA had 9,500; by the 1770s, its population had increased to 19,000 inhabitants; further growth brought it to about 28,000 by the 1810s. Besides being an administrative center and home to a mint from 1620, in 1630 it was the see of an archbishop and had four parishes; Augustinian, Dominican, Franciscan, and Jesuit convents; three nunneries; a hospital; and a Jesuit college with 60 students (see MINTS). While the city was home to the elite of the region, their wealth was relatively modest, and few enjoyed titles of nobility.

Cartagena de Indias, with more than 1,500 Spaniards in 1630 and a total population of 14,000–16,000 inhabitants in the late 1770s, was the region's major port, a stop for the galleons that long sailed to NOMBRE DE DIOS and

PORTOBELLO, and an important MILITARY bastion. Whites numbered almost 4,400, and there were more than 3,000 black slaves. Popayán, with some 14,000 persons living in and near it, was an important link to MINING areas in the Pacific lowlands. Mompós was an important port on the Magdalena River and had 7,000–8,000 inhabitants in the 1770s. Gold from Antioquia and the Chocó exited the interior via Mompós.

TRANSPORTATION

The terrain of the northern Andes made land transport unusually difficult in New Granada. A 16th-century observer in the province of Popayán reported that the roads were surely the worst in the world. An 18th-century traveler on the Royal Road from Honda to Bogotá described it as “a road the very sight of which will horrify your excellency,” particularly in the wet season. The Spaniards’ initial dependence on indigenous carriers gave way to reliance on MULES and mule trains, although human carriers continued to be used in regions that not even mules could negotiate. Amerindians or African slaves were used to transport goods to the mines and gold from them, for example (see SLAVERY). Unlike in NEW SPAIN or Peru, river travel was important in New Granada.

River travel allowed for transport in areas of New Granada. The Magdalena River is navigable from its mouth to the rapids at Honda, about 500 miles. The Cauca River is navigable for about 250 miles from which point it joins the Magdalena. In addition, the Atrato and San Juan Rivers provide access into the Chocó. River travel was almost invariably but one leg of transporting merchandise or other products, however. Not surprisingly, the cost of transport was very high in New Granada.

Transatlantic shipping from CÁDIZ to Cartagena de Indias took about a month. The return trip via CUBA required about 70 days.

AGRICULTURE AND RANCHING

Gold mines provided an ongoing market for locally produced goods from the Cauca Valley and highlands near Popayán. Sugarcane grown in the Cauca Valley and turned into brandy (*AGUARDIENTE DE CAÑA*) was always in demand, as was TOBACCO. WHEAT, MAIZE, potatoes, beans, and other crops were grown near Popayán. Unlike in New Spain, however, geographical and climatic conditions precluded large agricultural properties near the mines.

Livestock were raised, among other places, in the Cauca Valley from Cali northward and in pastures of the Magdalena River. Meat and CATTLE products—hides and tallow—also found a ready market. Meat was so plentiful that it was a daily item in most people’s diets in the Cauca region. A few large landowners there focused on SUGAR production and livestock that could be sold to the mining camps; small farmers engaged in subsistence production and sold relatively few items including maize, plantains, and vegetables.

ARTISANS AND DOMESTIC TEXTILES

New Granada had the usual array of artisans and, like other colonies, became increasingly self-sufficient in the 17th century. An incomplete list of 57 occupations in Bogotá in 1783 shows that tailors were the most numerous (104) followed by masons (90), cobblers (66), and carpenters (57). Silversmiths were considerably more common than goldsmiths. Among the more interesting occupations listed are vagabonds (seven), billiard-hall keepers (two), and penmaker (one). A more complete list of 835 artisans in Cartagena in 1779–80 showed 81 tailors, 79 carpenters, and 75 cobblers; masons numbered only 25. Five penmakers, three gunsmiths, two musicians, one physician, and one druggist were also listed.

The most important textile center in New Granada was based in Tunja. In 1571, CACIQUES in Chita received 6,825 *arrobas* of cotton; blankets were used to pay TRIBUTE. Toward the end of the 16th century, the first *OBRAJES* were organized in Tunja, a sign that SHEEP had adapted to the highland valleys. By 1610, the city had eight *obrajes* and was producing woolen cloth, skirts, blankets, and hats. Tunja also produced cotton cloth, obtaining cotton from Casanare. During the 17th century, New Granada became increasingly able to provide low-priced textiles to the regional market. A report in 1761 indicated that Tunja had long been supplying merchants and landowners from Maracaibo and Mérida with blankets, hats, linens, and shirts. By that time, however, Socorro had displaced it as New Granada’s leading textile producer.

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS

New Granada’s primary export was gold from the 16th-century conquest onward. Mines in Popayán, Barbacoas, the highlands of the Central Cordillera in the province of Antioquia, and the Chocó in the Pacific lowlands produced more of the auriferous metal than any other Spanish colony. Its value, however, was far below that of the SILVER produced in Peru and New Spain and also well below that of the gold produced by BRAZIL during its 18th-century boom. The nature of gold mining in New Granada, moreover, did not result in substantial investment in mines and equipment. Labor costs, including slaves, were the primary expense. Through Cartagena came about 4,250 African slaves from 1704 to 1713, another 10,300 arrived from 1714 to 1736, and nearly 13,000 more were imported from 1746 to 1757. How many went to the mining district is uncertain, but about 4,000 slaves were working in the Chocó in 1759 and more than 7,000 in 1782. In early 18th-century Antioquia, on the other hand, expanded production rested on free labor provided by prospectors who panned for gold. By the latter part of the century, however, slave labor increased substantially, totaling between 9,000 and 13,500 persons in 1778.

Registered gold production in the 18th century showed a substantial, if not steady, increase, rising from the equivalent of 500,000 pesos annually from 1715 to 1719 to about double that in the early 1740s. After declining in the

1750s, it rose again in the 1760s to about 900,000 pesos a year and continued upward to almost 2 million pesos in the latter 1790s. How much actual production was remains unknown, but it certainly exceeded the registered amounts and probably by a substantial sum.

New Granada had a thin market for imports, especially luxury goods. Textiles were the most important import, accounting for about 60 percent of the volume Bogotá received in 1761. Other merchandise included hardware, paper, and spices. In that year, the city received 70 times more domestic products, including a substantial amount of molasses, than imports. In the 17th century, Cartagena regularly purchased flour for its own consumption and to provision the fleet from producers in the Eastern Cordillera. Grain shortages in the 18th century forced it to rely on external sources.

New Granada was renowned for its illicit commerce (see SMUGGLING). In the 17th and 18th centuries, the coastal provinces of Cartagena, Riohacha, and Santa Marta were well frequented contraband centers through which flowed textiles, slaves, manufactured items, spices, wine, and other items that were sold by foreign traders. In return, they received gold, pearls, hides, and other local products.

ADMINISTRATION

Prior to the establishment of the viceroyalty in 1739, the *audiencia* districts of New Granada and Quito were under the jurisdiction of the viceroy of Peru, while Venezuela was under the Audiencia of Santo Domingo. The chief executive of New Granada was initially a president but from the early 17th century was a governor and captain general without legal training (*de capa y espada*). Cartagena, Antioquia, Los Museos and Colimas, Popayán, and Santa Marta–Riohacha were placed under governors by 1575, and 23 *corregidores* administered the remaining jurisdictions of New Granada (see CORREGIDOR/CORREGIMIENTO). Uniquely in the mainland empire, New Granada was not included in the intendant system that was introduced elsewhere in the late 18th century.

Treasury offices existed in 1630 in Cartagena, Santa Marta, Antioquia, and Bogotá. Bogotá also received a Tribunal of Accounts in 1605 and a mint in 1620.

CHURCH

New Granada received its first bishop when Santa Marta was established as a diocese in 1531. A second bishopric was created for Cartagena in 1534. Popayán became a bishopric in 1546, and in 1553 the bishop of Santa Marta was moved to Santa Fe de Bogotá, which became an archdiocese in 1565. In 1574, Santa Marta again received a bishop. A final bishopric in the archdiocese was created for Antioquia in 1804.

The first DOMINICANS arrived in New Granada in 1529, when 21 reached Santa Marta. FRANCISCANS arrived in Bogotá in 1550, and AUGUSTINIANS established themselves in the 1570s. The first JESUITS arrived in the 1590s but were dependent on the province of Peru into the

17th century. Indeed, none of the orders had independent provinces in New Granada at the time that Bogotá became the see of an archbishopric. In 1609, the bishop of Cartagena reported there were 107 Dominicans, 77 Franciscans, and 65 Augustinians. A report in 1722 indicated 223 Dominicans, 257 Franciscans, 276 Augustinians, and between 150 and 200 Jesuits.

In 1630, Cartagena had a “very sumptuous” Dominican convent and also convents for Augustinians, Franciscans, and MERCEDARIANS. The Society of Jesus and two nunneries were there as well. In 1610, the third tribunal of the INQUISITION in the Indies was established at Cartagena, a response to the many foreign heretics who arrived to trade illicitly in New Granada’s coastal provinces.

By 1630, Franciscans, Augustinians, Dominicans, and Jesuits were well established in Bogotá. In addition, there were three nunneries and a hospital. The same orders were present in Tunja, which also had two nunneries and a hospital, and in Pamplona, which had a nunnery and a hospital. Mérida had Dominican, Franciscan, and Augustinian convents as well as a hospital.

EDUCATION

In four cities in New Granada—Bogotá, Cartagena, Popayán, and Tunja—religious studies leading to ordination were available. In Bogotá, the Dominicans began teaching grammar in 1563 and added philosophy and theology in 1572. By 1583, they were also offering arts and theology in Tunja and Cartagena. The Jesuits established a *COLEGIO* in Bogotá that had 60 students in 1630. It also opened the Colegio-Seminario of San Bartolomé and the Universidad Javieriana there; the only other source of higher EDUCATION in Bogotá in the late 17th century was the Dominican University of San Tomás (see UNIVERSITIES). New Granada had no royal and pontifical university equivalent to those in New Spain and Peru.

The expulsion of the Jesuits and the need to replace their institutions of higher education resulted in the creation of chairs of natural science. José Celestino Mutis, a botanist teaching mathematics at the Colegio Mayor of Rosario, in Bogotá, promoted Newtonian science, and starting in 1777, one of his students began teaching Newtonian physics. New Granada also was the site of Antonio Nariño’s translation and publication of the French Revolution’s *Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen* in 1794, an act that brought his immediate arrest and transport to Spain.

Although SIMÓN BOLÍVAR was able to create Gran Colombia, a political entity consisting of three *audiencia* districts from the Viceroyalty of New Granada, the construct foundered in 1830; it was no more effectively integrated than its predecessor had been.

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New Spain, Viceroyalty of By 1560, New Spain, the first of four Spanish viceroyalties in the Americas, had completed 15 years under its able first VICEROY, Antonio de Mendoza, and a decade under his successor, Luis de Velasco. Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian friars had been evangelizing the indigenous people for decades, and the diocesan clergy was in place in Spanish cities and towns. The viceroyalty's administrative structure had taken shape, with *AUDIENCIAS* established for GUADALAJARA, GUATEMALA, SANTO DOMINGO, and Mexico. Explorers spurred by hope and rumors had rapidly surveyed lands that extended from Florida into the present-day southwestern region of the United States. The majority of Spanish municipalities in New Spain had been founded, and VERACRUZ was firmly established as Mexico's legal port for Atlantic and Caribbean TRADE. SILVER had been discovered at ZACATECAS and GUANAJUATO. A university in MEXICO CITY was graduating students, and a printer had already published a few titles. The *ENCOMIENDA* system was disappearing, and labor drafts (*REPARTIMIENTOS*) were replacing it as a labor institution. Epidemic diseases had compounded the effects of mistreatment, and millions of NATIVE AMERICANS had perished as a result. African slaves were entering Mexico in rising numbers (see SLAVERY). Miscegenation had been occurring for 40 years, and concerns about the number of mestizos and soon mulattoes, normally of illegitimate birth, were troubling authorities (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO; MULATO*).

Although smaller than the VICEROYALTY OF PERU, New Spain was more populous throughout the colonial era. Its geographic core, the *audiencia* districts of Mexico and Guadalajara, was more easily traversed than the Andes. Location also made its capital more accessible than LIMA from Spain. From the mid-16th century until the 1670s, however, registered silver production in Peru exceeded that of New Spain.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

Profound changes in the size and composition of New Spain's population occurred during the colonial era. Although the data are not exact, they give a reasonable overview of the changes. Estimates for the indigenous population show continued decline into the 17th century, dropping from 2.65 million in 1568 to 1.9 million in 1585, 1.375 million in 1595, 1.075 million in 1605, and 750,000 in 1622. Thereafter remaining stable until the mid-17th century, the number of Amerindians grew to about 3.7 million by 1810. At that time, *CASTAS* numbered

1.35 million, blacks no more than 10,000, and whites about 1.1 million, of whom only about 15,000 were PENINSULARS, for a total population of slightly more than 6 million, or almost half of the total population of Spain's New World colonies. Although these numbers reflected perceived rather than exact racial backgrounds, they reveal that the Native American population never came close to regaining its preconquest size of probably 10 to 15 million, although estimates go as high as 25 million; indeed, the total colonial population never reached the 1519 precontact population. The figures also document the rise of the *casta* population resulting from the importation of more than 110,000 African slaves by 1640 and racial mixture among Spaniards, Amerindians, Africans, and their offspring. Despite its size in 1810, the Spanish population, which undoubtedly included a significant number of persons lacking *LIMPIEZA DE SANGRE*, had been smaller than the number of Africans and *castas* from at least 1570.

SPANISH CITIES AND INDIGENOUS VILLAGES

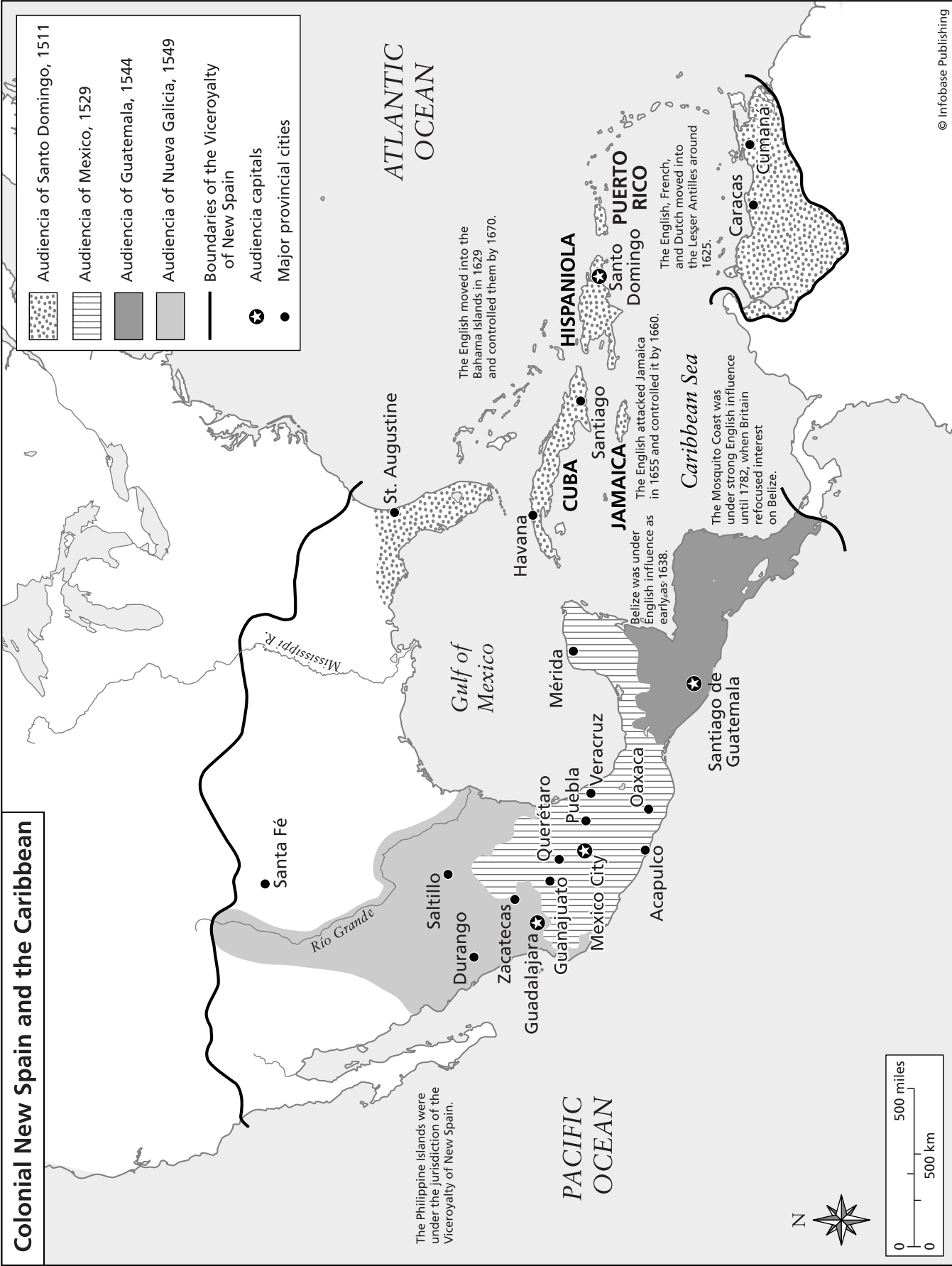
From the founding of Veracruz in 1519, Spaniards in New Spain routinely established towns at locations they considered desirable because of a dense indigenous population, proximity to natural resources, the availability of precious metals, favorable conditions for commerce or an administrative center, or a combination of these. By 1533, they had established 16 municipalities including Veracruz, Mexico City, Oaxaca (Antequera), PUEBLA de los Ángeles, and Guadalajara; by 1560, nine of the 12 cities that would become the capitals of intendancies in the late 18th century were in place (see INTENDANT).

The largest cities with their populations for 1803, as given by Alexander von Humboldt, were Mexico City (137,000), Guanajuato (70,600 counting adjacent mines; 41,000 in the urban center), Puebla (67,800), Querétaro (35,000), Zacatecas (33,000), Antequera (Oaxaca) (24,400 in 1793), Valladolid (Morelia) (18,000), Veracruz (16,000), and Mérida (10,000). Although Humboldt gave Guadalajara's population as 19,500, in reality it was about 35,000.

Mexico City was the viceroyalty's administrative, commercial, religious, cultural, and intellectual center. It was home to the VICEROY (from 1535), the Audiencia of Mexico (1527), a treasury office (*real caja*, 1521), an accounting office (*tribunal de cuentas*, 1565), a mint (*casa de moneda*, 1535), a merchant guild (*CONSULADO*, 1592), the bishop and then archbishop of Mexico (1528, 1547), a Tribunal of the INQUISITION (1571), the UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO (1553), and the first PRINTING PRESS in the Americas (1534). Although Puebla for a time rivaled the capital, it ultimately lost out; nonetheless, in 1803 it was larger than the viceregal capitals of LIMA, BOGOTÁ, and BUENOS AIRES. Outside of Mexico, only HAVANA surpassed Puebla in size.

Mexico's CITIES and towns were first and foremost the home of Spaniards. In 1630, Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa

Colonial New Spain and the Caribbean



- Audiencia of Santo Domingo, 1511
- Audiencia of Mexico, 1529
- Audiencia of Guatemala, 1544
- Audiencia of Nueva Galicia, 1549
- Boundaries of the Viceroyalty of New Spain
- Audiencia capitals
- Major provincial cities

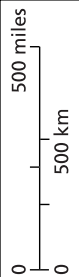
The Philippine Islands were under the jurisdiction of the Viceroyalty of New Spain.

The English moved into the Bahama Islands in 1629 and controlled them by 1670.

Belize was under English influence as early as 1638. The English attacked Jamaica in 1660 and controlled it by 1660.

The Mosquito Coast was under strong English influence until 1782, when Britain refocused interest on Belize.

The English, French, and Dutch moved into the Lesser Antilles around 1625.



listed 81 cities and towns for Mexico and Guadalajara: 15 in the district of the Audiencia of Mexico, six in the bishopric of Tlaxcala, five in the bishopric of Yucatán, eight in the bishopric of Oaxaca, 17 in the bishopric of Michoacán, 16 in the *audiencia* district of NEW GALICIA, and 14 in the bishopric of Guadiana in New Vizcaya. In the capital at the turn of the 19th century, 50 percent of the lay population of 104,935 was considered Spanish; in Valladolid, nearly 40 percent of the population was Spanish. In the early 1790s, Spaniards accounted for 56 percent of the population in the city of Guanajuato; at the same time, they were nearly 39 percent of Oaxaca's population. An exception was Querétaro, where the Spanish population was about 20 percent in 1803.

Amerindians were numerous in some Spanish municipalities, accounting for 43 percent of the population in Querétaro in the late 18th century, 28 percent in Antequera (Oaxaca), and 24 percent in Mexico City. Despite the presence of a few non-Indians, Native Americans were dominant in the many villages in Central and southern Mexico known as *congregaciones* in the late 16th and early 17th centuries or as outgrowths of missions; they remained heavily native in composition and culture in the 18th century. In the intendancy of Oaxaca, Amerindians accounted for 88 percent of the population. In the district of Xochimilco in the central plateau, Amerindians outnumbered the remainder of the population almost 10 to one (18,049 to 1,863). In the district of Juxtaluaca, also in the central plateau, the ratio was almost six to one (6,890 to 1,281). In the BAJÍO to the north, indigenous people outnumbered the rest of the population in Dolores 8,924 to 3,737. In Celaya, also in the Bajío, the ratio was about one to one (34,506 to 33,295).

Data on the *castas* in the late 18th century document them as the dominant population group in some locations. In ACAPULCO, *castas* numbered 5,557, and Spaniards, 122; no Amerindians were recorded. In Tepeaca, in the central plateau, *castas* totaled 14,444, and whites, 8,691; no Amerindians were noted. In Tlapa, also in the central plateau, *castas* totaled 3,246, and whites, 859; no Amerindians were recorded. Regardless of the exact ancestry of the *castas* in these locations, the population was thoroughly hispanized, and any indigenous people among them were perceived as mestizos (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*).

TRANSPORTATION

By 1560, MULES, donkeys, and oxen had replaced some but certainly not all indigenous carriers (*tlamemes* or *tamemes*) in transporting goods. The seasonal movement of imported goods from Veracruz to Puebla, Mexico City, and then elsewhere in New Spain was more than the *tlamemes* could absorb, although they continued to be employed where mules could not negotiate the roads. Goods imported via the Manila trade that became regularized in the 1570s further showed the inadequacy of the prequest TRANSPORTATION system based on human porters (see *MANILA GALLEONS*).

Creating roads adequate for mules and donkeys was essential for handling the goods funneled through Veracruz and Acapulco and equally so for moving silver from the mines to the mint in Mexico City and then to the ports (see *MINTS*). More difficult was creating roads capable of serving wagons drawn by mules and, less frequently, oxen. Although traffic between Mexico City and Veracruz began with the conquest, by 1570 a major road ran from Veracruz to Venta de Caceras and then divided, with the flatter southern branch favored by wagon traffic serving Puebla before going to Mexico City. By the mid-16th century, a road ran south from Mexico City through Cuernavaca to Antequera, and another went from the capital through Puebla and then through Tepeaca and other villages; the two routes passed through Seda and then went to Antequera. From that city, one road went to Huatulco and another to Tehuantepec. A route from Mexico City to Acapulco via Cuernavaca became important as a result of the Manila trade.

A key route developed after the discovery of silver at Zacatecas in 1546 was the Royal Road that went from Mexico City through Querétaro to Zacatecas and was extended northward as other mining areas were discovered; eventually it reached Santa Fe (in modern-day New Mexico). The terrain between Mexico City and Zacatecas permitted the use of wagons carrying up to 5,000 pounds (2,273 kg) pulled by six to 16 mules and thus facilitated the northward movement of MERCURY, lead, mining equipment, and other goods. The value of silver was sufficient to cover the high cost of transportation to Zacatecas and later mining districts.

Roads linked grain supplies to urban markets. Guadalajara, for example, long purchased grain mostly from growers located within 30 miles (48 km). Higher grain prices made shipment from distances up to perhaps 75 miles (121 km) profitable. Producers in the Puebla region also provided flour and hardtack to HAVANA, the latter for consumption by crews on the FLEETS. In the unique case of Mexico City and the cities around Lake Texcoco, canoes were a major means of transporting foodstuffs.

AGRICULTURE AND RANCHING

Throughout the colonial era, the majority of New Spain's inhabitants devoted themselves to surviving. Aside from avoiding diseases, this meant growing enough food to feed a FAMILY. Indigenous people and increasingly *CASTAS* in rural areas raised MAIZE and to a lesser degree WHEAT and other grains, cultivated gardens and fruit trees, and tended livestock and fowl. After the high Native American mortality resulting from the terrible epidemic of 1576–79 threatened their food supply, Spaniards began amassing land for particularly wheat production (see *EPIDEMICS*). Although labor drafts (*repartimientos*) supplied adequate workers into the late 16th and early 17th centuries, *hacendados* turned to hiring wage laborers from indigenous villages and also to recruiting enough

resident laborers to perform essential tasks; day laborers were hired to assist with planting, weeding, and harvesting (see HACIENDA). Resident laborers were often able to obtain advances on their wages because owners realized the workers might leave if they refused. Usually, the more skilled the worker, the greater the advance the employer was willing to provide.

Major wheat producing areas of Mexico were Puebla and its surrounding region, the Valley of Mexico, the Bajío, northern Michoacán, and the region surrounding Guadalajara. Regions adjacent to successful mines also grew wheat for the immediate market.

Livestock were initially raised close to Mexico City but slowly pushed north and west as agricultural production of wheat, in particular, occupied land close to population centers (see AGRICULTURE). Aside from urban markets, livestock were necessary to meet the demand of the MINING centers for meat, hides, and tallow. In the early 1580s, ranchers south of Querétaro had some 100,000 CATTLE, double that number of SHEEP, and perhaps 10,000 horses (see RANCHING). The CHICHIMECAS harried livestock as well as Spaniards during the second half of the 16th century, but by 1600, peace in the Gran Chichimeca opened the northern lands for livestock. By his death in 1618, Francisco de Urdiñola, an extraordinary miner, administrator, and rancher had amassed more than 11 million acres (4.5 million ha) of northern lands; much of the *latifundio* was in New Vizcaya, but it also extended southward toward Zacatecas.

While the native population was declining, the land available for agriculture and ranching met demand. As the number of indigenous people and *castas* increased again in the 18th century and especially the beginning of the 19th century, the amount of land available for their communal use was no longer adequate. This was particularly true in the Bajío, where drought created a scarcity of maize, which led to escalating prices. Drought and frost produced famines in 1785 and 1786, and an estimated 85,000 died as a result in the latter year. Recurrent scarcity occurred in the 1790s, and the shortages in 1809 and 1810 helped MIGUEL HIDALGO Y COSTILLA initiate the revolt that marks the beginning of Mexico's struggle for independence from Spain.

ARTISANS AND DOMESTIC TEXTILES

The civilizations of Central Mexico had a long history of producing outstanding decorative and utilitarian objects. The Spaniards' introduction of livestock and iron quickly expanded the supply of hides and opened up new areas for artisans. Although Spanish artisans at first tried to exclude Amerindians and *castas* from their craft guilds, they were ultimately unsuccessful, even though legislation supported their pretensions and, in the cases of silversmiths and goldsmiths, demanded that apprentices be able to document an unsullied lineage (*limpieza de sangre*).

In 1788, Mexico City had 54 craft guilds that covered a wide range of jobs in manufacturing and service. The

guild for masons was the largest with 2,015 members, 810 journeymen, and 1,205 apprentices. Tailors totaled 1,215, with 94 masters, 698 journeymen, and 423 apprentices. There were 825 carpenters, 137 lacemakers, 89 buttonhole makers, 110 ribbon makers, and 193 hatmakers. Silversmiths were 270 in number; an additional 69 men were silver sheet makers, and 22 made swords. Makers of gold wire drawers numbered 95, and 115 men were gilders. Shoemakers totaled 237; tanners were 167 in number. Candlemakers totaled 187. A variety of services were represented. These included 834 barbers and 200 hairdressers, 260 sculptors, 309 musicians, 11 architects, 513 grooms, 967 coachmen, and 1,209 carriers (*cargadores*). Not to be forgotten are artisans who made bronze bells that hung in churches all over Mexico.

While cloth predated their arrival, Spaniards introduced the unsavory manufactory known as the *obraje*. In 1600, *OBRAJES* in New Spain produced woolen cloth worth about 1.5 million pesos. Puebla and Mexico City were early centers of *obrajes*, but Querétaro and, from 1640, Coyoacán developed them as well. The expansion of *COMERCIO LIBRE* to New Spain in 1789 increased the market for Spanish and contraband English cottons. The war of independence opened Mexico to trade with Britain and spelled the end to *obrajes*.

Mexico also produced gunpowder for firearms and for blasting in the mines. The use of gunpowder for blasting rose exponentially in the 18th century. Miners at Zacatecas purchased only 13,000 pounds of powder in 1732. In contrast, miners at Guanajuato from 1778 to 1795 averaged 90,000 pounds annually. Alexander von Humboldt believed that about three-quarters of the amount produced at the royal manufactory was sold illicitly.

TOBACCO was grown in Mexico before the Spaniards arrived, but its use increased subsequently. In the 18th century, the Crown created a monopoly to oversee its planting and harvesting; its quality; the manufacture of cigars, cigarettes, and snuff; and its sale through state-operated dispensaries (see MONOPOLIES, ROYAL). Between 1765 and 1806, the value of harvests increased from 390,232 pesos to 1,378,016 pesos; the volume of tobacco registered with the monopoly rose from 1,768,851 pounds (804,023 kg) to 5,295,330 pounds (2,406,968 kg). The main areas of legal production after 1779 were Orizaba and Córdoba.

Although infrequently noted, the production of soap was important in Puebla, Mexico City, and Guadalajara. Puebla in the late 18th century produced almost 5 million pounds of hard soap a year.

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS

Silver was New Spain's most valuable export. By the early 1560s, mines at Zacatecas were employing the patio, or amalgamation, process to such an extent that smelting had been reduced to a complementary method of separating silver from ore. The advantage of amalgamation was

that it made even ore with a relatively low silver content worth processing. The disadvantage was that MERCURY had to be available in sufficient quantity at a price that made processing both possible and profitable.

Although POTOSÍ was the byword for silver mining, Mexican mines ultimately produced much more than those of CHARCAS and Peru. This resulted from higher-quality ore and lower operating costs, including a lower rate of TAXATION until 1736 and lower labor costs. Combined, these advantages provided a greater incentive for merchants, in particular, to invest in the rehabilitation of mines, for example, by digging adits for drainage. This investment resulted in mines of unprecedented size with large workforces in the closing years of colonial Mexico. New Spain also had many more mines—some 3,000—and a number of major silver mining camps rather than just the handful besides Potosí in South America. In addition, the quality of mercury Mexico received from ALMADÉN was higher than what Peruvian mines received from HUANCAMELICA. Mexico's growth in registered silver production has been divided into three periods: The first, 1559–1627, had an annual growth rate of 2.5 percent; in the second, 1628–1724, the rate was 1.2 percent; in the third, 1725–1809, the rate was between 1.2 and 1.4 percent.

The result was that Mexico's registered bullion (primarily silver) production surpassed that of Peru in the 1670s. Starting in 1701, in every decade except the 1760s, Mexican production rose to new heights. Several figures illustrate this. From 1701 to 1710, Mexican production was 48,299,649 pesos; from 1751 to 1760, it was 111,751,450; from 1801 to 1810, the total was 216,430,466 pesos. Peruvian production, in contrast, peaked in the 1790s at 97,450,758 pesos before declining from 1801 to 1810 to 72,298,090. Overall, from 1524 to 1810, Mexico produced almost 2 billion pesos (1,946,439,377) of registered bullion; Peru's total to 1810 was just under 1.5 billion pesos (1,469,339,035).

While silver was New Spain's best-known export, other items had external markets as well. These included COCHINEAL, hides, SUGAR, flour, and vanilla. The dominance of bullion was greatest in 1595, when it made up 95.6 percent of Mexico's total exports by value. In that year, cochineal was 2.8 percent and hides were 1.4 percent. Cochineal registered in Oaxaca in 1760 was 1,067,625 pounds (485,284 kg); the figure for 1770 was 1,043,437 pounds (474,290 kg); and for 1780, 1,385,437 pounds (629,744 kg), the largest amount between 1758 and 1821. Humboldt averred that, in times of peace in the late 18th century, cochineal was Mexico's second-ranked export. Although only 14 percent of the value of silver, it was nearly double the value of sugar and eight times the value of flour, the fourth-ranked export from Veracruz. By this time, tanned hides were well down the list with a value of 80,000 pesos, only one-thirtieth of cochineal's value of 2.4 million pesos. Vanilla was an even less important export, valued at 60,000 pesos. In 1786, cochineal ranked fourth among 21 American

items imported at CÁDIZ, behind silver, INDIGO from Guatemala, and funds from the royal tobacco monopoly. It exceeded CACAO from VENEZUELA, hides from Buenos Aires, and a variety of other items.

In the early decades of Spanish settlement in Mexico, merchants imported wine and olive oil, fabrics, pottery, tools, weapons, finished leather goods and harness ware, household furnishings, expensive foods and spices, kitchen ware and cutlery, hardware, glass, paper, books, a variety of luxury goods, and a host of other items. With the introduction of amalgamation for processing silver ore in the mid-16th century, mercury from Almadén immediately became a staple. By the end of the 16th century, locally produced versions of many once-imported items had displaced them. Although Mexican woolen cloth dominated the low end of the market, textiles, whether arriving as bolts of cloth and even some ready-made clothing from Europe or as silks from East Asia via Manila, became and remained the single most important class of imports.

ADMINISTRATION

The administrative system in place by 1560 expanded with colonization in northern Mexico but, aside from the addition of the TRIBUNAL OF ACCOUNTS in 1605 and the definitive creation of an *audiencia* for the Philippine Islands in 1595, changed little before the 18th century. Outside Mexico City and Guadalajara, royal administration was exercised through provincial officials generally known as *alcaldes mayores* (see *ALCALDE MAYOR*). Both Spanish municipalities and large indigenous villages had MUNICIPAL COUNCILS (*cabildos*) and a variety of local officials.

Alcaldes mayores were the link to royal administration for the majority of Mexico's inhabitants. Visitor General JOSÉ DE GÁLVEZ Y GALLARDO described them in 1771 as about 200 officials in the Audiencias of Mexico and Guadalajara who "generally do not overlook any means, however, unjust or extraordinary, that may be conducive to the accomplishment of their ends [of accumulating wealth]. Since they cannot attain their desire without evident harm to the interests of the king and of his vassals, they are equally prejudicial to the king's treasury and to his people."

Originally replacements for *encomenderos*, whose *encomiendas* had escheated to the Crown, and charged with ensuring that native tribute was collected, *alcaldes mayores*, as Gálvez indicated, quickly found ways to enhance their low salaries. A favored way was to represent merchants in Mexico City who had provided the bond the Crown required for each *alcalde mayor* before he could assume office. An *alcalde mayor* then monopolized commerce in his jurisdiction, extended raw materials on credit, and even provided cash loans to the indigenous people of the district. Payment and purchase of finished goods at low fixed prices that included interest on the advances yielded a tidy profit. Disagreeing with Gálvez's evaluation, the Crown's *FISCAL* in 1779 opined that of the

143 *alcaldías* in the Audiencia of Mexico, only 13, mostly in the cochineal-producing south, actually yielded a significant income; the majority barely got by while in office and could not put away earnings for the future.

As visitor general, Gálvez had tightened administration, brought about some personnel changes, and inaugurated an effective tobacco monopoly (see *VISITA*). In 1776, as minister of the Indies, he expanded the direct collection of excise duties, begun in 1754 for Mexico City, to 24 towns in New Spain, and revenues doubled within a few years (see *MINISTRY OF THE INDIES*). He was unable, however, to establish the intendency system in New Spain until 1786, the year before his death. Opponents of the system argued that it was unnecessary and would do little beyond adding another level of administration. Since *SUBDELEGADOS* dependent on Indian tribute for their inadequate salaries replaced the *alcaldes mayores*, the new system did not solve the problem of abuse of office at the district level. Revenues did not improve under the intendants, confirming the view expressed by Viceroy Antonio María de Bucareli and other critics.

CHURCH

The “spiritual conquest” of Mexico undertaken by FRANCISCANS, DOMINICANS, and AUGUSTINIANS and a sparse diocesan clergy was nearing its end in 1560. The arrival of the first JESUITS in 1572 opened a new chapter for the CATHOLIC CHURCH in New Spain. By that time, an archbishop sat in Mexico City and bishoprics had been created for Puebla, Guadalajara, Oaxaca, Chiapa, Michoacán, and Yucatán. In 1620, a bishopric was erected in Durango (Guadiana), New Vizcaya.

Although there was an attempt to replace friars with secular clergy in the 1570s, it required a concerted effort, begun only in 1749, to effect the change. The most dramatic event in the 18th-century church was the expulsion of the 562 Jesuits in New Spain in 1767. The action provoked rioting in San Luis Potosí and elsewhere, to which the government responded harshly.

In 1790, Mexico City had 517 diocesan priests, 867 regular clergy, and 26 members of the CATHEDRAL CHAPTER, in addition to 923 nuns and 59 pastors and assistant pastors. The number of parishes expanded in the 18th century. Between 1746 and the early 19th century, the Diocese of Mexico grew from 189 to 243 parishes. In the Bishopric of Guadalajara, the number went from 76 in 1708 to 122 in the early 19th century, although a few had been transferred from the Bishopric of Michoacán. In 1810, there were 6,827 diocesan and regular priests in the Viceroyalty of New Spain; about one-third served parishes. While some clerics lived very comfortably, others, especially in poor rural parishes, did not. Their ranks supplied some support for the Hidalgo revolt in 1810.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

The clergy, both regular and diocesan, provided most of the formal education in colonial Mexico. Primary and

secondary EDUCATION was available to boys and a small number of girls; higher education was a male preserve. After their arrival in 1572, the Jesuits established *COLEGIOS* in Mexico City, Puebla, Valladolid, and other locations; following their expulsion, other orders and sometimes civil authorities took over their educational institutions. The University of Mexico opened its doors in 1553 and enjoyed the right to confer all degrees in the *audiencia* district of Mexico (see *UNIVERSITIES*). The University of Guadalajara opened in the 1790s.

Education favored rote learning and deductive reasoning from authoritative sources. The basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught in the early years. Learning Latin was required for all boys planning to attend university. Theology and civil and canon law were the favored disciplines in higher education, although medicine attracted a few students. Faculty at the University of Mexico typically held other employment or benefited from other sources of income.

The first press in New Spain was publishing books from the 1530s. Many publications, including catechisms in Nahuatl and occasionally other native languages, were religious in nature. Other publications included eulogies of incoming viceroys, poetry read at poetic contests (*certámenes*), and legal materials. The Tribunal of the Inquisition had the responsibility of reviewing manuscripts prior to publication and censoring imported publications. As the career of Sor JUANA INÉS DE LA CRUZ illustrates, publishers in Spain sometimes brought out works by colonial authors.

Viceregal receptions, theatrical performances, poetry contests, and musical events added to the intellectual and cultural environment of Mexico City, in particular. In indigenous villages, clerics used music and theater as means of instruction.

Popular culture included music, dance, and public spectacles, for example, the activities associated with Corpus Christi throughout New Spain and the public entries of viceroys in Mexico City. Popular dances often were disapproved of by observing clergy. A visiting Italian described the songs as “quite shameless” but considered the dances “worse” for their “rather indecent gestures.” These joined singing, music, and drunkenness. He singled out the fandango, *chuchumbe*, *bamba*, and *guesito* as “all quite indecent” dances. Bullfights and cockfights, the latter invariably accompanied by betting, also vied for popular attention.

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Nicaragua With densely settled Pacific lowlands, lakes, naval stores, and highland GOLD fields, Nicaragua attracted Spaniards in the early 1520s; they founded the towns of Granada on Lake Nicaragua and León on Lake Managua at that time. Epidemic diseases between 1529 and 1534 may have reduced the native population by half. From the remainder, tens of thousands of Amerindians were enslaved and sent to PANAMA and then PERU; although banned by the New Laws of 1542 and despite another round of EPIDEMICS, the traffic continued until at least 1548. By 1560, the remaining indigenous population included some 6,000 tributaries, a small fraction of the number in 1520.

The appalling depopulation made land available for CATTLE and other livestock; MULES bred in Nicaragua were exported to Panama for many years. Efforts to promote COCHINEAL production in the late 16th and early 17th centuries came to naught. INDIGO production was more successful. Pine pitch harvested in the forests of New Segovia was briefly successful, with exports going to WINE producers in southern Peru.

The port of Realejo was a SHIPBUILDING center that competed with GUAYAQUIL in the 16th century but went into decline after 1610. It served as an exchange point for contraband TRADE in East Asian goods between New Spain and Peru after direct trade between them was banned in 1631. Nicaragua after 1560 could not find an export that would bring it prosperity and served largely as a source of supplies to Panama.

The creation of the INTENDANT system in New Spain in 1786 included an intendancy for Nicaragua, with its capital in León. At the beginning of the 19th century, the intendancy had a population of 159,000. Its capital had

a population of 7,571, which included 5,740 mulattoes, 1,061 whites, 626 mestizos, and 144 Amerindians (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*; *MULATO*).

Nicaragua joined cities throughout the Kingdom of GUATEMALA in declaring independence from Spain in 1821.

See also NICARAGUA (Vols. I, III, IV); UNITED PROVINCES OF CENTRAL AMERICA (Vol. III).

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nobility, colonial Excluding clerics, society in Spain and Portugal was divided by law and less formally by status, the distinction being between nobles and commoners. Nobles enjoyed tangible benefits, for example, exemption from the direct TAXATION or TRIBUTE (known as *pechos* in Castile) paid by commoners (*pecheros*). They also benefited from access to royal offices unavailable to commoners.

The source of such benefits resided in the medieval division of society into functional categories: those who fought (nobles), those who prayed (clerics), and those who labored and paid (commoners). Over time, “nobility” changed from being an individual attribute based on bearing arms and possessing military skills to an inherited and thus perpetuated status. While inherited nobility and the associated *LIMPIEZA DE SANGRE* were the norm, Spanish monarchs could and did bestow nobility upon commoners, typically successful professionals and merchants.

While sharing legal privileges, the Spanish nobility was divided internally into the highest nobles (grandees), other titled nobles (for example, counts and marquises), and the most numerous, untitled nobles, or hidalgos (see *HIDALGUÍA*). By 1560, the number of bona fide nobles who had immigrated to the New World was still small. Within colonial society, however, a de facto nobility had arisen in the form of *encomenderos* and the earliest settlers, their social rank based on participation in conquest (see *ENCOMIENDA*). Seen by these early colonists as equivalent to fighting in the Reconquista in Spain, receipt of rewards such as town lots in new municipalities, and, more broadly, exemption from any form of tribute confirmed their elevated standing, at least in their minds.

A miniscule number of titled nobles and their untitled sons did go to NEW SPAIN and PERU as VICEROYS, but most titles in the colonies were the consequence of royal grants and, in some cases, sales to men who had either made fortunes or performed services to the Crown that warranted exceptional reward. While many recipients of titles were PENINSULARS, the titles themselves routinely passed to CREOLE heirs.

Even the highest-ranked colonial nobles differed from those in Spain in one crucial way: They lacked legal jurisdiction over vassals. *Encomenderos* sought this authority, but the Crown steadfastly refused to allow the emergence of a New World equivalent to the high nobility in Spain.

Although New Spain was always more populous than Peru and surpassed the southern viceroyalty in production of SILVER in the 1670s, the size of the titled nobility in LIMA surpassed that of MEXICO CITY. Francisco Pizarro received the first title in Peru in 1537. Of 115 additional titles granted during colonial rule, 64 went directly to creoles. While the Crown had granted only four titles in Peru by 1659 and a total of nine by 1679, it granted 27 between 1680 and 1699 and thereafter never granted fewer than four in a decade until the 1790s. The census of 1790 showed 49 titled nobles in Lima. The Crown granted 13 titles in New Spain during Habsburg rule and 46 more between 1700 and 1808. In GUATEMALA, only one title was granted during the colonial era. Independent governments soon abolished all titles of nobility throughout Spanish America.

Despite the wealth of SUGAR planters in BRAZIL, the Portuguese Crown neither bestowed nor sold titles of nobility on them and allowed only a few nobles to create entails on their property (*morgados*). Mostly commoner in origin, the planter class was unable to become a recognized nobility with the associated privileges and exemptions.

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Nóbrega, Manoel da (b. 1517–d. 1570) *Portuguese Jesuit leader in Brazil* Born in Portugal, Manoel da Nóbrega studied at the Universities of Salamanca and Coimbra, was ordained, and in 1544 joined the Society of Jesus. In 1549, he led the first group of six JESUITS to BRAZIL, accompanying the large expedition of settlers brought by the new governor, Tomé de Sousa, and soon based in the new town of SALVADOR DA BAHIA. During the next several years, Nóbrega traveled Brazil, encouraging the creation of MISSIONS and COLEGIOS. Jesuits had already built a church and residence in São Vicente, which Nóbrega considered an excellent base for their activities. Accordingly, he encouraged the establishment of a mission at what became SÃO PAULO in 1553.

As provincial of the Society of Jesus in Brazil, Nóbrega immediately began to Christianize the indigenous people, an effort helped by Father Juan de

Aspilcueta Navarro’s translation of prayers and songs into Tupí. Christianization meant Europeanization, and Nóbrega worked to get NATIVE AMERICANS to end their habitual warring and consumption of prisoners, as well as to wear clothing, repeatedly pleading for skirts for women to be sent from Portugal. He also set about trying to remedy the bad example set by Portuguese settlers, especially their failure to remain monogamous.

Nóbrega encouraged the creation of ALDEIAS, or mission villages, for the indigenous to provide an environment in which daily participation in Christian learning would prevent backsliding. The Amerindians in the villages also provided labor to sustain the village and its Jesuit fathers. The arrival of governor general MEM DE SÁ in 1558 and a new bishop, Pedro Leitão, in 1559 brought needed support for the use of *aldeias*. Colonists, not surprisingly, opposed the protection *aldeias* afforded the indigenous and coveted free access to their labor. A decree issued in March 1570 prohibited the enslavement of Amerindians in Brazil, but even Nóbrega came to believe that the use of force was necessary to “civilize” them.

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Nombre de Dios Established as a Spanish municipality in 1510, the port of Nombre de Dios is located on the Atlantic coast of PANAMA about 15 miles (24 km) east of PORTOBELLO. The port had a poor harbor and was known for its uncomfortable heat, humidity, bad water, diseases, and high mortality rate. A 1588 report asserted that more than 46,000 people had died in Nombre de Dios since 1519. Initially, few ships from Spain called there; in the early 1540s, only some 15 arrived annually with goods from Spain, including WINE, textiles, oil, and flour.

With Spanish SILVER MINING at POTOSÍ and the creation in the 1560s of a fleet system that included a convoy of galleons for the South American trade, Nombre de Dios became the official port through which passed the silver and less important trade items of PERU bound for Spain and imports destined for buyers in the Kingdom of QUITO, Peru, CHARCAS, CHILE, PARAGUAY, and the other provinces of the Río de la Plata region. MULE trains were routinely used to carry silver and GOLD from Panama to the mouth of the Chagres River; it then required a two-day trip by ship to Nombre de Dios. Trading fairs began in the 1550s when FLEETS arrived. By the mid-1570s, the temporary presence of several thousand people facilitated the exchange of goods.

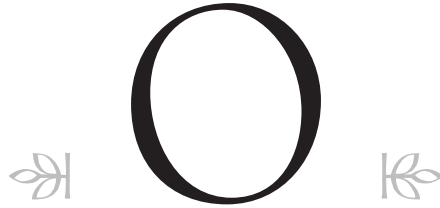
Corsairs increasingly frequented the coast around Nombre de Dios in the 1560s and 1570s. Between 1569 and 1571, 13 attacks occurred on shipping in the Chagres River. Escaped slaves attacked the transit route as well as Nombre de Dios. In 1572, the English corsair Francis Drake led a small expedition to Nombre de Dios but was

ultimately driven back. In the following year, he captured a mule train carrying bullion. After his success in a third effort in 1595, the Crown ordered the pillaged town replaced and its remaining inhabitants moved in 1597 to the new municipality of PORTOBELLO, henceforth Panama's CARIBBEAN terminus for the fleet.

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obrajes Castilians brought to the Americas expertise in raising SHEEP and the knowledge and technology for turning raw wool into cloth. Francisco de Peñafiel, an immigrant artisan from near Segovia, Spain, opened NEW SPAIN's first woolen textile mill, or *obraje*, in PUEBLA in 1539. MEXICO CITY, Valladolid, Texcoco, and Tlaxcala also became important production centers in the 16th century, and the first mill in Querétaro was established in the 1580s. Puebla and Tlaxcala were contracting by mid-17th century. While Mexico City and Coyoacán continued to be important, they were surpassed by the BAJÍO (specifically in Querétaro and San Miguel el Grande, present-day San Miguel de Allende) over the course of the 17th century.

Sheep were plentiful in the Bajío in the 17th century and provided a dependable supply of wool for *obraje* owners. Over time, however, owners had to obtain supplies from more distant locations, and prices rose for both raw wool and TRANSPORTATION. During the 18th century, the price of raw wool tripled.

Obraje owners were particularly interested in low-cost labor. Before 1630, most *obraje* workers were Amerindians paid wages and not held by DEBT PEONAGE. Indigenous labor became less important from 1630 to 1750, declining to less than 10 percent of the workforce as black slaves, in particular, replaced them (see SLAVERY). Slaves, whether owned or rented by *obraje* owners, became skilled laborers but were gradually replaced by indebted workers during the 18th century and were largely gone by the 1790s. In the *obrajes* of Querétaro, Amerindian labor was initially predominant, before black slaves became so. This changed in the 1640s, and thereafter, the slave population was most important at least into the 18th century. Some slaves still worked in Querétaro's *obrajes* in 1810.

In New Spain, the initial *obrajes* were manufactories that turned raw wool into cloth, usually for a local or regional market. They used a variety of laborers, including subsidized, unfree workers made available by civil authorities, as well as slaves and skilled free laborers. Although a few *obrajes* worked with cotton, artisan weavers using individual looms (*telares sueltos*) produced most of the cotton cloth in New Spain. Some wove at home, others in small shops known as *obradores* and *trapiches*. NATIVE AMERICANS made almost all of the clothing they wore. Cotton production expanded after 1750, and by the beginning of the 19th century, about 1.5 million part-time producers in the cotton industry wove cloth worth about 3 million pesos. The primary market for *obrajes* was the substantial group of consumers between the indigenous people who wore homespun cloth and those who purchased imported luxury fabrics.

Owners of *obrajes*, at least in Querétaro, typically had diversified economic interests, which might include TRADE, RANCHING, and sometimes officeholding. To be successful, they needed capital, a dependable supply of wool, an effective distribution system, and low labor costs.

The AUDIENCIA district of QUITO became a major center for textile production on the basis of *obrajes* in the city of Quito, Latacunga, and Riobamba. The indigenous had long woven wool from llamas and other cameloids. The introduction and rapid increase of merino sheep on highland pasture greatly expanded the wool supply. Textile mills in Quito expanded rapidly in the last third of the 16th century and especially in the early 17th century to take advantage of cheap wool, a substantial population of indigenous laborers, a market for cloth at the SILVER MINING center of POTOSÍ in CHARCAS, and a market around Quito itself. As in New

Spain, owners depended on cheap labor, and many paid workers in overpriced goods, thus binding them through debt peonage. Prodded by *encomenderos*, Amerindian communities established mills in order to earn a cash income with which to pay TRIBUTE, although privately owned mills proved more profitable and lasted longer (see *ENCOMIENDA*). By 1690, there were more than 100 privately owned mills.

Quito's *obrajes* flourished for decades; some 10,000 workers produced more than 200,000 *varas* (one *vara* equals 33 inches [84 cm]) of blue cloth worth 1–2 million pesos at retail. In the late 17th century, however, a demographic crisis brought on by drought, famine, and disease in the years 1691–95, a devastating earthquake in 1698, continued decline in registered mining production in PERU and Charcas, and competition from textile mills located closer to the mining centers combined to drive highland Quito into depression. The massive importation of French textiles during the first years of the 18th century and subsequent competition from foreign textiles worsened conditions. The production of Quito's textile industry declined between 50 and 75 percent over the course of the 18th century.

The widespread importation of inexpensive foreign, especially British, textiles brought an end to *obrajes* in the early 19th century.

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oficios vendibles y renunciables Following the Crown's bankruptcy in 1557, PHILIP II extended in 1558 the sale of *oficios vendibles y renunciables* (offices that could be bought and transferred) from Castile to the INDIES. Initially, positions were sold for life, but later, the Crown was willing to allow owners to bequeath them to heirs on payment of a fee. Proceeds from the sales and transfers went to the royal treasury (REAL HACIENDA), ensuring the Crown a modest source of income.

The first offices sold were those of notary (*escribano*) and municipal standard-bearer (*alférez*). The former could be sold for life, the latter, in perpetuity. In 1581, Philip agreed that purchasers of the office of notary could

renounce the post on payment of a sum equal to one-third of its value. A decade later, he authorized the sale of the post of municipal alderman (*REGIDOR*) and other municipal offices for one lifetime.

PHILIP III completed in 1606 the process begun by his father. Henceforth, the list of salable positions included all fee-collecting, honorific, and municipal offices. Purchasers would own the positions and could renounce them on payment of the requisite tax. The initial renunciation carried a tax of half of the office's value; subsequent renunciations were taxed at a rate of one-third. The new policy ensured that local families throughout the colonies could legally maintain an inheritable and prominent presence in local offices.

The implementation of the 1606 policy meant that native sons of the district inherited positions and dominated local officeholding. In MEXICO CITY, CREOLES from NEW SPAIN made up the majority of alderman after 1590. In 17th-century LIMA, creoles from PERU constituted more than 70 percent of the aldermen.

The decision to permit resignations and transfers immediately pushed up the value of salable positions. For example, alderman posts in Mexico almost doubled in value in the early 17th century. The fee-earning potential of a post affected price as well. The post and associated rights of chief constable of the TRIBUNAL OF ACCOUNTS in Mexico City sold for the very high price of 45,000 pesos in 1655.

The sale of *oficios vendibles y renunciables* was most important for the influence it afforded in local administration. The practice continued into the 19th century, being abolished in Mexico in 1861 by interim president Benito Juárez. There was no equivalent practice in BRAZIL.

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O'Higgins, Bernardo (b. 1778–d. 1842) *creole liberator and president of Chile* Born in Chillán, CHILE, to Ambrosio O'Higgins, INTENDANT of Concepción and future captain general of Chile and VICEROY of PERU, Bernardo O'Higgins was sent to England for his education. There, he fell under the influence of FRANCISCO DE MIRANDA, the forceful advocate of Spanish-American independence. By the late 1790s, he was one of very few Chileans committed to independence of their homeland. He returned to Chile in 1802 to an HACIENDA inherited from his father.

The political crisis initiated with the abdication of FERDINAND VII in 1808 and the struggle against Napoleonic France by subsequent governments of resistance in Spain resulted in the deposition of Captain

General Francisco Antonio García Carrasco in SANTIAGO DE CHILE on July 16, 1810, and his replacement by Mateo de Toro Zambrano. A *CABILDO ABIERTO* convoked on September 18, 1810, produced a junta in which CREOLES held a majority of seats. This body proclaimed its rule in the name of Ferdinand VII, but O'Higgins and a few other radicals, including Juan Martínez de Rozas, sought absolute independence. In 1810, O'Higgins decided to support Martínez de Rozas with a militia and the following year was elected to the congress that began meeting in Santiago on July 4, 1811.

In the political kaleidoscope of the next several years, family factions struggled for power. José Miguel Carrera, a young officer with service in the war against the French in Spain, secured the most MILITARY backing and emerged as Chile's first military caudillo, dissolving congress. After Carrera deported Martínez de Rozas in 1812, O'Higgins, based in southern Chile, succeeded the radical as leader of the constitutional faction and, following the arrival of troops sent by Peru's viceroy JOSÉ FERNANDO DE ABASCAL Y SOUSA in December 1813, accepted an appointment as commander in chief of Chile's forces. With civil war between the forces of O'Higgins and Carrera, the royalists' veteran troops were successful at the Battle of Rancagua on October 1–2, 1814, and both O'Higgins and Carrera fled into exile. With Ferdinand VII restored in Spain, the royalists reestablished pre-1808 institutions in an environment of harsh reprisals against the rebels, which worsened when Francisco Casimiro Marcó del Pont became governor in 1815.

Meanwhile, in late 1814, JOSÉ DE SAN MARTÍN had begun assembling and training the Army of the Andes in Mendoza. O'Higgins joined him in 1816 with the understanding that he would become the head of government in independent Chile. The invasion was launched in January 1817 and following victories at CHACABUCO on February 12, 1817, and MAIPÓ on April 5, 1818, and despite a loss at Cancha Rayada on March 19, 1818, the Army of the Andes was successful. O'Higgins became supreme director of independent Chile, already proclaimed from Talca on February 12, 1818. He remained in power until forced out on January 28, 1823, by a revolt led by General Ramón Freire, intendant of Concepción.

Aside from O'Higgins's role in winning Chilean independence, his most important contribution was to support San Martín's invasion of Peru. As both men appreciated, until Peru was independent, Spanish South America would not be safe (see SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA, INDEPENDENCE OF).

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oidor *Oidores* were ministers who served on every *AUDIENCIA* in Spain and the INDIES. Their counterparts in Portugal and BRAZIL were *desembargadores* who served on the *RELAÇÕES*. *Oidores* were university-trained jurists; almost without exception, they had at least a baccalaureate degree in civil or canon law, and many held the higher degree of licentiate or doctorate as well.

While PENINSULARS received all *audiencia* appointments until the late 16th century, at least 68 CREOLES obtained them from 1585 to 1659; another 43 were named from 1660 to 1687. The high point of creole appointments occurred between 1687 and 1750, with 139 Americans accounting for 44 percent of *audiencia* appointments. In contrast, only 62 creoles, just 23 percent of the total, were named between 1751 and 1808. From 1809 to 1821, however, 61 creole appointees accounted for 52 percent of the total.

The most notable period of creole appointments occurred from 1687 to 1750, when the Spanish Crown systematically sold appointments as *oidor* to the American tribunals during every period of war. Creole *LETRADOS* in particular took advantage of these opportunities and entered the *audiencias* in unprecedented numbers, notably in the Audiencia of Lima. Not until 1803 was the last purchaser off the court.

Native sons, men named to their home court, were most evident from 1710 to 1715 and again from 1745 to 1770. The Audiencia of Lima alone had no fewer than 10 native sons holding appointments between 1745 and 1765. In contrast, the Audiencia of Mexico had no native sons in 1745 and only two in 1765. Adding *radicados*, non-native sons who were on the tribunals for five or more years or had confirmed local ties, local influence between 1687 and 1820 ranged from highs of 86 percent in 1755 and 1760 to a low of 20 percent in 1780. In short, the courts, led by their *oidores*, were significant repositories of local influence in colonial administration for protracted periods of time.

While *oidores* are most commonly thought of as judges, they had other responsibilities as well. For example, they sat with an *audiencia* district's chief executive as an advisory body (*real acuerdo*) whose decisions had the force of law unless reversed by the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES. *Oidores* also undertook inspection tours (*VISITAS*) and served a variety of commissions, for example, as governor of HUANCAVELICA or judge for a merchant guild (*CONSULADO*).

Oidores were the most numerous group in the hierarchy of advancement among the *audiencias*. They outranked *fiscales* in every tribunal and, indeed, held the rank to which *fiscales* were typically promoted (see *FISCAL*). Although no *audiencia* minister passed through every step of the hierarchy or ladder of promotion (*ascenso*), in general, advancement began from the tribunals in SANTO DOMINGO, PANAMA, and Manila; proceeded through a court in GUADALAJARA, GUATEMALA, CHILE, QUITO, Santa Fe de BOGOTÁ, or CHARCAS; and culminated on the

viceregal tribunal of LIMA or MEXICO CITY. The expansion of the number of *audiencias* in the 1780s placed the tribunals of CARACAS, BUENOS AIRES, and CUZCO below those of Lima and Mexico City. While the Crown made initial appointments of *oidor* to every court, relatively few men started their *audiencia* careers in the two premier viceregal courts. Beginning in the 1770s, *oidores* were named to the new position of regent on most of the tribunals. From the following decade, it became common for regents to advance to the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES.

As prominent government officials who ranked below only the president and, from the 1770s, the regent of the court, *oidores* enjoyed significant prestige, received a relatively good salary, and, barring serious abuse of office, held a royal post for life or until retirement. The Crown encouraged this recognition but simultaneously knew that the ability to render impartial decisions and advice was compromised when *oidores* served in the *audiencia* district of their birth or established extensive local ties. Consequently, from the mid-16th century onward, extensive legislation forbade *oidores* or their children to marry locally or hold real property without a specific royal dispensation, often obtained for a price.

The wars of independence brought an end to the colonial *audiencias*. In general, the peninsulars on the courts returned to Spain, and the creoles remained in the emerging countries.

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Olañeta, Pedro Antonio (b. 1770–d. 1825) *Spanish businessman and royalist general in Charcas* Born in Elgueta, Guipúzcoa, Spain, Pedro Antonio Olañeta immigrated to RÍO DE LA PLATA in 1789 with an uncle. In the late 18th century, he lived in Salta, where he was a successful businessman engaged in TRADE between Salta and POTOSÍ. After the war of independence began, he served as an officer under JOSÉ MANUEL DE GOYENCHE Y BARREDA and then under General JOAQUÍN DE LA PEZUELA in efforts to retain CHARCAS for the king.

After JOSÉ DE SAN MARTÍN had reached PERU, Generals José de La Serna, Jerónimo de Valdés, and José de Canterac moved troops to the north and, in 1820, left Olañeta in charge of the royalist army in Charcas. The constitutionalist generals then engineered a successful coup against Viceroy Pezuela in late January 1821. Receiving word that FERDINAND VII had been restored to absolutist rule in Spain on October 1, 1823, Olañeta defected, turning against Viceroy La Serna and his confederate generals Canterac and Valdés. He then pro-

ceeded to establish an independent ultraroyalist regime in Charcas, ousting the constitutionalists.

Sent to put down the rebellion, General Valdés recognized that Olañeta enjoyed ample local support and, on March 9, 1824, agreed that the royalist would remain as commander of his army but must recognize viceregal authority and send troops to support the conflict against the forces of the Republic of Peru. When Valdés left, Olañeta reneged on his agreement, denying La Serna's authority. The result was civil war among the royalists and the prevention of Valdés's forces from participating in the BATTLE OF JUNÍN.

On February 11, 1824, Olañeta entered the city of LA PLATA, proclaiming absolute monarchy and enjoying support from local aristocrats and his relatives. The regime was short lived, however, as Antonio José de Sucre advanced into Charcas and soon attracted support from many CREOLES. At the Battle of Tumusla on April 1, 1825, Olañeta was mortally wounded and his forces defeated. After this victory, no more battles were necessary. The republicans had triumphed.

See also SUCRE, ANTONIO JOSÉ DE (Vol. III).

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orders, military and civil The principal military orders of Spain—Alcántara, Calatrava, and Santiago—were founded in the 12th century as part of the Christian reconquest of Spain over the Moors (Reconquista). Emerging with substantial estates, income, and jurisdiction, they came under royal control during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. Adrian VI provided papal confirmation of this relationship in 1523, and the Crown created the Council of Orders to oversee their properties and incomes, as well as the entry of new knights. The incorporation of the orders in the Crown provided a significant source of patronage, which included ENCOMIENDAS and knighthoods (*hábitos*). In the early 16th century, there were approximately 180 *comendadores* (knights with *encomiendas*) with incomes and more than 1,000 knights without that source of income.

The Order of Charles III was created in 1771 to reward meritorious civil servants; 60 awards would be great crosses, and 200 recipients would be pensioned; beginning in 1783, the king granted supernumerary knighthoods as well. The Order of Noble Women of the Queen María Luisa was created in 1792 to recognize WOMEN of distinguished service or lineage. The Royal Order of Isabel the Catholic was created in 1815 to recognize meritorious service in the Americas.

Portugal had three military orders: Christ, Santiago, and Avis (see AVIS DYNASTY). In 1363, King Peter I named his illegitimate son John as master of Avis at the age of seven; he was the first son of a monarch to enjoy the honor. From 1434 to 1550, sons, brothers, nephews, or first cousins of monarchs held the masterships of all three orders. In 1550, King John III became master of the three orders; Pope Julius III sanctioned this in 1551 for John and his successors.

Not all men awarded knighthoods actually entered an order. Candidates for Portuguese orders had to be of legitimate and noble birth and descent, including both pairs of grandparents; none of the three generations could have Muslim, Jewish, New Christian (*CONVERSO*) or heathen ancestors. In addition, candidates were to be between the ages of 18 and 50 and were never to have worked as an artisan or in manual labor.

Knighthoods in Spain's military orders were to be granted by the monarchs in recognition of outstanding service to the Crown. By the 17th century, however, the service was often financial or performed by a recipient's father or uncle. The Portuguese Crown also expanded the original requirements for members, ultimately allowing royal administrators, merchants, physicians, and even seafarers to enter an order despite the regulations requiring ancestors through grandparents to be noble and the candidate to be of legitimate birth (see *LIMPIEZA DE SANGRE*). As in Castile, elaborate genealogical proofs (*pruebas*) were required. Although the king granted dispensations from impediments, the Portuguese Crown in the 16th and 17th centuries did not sell knighthoods on the scale carried out in Castile.

A close study of the membership in the Order of Christ has identified 3,710 new members between 1510 and 1621 and suggested a figure of 4,066 to account for missing or underreported years. From 1550 to 1750, about 2,000 new members entered the Order of Santiago in Portugal.

The first *comendadores* and knights in the New World were not far behind Christopher Columbus. Nicolás de Ovando was among the earliest *comendadores* to reach the Americas, arriving in 1502. New Spain's first VICEROY, Antonio de Mendoza, was a knight of Santiago.

The Crown awarded few knighthoods to men in the colonies in the 16th century. Conquistadores Hernando Cortés and Francisco Pizarro were among the exceptional cases. Spaniards born in the colonies had received only 16 *hábitos* by 1600. By 1820, however, the Crown had awarded CREOLES 516 knighthoods of Santiago, 164 of Calatrava, and 80 of Alcántara. Of the 152 Americans who entered the Order of Charles III by 1820, 92 did so during the years 1791–1800. Men from the AUDIENCIA district of LIMA were the most successful in becoming knights, far outstripping men from the *audiencia* districts of Mexico and GUADALAJARA combined.

The knighthoods of the military orders were important because they confirmed a family's nobility and unsu-

lied ancestry. They elevated the simple noble (*hidalgo*) within the Castilian hierarchy of nobility. A knight also had to obtain royal permission to marry in order to document the bride's purity of blood.

The first Afro-Brazilian to enter the Portuguese Order of Santiago was probably a mulatto, so honored in 1628 as a reward for his service in fighting the Dutch in BAHIA in 1624 and 1625 (see *MULATO*). By 1700, only 39 men born in BRAZIL had entered the Orders of Santiago and Avis.

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Ouro Prêto See VILA RICA DO OURO PRÊTO.

Oviedo, Gonzalo Fernández de (b. 1478–d. 1557) *Spanish chronicler of the Indies* A noble who served as a page to Prince Juan, heir to Ferdinand and Isabella until his death in 1497, Oviedo was suddenly forced to “wander through the world” seeking an income. He spent time in Italy and, in 1514, accompanied Pedrarias Dávila's expedition to Darien as notary and treasury official. Returning to Spain, he published, in 1525, *Sumario de la natural historia de las Indias*. He received an appointment in 1532 as constable of the royal fortress at SANTO DOMINGO on HISPANIOLA. He was also named royal chronicler of the Indies. The publication of approximately the first third of *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (General and natural history of the Indies) in 1535 added to his reputation, but he was unable to obtain a license when he returned to Spain in 1548 to publish the remainder of the work; it finally appeared in the 19th century.

Oviedo's natural history not only described plants and animals of the colonies but also recounted the exploration, conquests, and civil wars in Peru. He exalted the accomplishments of the Spaniards in the New World, none more than those of Hernando Cortés, conqueror of Mexico. God had favored the Spaniards and led them to the Americas and success. At the same time, Oviedo recognized the cruelty and destruction that accompanied conquest, the greed of the conquistadores, and their frequent movement to new frontiers at the expense of creating new homelands. The result was that merchants, lawyers, notaries, judges, and clerics were the beneficiaries of the conquistadores' successes.

In his early writings, Oviedo was highly critical of the NATIVE AMERICANS in the Indies. Among other things, he considered them cannibals and sodomists, lazy, cowardly, inclined to vice and evil, and incapable of becoming true Christians. His views changed somewhat over time, but overall his negative evaluations were stronger. Indeed, he

considered that the destruction of the indigenous people by disease, overwork, and abuse was divine punishment for their many sins. This attitude clashed with the favorable evaluation of Bartolomé de Las Casas that was triumphant at Court in the 1540s and was responsible for the denial of a license to publish the remainder of Oviedo's *Historia general y natural*. Nonetheless, Oviedo's detailed descriptions of plants and animals of the New

World and the facts he recorded have made his volumes important historical documents.

See also CHRONICLERS (Vol. I).

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Palafox y Mendoza, Juan de (b. 1600– d. 1659)
Spanish bishop of Puebla Born in Fitero, Navarre, Spain, an illegitimate son of Jaime de Palafox, an Aragonese noble, Palafox studied law at the University of Salamanca and followed a career in state and church. After an appointment as *FISCAL* of the Council of War, he was named *fiscal* of the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES in 1629 and advanced as a councilor of the Indies in 1633, a position he held in absentia after being named bishop of PUEBLA and visitor general of New Spain in 1539 and until being named bishop of Osma in 1653. He reached Puebla in June 1640.

Palafox was an active reformer who sought to reinvigorate the religious life of the diocese. Central to his agenda was bringing the religious orders under his jurisdiction. The result was a protracted dispute with the JESUITS.

As a secular cleric, Palafox supported the Crown's position that the *DOCTRINAS DE INDIOS* and missions of the Jesuits, FRANCISCANS, DOMINICANS, and AUGUSTINIANS should be placed under the bishops' control, transferring 36 parishes to secular clergy. Palafox recognized the adverse financial implications for the secular clergy of large, wealthy, and expanding Jesuit properties in the diocese. The orders, of course, opposed the transfer and the idea of being subject to a bishop. Particularly unpalatable to the Jesuits was the notion that the product of their HACIENDAS should be liable for the tithe.

With a royal appointment stating that he could serve as interim VICEROY if he thought circumstances warranted it, Palafox removed Viceroy duque de Escalona on suspicion of partiality to the Portuguese and ruled from June 8 to November 23, 1642. The arrival of the new viceroy, the count of Salvatierra, reversed the tables. The new

executive supported the Jesuits, and Palafox fled to escape arrest, emerging only when the Crown ruled in his favor. The victory was short lived, however, for Palafox was named bishop of Osma in November 1653. He yielded his office in Puebla the following year and returned to Spain, where he died in Osma.

As bishop, Palafox oversaw the completion of the Puebla cathedral in 1649, the construction of numerous churches, a seminary, and a convent. Also an author, his works were published in 15 volumes in 1762. Although a lengthy effort to canonize Palafox began in 1726, the Jesuits opposed it, and in 1777, Pius VI declined to conclude the process.

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palenque See *QUILOMBO*.

Palmares The longest surviving and most populous fugitive slave community (*mocambo*) in Brazilian history was Palmares (see *SLAVERY*). Located in the interior of southern PERNAMBUCO, it was established no later than 1606 and probably earlier. At its height, it had an estimated population of 30,000.

Although runaway slaves brought to BRAZIL from Central Africa may have predominated initially, by the mid-17th century, Palmares had a multiethnic population that included numerous blacks born in Brazil, NATIVE AMERICANS, and persons who had been captured in raids.

Palmares employed Central African practices and rituals, following an Angolan institution known as Kilombo, to bring together a community without common lineage for purposes of defense, raiding, and economic production. By the mid-1640s, Palmares consisted of 10 enclaves, including the royal enclave that was the residence of a principal chief, or king.

The biggest threat Palmares posed to Dutch, Portuguese, and Brazilian settlers was simply its existence. Planters complained that their slaves fled to Palmares and that, in addition, *palmaristas* raided their lands. The probable reason was to seize WOMEN, who were in relatively short supply in the enclaves.

During its existence, the *mocambo* repelled countless expeditions. It lasted until a force of 6,000, including a mercenary group of slave hunters from São Paulo led by Domingos Jorge Velho, finally triumphed in the mid-1690s (see *BANDEIRAS*). By that time, the lands of Palmares were coveted. Indeed, promises of land grants were an important inducement for the *paulistas*.

Brazilians of African descent celebrate the existence of Palmares and laud its last leader, Zumbi, as the country's most important Afro-Brazilian hero.

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Panama In the colonial era, the name *Panama* applied both to a city, now called Panama City, and the jurisdiction of a small *AUDIENCIA* district. Panama was most important because it connected the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Thus, it served as the primary transit site for merchandise carried by the galleons from Spain to the ports of NOMBRE DE DIOS and later PORTOBELO on its northern coast, and SILVER brought from PERU to the city of Panama on its southern coast.

Only the substantial profits to be made from the fleet system induced Spaniards to reside in Panama (see *FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM*). Its climate was oppressive and even deadly. A 17th-century observer noted: "it is so humid here that it rains all year long and owing to this the country is very sickly, suffering from fevers and bloody hemorrhages, which are a great problem." One commentator claimed in 1588 that more than 46,000 people had died in Nombre de Dios alone since 1519.

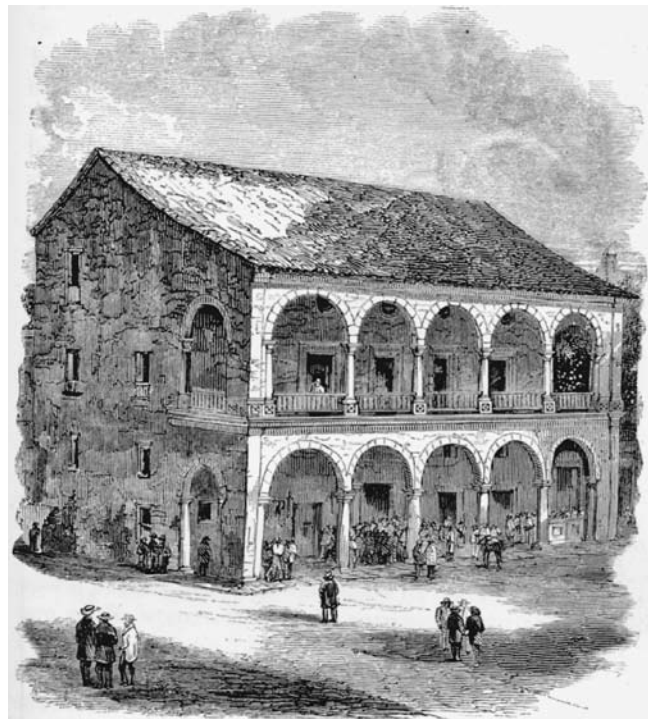
Panama City was founded in 1519 by Pedro Arias de Ávila (Pedrarias) and about 400 men with him. In the following decade, most of the indigenous people perished, but from 1532 to 1540, the city served as a way station for the Spanish conquest and settlement of Peru. After the latter date, its existence was tied to the fleet system. Its

location offered two advantages: Its climate was superior to that of Nombre de Dios, and it was more difficult for FOREIGNERS to attack.

Panama City's population between 1570 and 1676 was approximately 200 to 600 *VECINOS*; in contrast, Portobelo between 1597 and 1789 rarely had more than 50. With a negligible native population by 1540, Panama relied on the importation of African slaves for labor (see *SLAVERY*). It normally had between 3,000 and 5,000 slaves, although thousands more were imported for re-exportation to Peru.

After a brief existence from 1538 to 1543, the Audiencia of Panama was definitively created in 1564 and, except for the years 1718–23, remained in existence until 1751 when it was clear that the fleet system for South America would not be reestablished. Its chief executive was initially a president with a degree in law, but starting in 1604 governors of TIERRA FIRME without legal training headed the *audiencia*, with the major responsibilities of overseeing the defense of the isthmus and matters related to the TRADE fairs that were held in Nombre de Dios or Portobelo when the fleet was in port. A royal treasury office was also located in the city of Panama, as was a MUNICIPAL COUNCIL; a second municipal council was in Portobelo. The treasurer in Panama City sent a lieutenant to Portobelo to oversee TAXATION at the trade fairs.

By 1550, Panama City had been the home to a bishop for nearly 30 years. Its cathedral had a small chapter,



The municipal council building of Panama housed local government. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

but overall, the diocesan clergy was less important and more impoverished than clerics in the religious orders. Between 1519 and 1671, 10 of 20 bishops were members of religious orders. The orders' residences were important in providing lodging for friars on their way to Peru.

Despite its dependence on trade and the transit of goods across the isthmus, Panama had a miserable TRANSPORTATION system. There were two routes to cover the 18 leagues from Panama to the Atlantic ports. The Royal Road (Camino Real) went north from Panama to Nombre de Dios; the other road (Camino de Cruces) went more northwesterly to Venta de Cruces on the Chagres River, where goods were loaded on rivercraft, taken down the river, and then sent eastward along the coast to Nombre de Dios and, after 1597, to the closer Portobelo. Although freight costs were higher, the Camino Real was favored for transporting bullion because the river was indefensible against pirates. Merchants were more apt to use the river route for bulky goods.

MULES provided overland passage in Panama. Annually, as many as 1,000 mules, usually from EL SALVADOR and NICARAGUA, and the MAIZE to feed them arrived in Panama. In a normal year, about 1,000 mules, making one to three trips and carrying about 200 pounds (91 kg), were needed to transport goods from the trade fair. In many years, the cost of mules came to more than the defense of Panama.

The Peruvian silver transported across the isthmus drew international attention and envy. Between 1569 and 1571, some 13 corsair attacks took almost 340,000 pesos worth of goods from barges on the Chagres River. Francis Drake attacked Nombre de Dios in 1572 and then the mule train carrying Peruvian silver. Escaped slaves were eager to cooperate with corsairs and facilitated their success. Drake attacked Nombre de Dios in December 1595 but was unable to cross the isthmus to Panama City. Among many other attacks, those by HENRY MORGAN were particularly successful. In 1668, he captured Portobelo, and in 1671 he took Panama City. The devastation resulting from the BUCCANEERS' presence was so extensive that survivors subsequently relocated the city.

Taxes on silver also attracted attention. Merchants showed considerable ingenuity in working with corrupt officials to send unregistered, and hence more valuable, silver to Spain or, frequently, simply to the bay of CÁDIZ where it was offloaded by foreign merchants to pay for illegal merchandise purchased on CREDIT. The extent of contraband will never be known, but many sources suggest it was enormous in the latter half of the 17th century.

Although the Crown tried to resurrect the fleet system in the 18th century, the effort failed, and numerous Spanish merchants took losses. With the capture of Portobelo by Admiral Edward Vernon in 1739, the fleet system for South America came to an ignominious end. Panama, whose existence depended on the system, con-

tinued the decline begun when the system faltered more than a century earlier.

Included in the new VICEROYALTY OF NEW GRANADA established in 1739, Panama lost its status as a separate *audiencia* district in 1751. Economically depressed for the remainder of the century, Panama remained under Spanish control while New Granada went through internal struggles over independence. In November 1821, Panama declared its independence and rejoined New Granada in the republic of Colombia.

See also GRAN COLOMBIA (Vol. III); PANAMA (Vols. I, III, IV).

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Paraguay Paraguay was on the periphery of the Spanish Empire. Located far upriver from BUENOS AIRES, itself a peripheral location until the late 18th century, the settlement of Paraguay by the Spanish began when Pedro de Ayolas, an associate of Pedro de Mendoza's ill-fated expedition to the RÍO DE LA PLATA, and would-be conquistadores followed the Paraná River northward for some 900 miles (1,448 km) in the hope of finding a rich native kingdom. Instead of GOLD or SILVER, they found the GUARANÍ.

Amicable relations encouraged the Spaniards to found the city of ASUNCIÓN on the Paraguay River in August 1537. Fertile lands, ample food, and gifts of WOMEN attracted additional settlers from the failing settlement at Buenos Aires, increased the number of Spaniards to some 350, and quickly resulted in a growing number of mestizos (see MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO). The Guaraní women provided food and worked as servants, as did their male relatives, as both normally did for their own leaders. The arrival in 1542 of 250 new settlers led by Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca strengthened the Spanish presence but also added substantially to the demand for food and services. With their Spanish allies, the Guaraní enjoyed a number of MILITARY successes over the GUAYCURUANS and Payaguás. The settlers in Asunción pioneered a route to PERU in 1547.

In 1556, the relationship between the Spaniards and indigenous took a new turn when Governor Domingo de Irala implemented a royal order to create ENCOMIENDAS; this focused attention on permanent settlement rather than continued expeditions after mirages of precious metals. As a result, 38 new towns were created and populated with about 20,000 Amerindians in *encomienda* and the mestizo descendants of the Spanish settlers. The absence of mineral wealth or another immediately identifiable export was compounded by the isolation of Paraguay from any important market. As a result, *encomenderos* ignored restrictions the Crown had placed on *encomienda* labor.

The Paraguayan economy relied on barter and the relationship between *encomenderos* and their Native Americans in an environment of subsistence agriculture marked more by mutual assistance than exploitation. Moreover, the established practice of multiple Guaraní women and their male relatives providing service to an individual Spaniard was considered *encomienda originaria* and continued throughout most of the colonial era. Indigenous women, many brought from outlying villages (*encomienda mitaya*), considerably outnumbered men in Asunción.

As the native population declined over time, the number of Amerindians in *encomienda* fell from an original average of about 62 to 10 or fewer. Nonetheless, Philip II authorized grants of *encomiendas* for three generations.

From 1607, the Jesuits established mission villages (*doctrinas de indios*) or *reducciones* in the territory that became known as Misiones (see *reducción*). Located a substantial distance from Asunción along the Paraguay, Paraná, and upper Uruguay Rivers, 30 missions existed in 1739. In return for agreeing to provide military support to the Spanish governor if requested, in 1649, the Jesuits secured an exemption from *encomienda* and a reduction in tribute for their wards. The missions not only were self-sufficient, but collectively produced a superior grade of yerba maté, tobacco, sugar, and other commodities for export downriver. The profits made Jesuit churches the envy of the Río de la Plata region. Not surprisingly, from the 1630s, Paraguayan *encomenderos* coveted the labor available to the Jesuits.

The Comunero Revolt of Paraguay from 1721 to 1735 was a protracted dispute between the colonial elite in Asunción and the Society of Jesus and its supporters in the royal administration. The issues were both economic and political. The economic issue focused on access to Guaraní labor and the terms of its use, especially as these related to the production of yerba maté, used to make a tea popular in many regions of South America. Finally, in March 1735, the rebellion was virtually over, and in April 18 accused rebels were found guilty. The Jesuits that the *comuneros* had expelled returned to Asunción in October 1735, but Paraguayans' opposition to them persisted until the Society of Jesus was expelled in 1767.

After the expulsion of the Jesuits, the Crown assigned government officials to administer the 30 villages. The result was disastrous, as officials sought their own advantage over the well-being of the Native Americans. Stripped of clear oversight and protection, the missions' resources dwindled, and their population declined from 96,381 in 1768 to 42,885 in 1800.

Aside from being agriculturally self-sufficient, Paraguay was able to export yerba maté, tobacco, and a few other items to municipalities that included Corrientes, Santa Fe, and Buenos Aires. This limited commerce enabled colonists to purchase imported merchandise. Trade expanded in the late 18th century—for example,

more than 200,000 *arrobas* (5 million pounds [2.3 million kg]) of yerba, over five times the amount exported annually in the 1740s, were sent downriver from the port of Asunción in 1798—and brought growth to Asunción. From about 5,000 residents, including more than 2,700 blacks, in 1782, the population expanded to just more than 7,000 in 1793.

One of the most distinct features of colonial Paraguay, other than the longevity of *encomienda*, was the paucity of Spaniards who could claim *limpieza de sangre*. Few peninsulars arrived after the mid-16th century, and the polygyny practiced by the Guaraní and embraced by Spaniards resulted in a self-described creole population (55 percent of the Paraguayan population in the 1780s) that was, in fact, largely mestizo, as well as a mestizo culture. The use of the Guaraní language remains an obvious and important feature of this culture.

Paraguay's participation in the market economy increased after the introduction of *comercio libre*. The Buenos Aires market, in particular, remained central to Paraguay's economic growth and the presence of a viceroy ensured that *porteño* merchants' interests were protected at the expense of those of Asunción.

Immediately after Buenos Aires rejected the Council of Regency in Spain and created a junta on May 25, 1810, it sent representatives to Asunción requesting recognition of its authority. The city fathers, however, rejected the junta, and soon Manuel Belgrano led a military force northward. Two defeats prompted his retreat in March 1811, but Buenos Aires continued to threaten Paraguay and harass its trade.

A leading opponent of Buenos Aires was the university-educated creole José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia. Through support from rural Paraguayans and political astuteness, Dr. Francia guided Paraguay to independence as a republic, declared on October 12, 1813, and became its perpetual dictator by act of a fledging congress in 1816. Under his rule, Paraguay's riverine trade declined rapidly, and many foreign-born merchants left. The isolation of Paraguay became a hallmark of Francia's rule.

See also FRANCIA, JOSÉ GASPARD RODRÍGUEZ DE (Vol. III); PARAGUAY (Vols. I, III, IV).

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pardo *Pardo* was one of many terms used to identify persons on the basis of ancestry or perceived skin color.

It applied to the offspring of an Amerindian and a black, a combination also known as *ZAMBO* or *MULATO*, depending on the location. More generally, *pardo* applied to persons of mixed ancestry with one or both parents of African descent. In the 18th century, the terms *pardo* and *mulato* were almost interchangeable and distinct from *moreno*, a black with both parents of African ancestry. *Pardo*, however, was the preferred term when applied to militia units filled with persons of varying degrees of African ancestry. The term *free-colored* could also be used for *pardo*, *mulato*, and *moreno* in reference to persons not enslaved.

Despite early and recurrent fears about arming blacks, free-colored persons were present as auxiliaries in NEW SPAIN soon after a 1540 decree authorizing the creation of formal militias. By the 1550s, they were important in the colony's defense strategy. In HAVANA, blacks served as auxiliaries to white militiamen during Jacques de Sores's attack in 1555. Other early examples include their use in PUERTO RICO in 1557 and in CARTAGENA DE INDIAS in 1560 and 1572. By 1612, the Crown strengthened the formal existence of free-colored militia in MEXICO CITY. When the Dutch appeared off CALLAO, PERU, in 1615 and again in 1624, colored militiamen were pressed into service and performed well. Independent militia units were usually present in larger CITIES and were known as companies of *pardos* and free blacks (*morenos libres*), thereby explicitly injecting race into their service. Other militia units had whites, blacks, and mestizos or other *CASTAS* (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*). Seventeenth-century legislation, however, prevented blacks from enlisting in the small regular forces.

In New Spain, the growth of militias between 1670 and 1762 resulted in greater levels of participation by the free-colored and brought them more privileges. Reforms instituted following the British occupation of Havana sought to strengthen the quality of military units and resulted in greater regulation of free-colored militia, as well as an injection of white regulars. The so-called provincial militia system required "disciplined" companies. Regular army veterans headed each regiment and supervised training. The years of VICEROY CONDE DE REVILLAGIGEDO (the Younger), however, brought serious losses for the free-colored units. The viceroy reduced the number of provincial militias; thus, the number of free-colored men serving declined precipitously.

In NEW GRANADA, the large number of *pardos* in coastal areas made their inclusion in military units unavoidable. The Cuban precedent after 1762 of granting *pardo* militiamen equal access with whites to the *fuero militar* was instituted in coastal New Granada (see *FUERO*). Nonetheless, white commanders took precedence in the units; *pardos* commanded *pardos*.

The use of free-colored men in military service was particularly important in the struggle for independence in VENEZUELA. They supported the Crown and helped to defeat the First Republic. Later, led by JOSÉ TOMÁS BOVES,

they helped to drive SIMÓN BOLÍVAR out of Venezuela and end the Second Republic.

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Paris, Treaty of (February 10, 1763) Signed on February 10, 1763, the Treaty of Paris ended the Seven Years' War (known in North America as the French and Indian War). Originally a war fought in North America between the British and the French, Spain entered it as a result of the Third Family Compact concluded with France in August 1761. CHARLES III's decision ended more than a decade of neutrality and provoked Great Britain into declaring war on January 4, 1762. Landing near HAVANA on June 7, British forces occupied the Cuban capital on August 14, 1762; British forces took Manila as well.

Most important for Spain under the Treaty of Paris, Britain returned Havana. Britain withdrew from the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS in 1764, leaving the islands to Spain. Spain gave up Florida to Britain but had already received Louisiana from France in compensation. Although France lost Canada and claims to territory east of the Mississippi River to Britain, as well as some islands, it regained Martinique and Guadeloupe in the CARIBBEAN. The treaty also called for a restoration of territory disputed in the borderlands between the River Plate and BRAZIL. The terms were contested, as Spain claimed much of Rio Grande, conquered in 1763; it did, however, return COLÔNIA DO SACRAMENTO, also taken by PEDRO DE CEVALLOS.

Although Havana was returned to Spain, temporarily losing a supposedly impregnable naval base shocked the Spanish government into action. Charles's ministers worked quickly to create a policy whose implementation would prevent another such humiliation. Earlier efforts to strengthen administration, increase tax revenues, and bolster defenses had produced some results, but the loss of Havana resulted in more comprehensive actions commonly termed the reforms of Charles III, or the BOURBON REFORMS.

Further reading:

Allan J. Kuethe. *Cuba, 1753–1815: Crown, Military, and Society* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986).

patio process See MERCURY; MINING.

patronato real Royal patronage refers to the bundle of rights and privileges over the CATHOLIC CHURCH that

the papacy granted to the Crowns of Castile (*patronato real*) and Portugal (*padroado real*) in return for undertaking the Christianization of the people of the INDIES. There were some Iberian precedents. In Castile, the Crown had obtained the right to nominate bishops in 1482, and shortly afterward, it obtained the right of patronage over all churches, benefices, and dioceses that would become available with the successful conquest of Granada. The Portuguese Crown secured royal patronage in an identifiable form as early as 1418, but efforts at missionization were never as vigorous as those supported by the Crown of Castile.

Although royal patronage was implicit in the papal bull *Inter caetera divinae* of 1493, future bulls made many rights and privileges explicit. The Spanish Crown and its legal experts fleshed out the *patronato real* even more, making the Crown's control over the church in the Americas much greater than in Spain. In 1501, a bull designated that ecclesiastical tithes would go to the Crown in return for instructing and converting the NATIVE AMERICANS; thus, the Crown would manage the resources of this enterprise. Another bull of 1508 granted the Crown control over filling ecclesiastical benefices and founding churches and convents. This meant that the Crown, normally through the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES or, later, the Cámara of the Indies, selected and presented bishops to the papacy for confirmation, and by delegation, VICEROYS selected parish priests after receiving recommendations from a bishop.

Further elaborations of the royal patronage required clerics to secure a royal license to travel to the Indies and limited where they could reside; the Crown paid the expenses of travel from Spain. The construction of churches required royal approval. No papal bull could be sent to the Indies without royal approval. The Crown, working mainly through the INQUISITION, also had authority to censor books and manuscripts. In addition, it exercised patronage over hospitals and educational institutions. The extent of royal control virtually turned Spanish Catholicism into a national church. In the colonies, viceroys exercised royal patronage within their domain.

The various features of Spain's royal patronage were brought together in the 1574 *Ordenanza del Patronazgo*. One of the most important doctrines it embodied was the subordination of religious orders to bishops and viceroys. Specifically, it sought to restrict the access of the orders to the papacy and to replace regular clergy with diocesan clergy in rural areas, forcing the regulars back into urban convents. Thus, the *Ordenanza* implied a turning point in the fortunes of the mendicants.

The *Ordenanza del Patronazgo* did not resolve all of the issues between Crown and church or secular and regular clergy. Whether or not indigenous people should pay the tithe was one important unresolved issue. Bishops wanted Amerindians to pay the tithe as Spaniards did; friars opposed this, both because they feared it would make

Catholicism unattractive to the indigenous and because they did not want the secular clergy to enjoy increased financial resources at their expense.

The importance of the *patronato real* was such that the Spanish monarchs considered it one of the jewels on their crown. Throughout Habsburg rule, the church and the Crown reinforced each other's authority. In the 18th century, the Crown sought to increase its authority at the expense of the church. This REGALISM was never made clearer than in the expulsion of the JESUITS from Spain and the empire in 1767, eight years after the MARQUÊS DE POMBAL had done the same in Portugal, BRAZIL, and the remainder of the Portuguese Empire.

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peninsular The term *peninsular* is used to distinguish a Spaniard born in Spain from a CREOLE, or a Spaniard born in the colonies. Derogatory terms including *chapetón* (poor, boorish greenhorn) and *gachupín* (routinely arrogant newcomer) also referred to peninsular Spaniards. The equivalent terms in BRAZIL are *européus* or *REINÓIS* for peninsulars and *pés de chumbo* (leaden feet) as a derogatory term.

In the earliest days of conquest and settlement, all Spaniards came from Spain. Since few Spanish WOMEN were yet present in the colonies, Spanish men typically fathered children with NATIVE AMERICAN women. If they married the indigenous women and reared the offspring, the children were considered Spaniards. These cases were relatively infrequent, however, and *mestizo* became synonymous with illegitimacy (see MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO).

By the middle of the 16th century, the number of Spanish women in the colonies rose, and the number of legitimate offspring increased as well. Continued emigration from Spain also expanded the number of peninsulars in the Indies. Already clear to contemporaries was that peninsulars, especially those who accompanied the Iberian-born VICEROYS of NEW SPAIN and PERU, AUDIENCIA ministers, and high-ranking clerics to the colonies, benefited from their contacts. Often, they received ENCOMIENDAS, land, and local and provincial positions more readily than did creoles. The creoles' perception of this discrimination throughout the range of royal and clerical positions was grounded in fact and was one reason that colonists anxious for their sons' advancement began lobbying before 1550 for the creation of UNIVERSITIES in MEXICO CITY and LIMA.

Although the number of married peninsulars who arrived in the colonies was higher in the late 16th century than before, many peninsular immigrants were young

males attracted by the presence of relatives or other persons from their hometown or region in Spain and the potential to secure a better life in the colonies. Females still accounted for less than 30 percent of identified peninsular emigrants between 1560 and 1600.

The continued arrival and presence of peninsulars meant that place of birth divided the Spanish population in the colonies. Peninsulars certainly considered themselves superior to Spaniards born in the colonies. Indeed, they were often contemptuous of creole males in particular, considering them indolent. For their part, creoles considered peninsulars arrogant, boorish, and, except for the highest-ranking officials, common.

In their mid-18th-century confidential account *Discourse and Political Reflections on the Kingdoms of Peru*, the young peninsular scientists and travelers JORGE JUAN Y SANTACILIA and ANTONIO DE ULLOA devoted many pages to the antagonisms between creoles and peninsulars. In their words, “Factional hatred increases constantly, and both sides never miss the opportunity to take vengeance or to manifest the rancor and antagonism which has taken hold of their souls.” The competition and antagonism persisted into the wars of independence, at which point it degenerated in VENEZUELA to “war to the death” against peninsulars who were not fighting for independence.

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Peralta y Barnuevo, Pedro (b. 1664–d. 1743) *creole polymath and author in Peru* Born in LIMA, PERU, Pedro Peralta y Barnuevo received degrees in civil and canon law from the UNIVERSITY OF SAN MARCOS, which he attended from 1680 to 1686. Although he practiced law for a while, he was more interested in poetry, science, and a wide range of academic disciplines; mastered eight European languages in addition to Spanish; knew Quechua; and read widely from both approved and prohibited literature.

Peralta secured employment in the same post of government accountant (*contador de particiones*) earlier held by his father. He also served as rector of the University of San Marcos for two years, advised VICEROYS, and wrote the *Relación* of the state of Peru that Viceroy José Armendáriz, marqués de Castelfuerte, left to his successor, the marqués de Villagarcía (1736). Additionally, the encyclopedist was an engineer for the reconstruction of the wall of CALLAO, which had been destroyed by the great earthquake of 1687, and participated in the most celebrated literary salons and academies of Lima,

including that of the Catalan viceroy, the marqués de Castell-dos-Rius.

Considered a “prodigy of nature” by some contemporaries and a talent in company with El Inca GARCILASO DE LA VEGA by Peruvian scholar Luis Alberto Sánchez, Peralta began to publish in 1687. Ultimately, more than 80 of his works were printed, and he left additional manuscripts at his death. Fray BENITO FEIJÓO Y MONTENEGRO, the celebrated Spanish author whose many volumes introduced Spaniards in the Old and New World to the intellectual foundations of the ENLIGHTENMENT, praised Peralta, although in a somewhat patronizing manner.

Considered to epitomize “the accomplished, intellectual criollo [creole],” Peralta is best known for *Lima fundada* (1732), a lengthy epic poem composed in rhyme. Literary scholar Jerry M. Williams notes that its style “bears witness to obtuse and archaic formulae that render meaning difficult and produce a soporific effect. . . . The poem is of dubious poetic merit, but is of outstanding historical importance for its literary and biographical notes on figures who shaped Peru.”

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Pérez de la Serna, Juan (b. ca. 1573–d. 1631) *Spanish archbishop of Mexico* Born in Cervera del Llano, Cuenca, Spain, Juan Pérez de la Serna was named the seventh archbishop of Mexico in January 1613 and ordained in the position in May 1613. Sensitive to a variety of social ills in the society of NEW SPAIN, he embraced causes on behalf of those in need and was more than willing to engage in conflict. A patron of OUR LADY OF GUADALUPE, he supported CREOLES angered by corrupt government officials that included ministers of the Audiencia of Mexico.

With authorization from the Crown, the archbishop sought in 1619 to exert authority over friars in Amerindian parishes, demanding to examine men recommended for curacies. The FRANCISCANS in particular opposed this innovation, seeing it as an opening gambit in an effort to replace them with secular clergy in the *DOCTRINAS DE INDIOS*. Defied by the religious orders and VICEROY Marqués de Guadalcázar, who supported them, the archbishop suspended his effort until the arrival of a new viceroy, the marqués de Gelves, in 1621. To the archbishop's disgust, Gelves also backed the friars. Other issues increased the archbishop's antipathy toward Gelves, and in late 1623, Pérez de la Serna excommunicated the viceroy, an unprecedented action in the history of New Spain.

Matters got worse when in early January the Audiencia of Mexico, perhaps pressured by the viceroy,

ordered the archbishop deported to Spain. Immediately facing strong public opposition, however, the *AUDIENCIA* suspended the sentence the following day, and Gelves responded by jailing several of its magistrates. This provoked a demonstration in the *PLAZA MAYOR*, which was dispersed by the viceregal guard. With Pérez de la Serna 25 miles (40 km) out of MEXICO CITY two days later, on January 15, 1624, the CATHEDRAL CHAPTER proclaimed an interdict, and church services ended in the capital. A riot followed, and Gelves agreed to free all confined magistrates and recall Pérez de la Serna. The concessions did not satisfy everyone in the mob, and faced with growing mayhem, the *audiencia* announced it was assuming the viceroy's powers. When the mob then stormed the palace, Gelves escaped to the safety of the Franciscan priory. After returning to Mexico City, Pérez de la Serna soon went to Spain, without royal permission, to explain the events. Forbidden to return to New Spain, he was named bishop of Zamora and died in that city.

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Pernambuco Located on BRAZIL's northeast coast between Itamaracá and BAHIA, the captaincy of Pernambuco enjoyed geographic and climatic advantages that facilitated the production of SUGAR. Rich soil, easy access to water transport and power for mills, and adequate rainfall were among its assets. Benefiting from an alliance reached with the Tobajara, donatary Duarte Coelho proved himself a capable administrator who attracted Portuguese colonists and quickly made Pernambuco Brazil's leading source of dyewood and its most important sugar-producing and -exporting region.

With rising prices in Europe, access to adequate capital, and indigenous labor already supplemented by African slaves, between 1550 and 1583, the number of sugar mills in Pernambuco increased from five to 66, and the captaincy led Brazil in sugar production (see SLAVERY). By 1612, its *ENGENHOS* increased in number to 90, and by 1629, to 150. One of only two donatary captaincies to have some economic success by 1550 (the other was São Vicente, far to the south), it was the last donatary colony to come under the complete control of the Crown. Its capital of Olinda had some 4,000 inhabitants in 1630, while its port of Recife came into its own only when it served as the capital under Dutch occupation.

In 1630, the Dutch invaded northeastern Brazil, and Pernambuco came under their rule. By that time, BAHIA already had more slaves than Pernambuco and was emerging as Brazil's foremost sugar producer. Sugar production continued in Pernambuco, but a rebellion that began in 1645 and continued until the expulsion of the Dutch in 1654 adversely affected the colony's sugar ECONOMY. Moreover, during the years of Dutch

occupation, English, French, and Dutch colonies in the CARIBBEAN offered serious competition. The price of sugar in Lisbon fell by almost two-thirds between 1654 and 1689.

The gold rushes to MINAS GERAIS and then MATO GROSSO produced additional demand for African slaves and drove up their price by more than 50 percent between 1710 and 1720. Sugar planters were consequently beset by rising labor costs and lower sale prices. The result was declining production after 1730, a decline not made up for by exports of leather and hides.

Starting in 1788, cotton production in the interior of Pernambuco provided another export to Portugal. Benefiting from rapidly growing textile industries in Britain and France, by 1807, it was producing over 60 percent more than MARANHÃO, its only serious rival in Portuguese America.

At the end of the colonial period, Pernambuco's population of 392,000 was exceeded only by that of the captaincy of Minas Gerais, at 495,000. Totaling 42 percent, free blacks and mulattoes in Pernambuco were about 50 percent more numerous than whites (29 percent), slaves (26 percent) were slightly less numerous than whites, and Amerindians made up about 3 percent of the population (see *MULATO*).

On March 6, 1817, a rebellion erupted in Pernambuco. The next day, the rebels proclaimed a republic and put in place a provisional government. The rebellion quickly spread into Paraíba do Norte and Rio Grande do Norte. Although suppressed by late May, its call for "Religion, Homeland, and Liberty" demonstrated an alternative to the vision of cokingdoms of Brazil and Portugal created in 1815. Opposition to rule from RIO DE JANEIRO persisted beyond the declaration of independence from Portugal in September 1822.

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Peru, Viceroyalty of Created by the New Laws of 1542, the Viceroyalty of Peru encompassed all of Spanish South America, with the exception of the part of coastal TIERRA FIRME under the jurisdiction of the Audiencia of Santo Domingo into the 18th century. The viceregal capital of LIMA was the administrative center for these vast realms, many distant from it. As other municipalities gained prominence, one by one separate *AUDIENCIA* districts were identified within the viceroyalty: New Granada or Santa Fe de BOGOTÁ (1548), LA PLATA or CHARCAS (1559), QUITO (1563), CHILE (1563, definitively in 1606), PANAMA (1564), and, temporarily, BUENOS AIRES (1661–72). After an early unsuccessful effort, the

VICEROYALTY OF NEW GRANADA was definitively carved out of the Viceroyalty of Peru in 1739, bringing together New Granada, the Kingdom of Quito, Panama, and much of VENEZUELA. The VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA was established in 1777, combining the extensive district of the Audiencia of Charcas with a province from Chile.

The *audiencia* district of Lima was sometimes called Bajo Perú (Lower Peru), as opposed to Alto Perú (Upper Peru), which referred to Charcas. Peru included a coastal plain along the Pacific Ocean cut repeatedly by rivers descending from the immense Andes and bounded by fertile valleys. The mountain ranges that made up much of Peru had induced preconquest civilizations to build numerous terraces for AGRICULTURE. Descending from the eastern slopes of the Andes were hot, tropical lowlands. The close relationship between Lower and Upper Peru, especially with Charcas's MINING center of POTOSÍ, resulted in the two *audiencia* districts being administered at times as a single unit, which they were prior to the creation of the Audiencia of Charcas in 1559. Lima, the viceregal capital and authorized distribution center for imported goods and the dispatch of SILVER, quickly became a bastion of Spanish rule and culture within the viceroyalty.

By 1560, a thin replica of Castilian society, save its peasantry, existed in Peru, which then had about 8,000 Spaniards. The vast majority of the population was Andean (Amerindian), although a small number of African slaves (both *bozales* and CREOLES), some mestizos,

and a few mulattoes (the term in 1560 applied to anyone with some African ancestry) were present as well; persons of African descent probably exceeded 3,000 (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*; *MULATO*; *SLAVERY*).

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

Epidemic disease reached Peru before the Spaniards. Between 1524 and 1560, nine EPIDEMICS had struck one or more parts of Peru and reduced the pre-epidemic indigenous population of perhaps 9 million to about 1.5 million. Population decline among NATIVE AMERICANS continued, most dramatically in lowland areas, as a result of later epidemics, Spanish abuse and exploitation, changed living locations and conditions, and other causes. The estimated Andean population in 1620 was 600,000, only about 150,000 below that of NEW SPAIN. The estimated colored population 30 years later was about 30,000, with some 10 percent free. Although the population stabilized in the mid-17th century, epidemics from 1719 to 1730 reduced it to its colonial nadir; by 1750, it had risen to 610,000. Peru's population according to figures from 1795 totaled 1,115,207. Of that number Amerindians were 58 percent, or 648,615; mestizos, 22 percent (244,313); Spaniards, 13 percent (140,890); and blacks, 7 percent (81,389), half of whom were free. Peru was both much less populous and more Indian than New Spain; Spaniards were an even smaller minority in Peru than in New Spain.

Another striking difference in Peru was the extent to which the Andeans had left their home villages and



Cerro de Pasco became Peru's most important mining center in the late colonial period. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

taken up residence elsewhere. These *FORASTEROS* reflected Andeans' reaction to both the resettlement program of *reducciones* and the *MITA* for Potosí initiated by VICEROY FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO Y FIGUEROA (see *REDUCCIÓN*).

SPANISH CITIES AND INDIGENOUS VILLAGES

By the end of the 1560s, most of Peru's principal Spanish CITIES were founded, although several more, for example, HUANCAMELICA, would emerge out of later MINING camps. Francisco Pizarro reconstituted CUZCO as a Spanish city in 1534 and founded Lima the following year. Piura (1531), Trujillo (1533), Chachapoyas (1536), Huánuco (1539), and AREQUIPA (1540) were also established within the conquerors' first decade in Peru.

The Inca capital of Cuzco was the location of a dense highland native population, but Pizarro favored a site with easy access to the ocean as the Spanish capital. Close to its port of CALLAO, Lima initially grew rapidly. In 1593, the population was estimated at 12,790, with some 4,000 blacks, mulattoes, and *ZAMBOS*, almost a quarter of them free. In 1614, Lima had a total population reported as 25,167; of this number, 11,867 were Spaniards, and 11,130 were persons of African descent. An archbishop in 1636 indicated that the city's total population was 27,064, of which blacks numbered 13,620; Spaniards, 10,758; Amerindians, 1,426; mulattoes, 861; mestizos, 377; and Chinese, 22. A figure for 1687 credits Lima with almost 80,000 inhabitants, although this seems high; within five years of the catastrophic earthquake, the number was less than 40,000, a figure in line with the 35,000–37,000 estimated at the end of the century.

Lima's population grew modestly in the 18th century. In 1790, the city's census, including 4,831 people in religious establishments but excluding men in the MILITARY, revealed a population of 47,796. Spaniards at this time were 36 percent (17,215) of that number; blacks were 18.8 percent (8,960); *CASTAS*, 14.9 percent (7,106); mulattoes, 12.5 percent (5,972); mestizos, 9.7 percent (4,631); and Amerindians, 8.2 percent (3,912). There were 9,229 slaves drawn from the blacks, mulattoes, and perhaps other *castas*. Strikingly, Spaniards were very clearly a distinct minority, scarcely more than one-third of the total population and only slightly less than *castas*, mulattoes, and mestizos combined.

The minority position of Spaniards was even greater when determined for the intendency of Lima in 1795 (see INTENDANT). Out of a total population of 155,563, they numbered only 24,557, or under 16 percent. In comparison, black slaves numbered 29,781, and free blacks, 17,864. Amerindians totaled 69,614, and mestizos, 13,747. The figures for the intendency of Cuzco revealed 32,820 Spaniards of a total population of 208,791; while the percentage of Spaniards was about the same as in Lima, the percentage of Amerindians was nearly 73 percent, and black slaves were virtually nonexistent. In the intendency of Trujillo in northern Peru, Spaniards numbered 19,750 (7.8 percent) of a population of 251,994.

Spaniards were relatively numerous in the intendency of Arequipa, accounting for 30,587 (22 percent) of a total of 138,186 inhabitants.

Indigenous villages included both the remnants of the *reducciones* that Viceroy Toledo had established in the 1570s and the original native villages to which Amerindians had gradually returned. The native villages were strongest in the Andes, where epidemic disease had been less devastating than in the coastal lowlands. Although the massive internal migration of *mita* workers and their families to Potosí as well as the movement of other Amerindians to avoid the *mita* had shuffled the Andean landscape, some *KURAKAS* and ambitious *principales* had managed to survive and, in some cases, prosper. In 1754, there were still more than 2,000 *kurakas* in Peru, although maintaining the reciprocity and redistribution that had been the foundation of relationships prior to the conquest had been difficult and in some cases impossible under Spanish demands. Since indigenous communities believed that the Crown provided them with continued access to land in reciprocity for their tribute and labor, village conflicts were more frequently with other Andean communities or individual Spaniards than with the Crown.

A longstanding abuse against Amerindians was the *repartimiento de mercancías*, or *REPARTO*, perpetuated by *corregidores* and sometimes abetted by parish clergy and even *kurakas* (see *CORREGIDOR*; *CORREGIMIENTO*). MULES, but also cloth, razors, and even COCA were forced on the indigenous at prices that could be double or triple the free market rate. It was the collection of payment that elicited most opposition. How collectors dealt face to face with Native Americans was most apt to determine how the latter responded; if the *corregidores* and collectors' actions appeared "fair" and the indigenous perceived they were receiving something of value, often not part of the *reparto*, the exploitive system was accepted. On occasion, however, indigenous people rose violently against the exploiters, as Corregidor Antonio de Arriaga found out at the beginning of the TUPAC AMARU II rebellion.

TRANSPORTATION

Ocean currents and mountainous terrain made transportation in Peru difficult and expensive. Even in the optimal months of January and February, ships from PANAMA often took two to three months to reach Paita as a result of the winds and currents. At Paita, passengers, including viceroys, often disembarked and proceeded by land to Lima from Piura. Sailing north was easier and the trip from Callao to the Isthmus of Panama was almost always quicker—15 days to six weeks—than the reverse, which took two to three months in the best of times and could take seven or eight months. Sailing from Callao to Chile became much easier after sailor Juan Fernández discovered in the 1580s an ocean route away from the coast that shortened the trip to a month, a length roughly equivalent to the return trip from Valparaiso to Callao.

Land transport depended on llamas and mules traveling in caravans known as *trajines*. MERCURY had to be transported from Huancavelica to Chincha, where it was loaded and sent to Arica. Indigenous communities along the major route that developed from Arica to Potosí were pressed into providing llamas or mules and whatever else might be needed to keep the *trajines* moving along a route that passed through Cuzco and La Plata. Enterprising indigenous communities sent coca, salt, and other products with the *trajines*, thus making a profit out of what was potentially simple exploitation. While the length of the trip from Arica to Potosí varied, in 1611, it was reportedly made in only 24 days, although to the detriment of the mules. It required 21 days to transport mail from Lima to Cuzco and another 36 days from Cuzco to Potosí.

AGRICULTURE AND RANCHING

Andeans before the conquest had a richer and more varied diet than Mesoamericans had, for the former farmed ecological niches extending from coastal valleys to the high plateaus in the Andes. In addition to MAIZE, grown in lower highland valleys, coastal valleys, and the eastern slopes of the Andes, were potatoes of many varieties, manioc and other root crops, squash, beans, chili peppers, avocado, chirimoya, and numerous other fruits and vegetables. Andeans obtained meat from both camelids and covies, guinea pigs owned by every household. Other Andean crops included TOBACCO, coca, and cotton, the latter two of great importance.

Spaniards quickly introduced their trinity of WHEAT, grapes, and olives as well as sugarcane, bananas, various Iberian fruits, vegetables, and other plants including alfalfa and clover. Horses, mules, donkeys, CATTLE, SHEEP, goats, pigs, and dogs also arrived. Wheat was as essential to Spaniards in Peru, as in SEVILLE, and its success as a crop heavily influenced where Spaniards remained after settlement. In Peru, wheat required irrigation in the coastal valleys and would not grow in the Andes at elevations above 12,000 feet (3,658 m). The valleys near Cajamarca, Chachapoyas, Huamanga, Cuzco, and Arequipa quickly became wheat and flour producers of such quantity that shortages might occur only once or twice in a lifetime. The result was fresh bread in every Spanish city. In Potosí in 1603, bakers were producing 36,000 pounds (16,364 kg) of bread daily.

Grapes did exceedingly well around Arequipa, Ica, Pisco, and other southern locations. WINE became an important export, being transported and sold in great quantity to Potosí, Lima, and other Peruvian markets, as well as to purchasers in New Spain, legally or otherwise. Brandy replaced wine as Arequipa's main export in the 18th century as a way to get more value from a surfeit of grapes.

Some small-scale Spanish and a few *casta* farmers in the Arequipa area succeeded in growing olive trees. They were shipping both olives and olive oil to Lima

in the early 17th century. JORGE JUAN Y SANTACILIA and ANTONIO DE ULLOA noted in the mid-18th century that "olive plantations appear like thick forests" and require little cultivation. The results are "an uncommon plenty of the finest olives, which they either commit to the press for oil, or pickle, they being particularly adapted to the latter, both with regard to their beauty, largeness, and flavour. Their oil is much preferable to that of Spain." The JESUITS both purchased and were given olive groves, in one case a grove in the Arequipa region worth 30,000 pesos. Producers in Lambayeque, Nazca, Pisco, and other locations also sent olives and oil to Lima; an ample supply of oil was available there in the mid-18th century.

Spaniards introduced sugarcane, and SUGAR became an important product in coastal valleys. Saña in the early 17th century was a prosperous trading center exporting sugar and conserves as well as other agricultural products to the regional market.

Spaniards initially devoted coastal lands to raising livestock. Horses, brought by Pizarro in 1531, were at first very valuable but after 1540 fell rapidly in price. Pigs, also introduced in Peru in 1531, were raised on coastal lands as well. In 1562, a deceased *encomendero* left 910 head of cattle, 680 pigs, 178 goats, and 37 horses; another coastal entrepreneur gave his daughter 500 head of cattle, 300 horses, and 200 goats in the Mala Valley in 1568. Three years later, an owner kept 1,114 head of cattle, 80 horses, and 800 pigs on land between the valleys of Huaura and Chancay. He also had about 30,000 sheep and an *OBRAJE* in the Mantaro Valley. Thus, stockraising began early; it continued throughout the colonial era, although was often moved to locations beyond cropland that supplied municipalities with agricultural products.

In the southern Andes, the native population had a long herding tradition with llamas and alpacas. Thus, the introduction of cattle and especially sheep found favor as a continuation of an old tradition, rather than a revolutionary change. Indeed, raising livestock seems to have contributed to the survival of indigenous communities, for it meant continued use of pastures. Sheep, in particular, served to reinforce preconquest traditions as well as to protect lands from Spaniards. And, of course, Andeans' camelids continued to need pasture. While sheep supplied wool used in *obrajés*, they were also a source of mutton, which Juan and Ulloa claimed was the most common meat eaten in Lima.

The major source of mules for the *trajines* used in the long-distance trade to Potosí was Salta, to which thousands of mules originating farther south were brought to winter. Mules were also raised in Peru. The Jesuit college in Arequipa kept both mules and donkeys available for transport. The Olmos district of Saña in northern Peru raised the mules employed on the Paita-to-Lima route. Chillaos was well known both for raising mules and for the high quality of its horses; it sold mules throughout the northern highlands.

ARTISANS AND DOMESTIC TEXTILES

Peru had a rich history of skilled artisans and weavers. While this preconquest legacy continued, by 1560, more than 800 Spanish artisans had reached Peru. These included more than 150 tailors, 80 shoemakers, almost 150 workers in iron, 102 carpenters, 33 masons, 70 silversmiths, 47 muleteers, 36 barber-surgeons, 25 bakers and confectioners, and 24 musicians and instrument makers. African slaves came from a tradition of metal and wood-working, and the shortage of skilled labor was such that Spanish masters took creole slaves as apprentices; before the end of the 16th century, black artisans could be found in Lima and other Spanish municipalities in Peru, as well as on *HACIENDAS*. One sugar hacienda in 1636 had blacks working as potters, carpenters, blacksmith, charcoal-maker, and sugar master and his six assistants.

As in *MEXICO CITY*, Lima had craft guilds for tailors and hosiers, lacemakers and borderers, dyers, shoemakers, and other occupations. While Spanish masters tried to restrict entry, the need for craftsmen was such that skilled colored men were able to enter many guilds and became dominant in some. In early 17th-century Cuzco, the majority of artisans were indigenous, “very skillful and accurate in their professions.” Included in their number were many silversmiths, a craft that Spaniards wanted to restrict to themselves but were unable to do so.

Amerindians continued to dominate domestic textile production throughout the colonial era. Canas y Canchis and Quispicanchis were two important areas of textile production. Like the numerous *obrajes* in Cuzco, they produced a rough weave for sale to indigenous people. While small textile shops with a small number of workers were common, there were large *obrajes*; one in Oropesa had about 400 employees. *WOMEN* as well as men worked in *obrajes*, although in smaller numbers. Conditions in *obrajes* and sometimes in the smaller shops (*chorillos*) were oppressive, and some *obraje* owners used *DEBT PEONAGE* to secure workers.

Competition from the *obrajes* of the Quito region was fierce. Until the end of the 17th century, Quito’s *obrajes* were major suppliers of woolen cloth (*paño azul*) for the Potosí market. The application of *COMERCIO LIBRE* led to additional competition from European textiles imported via Buenos Aires and Lima. In addition, Viceroy Agustín de Jáuregui’s abolition of the *reparto de mercancías* in December 1780 eliminated a distribution mechanism that had created a substantial market for domestic textiles. Production of cotton cloth in the *chorillos* also cut into the market. As a result, *obrajes* in Cuzco and Huamanga suffered.

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS

The principal export from and through Peru was silver; the major import was textiles. Potosí in Charcas dominated silver production in 1560 and reached its apogee in the 1590s. Although registered production declined thereafter, Potosí continued to be the Viceroyalty of

Peru’s single largest producer throughout the 17th century. Between 1531 and 1660, almost 280 million pesos of registered private silver flowed through Panama, swamping other exports from Peru on their way to Spain. Silver continued to be Peru’s primary export for the remainder of the colonial era despite the transfer of Upper Peru and its silver to the new viceroyalty of Río de la Plata in 1777. Lower Peru’s silver production subsequently increased, more than doubling between 1777 and 1792 and peaking in 1799. Serious decline set in only in 1812.

As the legal hub for trade with Spain under the fleet system, Lima was the distribution center, as well as an important consumer, of imported goods (see *FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM*). Initially, goods transported across Panama and shipped to Callao included a broad selection of European merchandise. Textiles; wine and brandy; olive oil; books, paper, ink, and quill pens; glassware; medicine; copper, tin, and lead; and iron fittings, nails, hoes, and plows were among the items regularly available at the Portobelo fairs. African slaves were also transported across the isthmus for sale in Lima and distribution elsewhere in the viceroyalty.

Silks, porcelains, ivory, some spices, and other luxury goods from East Asia were invariably of great interest to purchasers in Peru and were trans-shipped to Potosí. This merchandise came via the *MANILA GALLEONS* and *ACAPULCO* in exchange primarily for Peruvian silver, although mercury was exported intermittently from the 1560s, and wine entered the trade around 1600. Subject to unenforced limits of volume and value, the trade from Acapulco to Lima became a noticeable drain on Peruvian silver. In the 1590s, a viceroy noted that the imported textiles sold for a small fraction of the cost of European textiles sent from Spain. A royal order issued in 1631 and repeated in 1634 banned trade between Peru and New Spain. The prohibition lasted into the 18th century, but enterprising smugglers from New Spain transported goods to small Ecuadorean ports from which they were carried to *GUAYAQUIL*, described by Juan and Ulloa as “one of the main centers on the Pacific Coast for the flourishing trade in goods from the Orient” and then shipped farther south (see *SMUGGLING*).

The Tierra Firme fleet that used *CARTAGENA DE INDIAS* and Portobelo was in decline by the 1620s and became increasingly unreliable for the remainder of its existence. Beginning in 1695, expanding during the *WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION*, and persisting for some years beyond it, French ships sailed around Cape Horn carrying large quantities of Rouen cotton cloth. The trade was so vigorous that between 1701 and 1725 it produced nearly 55 million pesos in bullion. The demand was such that actual, as distinct from registered, silver production at Potosí must have increased to make the necessary bullion available.

Subsequent efforts to revive the fleet system failed. Admiral Edward Vernon’s destruction of the fortifications at Portobelo in 1740 eliminated the possibility of

resuscitation. Henceforth, single registered ships sailing around Cape Horn and then up the coast of South America became the major transportation system for legal trade from Spain. In 1774, Peru was allowed to trade in American products, with important exceptions including wine and olives, with New Spain, New Granada, and GUATEMALA but was not to receive East Asian goods or send precious metals in return.

The 1778 expansion of *comercio libre* included Peru. As Spain was at war with Great Britain from 1779 until 1783, the full implications were not clear until Spanish merchants flooded the Peruvian market with 24 million pesos worth of goods between 1785 and 1787; 33 million pesos of silver flowed back to CÁDIZ during the same years, causing hostile *CONSULADO* merchants in Lima to complain about the loss of circulating coin. Nonetheless, rising silver production enabled the trade to continue, with profits adequate that Cádiz merchants remained eager to ship merchandise to Lima.

ADMINISTRATION

The administrative structure of the *audiencia* district of Lima by 1560 included a viceroy, *audiencia*, treasury office, and mint in Lima as well as MUNICIPAL COUNCILS in both Spanish cities and towns and substantial indigenous villages (see MINTS). The first effort to replace *encomenderos* with royal provincial officials known as *corregidores* began in the 1560s. In the early 17th century, the king was naming *corregidores* for 10 provinces in the Audiencia of Lima, and the viceroy was appointing them to an additional 46 provinces. The Crown's decision in 1678 to reduce significantly the number under the viceroy's patronage and to sell appointments to the remainder gave further impetus to the use of *reparto*, or *repartimiento de mercancías*. The practice of selling appointments continued until the mid-18th century.

Peruvians were particularly effective at obtaining *audiencia* appointments. Between 1610 and 1687, they accounted for 51 of 93 creoles named to *audiencias* in the Americas. Between 1687 and 1750, when the Crown systematically sold appointments, creoles not only were the majority named, 73 of 139, but 27 were named directly to the Audiencia of Lima, 25 of them purchasers. Only from 1751 to 1808 were they a minority of creole appointees.

In 1784, CHARLES III extended the intendency system to Peru, creating seven intendancies at that time; an eighth, Puno, was transferred from the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata in 1787. Prior to 1810, nearly every intendant was a PENINSULAR. A significant number had prior military experience. The intendant system quickly produced increased revenue but soon the higher revenues tapered off. The *SUBDELEGADOS* who replaced the *corregidores* as provincial administrators were paid a fraction of the tribute collected and, as a result, some employed the outlawed practice of *reparto*.

As a consequence of the Túpac Amaru II rebellion, in 1787, the Crown created a new *audiencia* located in

Cuzco, a belated response to longstanding complaints about the time, distance, and cost of sending appeals to the court in Lima.

CHURCH

Clerics accompanied conquistadores and early settlers to Peru, and by 1540 FRANCISCANS, DOMINICANS, and MERCEDARIANS as well as priests from the secular clergy had arrived. By the early 1550s, the Franciscans had established the province of Lima, and some 80 were present in Peru in 1559, a number later augmented primarily by creoles educated in Peru. By 1589, the province had 139 priests, plus students and lay brothers. The majority were men born in Peru, and the provincial, for the first time, was a creole. Jesuits reached Peru in 1568. While some missionaries were upright and enthusiastic, overall the Peruvian counterpart to New Spain's "spiritual conquest" was less satisfactory, perhaps because many of the finest and most enthusiastic clergy were involved in the northern viceroyalty.

By the 1560s, the Bishoprics of Cuzco and Lima had been established for a number of years, although the original incumbent in Lima, Jerónimo de Loaysa, was still serving as archbishop, the bishopric having been elevated to archiepiscopal status in 1547. The Bishopric of Cuzco was erected in 1537. Although the Bishopric of Arequipa was erected in 1577, it required a second effort in 1607 to make it effective; only in the late 1610s did the first bishop arrive. The same pattern occurred in the Bishopric of Trujillo, refounded in 1609.

On several occasions, some Native Americans in Peru supported millenarian movements that called for a return to preconquest religious practices. The first of these occurred in the province of Huamanga in 1564. Called Taqui Onqoy, or "dancing sickness," its leaders proclaimed that the Spaniards would be subdued by the traditional gods (*huacas*) and Amerindians would perish as well if they did not abjure Christianity, cease making tribute payments, and stop providing *mita* labor. Quickly suppressed by the Spaniards, Taqui Onqoy demonstrated both the shallowness of some conversions to Christianity and, given its lack of support outside Huamanga, the fact that Christianity had put down irradicable roots.

Twice in the 17th century, religious authorities in Peru initiated campaigns to extirpate idolatry. The first, in 1609–27, occurred in the province of Huarochirí in the Archbishopric of Lima. It was the result of an immoral and unscrupulous parish priest, Francisco de Ávila, who denounced pagan practices in the parish from which he had been removed and then to which he was named judge-inspector of idolatry after being cleared of wrongdoing. Under his campaign, idols, mummies, and Andean religious shrines were destroyed, and those responsible for idolatry were punished and instructed in Catholic doctrine. His systematic approach was outlined in a manual for extirpators published in 1621. Many clerics and indigenous communities protested the abuses and

financial demands of the visitors and the end of strong sponsorship by the archbishop and viceroy terminated the campaign. A second campaign began in 1641 under a new viceroy and persisted until 1671. After that date, a few idolaters were prosecuted, but churchmen increasingly viewed such infractions as not meriting the kind of persecution conducted earlier.

The Tribunal of the INQUISITION in Lima opened in 1570, but lacking jurisdiction over cases involving indigenous people, focused its efforts on the remainder of the population. While it policed morals, censored published materials, and sought to uproot the usual set of infractions, the most spectacular use and abuse of its authority was in the persecution of Portuguese Judaizers, including some very wealthy merchants in Lima, in the “great Jewish conspiracy” that culminated in an *AUTO DE FE* in 1639.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

As the center of Peru’s trade and home to a large well-to-do Spanish population, Lima emerged as Peru’s most vibrant center of EDUCATION and culture. The diocesan clergy and Jesuits in particular provided *COLEGIOS* for the sons of families who did not require their labor to subsist.

In Lima, the Colegio Mayor of San Martín, established in 1582, instructed students aged 12 to 24. The Colegio Mayor of San Felipe, founded in 1592, served as a residential facility for 16 students in the arts, canon law, and theology. The Seminary of Santo Toribio, opened in 1590, offered studies in theology and sacred scripture. A separate school for Amerindian *CACIQUES* opened in 1620–21; its objectives were to teach reading, writing, and civic and Christian principles.

Youth in Cuzco, Trujillo, Arequipa, and other locations had access to primary and secondary education as well. In 1598, the bishop of Cuzco opened the College and Seminary of San Antonio de Abad; this became home to a university in 1696 (see UNIVERSITIES). In 1619, the Jesuits opened the College of San Bernardo in Cuzco; four years later, they added to this foundation with the University of San Ignacio de Loyola, although lawsuits prevented it from functioning until mid-century. The College of San Francisco de Borja for the eldest sons of caciques was established in Cuzco in the early 17th century.

The UNIVERSITY OF SAN MARCOS, authorized in 1551 but not functioning until the 1570s, attracted students from throughout Peru as well as from Charcas, Chile, and other regions. It conferred baccalaureate, licentiate, and doctoral degrees and could boast a number of alumni who obtained positions of considerable responsibility, including on the Audiencias of Lima, Charcas, Chile, and Quito.

Lima had one of the first PRINTING PRESSES, as well as an active market for books imported from Spain. The first book published was a trilingual catechism resulting from the Third Lima Council of Bishops in 1582–83.

Written in Castilian, Quechua, and Aymara, this work and others originating with the council are credited with creating what is now termed *Standard Colonial Quechua*, a form of Quechua based on that used in the Cuzco region and the one that clerical authors employed for the remainder of the colonial era.

While Cuzco could claim El Inca GARCILASO DE LA VEGA, Lima was home to a literary society that included PEDRO DE PERALTA Y BARNUEVO and, at the end of the 18th century, periodicals that included the celebrated, although short lived *MERCURIO PERUANO*.

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Pezuela, Joaquín de la (b. 1761–d. 1830) *Spanish viceroy of Peru* Born in Naval, Huesca, Spain, Joaquín de la Pezuela followed a MILITARY career. He studied in the Artillery School of Segovia, participated in the WAR against the French in 1793 and 1794, and served as commander in chief of the royalist army in Upper Peru (CHARCAS) from 1813. He was victorious at Vilcapuquio and Ayohuma against a rebel army from BUENOS AIRES led by MANUEL BELGRANO and also against forces led by José Rondeau at Viluma. Promoted to the rank of field marshal as a result of these successes, Pezuela replaced JOSÉ FERNANDO DE ABASCAL Y SOUSA as VICEROY OF PERU, arriving in LIMA on July 7, 1816. His naming was initially interim, but FERDINAND VII granted him a regular appointment in March 1817.

A royalist and an absolutist, Pezuela faced an unenviable situation. He reached Lima two days before the UNITED PROVINCES OF THE RÍO DE LA PLATA declared complete independence from Spain. With the viceregal treasury more than 11 million pesos in debt, he lacked the financial resources to pursue rebels effectively. The victory of JOSÉ DE SAN MARTÍN’s Army of the Andes at CHACABUCO in 1817 quickly led to CHILE declaring inde-

pendence. Although the army Pezuela sent was victorious at Cancha Rayada on March 19, 1818, rebels triumphed over royalist forces led by his son-in-law Mariano Osorio at the BATTLE OF MAIPÓ on April 5, 1818, a victory that confirmed Chilean independence and made a seaborne invasion of Peru possible.

The independence of Chile meant that Peru's principal trading partner was now its enemy. The insistence of a majority of Lima's merchant guild (*CONSULADO*) on enforcing an 1812 ban on goods that went through Chile meant that approximately one-half million pesos of income derived annually from the TRADE was also lost. Consequently, Pezuela faced fiscal disaster that only permitting foreign shippers to sell their wares and pay taxes at CALLAO could mitigate. His dependence on foreign trade for WHEAT and income led him to circumvent restrictions, which further angered a number of merchants.

PENINSULAR officers with Masonic ties, including JOSÉ DE LA SERNA and José de Canterac, arrived from Spain from 1815. These liberals opposed Pezuela's belief in negotiation and compromise and soon began ignoring his orders. When San Martín's army began landing at Pisco on September 7, 1820, Pezuela had no available army to contest it. Between the *consulado's* unwillingness to provide adequate financial resources and the refusal of hardline officers to move troops from the Army of Upper Peru to protect the southern coast, Pezuela lacked the ability to respond. His enemies, however, criticized him for not employing what he described as "a system of oppression and bloodshed." With the liberals', or constitutionalists', return to power in Spain as a result of the RIEGO REVOLT in January 1820, no additional military support would come from Spain. Regardless, Pezuela's liberal critics believed that force was the only way to deal with rebels who rejected the restoration of constitutional government for the "Spanish Nation." The defection of an important regiment and the declaration of independence by the INTENDANT of Trujillo further weakened the viceroy. Indeed, Pezuela, by this time, considered independence inevitable.

On January 29, 1821, a coup led by army officers quickly replaced Pezuela with La Serna. Although the Crown had already named La Serna as Pezuela's successor in the event of the viceroy's death, it did not appoint him viceroy until December 19, 1823.

Returning to Spain via RIO DE JANEIRO and Plymouth, England, Pezuela reached Madrid on May 20, 1822. An unnecessary review of his political sympathies for possible liberal views resulted in approval of his conduct and, on June 17, 1825, an appointment as governor and captain general of New Castile, a post he served until his death. In March 1830, he was granted the title *marqués de Viluma*.

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Philip II (b. 1527–d. 1598) *Spanish monarch* The son of CHARLES I and Isabella of Portugal, Philip grew up in a court still without a fixed capital. In 1543, his father named him regent of his realms in Spain and left the peninsula for 14 years. The Holy Roman emperor's advice to his son was "keep God always in mind" and "accept good advice at all times." By the time Charles returned to Spain, Philip's first marriage, to Maria of Portugal, had ended with her death, and he was remarried to Mary Tudor of England; this marriage would end in 1558 with her death. By that time, Philip had been king of Naples since 1554 and king of Castile and Aragon since his father's abdication on January 16, 1556.

A hardworking, conscientious, and deeply religious monarch, Philip returned to Spain from the Netherlands in 1559 and never again left the Iberian Peninsula. European affairs, the bane of his father, remained at the center of Philip's concerns, but unlike his father, he viewed them from a Spanish perspective. He was particularly consumed with retaining his inheritance, preserving Catholicism from threats from both Islamic Ottomans and Protestants, and maintaining Spain's monopoly of TRADE with the INDIES. While Philip's third marriage, to Elizabeth of Valois, and the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559 brought conflict with France to an end, the revolt of the Calvinist provinces of the Netherlands that began in 1568 struck Philip to the core; it would prove an open sore that extended into the reigns of his son PHILIP III and grandson PHILIP IV.

With Protestantism in the ascendancy during the reign of Elizabeth I, the English provided support for the United Provinces that ultimately led to open warfare. Spain lost one armada in 1588 and a second in 1597; peace would not be achieved until the Treaty of London was signed in 1604, after Philip's death.

Naval victory over the Turks at Lepanto in 1571 was celebrated but did not end the Muslim threat. Indeed, the revolt of ostensibly converted Muslims (*Moriscos*) in the Alpujarras region of Spain, although quelled, also brought together the issues of Catholicism and the preservation of Philip's inheritance.

Only Philip's takeover of Portugal through a dynastic claim and military force seemed a major triumph and enabled him to be the monarch on whose realms the sun never set. The takeover brought both antagonism from the Portuguese and additional colonies that attracted foreign poaching.

A constant in Philip's reign was inadequate income to match expenditures. One of his first acts as monarch, in 1557, was to restructure the debt inherited from his father in what is usually called a bankruptcy. He was forced to do this again in 1575 and 1596.

Although Castile and especially its peasantry bore the major share of Philip's expenditures, the monarch benefited from empire. While the fabled conquests led by Hernando Cortés, Francisco Pizarro, and others were long past by 1556, on the periphery of empire, less well-known conquests and Spanish settlement continued. And in some cases, ongoing warfare with Amerindians persisted, for example, in southern CHILE and northern NEW SPAIN.

Philip received unprecedented revenues from the American colonies. The introduction of the amalgamation process in New Spain and subsequently in PERU raised SILVER production to previously unheard-of levels. POTOSÍ, the great mountain of silver in CHARCAS, yielded increasing sums into the 1590s. Accounting for just more than 10 percent of Philip's revenues when he became king of Spain in 1556, American silver shipped to SEVILLE provided about 20 percent of his revenues by the end of his reign in 1598, an amount roughly equal to royal revenues received from the CATHOLIC CHURCH in Castile. Despite the Viceroyalty of New Spain's greater population, Peru was the more valuable colony while Philip was king.

During Philip's reign, the fleet system of conveying goods to the colonies and principally silver from the colonies to Seville worked effectively (see FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM). With Spanish "pacification" and settlement in the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS in the 1570s, the MANILA GALLEONS annually brought silks and other East Asian goods to New Spain and Peru, although this trade drained substantial silver from the Atlantic trade. Spanish immigration to the colonies continued in the second half of the 16th century, with the number of identified emigrants from 1560 to 1600 exceeding that from 1520 to 1559.

By the end of Philip's reign, nearly all major Spanish CITIES and towns in the colonies had been founded, marking out the regional and provincial capitals that would persist in most cases throughout the colonial era and beyond. The forced resettlement of NATIVE AMERICANS, a policy that met with varied success, had occurred in New Spain, GUATEMALA, NEW GRANADA, Peru, Charcas, and elsewhere.

Building on Spanish cities and towns, the colonial administrative structure that would last well into the BOURBON DYNASTY was almost completely in place by the end of Philip's reign. The years of VICEROY FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO Y FIGUEROA (1569–81) in Peru had solidified royal rule at the regional level and transformed the required rotational labor practice (MITA) employed by the Incas into a forced rotational labor system whose most visible use was in the silver mines of Potosí and the MERCURY mines of HUANCAVELICA. Philip's introduction of the sale and inheritance of selected positions (OFICIOS VENDIBLES Y RENUNCIABLES) resulted in local elites gaining long-term control over local affairs.

The church in the colonies was also entrenched by the end of Philip's reign. Friars in regular orders and priests from the Society of Jesus could be found throughout the colonies. The JESUITS, in particular, were starting

to establish missions and accumulate the rural real estate that would arouse the jealousy and cupidity of other religious, colonists, and the Crown. The hierarchy of the diocesan clergy was also in place throughout the colonies, but the effort to replace friars with secular parish priests had foundered. The Tribunal of the INQUISITION had been established in MEXICO CITY and LIMA in the early 1570s and would continue into the 19th century.

The number of Amerindians in the colonies declined even further during the reign of Philip II. By 1568, the native population in New Spain was roughly 2.6 million, a number sufficiently low that following the next major epidemic, from 1576 to 1581, Spaniards moved into direct oversight of agricultural production to ensure the continued availability of WHEAT and other foodstuffs (see AGRICULTURE). Population decline in Peru placed increased stress on KURAKAS' ability to maintain the traditional reciprocity and redistribution system employed by their ancestors.

As trading and raiding by English corsairs indicated, foreign interest in Spain's empire increased during Philip's reign. Spain's enemies believed that New World silver funded its foreign policy and armies. If they could capture the silver before it reached Spain, they could cripple Philip's ability to pursue his policy. For the English and Dutch, anti-Spanish sentiment fed the BLACK LEGEND of unique Spanish cruelty and justified whatever actions they themselves took.

At the end of his reign, Philip's empire in the Americas remained intact. Already, however, the colonies were becoming more self-sufficient. With access to East Asian textiles, moreover, their need for European textiles was declining. Philip II was largely spared the implications of the colonies' growing ability to do without Castile's agricultural products and merchandise, merchandise increasingly trans-shipped through Spain but produced elsewhere. His successors were not so fortunate.

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Philip III (b. 1578–d. 1621) *monarch of Spain* The son of PHILIP II and his fourth wife, Anna of Austria, Philip succeeded his father in 1598, two years after the government's most recent bankruptcy. He inherited a long-standing and punishingly expensive Protestant revolt in the Netherlands, conflict with England, concern about the loyalty of Morisco subjects, an overtaxed peasantry in Castile, an economy whose major domestic export—wool—was no longer competitive in the European market, and ongoing concern about FOREIGNERS penetrating

the markets of the INDIES. Although PERU's mines continued to produce great amounts of SILVER, the volume of legal goods shipped from Spain was in obvious decline by 1611. The colonies' ability to produce more of the foodstuffs they wanted, as well as artisanal items, reflected a growing self-sufficiency that augured poorly for Spanish exports. Spain increasingly could not produce the goods the colonies demanded and manufactures shipped to the colonies via SEVILLE, SANLÚCAR DE BARRAMEDA, or CÁDIZ originated elsewhere in Europe. Silks secured in the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS for American silver found markets not only in the colonies but in Spain itself.

Philip III's reign was plagued with financial problems. In 1599, his first full year as monarch, almost half of royal income was pledged to debt repayment, and expenses were nearly triple the unpledged income. Despite peace with France as a result of his father's Treaty of Vervins, with England by the Treaty of London (1604), and with the Dutch (1609–21) through the Twelve-Years' Truce, the latter reducing expenditures for the Army of Flanders by about 50 percent, Spain's treasury showed continued deficits as Philip III proceeded to outspend income.

The reign of Philip III marked the emergence of the *valido*, or royal favorite. The duke of Lerma assumed this role and, until his fall in 1618, was, at least in domestic affairs, the most important influence on the king and his delegate in overseeing many matters that Philip II had handled himself. Enjoying personal access to the monarch and controlling others' access through his appointment as grand chamberlain (*sumiller de corps*) and master of the horse (*caballerizo mayor*) and by placing relatives and supporters in other important positions in the royal household, Lerma was able to isolate the king from potential rivals as well as have access to all of his correspondence. The favorite's position enabled Philip III to spend a good deal of time hunting; it also enabled the duke and his supporters to become rich through royal largesse as well as less savory means.

In foreign policy, Philip himself made final decisions, typically after recommendations of the Council of State and, presumably, Lerma. This personal involvement allowed Philip, supported by a majority of his councilors, to impose the defense of Catholicism as a central tenet of his relationships with other rulers. While the truce with the Dutch gave tacit recognition to the Calvinists, Philip, who signed the truce only after extensive and difficult negotiations between the two war-weary and fiscally unsound countries, considered it a breathing space in preparation for resumption of WAR rather than a true peace and an opportunity to expel the Moriscos.

Philip married Margaret of Austria; their son Philip succeeded his father in 1621 as PHILIP IV.

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Philip IV (b. 1605–d. 1665) *monarch of Spain* The son of PHILIP III and Margaret of Austria, Philip inherited the “Spanish monarchy”—the aggregate of territories ruled individually by the monarch—while in his teens, in 1621, and would hold it longer than any other HABSBURG, until 1665. Within weeks, it became clear that the last cronies of the duke of Lerma had been cleared out and that Gaspar de Guzmán, the count of Olivares, was the royal favorite (*valido*) of the new king. In 1625, Olivares was made duke of San Lúcar la Mayor and was henceforth known as count-duke (conde-duque). He served until dismissed in 1643.

While historians debate over when Spain went into decline, there is no doubt that during Philip IV's reign, Spain was increasingly less able to achieve its foreign-policy objectives and to maintain its control over the INDIES, despite the best efforts of Olivares. The expiration of the Twelve-Years' Truce with the United Provinces in 1621 led to a renewal of war in the Low Countries the following year. The financial resources available to Philip, however, were already mortgaged until 1625. After peaking in the 1590s at more than 2 million pesos of 450 *maravedís*, average annual remissions of American SILVER for the Crown declined to about 1.5 million pesos from 1601 to 1610 and to less than 1 million pesos in 1620. They remained under 1 million through 1645 but then plummeted to less than 335,000 from 1646 to 1650, rose to just under 450,000 in the next quinquennium, and then dropped to barely 121,000 pesos a year between 1656 and 1660. While the decline in registered silver production from the mines at POTOSÍ certainly affected remissions for the Crown, increased expenditures for defense in the Americas and extensive illegal trading were also responsible.

Despite some military victories, overextension, a weak domestic ECONOMY, chronic indebtedness, and declining American revenues precluded ongoing success. Renewal of war in the Low Countries continued to drain Spanish resources until 1648 when Philip IV accepted the Treaty of Westphalia, which recognized both the republic of the United Provinces as an independent state and its islands in the Indies. France and Spain went to war in 1635 in a conflict not definitively resolved until 1659. One provision of the Treaty of the Pyrenees provided for the marriage of Louis XIV and the infanta Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of Philip IV; in return for the handsome DOWRY promised to Louis, the infanta renounced any claims to the Spanish throne for herself or any heirs resulting from their marriage, in an attempt to ensure that Spain would not become subservient to the French throne.

Philip's Spain suffered blows from within as well as without. In 1640, both the Catalans and the Portuguese

rose in revolt. The surrender of Barcelona in 1652 virtually ended the former, but the Portuguese did not gain Spanish recognition of their independence until 1668.

Spain's rivals did not spare the Indies. Earlier, a Dutch expedition had destroyed the South Sea Fleet off the Peruvian coast in 1615 (see *FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM*). With the expiration of the Twelve-Years' Truce, the Dutch chartered the *DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY* with a monopoly on *TRADE* in the New World and part of the West African coast. A Dutch expedition blockaded *CALLAO* and sacked the port of *GUAYAQUIL* in 1624. In 1628, the Dutch West India Company had its greatest success when Admiral Piet Heyn captured the Spanish treasure fleet with nearly 5 million pesos off *HAVANA*. In 1630, the Dutch West India Company invaded *PERNAMBUCO* in northeastern *BRAZIL*, establishing the Dutch there for a quarter century. In 1634, the Dutch captured Curaçao from the Spanish; subsequently, they took St. Eustatius, Saba, and half of St. Martin. During Philip's reign, the French settled on Martinique and Guadeloupe, among other islands, and the western portion of *HISPANIOLA*. The English took Barbados in 1627, Nevis in 1628, Antigua and Montserrat in 1632, and *JAMAICA* in 1655.

With foreign raiders and settlers, irregular fleets to *NEW SPAIN* and *PORTOBELLO*, extensive contraband trade both on the fleets and by individual foreign merchants, increased public expenditures for defense in the colonies, and a growing population, Spain's American empire drifted ever further from royal control. Declining registered silver production in Peru and rising production in New Spain was turning the latter viceroyalty into Spain's most vital colony in the Indies. Philip was succeeded by his son *CHARLES II*.

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Philip V (b. 1683–d. 1746) *monarch of Spain* Born in France, Philip was the duke of Anjou, grandson of the *BOURBON* Sun King, Louis XIV, and Queen Maria Theresa, the daughter of *PHILIP IV* of Spain. The last will of *HABSBURG* king *CHARLES II* of Spain named Philip as his heir. Habsburg archduke Charles, son of Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I, however, also claimed the throne as Charles III, resulting in the *WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION*. Backed by France and with more public support in Castile than his rival, Philip V was ultimately confirmed on the throne of Spain and the Indies by the *TREATY OF UTRECHT* in 1713. Stripped of European possessions outside Spain as well as Gibraltar and Menorca, the new monarch devoted much of his reign (1700–46) to trying to restore a Spanish presence in Italy and to provide kingdoms there for his children with second wife, Elizabeth Farnese.

Domestically, Philip punished Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia, and Mallorca—that is, the historic Crown of Aragon—for supporting the Habsburg pretender, eliminating their *FUEROS* and, for the first time, making Spain a political reality rather than a geographical expression. He reduced the influence of the Habsburg councils, reassigning many of the original responsibilities of the *COUNCIL OF THE INDIES* to the *MINISTRY OF THE INDIES* and creating other ministries as well. He also experimented with introducing *INTENDANTS*, although only in 1749 would they be extended throughout Spain.

As a result of Philip's desperate sale of appointments during the War of the Spanish Succession and subsequent wars, *CREOLES*, including a number of native sons, enjoyed an unprecedented level of direct influence in administration in the colonies. Philip and his advisers realized the implications of this and sent Francisco de Garzarón to *NEW SPAIN* as visitor general in 1720 (see *VISITA*). Garzarón almost immediately suspended 11 of the 18 ministers on the Audiencia of Mexico (see *AUDIENCIA*).

The successful attack and destruction of *PORTOBELLO*'s forts by British admiral Edward Vernon with six ships and 2,500 men in December 1739 and early 1740 ended the last attempt to hold a trade fair there. Since ships had been routinely sailing to the Pacific coast around Cape Horn from the 1690s, Philip turned to register ships in an effort to maintain Spain's commercial monopoly with its South American colonies. The *WAR OF JENKINS' EAR* (1739–48) with Britain brought another spate of appointments sold by a penurious monarch and further strengthened the hold of creoles and native sons in the colonial *audiencias*.

Although Philip abdicated to his son Louis in 1724, Louis I's death within months brought the psychologically disturbed monarch back to the throne. He reigned until his death.

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Philippine Islands The arrival of Miguel López de Legazpi and his expedition initiated permanent Spanish settlement in the Philippine Islands in 1565. Unlike the earlier conquests in North and South America, settlement in the Philippines was to be peaceful, a tribute to the arguments of the Dominicans Bartolomé de Las Casas and Francisco de Vitoria. While there was some bloodshed, the Spaniards were able to establish themselves with relatively little force of arms. As on the American mainland, Spaniards received *ENCOMIENDAS*, but diligent clergy quickly informed the Crown of abuses.

While initial Spanish hopes of using the Philippines as a base from which to Christianize China and Japan and cut into the Portuguese monopoly on the spice TRADE went unrealized, the objective of Christianizing the native population of the Philippines was pursued. Aside from clerics, however, Spaniards soon became much more interested in the rapidly developing trade with China for which Manila served as the hub. The same trade attracted Chinese merchants, who quickly dominated retail trade and crafts in the capital city. Relations between Chinese and Spaniards were never good and, despite having forced the Chinese to settle in a separate area known as the Parian, four serious anti-Chinese riots occurred in the 17th century and a fifth in 1762.

Spanish colonists in the Philippines never numbered more than a few thousand. The length and difficulty of the journey made government service there unattractive for many Spaniards. Indeed, at times, the Crown essentially bribed young attorneys to serve on the *AUDIENCIA* created in 1595 by promising them advancement to the court in MEXICO CITY after a specified term of service. Also from 1595, the chief executive of the Philippines was a governor and captain general. Manila was the administrative capital and only real city, and there sat the usual city council. A *CONSULADO* was created in 1769.

More than 500,000 Filipinos were under the control of Spanish bureaucrats and clerics. In 1650, Manila and its suburbs had a population of some 42,000. The colony was never self-sufficient; subsidies (*situados*) arriving on the annual galleon or galleons from NEW SPAIN made up the deficits.

Spanish dependence on the MANILA GALLEONS caused serious difficulties when they failed to arrive. In 1636, no galleons were dispatched from Mexico, and in 1638, one was lost en route. Storms disrupted the sailing from Manila in 1645, and no ships arrived from Mexico in 1647, 1648, and 1652. Four galleons were lost in 1654, 1655, and 1657.

Since it usually took two years for communications between the islands and the court in Spain, authorities in the Philippines exercised considerable autonomy. Thus, conflicts between civil and ecclesiastical authorities in the islands could continue unresolved for years.

Although authorities in Spain tended to think of the Philippines as another province of Mexico, there were substantial differences. Not the least of them was that the Filipinos escaped the mass destruction by epidemic disease that plagued the Nahuas, the Incas, and other mainland NATIVE AMERICANS. In addition, Spaniards never developed the large estates characteristic of parts of Mexico. Although the Spaniards applied *encomienda*, Filipino chieftains were able to maintain local authority and, indeed, benefit from their role as intermediaries. Although clerics were often unhappy with the quality of Catholicism the Filipinos practiced, Christianity did help to hold the multiracial society together.

In 1762, the British took Manila. Since word of this victory did not reach Europe until after peace had been reached in Paris in 1763, however, the capital was not returned until 1764 and remained under Spanish rule until 1898.

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physicians See PROTOMEDICATO, ROYAL TRIBUNAL OF.

plantations Although colonials did not use the term, plantations were capital-intensive, large estates in Spanish America and BRAZIL on which slaves or forced labor performed most of the work (see SLAVERY). Plantations produced an agricultural product for sale beyond their locale, typically catering to an overseas or international market (see AGRICULTURE). SUGAR plantations, or *ENGENHOS*, were the most common type, but plantations, in some cases termed *HACIENDAS* or, in Brazil, *FAZENDAS*, were also created for the production of CACAO, INDIGO, TOBACCO, and COCHINEAL.

Although the Spanish colonies had plantations, for example, in coastal valleys of PERU, and, mostly from late in the 18th century, in CUBA; the British, in JAMAICA and Barbados from the mid-17th century; and the French, in Saint Domingue during the 18th century, Brazil was the cradle of *ENGENHOS*, starting from humble beginnings in the mid-16th century. PERNAMBUCO, the Recôncavo around SALVADOR DA BAHIA, and the captaincy general of RIO DE JANEIRO were three areas of plantation-based sugar production. Three major characteristics of Brazil's plantations were their location near water TRANSPORTATION; their use of African slave labor, usually 60–80 slaves and rarely less than 40; and their substantial capital investment both in labor and the processing equipment of the sugar mill.

While plantation owners were whites, the supervisors in the fields and the mill could be black freedmen or slaves. The fieldhands were almost exclusively African blacks (*bozales*) and exceeded in number all other slaves combined on a plantation.

With the exception of Haiti, all areas with plantations in the 17th and 18th centuries still had them in the early 19th century. Indeed, the slave revolution that created Haiti and literally destroyed Saint Domingue meant higher sugar prices for other plantation owners.

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plaza mayor The central plaza, or *plaza mayor*, was the heart of Spanish municipalities as well as new indigenous villages erected as a result of consolidation of populations from old villages (see *CONGREGACIÓN*; *REDUCCIÓN*). Whether established on the original central indigenous plaza, as occurred with MEXICO CITY, or on previously unoccupied land, as with PUEBLA, the *plaza mayor* provided a large rectangular public space that could be used for processions, public entertainments, and commercial activities. It was the center of a *traza*, or checkerboard layout, of surveyed and measured streets and lots.

Straight streets that intersected at right angles normally defined the plaza at a ratio of 3:2 for length and width. As specified in 1573, a plaza measuring 600 feet by 400 feet (182 × 122m) was ideal, for it allowed for equestrian sports. In Puebla, the streets were 14½ yards (13 m) wide, and each block was 200 by 100 yards (183 × 91 m) and divided into eight lots, each with 150 feet (46 m) of frontage. At a municipality's creation, the lots of the *traza* were distributed to the conquistadores and original settlers; the value and prestige of lots declined with distance from the *plaza mayor*.

Located within a *plaza mayor* was typically a fountain that provided drinking water and a pillory (*picota*). On two sides were a church and a municipal building and jail; in *AUDIENCIA* capitals, the chief executive, the *audiencia*, and other government offices were on the third side. Portals surrounded the remainder of the plaza, the site of numerous retail merchants.

In towns created by *congregación* or *reducción*, a rectangular *plaza mayor* was also the center of a grid plan, with the church and public buildings on sides of the plaza. The plaza was also used as the focal point of village life in the Andes and NEW SPAIN, even when the terrain required creating a substantial level space. Forcing NATIVE AMERICANS into Spanish-style villages gave spatial emphasis to colonial rule.

In colonial BRAZIL's municipalities, a *praça*, or plaza, often of irregular shape, was routinely located in front of a major building, but there normally was not a *plaza mayor* around which were located the town hall, governor's palace, and the major church. Early colonial elites, moreover, often resided on their PLANTATIONS and had only modest city homes. Unlike in the Spanish colonies, Brazilian elites did not make the squares important social centers.

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Pombal, marquês de (Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo) (b. 1699–d. 1782) *Portuguese minister* Born in Lisbon, Portugal, into a family of the lower nobility, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo entered royal service

through the assistance of his relatives, served in London (1739–43) and Vienna (1745–49), and studied the works of ENLIGHTENMENT authors and enthusiasts. Following the death of his first wife, he remarried a favorite of Empress Maria Theresa. In Portugal in 1750 when John V died, Carvalho e Melo became a secretary of state to Joseph I, an indolent monarch with no interest in ruling.

Following the catastrophic earthquake that destroyed much of Lisbon in 1755, Carvalho e Melo took charge of its reconstruction along rational and geometric lines, emerged as the undisputed first minister and, with the titular support of the king, ruled Portugal and its colonies until Joseph's death in 1777. In 1769, he received the title by which he is best known, *marquês de Pombal*. Pombal believed that the state should take an active role in the ECONOMY by promoting and encouraging import substitution, strengthening the variety of exports, and developing the personnel who could move Portugal forward. This had to be done within the context of the METHUEN TREATY of 1703, which gave British woolens special access to the Portuguese market and in return Portuguese wines special access to the British market.

Pombal fully recognized that BRAZIL, although a colony, was economically more important than Portugal and the source of its wealth. Although his reforms in Portugal—in the areas of public EDUCATION, reorganization and revitalization of the University of Coimbra, abolition of SLAVERY, centralization of the royal treasury, modernization of the army, expulsion of the JESUITS, taming the INQUISITION, and a variety of economic measures designed to lessen dependence on Britain—were notable, he devoted substantial effort to improving colonial administration and the collection of revenue, TRADE, and defense.

Portugal's close relationship with Britain meant that British traders were able to use Lisbon and Oporto as bases for shipping extensive contraband to Brazil and, through Brazil, to the Río de la Plata region with its stream of SILVER from CHARCAS. Itinerant traders (*comissários volantes*) purchased goods on CREDIT, accompanied them to the Americas, and sold them on credit, thus defrauding the Crown and reducing demand for legally traded items. In 1755, Pombal expelled the itinerant traders and created the COMPANHIA GERAL DO COMÉRCIO DO GRÃO-PARÁ E MARANHÃO with a 20-year monopoly of trade to the two captaincies; his objectives were to strengthen Portuguese large-scale merchant-capitalists, to reduce contraband, and to increase imports of slaves to the two captaincies (see SLAVERY). The company also encouraged the development of new products; cotton was soon grown in such quantities that it exceeded Portugal's needs and could be reexported.

Accompanying these actions, Pombal ordered NATIVE AMERICANS in Brazil freed from Jesuit tutelage, a measure that struck at the heart of Jesuit involvement in the colony. While providing EDUCATION to the young

sons of colonists through their *COLEGIOS*, the Jesuits in Brazil were also prominent in the Amazon, PARAGUAY, and Misiones. Although the Society of Jesus had yielded to the TREATY OF MADRID in 1750, their GUARANÍ neophytes, who were to be moved along with their livestock, did not. It required a combined Portuguese-Spanish MILITARY force to break their resistance in 1756. Pombal considered the Jesuits enemies of the state.

An inquiry into an attempted assassination of Joseph I in September 1758 gave Pombal evidence that not only high-ranking aristocrats but also some Jesuits were involved. In 1759, the convicted aristocrats were executed, and Pombal ordered the Jesuits expelled from Brazil, Portugal, and other sites in the empire and their properties seized.

In 1759, Pombal created another trading company, this one for the captaincies of PERNAMBUCO and Paraíba, in an effort to aid SUGAR producers by providing merchandise and slaves on credit. The company also invested in sugar mills, and by 1780, the number of mills had more than doubled.

The TREATY OF PARIS that ended the Seven Years' War in 1763 also sought to resolve the disputed boundary with Spain in Río de la Plata. Spain returned COLÔNIA DO SACRAMENTO to Portugal but retained conquered lands in Rio Grande. In the same year, to strengthen Portuguese control of southern Brazil, Pombal moved the VICEROY'S capital from SALVADOR DA BAHIA to RIO DE JANEIRO. A large Spanish force under PEDRO DE CEVALLOS invaded the "debatable lands" and, after Pombal's fall, the 1777 TREATY OF SAN ILDEFONSO gave Colônia to Spain and Rio Grande went to Portugal.

The death of Joseph I in 1777 brought Pombal's immediate loss of office and power, as those alienated in Portugal and Brazil by his reforms struck back under Queen Maria I. The privileges enjoyed by the trading companies for several Brazilian captaincies were not extended, although investors continued trading into the 1780s.

Accused by his enemies of abuse of power, corruption, and other charges, Pombal fought in court. Maria I in 1781 declared that he warranted "exemplary punishment" but allowed the old and weakened man to die in peace.

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population Estimates of the indigenous population in the Americas at the time of Christopher Columbus's first voyage vary from under 10 million to more than 100 million. Whatever the figure, demographic historians agree that horrific population loss followed the arrival of Europeans, a consequence of epidemic diseases that included smallpox and measles, military action, mistreat-

ment, starvation, and other causes (see EPIDEMICS). Aside from the almost total elimination of Amerindians on some CARIBBEAN islands in the early 16th century, the lowest population figures were usually in the 17th century, although this was not the case in PERU.

The approaches that could be used to estimate population prior to modern censuses are varied. Area projection can be applied when one knows the population for part of a region believed to be of similar density throughout. If one knows the ratio of change between two dates for part of a region, the ratio is applied to the entire region. If one knows the number of, for example, tributaries in a region, applying a multiplier for average FAMILY size gives an estimate of the total population. While other approaches can be used, it is important to recognize that the results are only estimates. Contemporary estimates of populations in the 16th century are typically also flawed.

The utility of global estimates is limited, but they can highlight major changes or continuities in population over time. Distinct geographic regions had notable differences in population change as well. Population usually declined more in coastal than in mountainous areas.

The most thorough demographic studies have been done for Central Mexico. While the authors vary significantly in their estimates of the preconquest population, there is substantial convergence on a figure of about 2.65 million in 1568 and widespread agreement that the nadir of the NATIVE AMERICAN population was around 1625, by which time it was about 750,000. By the middle of the 17th century, the population began to increase and continued to do so with only occasional setbacks for the remainder of the colonial period. A census-based figure in 1793 revealed that the number of Amerindians was more than 2.3 million.

The native population of Central America declined precipitously between 1519 and the mid-16th century. Pandemics in 1519–20, 1529–31, and 1532–34 reduced the population by perhaps 70 percent or more. An epidemic of 1545–48, possibly plague, further reduced Amerindian numbers to the point that Spaniards began to ration their labor. There were six more pandemics before 1750.

Epidemic disease struck the population of Peru before the arrival of Pizarro's expedition of conquest, and the population fell further during and after conquest. The nadir was reached in the 1720s, following the final major epidemic of the colonial era. This epidemic, in 1718–23, took a fearsome toll. Porosí, already much reduced in size from its 17th-century apogee, reportedly lost 22,000 people, one-third or more of its population. Total mortality in Peru was at least 200,000, and higher estimates abound.

While overall the colonial population declined into the 17th century, population groups perceived as whites, blacks, and *CASTAS* expanded substantially. Spanish and Portuguese immigrants and especially their descendants increased in number from the times of exploration,

conquest, and settlement. The numbers were very modest at first; Peru had only about 8,000 whites in 1560. The whole of NEW SPAIN in 1570 had fewer than 20,000 whites, one-third of them immigrants. Between 1561 and 1600, an estimated 4,000 Europeans a year entered Spanish America. By 1650, an estimated 200,000 more had arrived. Also aided by natural reproduction, the white population had expanded noticeably by 1650 and may have totaled more than 650,000.

The number of imported African slaves dwarfed that of European immigrants (see SLAVERY). About 1,250 per year entered Spanish America, and 1,000 a year entered BRAZIL from 1551 to 1600. In the 17th century, these numbers rose to 2,925 and 5,600, respectively. Imports between 1701 and 1810 were far greater: 5,786 slaves arrived annually in Spanish America, and 18,914 in Brazil.

An estimated population of 12,577,000 for Spanish America in the early 19th century is divided as follows: New Spain, 5,837,000; Central America, 1,160,000; Caribbean islands, 550,000; NEW GRANADA, 1,100,000; VENEZUELA, 780,000; QUITO, 500,000; Peru, 1,100,000; CHARCAS, 560,000; CHILE, 550,000; BUENOS AIRES and Tucumán, 310,000; PARAGUAY, 100,000; and BANDA ORIENTAL, 30,000.

Using the percentages for whites, mestizos, Amerindians, and blacks provided by Alexander von Humboldt in the early 19th century and rounding the results, whites numbered about 2,400,000; mestizos (*castas*), about 4,000,000; Amerindians, about 5,700,000; and blacks, about 500,000 (see MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO). Regional variation across the Spanish Empire, however, was enormous, and these global figures apply to no specific region.

The largest CITIES in mainland Spanish America in the early 19th century were MEXICO CITY, with a war-swollen population of almost 170,000 in the 1810s; PUEBLA, with nearly 70,000; and LIMA and Buenos Aires, both with just over 60,000 in the 1810s. In Brazil, RIO DE JANEIRO had a population of about 100,000.

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Porres, Martín de See MARTÍN DE PORRES.

Portobelo (Puerto Bello, Portobello) In 1584, PHILIP II ordered that Portobelo replace NOMBRE DE DIOS as the Panamanian terminus of the fleet system, a decision implemented in 1597 (see FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM). West of the older port, Portobelo was sited on the southeast side of an excellent harbor on the Atlantic side of PANAMA. Its unhealthy location, marked by malaria and yellow fever and more than 200 inches (5,080 mm) of rain a year, attracted few permanent residents, mostly of African descent. Despite often having only a few property owners (*VECINOS*), it had a MUNICIPAL COUNCIL. The arrival of the galleons, however, transformed the usual monotonous existence into a vibrant TRADE fair that brought together merchants, sailors, officials, muleteers, and various servants, slaves, artisans, and miscellaneous helpers.

Under the fleet system, which was regularized in the 1560s, the galleons initially docked at CARTAGENA DE INDIAS. Word was quickly sent to LIMA so that merchants, royal officials, and treasure could set sail to the city of Panama from there and more northern sites in PERU and the AUDIENCIA district of QUITO. In Panama was arranged transport for SILVER and other items across the 50-mile (80.5-km) wide isthmus by MULE trains or via a route employing the River Chagres for most of the trip.

During the nearly 150 years of their existence, the fairs at Portobelo were the primary venue for the exchange of silver from Peru and CHARCAS for European merchandise. The monopolistic merchants accompanying goods from Spain sought quick sales at the highest possible prices; merchants from Peru delayed purchasing as long as possible in order to get lower prices as European merchants tried to get rid of stock rather than shipping it back to Europe or having to sell it personally in Peru or Cartagena. All merchants were willing to defraud royal tax collectors in order to increase their own profits.

The wealth that passed through Portobelo and Panama attracted foreign interest, and Portobelo was attacked repeatedly. In 1668, the English buccaneer HENRY MORGAN led some 400–500 men in a successful attack on Portobelo and bargained for a ransom that diminished in amount, variously given as 100,000 to 250,000 pesos, as his men died of illness. This attack was but a prelude to the more destructive and profitable one Morgan led against Panama City in 1671. Bartholomew Sharp led 300 BUCCANEERS in pillaging Portobelo in 1679.

The successful attack and destruction of Portobelo's forts by the British admiral Edward Vernon with six ships and 2,500 men in December 1739 and early 1740 ended the last attempt to hold a trade fair. By that time, ships were routinely sailing around Cape Horn, and the use of a fleet of galleons for trade via Portobelo was neither profitable nor necessary.

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Port Royal The sole territorial gain resulting from Oliver Cromwell's Western Design, the island of JAMAICA passed from Spanish to English control in 1655, although the remnants of the 1,500 or so Spaniards present were not suppressed until 1660. For several decades, the city of Port Royal on the southern coast became the base for English BUCCANEERS who had earlier resided on Tortuga and HISPANIOLA. With the knowledge of the royal governor, the buccaneers recruited men and sailed from the port to raid Spanish towns and then returned with their ill-gotten ransom and spoils. Life in the pirate port was riotous, and its reputation for wealth and immorality was widespread.

The best-known buccaneer was the notorious HENRY MORGAN (later Sir Henry Morgan), who was renowned for his boldness and cruelty. Following his seizure of PORTOBELLO in 1668, he led his men back to Port Royal to spend the ransom gained. After the even more celebrated

seizure, sack, and destruction of Panama City in 1671, Morgan again returned to his base and even served as lieutenant governor for some years (see PANAMA). The TREATY OF MADRID signed by Spain and England in 1670, however, anticipated the demise of the buccaneers in favor of TRADE. By the mid-1680s, the English government began to crack down on the remaining buccaneers and even sent a squadron to hunt them down.

The symbolic and literal end to Port Royal occurred on June 7, 1692, when an earthquake destroyed the city and most of it slid into the CARIBBEAN. Henceforth, Kingston became the leading English settlement in Jamaica, and the colony focused on SLAVERY, SUGAR production, and SMUGGLING.

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Potosí Located at the base of Cerro Rico (rich mountain), Potosí is the best-known SILVER MINING site in the VICEROYALTY OF PERU. The name applies to a city



The silver mining center of Potosí was legendary for the wealth it produced. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

as well as the surrounding region. Located in colonial CHARCAS, or Upper Peru (present-day Bolivia), the Villa Imperial de Potosí is located as the crow flies some 265 miles (426 km) from La Paz, 360 miles (579 km) from Salta, Argentina, 585 miles (941 km) from CUZCO, 900 miles (1,448 km) from LIMA, 1,080 miles (1,738 km) from BUENOS AIRES, and almost 1,600 miles (2,575 km) from QUITO. Its altitude of more than 13,400 feet (4,084 m) above sea level places it well over 3,000 feet (914 m) above the highest municipality in mainland United States.

According to 16th-century Jesuit missionary and historian JOSÉ DE ACOSTA, an Amerindian named Hualpa discovered a lode of silver in early 1545, and on April 21, another Amerindian named Huanca and a Spaniard named Juan de Villaroel registered the find. As word of the bonanza spread, Spaniards and indigenous rushed to the area, initially from the nearby mines at Porco. The town of Potosí quickly became the most populous municipality in the viceroyalty. For many years, the mines there were the richest source of silver in the Spanish Empire.

Potosí already had some 14,000 residents when officially founded in 1547. Estimates of the population in the early 17th century place it between more than 100,000 and 160,000. By 1700, it had declined to perhaps 70,000; if correct, it was still the largest city in South America. The decrease continued, and the city's population was about 22,000 in 1779, equating roughly to the populations of Cochabamba, La Paz, and BOGOTÁ and below Mexico's mining centers of GUANAJUATO and ZACATECAS at the time of independence.

Although silver production peaked in 1592, in 1611, Potosí's population was at or near its apogee. A census that year indicated a total population of 160,000 divided as follows: 3,000 Spaniards born in Potosí and 35,000 other CREOLES; 40,000 PENINSULARS; a few FOREIGNERS; 76,000 NATIVE AMERICANS; and 6,000 blacks, MULATOS, and ZAMBOS. About 4,000 of the Spanish males were *VECINOS*, as the municipality's citizens and landowners were known. While the total may well be exaggerated and the categories imprecise, these figures do suggest the substantial presence of both creoles and peninsulars, the consequences of the *MITA* that forced thousands of indigenous to Potosí annually and resulted in many remaining as wage laborers, and the relatively modest presence of African slaves and their descendants (see SLAVERY).

Whatever the exact population figures, consumers in Potosí constituted a market for everything needed to sustain life, as well as many luxuries. Foodstuffs, WINE, olive oil, cloth, fuel, tools, timber for construction, these and all other items were imported from sites near and far. Potosí became the hub of a regional ECONOMY that extended from Quito in the north, the principal source of woolen cloth, to Lima, through which passed European and East Asian imports; to the Pacific port of Arica, from which MERCURY from HUANCVELICA and occasionally from Spain was transported; to AREQUIPA, a principal source of wine and later brandy; to Salta, site of the fair

in which tens of thousands of MULES were purchased to transport goods to Potosí and silver from it; to Buenos Aires and later the Portuguese contraband center of COLÔNIA DO SACRAMENTO, sources of African slaves and European goods. In relatively nearby regions, Spaniards grew the WHEAT their countrymen demanded, the newly commodified MAIZE, *chuño* (freeze-dried potatoes), and the COCA desired by the indigenous. Amerindians chewed coca, produced among other places in Cochabamba, to alleviate hunger; it quickly became a cash crop that enjoyed seemingly endless demand.

From its founding until 1777, Potosí was part of the Viceroyalty of Peru. It fell under the Audiencia of Charcas after that jurisdiction's founding in 1559. When the Crown decided to create the VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA, it included Charcas and thus Potosí within it. Until the wars of independence, registered silver from Potosí went exclusively to Buenos Aires, where it was the most valuable export of the new viceroyalty.

Silver production was the motor sustaining Potosí and, for much of the colonial period, an extensive regional trade network. For the first 20 years, indigenous people employing traditional technology, especially the wind oven (*guayra*), dominated silver production. By the late 1560s, however, the highest-grade ore had been mined, shafts had to go deeper into the mountain, and the yields were less. As a result, indigenous laborers left for more promising sites or other occupations. The turnaround came with Viceroy FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO Y FIGUEROA, who personally arrived at Potosí at the end of 1572. In return for mine owners promising to construct new mills, he adapted a preconquest labor draft, the *mita*, and created a mandatory draft in which Amerindian males between 18 and 50 from 16 provinces would work one year out of seven in the mines of Potosí at low wages. In addition, he promised to make available mercury, discovered at Huancavelica in 1563, and its shipment to Potosí via the ports of Chíncha and Arica so that the amalgamation process could be introduced to process lower-grade ore. The result was nearly two decades of unparalleled growth in silver production, which peaked in 1592. Registered production subsequently declined, but exceeded 20 million pesos in every five-year period until 1661–65. The overall decline continued to a low of 5,704,135 from 1721 to 1725, before turning upward until 1800. Although an undetermined amount of silver went unregistered, the declining population of Potosí in the second half of the 17th century and beyond supports a conclusion that production fell substantially and, despite an 18th-century revival, never again approached the levels of the late 16th century.

The independence era brought Potosí to a new low. An army ordered north by the autonomist government in Buenos Aires entered Potosí on November 25, 1810. Led by Juan José Castelli, who had executed former VICEROY SANTIAGO DE LINIERS Y BREMOND, the army behaved like conquerors rather than liberators and profoundly

alienated the city's populace. When it returned to the city after six months of depredations in Chuquisaca, Oruro, and La Paz and a major defeat by royalist forces at Guaqui on June 20, 1811, the city exploded against the Argentines. Although a temporary peace was established, the Argentines' midnight looting of the mint and surreptitious departure at 4:30 A.M. with the silver ensured a welcome for royalist general JOSÉ MANUEL DE GOYENECHE Y BARREDA (see MINTS). Armies from each side would again pass through Potosí in 1813, and in 1815, the third army sent by the autonomous government of Buenos Aires arrived. Royalist general JOAQUÍN DE LA PEZUELA's decisive defeat of General José Rondeau's army at Sipe Sipe ended invasions from the south. Potosí's independence would come a decade later.

See also POTOSÍ (Vol. I).

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presidio Fortified garrisons along the northern reaches of the Spanish Empire that defended strategic locations and settlements were the quintessential frontier institution. These *presidios* embodied more than a MILITARY presence; they influenced their locales' ECONOMY, society, and demography. Amerindians were often present from the time a *presidio* was built. As families joined the soldiers, merchants, farmers, and ranchers added to the mix.

Presidios in NEW SPAIN were established initially along the Royal Road (Camino Real) between MEXICO CITY and the emerging MINING camps of the north. First created by VICEROY Martín Enríquez in the 1570s, more than 30 *presidios* were built by 1600. Another dozen were established in the 17th century and almost 40 more by 1800.

Presidios were typically rectangular fortresses of adobe brick, with circular towers at one or more of the corners. The perimeter walls varied from about 130 by 165 feet (40 × 50 m) for the smallest *presidio* to walls of 400 feet (120 m) on three sides and a fourth wall of 460 feet (140 m) for the largest. Inside were a patio, a chapel, barracks,

and other rooms. After 1772, new *presidios* were generally larger quadrangles, with sides of up to 415 feet (127 m) and angular bastions. Exterior walls might be nearly a yard (1 m) thick and 12 feet (3.6 m) high. Although primitive compared to contemporary European fortifications, the *presidios* almost always provided adequate protection against Amerindian attacks.

Presidial troops distinct from regular army troops and colonial militias manned the *presidios*. They were usually homegrown frontier cowboys accustomed to harsh conditions and fighting NATIVE AMERICANS. They enlisted for 10-year terms and served under a set of regulations specific to the *presidios*. More heavily armed than regular army troops, they were expected to maintain six horses and to carry a lance and shield as well as a musket, pistols, a saber, and a heavy leather coat that served as armor.

Presidios in the 1580s often had only a handful of men and one officer. The number of troops increased to a captain and 25 men by the middle of the 17th century and expanded to about 50 following the Great Northern Revolt (1680–98) that drove the Spaniards from Santa Fe (in present-day New Mexico). While numbers varied from nine to 105 in the early 18th century, by 1773, they had increased to a range of 73 to 144. In the late 18th century, a significant number of the presidial troops were *CASTAS* and indigenous, although the composition of each *presidio*'s garrison varied considerably. Soldiers' personal and service expenses routinely exceeded the pay received from officers, who profited from their men's need for credit. In addition, although their increased number elevated the total payroll, presidial soldiers earned less in the 18th century; their pay dropped from 450 pesos in 1701 to 240 in 1787.

The *presidios*' role in defense of the northern frontier of New Spain was important but even more so was their role in attracting civilians. Populated with families of soldiers and persons who sought protection and anticipated profit, *presidios* often became part of municipalities.

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printing press Conquistadores and early settlers brought books with them to the New World, but it took a few years before the first printing presses, paper, and other necessary supplies reached the colonies.

Bishop Juan de Zumárraga, who traveled to NEW SPAIN with a personal library of some 200 volumes, sought approval in 1533 for a commercial printing press. The printer, Esteban Martín, apparently reached MEXICO CITY in 1534; some historians believe the first book from his press was *Escala espiritual para llegar al cielo* (*Ladder of Divine Ascent*) by Saint John Climacus, published in 1535. A commercial printing firm was established in 1539 as

an offshoot of Juan Cromberger's publishing company in Seville.

Between 1539 and 1600, some 300 titles were published in Mexico City. Strikingly, the publications appeared in several languages: Castilian, 115; Latin, 86; native languages, 94; and some of these works were bilingual editions. From 1601 to 1700, 1,692 were published in Castilian, 219 in Latin, and 72 in native languages. While publications in Nahuatl accounted for the majority of works in native languages, at least one work was published in each of 18 other native languages.

In 1584, the printer Antonio Ricardo moved from New Spain to LIMA, PERU, where he set up a press. The first book off the new press was *Doctrina christiana*, a trilingual work in Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara that had been written by order of the Third Provincial Council of Lima. By 1699, the press in Lima had published 1,106 titles.

In the 17th century, presses were established in PUEBLA, New Spain, and GUATEMALA. In the years 1700–49, presses were set up in the Jesuit province of PARAGUAY, HAVANA, Oaxaca, and BOGOTÁ. From 1750–99, the JESUITS established a press that moved from the Ecuadorean municipality of Ambato to Riobamba and then to QUITO. Other presses inaugurated in the second half of the 18th century were located in Nueva Valencia, VENEZUELA; Córdoba; CARTAGENA DE INDIAS; New Orleans; SANTIAGO DE CHILE; BUENOS AIRES; SANTO DOMINGO; Puerto de

España; Santiago de Cuba; GUADALAJARA; and VERACRUZ. In the early 19th century, presses were established in MONTEVIDEO, CARACAS, PUERTO RICO, and GUAYAQUIL.

Among other things, colonial presses printed religious works, including sermons, hagiographies, catechisms, and confessionals; grammars; dictionaries; contributions to poetic contests; speeches; reprints of some European books; official documents; periodicals; and the occasional musical imprint. It has been estimated that some 30,000 titles were printed in colonial Spanish America, about 12,000 of them in New Spain.

BRAZIL lacked a printing press until the Court brought one when it transferred from Lisbon to RIO DE JANEIRO in 1808.

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Protomedicato, Royal Tribunal of Spaniards and Portuguese sought medical treatment from the time they arrived in the INDIES. Conquistadores suffered wounds that needed attention; unrecognized insects bit with painful results; some areas, particularly the hot and humid lowlands, were quickly recognized as zones of high mortality. While the conquerors applied the knowl-



The Royal Tribunal of Protomedicato licensed physicians. This is the uniform of Narciso Esparragosa, *protomédico* in Guatemala and surgeon of the royal chamber. (Private collection)

edge of folk medicine they brought from Spain, their preference was to employ a licensed Latin physician, a man who had university training in medicine. Such a man as Pedro de la Torre, “doctor to conquerors,” enjoyed a lucrative practice even when his credentials were questionable. The number of physicians was scant; between 1530 and 1545, MEXICO CITY had just four.

By the 1530s, the MUNICIPAL COUNCIL of Mexico City appointed physicians as *protomédicos* to inspect pharmacies and conduct medical examinations; it continued to do so until a royal appointee arrived in 1570. In LIMA, the first *protomédico* arrived in 1537 with a royal appointment; consequently, the city did not follow Mexico City’s practice.

“Romance surgeons” were present early in the colonial era. These men lacked university training and learned their trade through observation. Authorization to practice medicine, when it occurred, came from a municipal council. The lack of a professional approval process opened the way for charlatans; a public without alternatives employed them. In 1617, PHILIP III required that three examiners approve candidates to practice as physicians, surgeons, and pharmacists, but enforcement was episodic.

In 1646, NEW SPAIN received a Royal Tribunal of the Protomedicato in the form it would retain until independence. Its mandate was to oversee public health. The three members were the first (*prima*) professor of medicine at the UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO, a second professor of medicine at the university, and a physician selected by the VICEROY. In Lima, the *prima* professor of medicine at the UNIVERSITY OF SAN MARCOS became president of the Protomedicato and named two additional examiners. Although viceroys could make appointments, they needed royal approval within five years to be valid.

A license to practice medicine required, by royal mandate of 1639, four years of university medical study after the baccalaureate of arts degree, completion of the requirements for a baccalaureate in medicine, two years of residency with an approved physician, and passing the examination given by the Protomedicato (see UNIVERSITIES). Exemptions were common. The University of Mexico between 1607 and 1738 conferred only 438 baccalaureates in medicine, probably more than the total conferred by the other universities in the colonies. With so few graduates, licensed physicians were scarce. CHILE had only five in 1781. Querétaro had two in 1787; in 1800, BOGOTÁ had two; GUAYAQUIL had three; and CARACAS had six. The consequence of few licensed physicians was a plethora of quacks and folk healers, and self-curing (see CURANDERA/CURANDERO).

The Protomedicato was abolished by the CORTES OF CÁDIZ, reestablished by FERDINAND VII, and terminated again following the reinstatement of the CONSTITUTION OF 1812 in 1820. Final abolition in Lima came after the body had taken an oath supporting the declaration of independence.

See also MEDICINE (Vols. I, III).

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provincial deputations The CONSTITUTION OF 1812 for the Spanish nation, as Spain and the empire were therewith titled, devoted Articles 324–337 to “the political government [administration] of the provinces and the provincial deputations.” First proposed in fall 1811 by José Miguel Ramos Arizpe, deputy for the PROVINCIAS INTERNAS of NEW SPAIN, these new political bodies were to provide administrative oversight of their respective provinces. They included the province’s political executive (*jefe político*), who presided, the INTENDANT, and seven indirectly elected members who served two-year staggered terms. The elected members had to be more than 25 years of age and born in the province or a property holder (*VECINO*) resident for at least seven years; they could not hold a royal appointment.

The provincial deputations promised an unprecedented level of official political and administrative autonomy for 19 provinces in the overseas territories. In the former VICEROYALTY OF NEW SPAIN the provinces identified were New Spain, NEW GALICIA, Yucatán, San Luis Potosí, Provincias Internas de Oriente, Provincias Internas de Occidente, GUATEMALA, NICARAGUA, CUBA with the two Floridas, SANTO DOMINGO and PUERTO RICO, and the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. The constitution also designated deputations in NEW GRANADA, VENEZUELA, QUITO, PERU, CUZCO, CHARCAS, CHILE, and RÍO DE LA PLATA.

While movements for autonomy and outright independence made the provincial deputations moot in Chile, Río de la Plata, and parts of Venezuela and New Granada, residents elsewhere approved of the new institution. After the period of absolutism inaugurated by FERDINAND VII ended in 1820, New Spain and the Kingdom of Guatemala (Central America) quickly established provincial deputations. In New Spain, the provinces with deputations became states following independence; the deputations were thus an important step on the way to the federalist republic created in 1824 (see MEXICO, INDEPENDENCE OF). The number in Guatemala was expanded from two—in Guatemala and Nicaragua—to six, with new deputations created for San Salvador, Costa Rica, Honduras, and Chiapas.

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Provincias Internas JOSÉ DE GÁLVEZ Y GALLARDO, former visitor general of NEW SPAIN and minister of the Indies, created in 1776 the Commandancy General of the Provincias Internas, a MILITARY and administrative unit designed to strengthen oversight of New Spain's northern provinces. The future VICEROY of Peru, Teodoro de Croix, was named the first *comandante general*, a position that reported directly to authorities in Spain rather than to the viceroy of New Spain until January 1785.

The Provincias Internas initially included Sonora, Sinaloa, Texas, Coahuila, the Californias, New Vizcaya, and New Mexico. Threats to the new administrative unit came from both unpacified Amerindian peoples and European powers. Throughout the existence of the Provincias Internas, the Crown could not decide whether a single or divided administrative structure would be preferable and whether the structure should report to the viceroy of New Spain or directly to a minister in Madrid.

The structure of the Provincias Internas was split in October 1786 into three commands. The commander in chief had authority over Sonora, Sinaloa, and the Californias and reported to the viceroy. Reporting to the commander in chief were a commander of New Vizcaya and New Mexico and a commander of Texas, Coahuila, New León, New Santander, and the districts of Saltillo and Parras. This structure lasted only until March 1788, when the Provincias Internas was reorganized as two equal commands, both of which reported to the viceroy. The Provincias Internas de Poniente included New Vizcaya, New Mexico, Sonora, Sinaloa, and the Californias; the Provincias Internas de Oriente included New León, New Santander, Coahuila, Texas, and the districts of Saltillo and Parras. Two years later, Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola was named supreme commander of both the eastern and western provinces but remained dependent on the viceroy. By royal directive of November 1792, the Provincias Internas again became a single administrative unit independent of the viceroy of New Spain; it remained in this configuration until 1813, when it was split into eastern and western units dependent on the viceroy. The Provincias Internas remained dependent on the viceroy until Mexican independence.

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Puebla The city of Puebla de los Ángeles was founded in 1531 as a municipality for Spaniards unsupported by *ENCOMIENDAS*, although provided with access to indigenous labor. It was located at more than 7,000 feet (2,134 m) above sea level some 70 miles (113 km) southeast of MEXICO CITY in fertile lands near streams and forests and not far from the provinces of Tlaxcala and Cholula.

The Crown in 1532 sought to attract Spanish residents by adding an exemption from all taxes for 30 years to the usual provision of building lots to first settlers. The following year, it formally made Puebla a city, allowing it to double the size of its council.

Capital of the province of Puebla, the city, in 1570 had about 500 citizens (*VECINOS*) and a total Spanish population that probably exceeded 2,500. Despite being founded for non-*encomenderos*, *encomenderos* also lived there, and there were about 1,000 indigenous tributaries in 1570. One hundred years later, the city had nearly 70,000 inhabitants, rivaling Mexico City. In 1786, the city became the seat of an INTENDANT, although its population had declined. A slight plurality of the population in 1791 was Spanish (35 percent). Amerindians accounted for 34 percent of the population, and *CASTAS*, 31 percent. The change from its Spanish foundations was clear. The German scientist and traveler Alexander von Humboldt reported its population in the early 19th century as 67,800, greater than any city in Spanish South America but behind Mexico City and GUANAJUATO. Its location on the route between Mexico City and VERACRUZ facilitated TRADE.

The city was a parish from its founding, and in 1543, it became the seat of the bishopric of Puebla, originally founded in Tlaxcala. DOMINICANS, FRANCISCANS, and AUGUSTINIANS had convents in the city by 1570. *COLEGIOS* offered young men an opportunity for EDUCATION. Preserved 16th- and 17th-century buildings testify to the city's importance and wealth during much of the colonial era.

Puebla served as a base for Spaniards to acquire rural lands suitable for the production of WHEAT. The decline in the indigenous population facilitated this, and Spanish entrepreneurs received, purchased, appropriated, and consolidated grants into large estates that often had access to preconquest irrigation systems. Producers sold wheat not only in New Spain but also to CUBA, Florida, and VENEZUELA.

By the mid-16th century, the region around Puebla was growing mulberries, and weavers in the city were producing silk. Although silk production was short lived, the city continued to be a site for textile production, and until the 18th century, its region—the Puebla-Tlaxcala basin—along with the Valley of Mexico and the BAJÍO, was a major location for *OBRAJES* producing woolens.

Puebla had 35 of New Spain's largest *obrajes* in 1604; they exported cloth via ACAPULCO to PERU, in particular, until the Crown banned this intercolonial trade in 1631. Thereafter, Puebla's *obrajes* declined in number and importance. Cotton spinning, mainly in individual households and other small units of production, emerged in the late 17th century and continued into the 19th century. While rural Amerindians did much of the spinning, Spanish and mestizo weavers produced the cloth whose export was managed by wholesale merchants or their agents (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*). The advent of neutral

trade in 1804 allowed foreign cottons to enter the New Spain market legally and presaged the decline of the industry.

See also PUEBLA (Vol. III).

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Pueblo Revolt (1680) The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 was the most successful indigenous uprising against Spanish rule in colonial NEW SPAIN. After two decades marked by drought; starvation; disease; raids by Navajos, Apaches, and other nomadic indigenous peoples; increased Spanish demands for labor and TRIBUTE; and attacks on their native priests, the Pueblos in more than 20 communities scattered across several hundred miles came together under religious leader Popé of San Juan Pueblo in a massive and successful effort to drive the Spaniards from their lands. While not all Pueblo communities were involved, most participated in the revolt, which began on August 10.

Driven from their lands along the Rio Grande and its tributaries, Spaniards took refuge in Santa Fe (present-day New Mexico) and Isleta Pueblo before fleeing to El Paso (present-day Texas) in September. The Pueblos destroyed Spanish buildings and fields and killed more than 400 of 2,500 Spaniards in driving their oppressors from New Mexico. Their anger against Christianity was manifest: They killed 21 of 33 missionaries and desecrated churches and religious objects.

Although the success of the Pueblo Revolt stimulated other NATIVE AMERICANS on the northern frontier to rebel against Spanish rule and religion, by the early 1690s, internal divisions had weakened the Pueblos. After a preliminary expedition in 1692, Diego de Vargas returned to New Mexico late in the following year with a substantial expedition that included 100 soldiers and some Pueblo allies. A difficult victory at Santa Fe encouraged the Spaniards, but it required war throughout 1694 to restore Spanish rule. Another indigenous revolt in 1696 failed, and Vargas reestablished Spanish rule over all but the most western rebel communities.

The cost of the revolt was high for both the Pueblos and the Spaniards. The population of the former declined from some 17,000 in 1680 to 14,000 in 1700, a drop that resulted in the abandonment of some villages. The revolt forced Spaniards to rethink their level of exploitation, and they reduced their demands. The ENCOMIENDA system, for example, was never reestablished in New Mexico.

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Puerto Rico Located in the Barlovento portion of the CARIBBEAN, Puerto Rico has an area of 3,435 square miles (8,897 km²). Although its GOLD was mined and its Amerindian population reduced to some 2,000 Tainos by 1540, the island, due to its location and good harbor, was an important defensive site.

The Spanish Crown underscored the strategic importance of Puerto Rico by designating the town of San Juan a PRESIDIO in 1582 and initiating in 1584 a financial subsidy program (*situado*) under which NEW SPAIN sent funds to HAVANA for redistribution to Puerto Rico and other locations. The fortifications constructed at San Juan proved adequate against an attack led by Sir Francis Drake in 1595, but an English invasion in 1598 captured the town, and Dutch attacks in 1625 destroyed it. The island's relative insignificance is indicated by the fact that between 1651 and 1662 not a single authorized ship called there. Between 1647 and 1689, the population of San Juan expanded by only 167 people.

Between the 1750s and the 1790s, the amount of the financial subsidy to Puerto Rico increased more than fourfold; while it had been less than half of what SANTO DOMINGO received in the 1750s, Puerto Rico's subsidy exceeded that of Santo Domingo in the 1790s. The colonies' combined support in that decade, however, was still less than 30 percent of what Havana received. The subsidies enabled construction of impregnable fortifications that repelled British attacks in 1797.

For three centuries, Puerto Rico's ECONOMY focused on hides and agricultural products—ginger, TOBACCO, and SUGAR—traded illegally with FOREIGNERS (see TRADE). The royal decision of 1765 to initiate COMERCIO LIBRE enabled Puerto Rico to trade legally with nine Spanish ports as well as CUBA, Santo Domingo, Trinidad, and Margarita. At the time, Puerto Rico had a population of some 45,000, and 82 percent of its land was pasture for CATTLE. During and after the wars of independence in mainland colonies, perhaps 7,000 royalist immigrants arrived in Puerto Rico with capital they invested in sugar, tobacco, and coffee. The population increased to about 100,000 by 1789 and more than 220,000 by 1815. Sugar production based on an increasing number of African slaves and abusive working conditions for landless laborers fueled economic expansion to the mid-19th century (see SLAVERY).

See also PUERTO RICO (Vols. I, III, IV).

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pulperías *Pulperías* were small grocery stores in colonial Spanish American CITIES. Their owners were independent entrepreneurs who fell under the jurisdiction of a city's MUNICIPAL COUNCIL, which determined where they could be located, when they could open, and what they could sell.

The capitalization of *pulperías* was often modest, for example, about half of the stores in BUENOS AIRES were capitalized at 500 pesos or less in the late 18th century. Occasionally, capitalization reached a substantial sum of more than 30,000 pesos. Men owned most of the grocery stores; in MEXICO CITY in 1781, women accounted for 11 percent of the owners.

Store inventories varied. In Mexico City, a storekeeper also had a WINE store. Among the items he stocked were beans, rice, wine and brandy, MERCURY, shrimp, grain, olives, garbanzos, candles, charcoal and firewood, and various types of cloth. A larger store also sold imported CACAO, MAIZE, and wooden shovels, among other items. Bread was sold at a price regulated by the municipal council. In CARACAS, grocery stores could also sell alcohol. Similarly, grocers in Buenos Aires sold wine and liquor.

The ratio of *pulperías* to population differed considerably by location. In Mexico City, there were well over 500 persons per store. This number was under 400 in Caracas and fewer than 100 in Buenos Aires in the early 19th century.

CREDIT was critical for the existence of *pulperías*. Grocers often purchased stock on credit from wholesalers. In addition, they extended credit to customers, a very important part of the business that literally enabled some lower-income customers to eat.

Grocery stores that were allowed to sell alcohol sometimes found themselves serving as a neighborhood tavern. In Buenos Aires, this was typically the case, and the usual problems associated with drunkenness arose on or next to the stores' premises. The fact that storekeepers often gave brandy as change for purchases contributed to the problems. In Mexico City, only those *pulperías* that were also wine stores faced similar problems, but the existence of hundreds of *pulquerías* made these purveyors neighborhood centers of social life (see PULQUE).

Pulperías were primarily an urban phenomenon. In small towns, a general store made available groceries as well as a wide range of other items.

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Jay Kinsbruner. *Petty Capitalism in Spanish America: The Pulperos of Puebla, Mexico City, Caracas, and Buenos Aires* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1987).

pulque Consumption of the alcoholic beverage pulque, a fermented product of the maguey plant in NEW SPAIN, was restricted among the Nahuas prior to the conquest of Mexico. The Nahua regulated public drinking, for example, by limiting participation in some ritual drinking to nobles and punishing severely commoners who violated the restriction. Moderation in drinking was determined by its frequency rather than the amount consumed. Under Spanish rule, Amerindian cultivation of maguey was second only to MAIZE, and the availability of and consumption of pulque increased, especially among commoners. The beverage did have some nutritional value and served as an alternative to frequently unsafe water supplies.

Deciding to profit from what it could not prevent, the Crown in the 17th century taxed commercial producers and licensed shops (*pulquerías*) that sold pulque. Since pulque produced by Amerindians for consumption at home went untaxed, indigenous producers sought to sell it commercially while avoiding TAXATION. In the mid-18th century, the count of Jala experimented successfully in planting maguey and soon found it more profitable than other agricultural or pastoral enterprises (see AGRICULTURE). A model for later maguey planters, he constructed fermentation factories on his lands and sold pulque in taverns he owned in MEXICO CITY. By 1746, the Jesuit HACIENDA of Santa Lucía was returning 18,500 pesos annually from pulque production (see JESUITS). The annual return was 32,000 pesos 20 years later.

A pulque tavern in Mexico City could cost as much as 30,000 pesos, although the average worth in the early 1790s was 13,300 pesos, still an impressive sum. The potential profits were sufficient to attract investors from Mexico's richest families. Typically, they leased out the taverns with a proviso that the lessee sell only pulque from the owners' estates. In 1770, the count of Regla, perhaps New Spain's wealthiest entrepreneur, made 40,000 pesos from maguey production and by 1780 owned four *pulquerías*. Another noble, the marqués de Selva Nevada, invested nearly 1 million pesos in the pulque business. So much land near Mexico City was converted from maize to maguey that it contributed to rising maize prices.

Historians agree that alcohol consumption, much of which was of pulque, in late colonial Mexico City was substantial. The nearly 900 *pulquerías* in the city, more than 90 percent of them unlicensed, sold pulque to nearly 62,000 customers a day; thus, perhaps 13 percent of the city's population was drunk every day. During the 85 religious holidays, the level of consumption among the urban poor was staggering. Indigenous village values approving drunkenness only on ritual occasions with religious signifi-

cance shattered in the urban environment. Poor Spaniards, mestizos, and mulattoes were also well represented among Mexico City's inebriates (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*; *MULATO*).

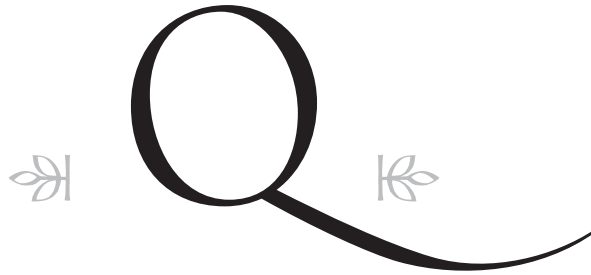
The pulque industry suffered more than any other agricultural sector during the wars of independence. Thirsty soldiers proved unable to restrain themselves from looting a convoy carrying pulque. More serious was damage done to the maguey plants themselves and the neglect that accompanied years of conflict.

See also *PULQUE* (Vol. I).

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quilombo (*palenque*) Fugitive slaves, or *cimarrones*, in BRAZIL created settlements initially called *mocambos* but known by the 18th century as *quilombos* (see SLAVERY). The comparable term in Spanish America was *palenques*. The communities frequently included persons other than runaway slaves, for example, free blacks, *CASTAS*, and Amerindians. Their locations could be either just outside of European settlements or distant from them.

African slaves fled from their owners throughout the history of the slave trade. By the mid-1540s, runaways were attacking travelers and farms near LIMA and Trujillo, PERU; a band of some 200 near the coast battled an ultimately successful Spanish force of 120 in 1545. From at least the 1550s, bands of male runaways near VERACRUZ, Jalapa, Orizaba, and Córdoba, NEW SPAIN, congregated in the mountains and from their bases raided for goods and WOMEN of any race or background. Some women they raped and left behind; others they forced to join them in “mountain marriages.” The presence of women and then children reduced the bands’ mobility, and over time, runaway communities became permanent villages that occasionally received charters as towns made up of free residents. For example, the runaway community led by the *cimarrón* Yanga near Córdoba became San Lorenzo de los Negros in 1612.

Slaves were capital, and owners were concerned about them fleeing from the time of purchase. Efforts to keep a close watch on the chattel were not always successful; nevertheless, most runaways were recovered. The presence of a *quilombo*, or *palenque*, resolved a runaway’s immediate concern of obtaining sustenance, while also offering a refuge that, in some cases, tried to re-create village life in Africa.

The longest-surviving *palenque* in Spanish America was San Basilio, near CARTAGENA DE INDIAS. Established

in 1599 or 1600, the inhabitants repelled repeated attempts to force them out of the village until finally, in 1613, the governor offered amnesty to those slaves who returned to Spanish rule. While some, including their leader, King Benkos, accepted the offer, others did not; their descendants were still in the region when rediscovered by Spaniards in the late 18th century.

Runaway slaves were causing trouble for Brazilian authorities by the 1570s, and *quilombos* existed from the 1580s, some in the interior (*SERTÃO*). Professional hunters of runaways (*capitães do mato*) existed from at least the 1620s with the specific charge of destroying *quilombos*. Of the 10 significant *quilombos* created in Brazil, all were ultimately destroyed, seven within two years of their founding. Two that lasted longer were in MINAS GERAIS (1712–19) and MATO GROSSO (1770–95). The longest lasting and largest was PALMARES, finally destroyed in the mid-1690s.

The inhabitants of *quilombos* usually engaged in agricultural activities that provided a surplus for TRADE (see AGRICULTURE). Often, they were left alone until their lands or products threatened colonists’ interests.

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quinto By law, all mineral wealth in the territories of the Spanish Crown belonged to the Crown. Ferdinand and Isabella, however, soon began to grant mineral rights

to individuals in return for mandatory registration and a share of the bullion. Eschewing the historic rate of two-thirds of the metal mined, the monarchs reduced the rate to 20 percent in 1504. This royal fifth, or *quinto*, remained the standard tax rate into the 18th century, although reductions to one-tenth (*diezmo*) or even less were authorized in particular cases, notably in NEW SPAIN. In the 18th century, the Crown reduced the tax on GOLD to 3 percent and on SILVER in PERU to 10 percent.

Theoretically, the *quinto* was collected on all minerals, but silver, gold, MERCURY, emeralds, other precious stones, and pearls constituted the normal sources of the tax. Before the *quinto* was collected, bullion was assayed, cast in bars, and stamped; these services, which were performed by a royal smeltery (*casa de fundición*), cost 1.5 percent after 1552. Only after the owner had paid for these and sometimes other services was the *quinto* charged on the remaining bullion. Gold and silver bars that had not been stamped were liable to confiscation. The *quinto* paid in full or at a reduced rate was an important source of income for the Spanish Crown.

The Portuguese Crown also charged the *quinto*. It was particularly important during the gold boom in 18th-century MINAS GERAIS and MATO GROSSO.

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Quiroga, Vasco de (b. 1477/1478–d. 1565) *Spanish audiencia minister and bishop of Michoacán* Born into a noble family in Madrigal de las Altas Torres, Galicia, Spain, Vasco de Quiroga obtained a university EDUCATION, including a licentiate in canon law. The *LETRADO* was a *juez de residencia* in Oran in 1525, dealing with issues related to dividing the spoils of victories over the Muslims (see *RESIDENCIA*). A friend of a councilor of the Indies, in 1530 Quiroga was named an *OIDOR* of the second Audiencia of Mexico. He arrived in MEXICO CITY late in the year, and it soon became clear that he was more interested in evangelization of the indigenous people than serving on the court.

Nominated to serve as the first bishop of Michoacán, Quiroga was ordained in 1538 in Mexico City and then relocated to Michoacán, home of the Purépecha, or, as they are often called, the Tarascans. There, he promptly undertook the construction of a cathedral in Pátzcuaro and established the Colegio of San Nicolás Obispo to train parish priests skilled in the languages of the diocese (see *COLEGIO/COLEGIO MAYOR*). He also created new villages (*congregaciones*) where relocated NATIVE AMERICANS would be taught Christian doctrine and encouraged to live in a way consistent with European humanistic values as the bishop interpreted them (see *CONGREGACIÓN*). Quiroga sought to create a “Christian social utopia” that included town-hospital communities, free education to

all community members, European-style clothing for all inhabitants, and confraternities (*COFRADÍAS*).

Quiroga met with expected difficulties from *encomenderos*, whose abuses he sought to curtail, and also from the bishop of GUADALAJARA when that see was created in 1548 (see *ENCOMIENDA*). FRANCISCANS and AUGUSTINIANS, the former arriving before he did and the latter at about the same time, also evangelized native peoples of Michoacán; conflict between the bishop and the mendicants was inevitable since both received revenues from indigenous tithes and TRIBUTE. Quiroga remained in his diocese for nearly three decades, dying in Pátzcuaro.

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Quito The name of a kingdom, an *AUDIENCIA* district, and the capital of both, Quito was an Inca city when Spaniards refounded it as San Francisco de Quito in 1534. It was located at an altitude of 9,200 feet (2,804 m) above sea level and some 20 miles (32 km) south of the equator.

Even before Spaniards reached Quito, pathogens struck the native population. In the 16th century, there were five major EPIDEMICS, probably smallpox and measles: 1524–27, 1531–33, 1546, 1558–60, 1585–91. By 1590, the population had declined probably by 85 to 90 percent from its 1520 level. The discovery of GOLD in southern parts of the *audiencia* district attracted Spaniards, who forced Amerindians to provide labor, exacerbating population loss in those parts.

At the end of the 16th century, the city of Quito had perhaps 10,000 permanent residents, over half of them probably Andeans; maybe 2,500 Europeans, about two-thirds of them Spanish males; 1,000 or so black slaves; and perhaps 100 free people of color (see *SLAVERY*). The rest of the population was of mixed ancestry—primarily mestizos, mulattoes, and *ZAMBOS* (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO; MULATO*).

Gold mining around Popayán began in the 1540s, and by the 1570s, its product accounted for more than 70 percent of the gold taxed in Quito. This percentage increased to almost 90 by the 1590s. By charging Popayán miners one-twelfth instead of the usual one-fifth (*QUINTO*), of bullion, the Quito treasury sought to reduce the attraction of SMUGGLING and boost royal income. Economic success for the capital city and its environs, however, rested on a more prosaic product: woolen cloth sold in PERU and CHARCAS. Spaniards had introduced SHEEP early, and *OBRAJES* that turned wool into cloth enabled Quito to thrive until late in the 17th century, when an epidemic reduced the workforce. The importation of French textiles during the WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION was the death knell for Quito's

prosperity. Economic growth in the *audiencia* district for the next century derived from the SHIPBUILDING and CACAO production undertaken in GUAYAQUIL.

From the mid-16th century into the 1690s, the city of Quito was the undisputed economic capital of the *audiencia* district. Taking advantage of the purchasing power of gold, merchants in Quito stocked their shops with luxury items, for example fine textiles from Italy, France, and the Spanish Netherlands; spices, including saffron and cloves; and Spanish WINES.

The city of Quito was the site of a junta created in 1809 but quickly suppressed. An army led by Antonio José de Sucre defeated the royalists at the Battle of Pichincha in May 1822, and independence of the

Kingdom of Quito came soon afterward (see SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA, INDEPENDENCE OF). Initially included in SIMÓN BOLÍVAR's confederation of Gran Colombia, the Republic of Ecuador withdrew as an independent country in 1830.

See also QUITO (Vol. III).

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R

ranching Early Iberian explorers and settlers took domesticated animals almost everywhere they went, including the Americas. Even when the explorers perished, animals often remained, multiplied, and were available for use by others later. The result was CATTLE, pigs, SHEEP, goats, horses, and donkeys in varying numbers and quality throughout the Spanish colonies in which the vegetation and climate were favorable to them. The Pampas of the Río de la Plata region and the Llanos of VENEZUELA were two regions where cattle thrived. When consumer demand created a market, *hacendados*, *estancieros*, *fazendeiros*, and cowboys (*vaqueros*, *vaqueiros*, GAUCHOS, or LLANEROS) obliged (see FAZENDA/FAZENDEIRO). In general, municipalities and AGRICULTURE forced cattle into more distant rangelands where the foundation of another municipality would start the cycle again. Similarly, in the coastal SUGAR-producing regions of BRAZIL, the interior and lands between the regions, for example, Sergipe del Rey from the late 16th century, were used for raising cattle.

Although untilled fields, pastures, and stubble after harvest belonged to the Crown according to Castilian practice, by the mid-16th century, MUNICIPAL COUNCILS as well as the VICEROY OF NEW SPAIN were granting land for grazing with the restriction that recipients did not fence or otherwise block access to it. These grants became the foundation of HACIENDAS, particularly north and west of MEXICO CITY.

Herds expanded rapidly; for example, by the mid-1550s, there were some 150,000 head of cattle and horses on 60 *ESTANCIAS* in the Toluca Valley west of the Valley of Mexico. Cattle raising also occurred in coastal valleys and the northern plains of New Spain. The discovery of SILVER at ZACATECAS quickly attracted ranchers eager to sell hides, tallow, and beef to miners. Clergy who

benefited from the tithes paid on the annual increase of cattle joined stockmen in promoting the growth of herds. Consumers enjoyed cheap beef for decades; in Mexico City in 1575, consumption totaled about 16,000 steers with an average gross weight of about 330 pounds (149.6 kg). NATIVE AMERICANS suffered as cattle trampled their MAIZE fields.

The expansion of herds in Mexico's central and southern regions ended by 1570 as reproduction declined; a similar decline occurred in northern New Spain several decades later. One historian has estimated that New Spain had about 800,000 cattle in 1600. While beef, tallow, and hides had local and regional markets, stockmen also exported hides to Spain in large number. Profligate slaughter of cattle to obtain hides for export certainly affected reproduction.

The importance of settling disputes among cattlemen in New Spain was such that those residing in Mexico City created a *mesta*, or stockmen's association, in the late 1530s; it received royal approval in 1542 and in 1547 was given authority throughout the whole of New Spain. The *mesta* oversaw the use of brands, an owner's permanent, unique mark or initials burned with a branding iron into the hide of each animal, including sheep and horses two years' of age. The brand enabled each stockman's animals to be identified.

Roundups, or rodeos, in New Spain were the occasions from June to November when cowboys separated livestock according to brand and then drove them to their owner's land. Unbranded animals were divided up on a proportional basis related to the number of animals with owners' brands.

During most of the 17th century, planters in Brazil's Recôncavo protested livestock being raised near



Ranchers could be found throughout the Spanish- and Portuguese-American colonies. Here is a picture of a rancher from Chile. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

canefields; in 1700, they won an enforceable prohibition. In the 17th century, some herds already had 20,000 or more head, although 3,000 or fewer was more common. SALVADOR DA BAHIA and the *ENGENHOS* of BAHIA required leather, tallow, and beef, the most popular meat, as well as oxen for transportation and sometimes for power in the sugar mills. From early in the 17th century, cattle drives from the interior (*SERTÃO*) to a cattle fair town such as Capoame facilitated exchange. Brazil also exported hides; by the 1720s, they were an important product for Bahia. The rapid growth of MINAS GERAIS pushed the price of cattle upward quickly. Stockmen who had developed ranches in the valley of the São Francisco River drove cattle hundreds of miles to the MINING region. The lands of Brazil's southern frontier, São Pedro do Rio Grande, developed into the colony's finest cattle-raising area.

Sheep were widespread in the Spanish colonies, although their wool could not compete with the high-quality wool that came from merino sheep in Spain. Able to live almost anywhere except the lowland tropics, sheep reproduced at an astonishing rate for the first

few decades after their introduction to the New World. In Mezquital, north of the Valley of Mexico, there were an estimated 4 million by 1579; then, as the pasture became inadequate and underweight sheep could not reproduce as rapidly, the population dropped by about half before climbing back up to nearly 3 million by 1599. Sufficient wool was produced to sustain a textile industry throughout the colonial period. By 1571, more than 80 *OBRAJES* were in operation, and more were erected later.

Sheep and goats found a ready home in the Andes, where the indigenous had earlier woven wool from alpaca and other camelids. By 1585, there were 150,000 sheep and goats in the region around QUITO. Reportedly, some 600,000 were in Latacunga and Riobamba by 1620. With the availability of adequate labor and large quantities of wool, textile mills became numerous in the Quito region, supplying woolen cloth to miners at POTOSÍ and other highlanders of the Andes until the late 17th century.

Mutton was very popular, and Mexico City's inhabitants in 1575 consumed about 120,000 sheep, more than seven times the number of cattle. Travelers JORGE JUAN Y SANTACILIA and ANTONIO DE ULLOA commented that in LIMA in the mid-18th century "mutton is the most common food, and is very palatable." Only rarely did persons other than Europeans consume beef; consequently, only two or three cattle were slaughtered a week.

Horses were essential for driving cattle. By 1550, they were so numerous in New Spain that both Spaniards and mestizos owned them (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*). Later in the century, some 10,000 were being pastured not far from Mexico City.

MULES were used widely for TRANSPORTATION and raised on haciendas across the colonies. The Salta region in present-day Argentina was particularly noted for providing thousands of mules annually for the transportation of supplies and merchandise to and bullion from the mines of CHARCAS.

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Real Compañía Guipúzcoana de Caracas

Created in 1728 as a joint stock company with a monopoly on legal TRADE between Spain and VENEZUELA, the Royal Guipúzcoana Company of Caracas facilitated the

development of CARACAS into Venezuela's most important city.

Based in San Sebastián in the Basque province of Guipúzcoa, the Real Compañía Guipúzcoana received monopoly rights on transporting CACAO from Caracas to Spain. Exempt from taxes on voyages from San Sebastián to Caracas, it had to stop at CÁDIZ to pay tax on the return voyage. Its responsibilities included employing a coast guard to reduce SMUGGLING along the Venezuelan coast.

Unable to effect an immediate, significant increase in cacao production, the company's agents benefited from the favor of Basque governors in Caracas and began to meddle in the long-standing cacao trade with NEW SPAIN, as well as to crack down on smuggling (see BASQUES). The company's actions drove cacao farmers, notably immigrants from the Canary Islands, to protest. When they marched on Caracas in 1749, the governor fled to a fortress at La Guaira and declared the protesters rebels. Royal troops sent from SANTO DOMINGO and Spain quelled the rebellion, and subsequently royal officials worked effectively to strengthen royal authority in Caracas through measures that foreshadowed a reform effort throughout the empire after the temporary loss of HAVANA in 1762.

With encouragement from Francisco Cabarrus, one of its directors and a prominent financial figure in government, in 1784, the Real Compañía Guipúzcoana dissolved itself. From its remains came the new Philippine Company, which was given a 25-year monopoly of direct trade from Spain to the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS and some lingering rights to transport a significant amount of Venezuela's exports.

The Real Compañía Guipúzcoana left Caracas and Venezuela more prosperous than it had found them. The growth in consumption of cacao in Spain was such that by 1750 the motherland was importing more Venezuelan cacao than New Spain. Between the 1720s and the 1770s, the amount of cacao produced in Venezuela had doubled. By the time of the company's demise, Caracas had become the most prosperous nonmining colony in the Spanish Empire.

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Real Hacienda (*Fazenda Real*) The royal treasury system, called the Real Hacienda in Spain and the *Fazenda Real* in Portugal, was central to the establishment and continuation of royal authority in the colonies. On the heels of Spanish conquest came royal officials—treasurers, accountants, business managers, and others—who comprised a fiscal structure considerably improved over the one in Castile.

The treasury system's chief responsibility was to oversee royal fiscal interests in the colonies. This required collecting royal taxes, expending funds for government salaries, defense, subsidies, buildings and other needs in the colonies, and remitting surplus funds to the treasury in Castile.

Overall, treasury policy originated in Spain, usually with the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES or, in the 18th century, the MINISTRY OF THE INDIES. In the colonies, a VICEROY'S primary responsibility was to oversee the remission of funds to Madrid. He was assisted by the AUDIENCIA, the TRIBUNAL OF ACCOUNTS (authorized for LIMA, BOGOTÁ, and MEXICO CITY in 1605), and governors. Treasury officials, provincial officials, town council officials, and tax farmers provided the hands-on administration and tax collection that, at least theoretically, implemented the policy decisions.

The colonial royal treasuries (*cajas*) themselves were quickly erected in major MINING, commercial, and administrative centers in the empire. In NEW SPAIN, five were created by 1550 and two more by the end of the 16th century: Mexico City, VERACRUZ, Yucatán, ZACATECAS, GUADALAJARA, ACAPULCO, and Guadiana (Durango). Five more were created in the 17th century, and 16 new *cajas* appeared in the 18th century. The most important *caja* was the first one, established in Mexico City in 1521.

In PERU, *cajas* were created for Lima and CUZCO in the 1530s and at HUANCAMELICA in the 1570s. By 1780, there were seven in existence: Lima, Trujillo, AREQUIPA, CUZCO, Huancavelica, Jauja, and Vico y Pasco. The *caja* in Carabaya reopened after the conclusion of the TÚPAC AMARU II rebellion in 1783, but still, four fewer existed in 1780 than in 1770. CHARCAS had a *caja* functioning at POTOSÍ by 1550 and later also had *cajas* at Arica, La Paz, Oruro, and other sites.

In CHILE, although treasury officials were collecting taxes in SANTIAGO DE CHILE, Concepción, and Valdivia by 1575, the only formal *caja* in the 16th century was at Santiago. A second *caja* was created in Concepción by the early 17th century, and *cajas* were established at Valdivia, Mendoza, and Chiloé between 1769 and 1782. A *caja* was created in BUENOS AIRES in 1634; a number of other treasuries were founded in the 18th century, including at MONTEVIDEO and ASUNCIÓN. Of several 16th-century *cajas* created in the Kingdom of QUITO, only those at Quito and GUAYAQUIL remained in the early 18th century; a new *caja* opened at Cuenca in 1725. *Cajas* also were present in other colonies, for example, in Bogotá, CARTAGENA DE INDIAS, Popayan, CARACAS, and GUATEMALA.

Despite the importance of the *cajas*, the Spanish Crown began selling appointments to the one in Lima in 1633 and undoubtedly to other *cajas* as well. The predictable result was an influx of men, often young and lacking significant if any prior relevant experience. When the Crown began to sell appointments of ALCALDE MAYOR

and *CORREGIDOR* in 1678, this placed even more pressure on royal income as purchasers sought to make a profit on their investment. Although appointments in some regions, notably New Spain, were withheld from the market, it was primarily in the second half of the 18th century that the quality of officeholders improved. When the Crown began to end tax farming in the 1750s, yields improved as well.

The introduction of *INTENDANTS* with authority over royal revenue in their districts and a charge to secure its increase were the capstone of royal efforts to obtain the income required to cover new administrative and *MILITARY* expenditures.

The treasury system in Brazil was smaller and developed later than in the Spanish colonies. A treasurer-general resident in *SALVADOR DA BAHIA*, and, after the transfer of the capital in 1763, in *RIO DE JANEIRO*, was the chief fiscal officer, but each captaincy had a royally appointed treasurer. The Crown routinely sold appointments to treasury positions.

The colonial treasury arranged leases for royal monopolies such as brazilwood and salt, although in some cases, for example the diamond monopoly, created in the 18th century, the lease was made in Lisbon. The colonial treasurers used a bidding system to select tax farmers to collect revenues. The most important tax prior to the *GOLD* boom was the ecclesiastical tax known as the tithe that was collected on crops and domestic animals. The discovery of gold in *MINAS GERAIS* in the 1690s, however, quickly led to the royal fifths collected on the metal, exceeding the tithe in importance. Although export duties on items to Brazil were collected in Portugal, only in the early 18th century were import duties on merchandise as well as African slaves assessed in Brazil.

Following the Lisbon earthquake in 1755, the *MARQUÊS DE POMBAL* undertook a major reorganization of the treasury in the 1760s. Henceforth known as the *Real Erário*, the Royal Treasury was run by accountants employing the modern double-entry bookkeeping. Each captaincy-general in Brazil received a treasury board (*junta da fazenda*) that reported directly to a comptroller-general in Lisbon. Boards began to function in Rio de Janeiro in 1767, Salvador de Bahia in 1769, and Minas Gerais in 1771–72. In addition, inspection boards were created in Brazil's major ports.

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recogimiento Among its many definitions, *recogimiento* meant a spiritual method associated with mysticism; a virtuous form of conduct usually related to *WOMEN* that involved modesty, control of behavior, and a retiring manner; and an institutional practice that involved living—voluntarily or not—in convents, schools, hospitals, or lay pious houses (*beaterios*) on a temporary or permanent basis. The *recogimiento* as an institutional practice was found in *MEXICO CITY*, *LIMA*, and other *CITIES* in the colonies and Spain.

In Lima, a *recogimiento* was founded in 1553 for the mestiza daughters of Spanish men and Amerindian women; it lasted into the 1570s (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*). After 1580, *recogimientos* in Lima catered to the daughters of the elite. The Casa de Divorciadas founded in 1589 and the Recogimiento de María Magdalena established in 1592 originally served women who were considered sexually deviant or awaiting a decision by the ecclesiastical court on their pending divorces. Soon, the institutions also became associated with women who had gone beyond acceptable moral and sexual conduct. The Casa de Divorciadas existed until 1665 and the Recogimiento de María Magdalena failed through inadequate funding in 1710. In 1619, a school known as the Recogimiento or Colegio del Carmen was founded for girls of Spanish nobility; it merged with the Monasterio de Carmelitas Descalzas in 1643. A number of *beaterios* for laywomen were established between 1669 and 1704; a few remained in that status while others became or merged with convents.

The institutional foundations of the *recogimientos* were varied. Weak ones closed; others might merge or reconstitute themselves as convents. Worldly and spiritual concerns combined in different proportions over the colonial period and reflected different social realities as the variety of *recogimientos* and the related convents ultimately provided opportunities for enclosure for women of all backgrounds.

Further reading:

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Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias

The four oversized tomes that comprise the *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias* were first published by royal *cédula* of November 1, 1681; 3,500 sets were printed, of which 500 were soon dispatched to the five *AUDIENCIAS* of the *VICEROYALTY OF NEW SPAIN* and 1,000 were sent to the *VICEROYALTY OF PERU*. Far from a complete collection of laws related to the colonies, they were the end result of compilation projects begun in the 1570s.

The *Recopilación* was divided into nine books with the following content:

Book 1: The CATHOLIC CHURCH and clerics, *real patronato*, hospitals, the INQUISITION, UNIVERSITIES, *COLEGIOS* and seminaries, books and printing

Book 2: The COUNCIL OF THE INDIES, *audiencias*, visitors general

Book 3: Dominion and royal jurisdiction in the Indies, provision of positions and grants, defense and MILITARY personnel

Book 4: Discovery, “pacifications” (that is, conquest), settlement, municipal administration, land, roads, MINING, textile mills (*OBRAJES*)

Book 5: Provincial administration, medical practitioners, notaries, *RESIDENCIAS*, judicial procedure

Book 6: NATIVE AMERICANS, TRIBUTE, *ENCOMIENDAS*, personal service and other labor

Book 7: Special investigations, gamblers, married men with wives in Spain, *CASTAS*, jails and punishment

Book 8: Taxes and related officials, tribute, sale of offices

Book 9: CASA DE CONTRATACIÓN, Consulado of Seville, FLEETS, passengers to the INDIES, FOREIGNERS, TRADE with the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, *CONSULADOS* in LIMA and MEXICO CITY

The *Recopilación*'s publication, of course, meant that legislation issued subsequently was not included. Since it was not inclusive, judges, other officials, and lawyers turned to other compilations for guidance. While these sources included Castilian compilations and commentaries on them, there were also compilations focused specifically on Spanish colonial law (*derecho indiano*).

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reducción Clerics and colonial officials considered the consolidation of rural indigenous communities into a much smaller number of settlements—sometimes new towns and sometimes built on prior towns—highly advantageous. Called *reducciones* in PERU and *congregaciones* in NEW SPAIN, the towns were constructed on a grid that placed a church and the town council on a central plaza, or *PLAZA MAYOR* (see *CONGREGACIÓN*). Clerics supported *reducciones* for they substantially simplified the task of ministering to the NATIVE AMERICANS. Colonial officials supported them because they facilitated collection of tribute and the organization of *MITA* labor. Colonists appreciated the vacant lands left by the transfers.

In Peru, VICEROY FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO Y FIGUEROA imposed *reducciones* in such numbers that more than 1 million and perhaps more than 1.5 million Amerindians were forced to relocate. Colonial officials tried to create

new villages that had around 500 adult males and a total population of 2,500 to 3,000 people, a size considered appropriate for a single cleric. In practice, *reducciones* varied from this target. In CHARCAS, 901 villages averaging 143 persons in six provinces were reduced to 44 averaging 2,920. Although land was assigned to each village, the amount per person was almost certainly less, for colonial officials recognized that epidemic disease had already reduced the villages' populations.

Resettled Amerindians often disliked their new conditions. While some new villages survived, resettled neighbors frequently returned to their original communities. The imposition of the POTOSÍ *mita* on the resettled population in Charcas's highlands, moreover, profoundly affected the *reducciones*. Men anxious to avoid the forced service fled to other, often lower zones, where the hated MINING *mita* was not in effect.

Further reading:

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Ann Zulawski. *They Eat from Their Labor: Work and Social Change in Colonial Bolivia* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995).

regalism Increased subordination of the CATHOLIC CHURCH to a monarch characterized the relationship between the two during the 18th and early 19th centuries. Known as regalism, or, among some writers in Spain, Jansenism, the implications of turning the traditional partnership between church and state into a hierarchical relationship with the monarch at the apex affected the church in a variety of ways and ultimately turned many clerics in Spanish America toward the movements for autonomy and independence.

Although there had been earlier uncoordinated efforts to expand royal authority over the church, in 1749 the Crown ordered the FRANCISCANS, DOMINICANS, and AUGUSTINIANS to turn over their parishes to diocesan clergy. Unlike previous efforts, this one was generally effective by the mid-1760s. Another 1749 decree required that priests know the language of their parishioners; non-compliant priests were to be removed. The following year, the Crown expanded its supervision of community property, reducing the purview of parish priests.

In the 1760s, decrees reduced religious asylum, created new parishes, encouraged the use of Castilian rather than native languages, and required priests to secure licenses to leave their parishes. During the 1770s and 1780s, the Spanish Crown continued to increase its jurisdiction over cases that previously were heard in episcopal courts and reduced its already modest subsidization of priests' compensation, pushing the expense to bishops and parishioners. Subsequent legislation emphasized increased uniformity in ecclesiastical activities and continued reduction of the

ecclesiastical courts' jurisdiction. Royal justice tended to favor civil administrators in cases of conflict with clerics. A 1795 *cédula* reduced priests' immunity from prosecution in royal courts. The most dramatic 18th-century example of royal power over clerics was the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Portugal and its colonies in 1759 and from Spain and Spanish America in 1767 (see JESUITS). The extension of the *CONSOLIDACIÓN DE VALES REALES* to the Spanish colonies in 1804 gave painful further evidence that royal interests outweighed those of the church.

The Spanish Crown ultimately paid a high price for its regalistic policies. Regalist bishops were increasingly at odds with parish priests. The alienation of both regular and diocesan clergy in NEW SPAIN fed into MIGUEL HIDALGO Y COSTILLA'S revolt. Hidalgo and JOSÉ MARÍA MORELOS Y PAVÓN were the two most prominent of hundreds of clerics who supported autonomy and, in some cases, independence for New Spain before 1821.

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Regency, Council of See COUNCIL OF REGENCY.

regidor The foundation of cities and towns was a hallmark of Spanish colonization. Their MUNICIPAL COUNCILS (*cabildo* or *ayuntamiento*) had aldermen, or *regidores*, whose number varied with the municipality's importance. Since the councils oversaw the distribution of town lots and garden plots, access to common lands, and establishment of regulations for services and retail sales, the benefits of serving as a *regidor* were potentially numerous. Newly created indigenous villages (*reducciones* and *congregaciones*) also had municipal councils on which sat *regidores* (see CONGREGACIÓN; REDUCCIÓN).

Municipal councils in Spanish towns were most vigorous in the decades following the conquest. In general, decline set in by the last quarter of the 16th century as the Crown expanded its authority through the use of other administrative institutions and the opportunities associated with initial settlement had passed. In the late 1550s, the Crown began selling positions of *regidor* for life. By the early 17th century, purchasers and their native son heirs filled the municipal councils of the largest cities. Initially, the aldermen of Spanish municipali-

ties were PENINSULAR Spaniards, but their CREOLE SONS soon dominated. In virtually every town and city, the municipal councils became strongholds of native sons representing their versions of local interests. In LIMA, PERU, native sons began serving as aldermen almost as soon as the first reached the requisite age of 18; three entered the *cabildo* in 1561. Lima-born creoles (*limeños*) secured a third of subsequent *regidor* appointments in the 16th century and held a majority of the seats in 1575. Peninsulars subsequently secured a majority only from 1595 to 1605. At times supplemented by other American-born *regidores*, *limeños* dominated the city's *cabildo* for the remainder of the colonial era. Indeed, from 1741 to 1783, only *limeños* were *regidores*. Their ascendancy corresponds reasonably closely with the Crown's decision to sell and then, in 1606, to make inheritable the position of *regidor*.

Native-son dominance in Lima meant that *hacendados* were the preeminent group among the *regidores* by the 1620s (see HACIENDA). Although wholesale merchants were an important secondary group from the 1620s to 1650s, their heirs formed part of the *hacendado* elite. A few lawyers, university professors, and bureaucrats also were aldermen.

In the latter half of the 18th century, municipal councils took on new life. Often stimulated by INTENDANTS, they expanded their revenues and consequently their political power. Peninsulars returned to a few positions of *regidor*; although they tended to be *radicados*, men who had lived in the municipality for many years and often shared the perspectives of native sons. With the Crown engaged in a conscious effort to reduce native-son presence throughout colonial administration, the municipal councils remained a stronghold of local interests. Starting in 1808, they often became vigorous advocates of increased political autonomy.

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reinóis A term applied in BRAZIL to Portuguese people born in Portugal, *reinóis* (those from the kingdom) were also known as *européus*; thus, they corresponded to the terms PENINSULARS and *españoles europeos* in Spanish America. The derogatory Portuguese term *pés de chumbo* (leaden feet) corresponded to *chapetón* and *gachupín* applied to peninsular Spaniards. The terms *reinóis* and *européus* contrasted with *brasileiros*, *americanos*, and *filhos da terra* (offspring of the land), the counterparts of CREOLES and *americanos* in Spanish America.

The Portuguese Crown's legislation to prohibit native sons from serving on a *relação* documents its presumption that place of birth made a difference in the way even professional magistrates carried out their duties when on home soil. It is also clear that the Portuguese Crown favored *reinóis* for posts on the *Relação* of Bahia, although to what extent it did so for lower-ranking positions is unclear. Nonetheless, at least 10 *brasileiros* were named to the *Relação* of Bahia by 1759.

The heaviest Portuguese immigration before 1808 followed the discovery of GOLD in MINAS GERAIS; it made the distinction between Portuguese born in Portugal and Brazil more important. *Reinóis* considered American-born Portuguese to lack industry, EDUCATION, morality, and purity of blood. Correspondence by VICEROYS and governors referred disparagingly to *brasileiros*. Such charges of ignorance, laziness, and sullied ancestry were analogous to assertions peninsulars in Spanish America made of creoles. Clearly, *reinóis* could more easily meet requirements for *limpeça da sangue* (LIMPIEZA DE SANGRE), or unsullied ancestry.

The need for *brasileiros* to go to Coimbra, Portugal, for a university education had at least three consequences. First, the students from Brazil got to know one another and thus increased their awareness of being *Brazilian*, as distinct from Bahian or Pernambucan. Second, by sharing the educational experience with *reinóis*, they could develop relationships that enabled them to secure royal positions in Portugal itself, as the example of JOSÉ BONIFACIO DE ANDRADA E SILVA indicates. Third, Brazilians who shared experience at Coimbra, as 102 graduates did between 1816 and 1826, returned to Brazil to emerge as an identifiable group of nationalists tempered by the ostracism, criticism, and ridicule of *reinóis* students at the university.

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relação The *relação* was a royal high court of appeals in the Portuguese world, a counterpart to the AUDIENCIA in the Spanish colonies. After a failed effort in 1588, the Crown in 1609 created a *relação* for BRAZIL in SALVADOR DA BAHIA with 10 university-educated (LETRADO) judges, or *desembargadores*; the governor general of Brazil was to preside. A second tribunal was established in RIO DE JANEIRO in 1751 with jurisdiction over the captaincies south of Espírito Santo and lands to the west. In addition to judicial duties, the magistrates provided advice to the governor general and fulfilled various administrative responsibilities. Appeals of judicial cases went to the High Court of Appeals (Casa de Suplicação) in Lisbon.

As was the case for *audiencia* ministers in Spanish America, the magistrates on a *relação* were to have only limited contact with residents of their district. A royal

license was required to marry or to engage in commerce. Other restrictions designed to limit local contact required that a magistrate not be named to his home district. Thus, magistrates were to be free of personal, FAMILY, or local interests and work only in the royal interest. As in Spanish America, there was often considerable divergence between legislative intent and reality.

Between 1609 and 1759, the *Relação* of Bahia had 168 magistrates. All had been approved to serve as *desembargadores*. Approval required a baccalaureate in law from the University of Coimbra, two years of law practice, an age of at least 28 years, and *limpeça da sangue*, or purity of blood (see LIMPIEZA DE SANGRE). Applicants who met these requirements then took an examination to demonstrate their knowledge of law. The entire process was designed to ensure that the Crown had competent magistrates with appropriate social backgrounds and religious beliefs. Although patronage and bribes undoubtedly assisted in securing appointments, there is no evidence that the Portuguese Crown sold them, a notable contrast to many appointments to Spain's colonial *audiencias* between 1687 and 1750. Appointments were to be for a six-year term followed by promotion to another tribunal, but this was often ignored and, if the magistrate had ties within the jurisdiction, undesirable from his perspective. About 20 percent of the magistrates married locally and at least 10 were born in Brazil, seven of them in BAHIA.

The creation of the second *relação* in Brazil preceded the transfer of the viceroy from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro in 1763. Both actions provided administrative sanction to the changing balance of regional power from north to south.

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religion Religion provided an important social and spiritual tie among copractitioners. For Iberians and the converted NATIVE AMERICAN and African population, Catholicism was the bonding religion, although often in a form that incorporated indigenous or African gods and traditions (a process called syncretism). In some cases, antagonism to Catholicism in combination with continued or renewed support of traditional religious beliefs served as a social and spiritual adhesive. While the tenets of Catholicism were taught, or least made available, to almost the entire native population of the Indies, for many it was pageantry, theater, and fiestas celebrating religious events that were important.

The institution of lay religious brotherhoods, or COFRADÍAS, brought from Spain and *irmandades* and *confrarias* from Portugal found widespread support throughout colonial society. They appeared soon after municipalities

were established and continued throughout the remainder of the colonial era. For example, BASQUE merchants in MEXICO CITY formed the confraternity of Our Lady of Aranzázu. Their Cantabrian, or *montañés*, rivals' confraternity honored Christ of Burgos.

Cofradías found favor with indigenous people as well, and hoping they would serve to end idolatry and link Amerindians more closely to Christianity, Spanish friars encouraged indigenous villages to adopt them. Many if not all did, although, certainly in Yucatán and doubtless in many other locations, Amerindians modified them to become community-wide institutions equivalent to a community chest (*caja de comunidad*), which brought together public resources for the spiritual and material well-being of their members. Much more than burial societies, the *cofradías* became property owners and bankers that handled the community's corporate financial obligations. Most of their funds, however, were spent on the cult of the saints, since securing favorable intervention by saints was central to the Maya's efforts to survive. In Tepoztlán, NEW SPAIN, designated pasture and herds of CATTLE as well as land devoted to MAIZE cultivation helped provide resources for the native *cofradía*. Its officers were also members of the community's political elite. Andean *cofradías* also held land that produced income devoted to celebrating their respective patron saints and assumed many of the responsibilities performed by *ayllus* prior to conquest.

While Native Americans had to keep non-Christian beliefs hidden or risk violent anti-idolatry campaigns such as that conducted under Bishop Diego de Landa in Yucatán and those that occurred in PERU, friars and other religious worked to ensure that the CATHOLIC CHURCH's presence was highly visible. The central location of cathedrals, churches, and convents in the largest CITIES, the presence of a church on every town square, the religious art that decorated the homes of the poor as well as the wealthy, and the catechisms published in New Spain and Peru in the 16th century and later testified to the church's omnipresence.

In Peru, the first *cofradía* for African slaves was created in Lima in the 1540s as an affiliate of a Spanish *cofradía* of the Most Holy Sacrament (see SLAVERY). In 1549, the city council restricted group meetings to those the brotherhood held in the cathedral. Other sodalities for Africans appeared as the number of slaves increased. Periodically, the white population voiced concern that the *cofradía* meetings were used for seditious or criminal purposes. Nonetheless, the number of sodalities grew. By 1619, Lima had six brotherhoods restricted to blacks; three restricted to mulattoes; and six that allowed both blacks and mulattoes (see MULATO). FRANCISCANS, DOMINICANS, AUGUSTINIANS, JESUITS, MERCEDARIANS, and six parishes of the city sponsored the *cofradías*. In addition, another brotherhood for blacks and one for mulattoes were sponsored in CALLAO by Franciscan and Dominican convents there. Typically, the early black

sodalities were organized along African ethnic lines, but as the number of American-born blacks and mulattoes increased, they wanted separate organizations. In Lima, at least, it appears that sodality members were among the more favored blacks and mulattoes in the city. Not surprisingly, many Africans retained beliefs that the INQUISITION, to whom they were subject, considered heretical and superstitious.

Slaves in Mexico City had sodalities as early as 1572; they used them as a means of socializing and participating as a group in processions, as well as gaining support for FAMILY members at burials. As in Lima, there were concerns about behavior at their meetings and in their processions. After an abortive rebellion in 1612, the VICEROY of New Spain banned the brotherhoods, but they clearly did not disappear, since in 1623, Viceroy marqués de Gelves reiterated the prohibition and ordered them banned from processions under threat of 200 lashes and three years of servitude in an *OBRAJE*. Fear that *cofradía* members were plotting against the government formed the backdrop of this draconian measure.

In BRAZIL, brotherhoods were popular with all segments of society. In VILA RICA DO OURO PRÊTO, 10 brotherhoods competed among themselves in constructing churches and chapels. Whites, mulattoes, and blacks had separate brotherhoods.

The fees required for religious services such as baptism, marriage, and burial attested to the centrality of religion as well. At the same time, they served to dissuade some non-Spaniards from using the services of clergy.

See also RELIGION (Vols. I, III, IV).

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religious orders See AUGUSTINIANS; DOMINICANS; FRANCISCANS; JESUITS; MERCEDARIANS; RELIGIOUS ORDERS (Vol. I).

repartimiento As a result of a declining indigenous population and an increasing number of Spaniards who wanted access to labor, the labor draft known as *repartimiento*, or *MITA* in PERU, already complemented the *ENCOMIENDA* system in NEW SPAIN by the mid-16th



These Ecuadorean brush and water carriers exemplify the manual labor required by *repartimiento* and the *mita*. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

century. Initially, the *repartimiento* consisted of a weekly distribution of involuntary indigenous laborers drawn from surrounding villages by an official known as the *juez repartidor*. The recipients included Spanish landowners who needed labor to plant, weed, and harvest crops. Some *repartimiento* Amerindians were assigned to work in mines or construction.

In the Valley of Mexico, *repartimiento* Indians worked from Tuesday through the following Monday, with Sunday off. They received modest pay and returned to their villages. By the early 17th century, some *repartimientos* required indigenous people to work up to 10 weeks, and 10 percent, rather than the original 2 percent, of a town's tributaries were forced to serve.

As the agricultural *repartimiento* was dying in Central Mexico, the severe flooding of the capital that occurred in 1629 resulted in labor drafts for the great drainage project (*desagüe*) that was not completed until the 19th century.

The use of *repartimiento* labor in the SILVER mines of Taxco, New Spain, began in the 1550s and continued for more than two centuries. Although hated by the laborers forced to participate, the Taxco *repartimiento* used far fewer workers brought from lesser distances than did the POTOSÍ *mita*. Often, however, workers went home with minimal or no pay, injuries, or MERCURY poisoning.

Others remained at the mines as free wage laborers, a hardship for families left behind without an adult male during crucial seasons for AGRICULTURE.

Repartimiento also was an important source of agricultural labor, especially for planting and harvesting, in New Vizcaya's central plateau between Durango and Chihuahua from initial Spanish settlement until the late 18th century. The efforts of Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries to congregate Amerindians in a limited number of villages facilitated *repartimientos* for both agricultural work and MINING (see CONGREGACIÓN; FRANCISCANS; JESUITS).

In Central America, the *repartimiento* became an important institution after the EPIDEMICS of the 1570s and into the 1630s. As in Central Mexico, it overlapped with and largely replaced *encomienda*. As was the case everywhere, the Amerindians detested it, not least because they were assigned to work for Spanish landowners at a time that their own fields (*milpas*) needed attention. A general effort to abolish *repartimiento* in 1671 failed and the institution, despite never having worked well in Central America, persisted at a low level.

In Yucatán, the *repartimiento* was termed *servicio personal* and continued throughout the colonial era and beyond. Its nature, however, was similar to that required before the Spaniards arrived and did not cause the social

disruption that occurred in Central Mexico or under the *mita* in Peru.

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reparto The forced distribution of manufactured goods and animals known variously as *reparto*, *repartimiento de bienes*, and *repartimiento de mercancías* was a central source of income for the *corregidores* who practiced it in PERU and for some *alcaldes mayores* in NEW SPAIN (see *ALCALDE MAYOR*; *CORREGIDOR/CORREGIMIENTO*). Originally conceived as a means to provide tools and useful animals to NATIVE AMERICANS, the *reparto* was made possible because the provincial administrator or his associate (*teniente*) not only distributed goods at prices they established but also collected payment and prosecuted recalcitrant recipients. A variant on this approach was used in New Spain, where raw materials were distributed on CREDIT and finished products were bought at low prices. Although some Amerindians sought this access to credit, as the arm of the state in their districts, *corregidores* were ideally placed to benefit from their offices.

Since *corregidores* and *alcaldes mayores* were appointed to relatively short terms (three years if already in the Americas, five years if coming from Spain), usually received inadequate salaries, and were often in debt for the purchase of the appointment (whether legal or not) and TRANSPORTATION to the site of the post, they embraced the opportunity to relieve Amerindians of their money by charging many times the normal price for distributed items. Acting in concert with wholesale merchants in LIMA or MEXICO CITY, from whom they obtained goods on credit, they made one or sometimes two or even three tours of their *corregimiento* to distribute merchandise and often animals. These transactions forced indigenous people to earn the cash required for payment. Tlaxcalans in the late 17th century complained bitterly about the "many *repartimientos*" by which *alcaldes mayores* forced them to buy MULES, CATTLE, clothing, WINE, and other items at high prices. The COUNCIL OF THE INDIES in 1680 referred to "the calamities the Indians suffer" because of governors in Yucatán who were forcing raw cotton on them and demanding that they spin and weave it into mantles and other items made of cloth.

The *reparto* began in the 16th century. The Crown's decision to sell appointments of *corregidor* and *alcalde*

mayor in 1678 increased the pressure on purchasers to benefit from their terms in office. A decline in overseas TRADE also made the internal market and thus the use of *corregidores* an attractive opportunity for merchants. A priest of Quiquijana wrote in 1689 that the *corregidores* of Quispicanchis were violently forcing Amerindians to take clothing and mules. For much of the 18th century, abuse of the *repartimiento* by *corregidores* was the norm. In 1750, Huarochiri's *corregidor* distributed 200,000 pesos worth of mules. The Crown sought to exercise some control over the practice in 1753 by legalizing it, establishing official prices for items distributed, and taxing the sales. Clothed in this new garb, the practice continued and, indeed, worsened. In 1766, for example, a priest in CHARCAS claimed that the local *corregidor* had distributed 300,000 pesos worth of goods when the official allotment was 112,500 pesos. Abuses of the legal *reparto* persisted until VICEROY Agustín de Jáuregui officially abolished the institution on December 18, 1780, in the heat of the TŪPAC AMARU II revolt, a revolt in which one grievance was the *reparto*. The Crown approved the action on July 12, 1781.

The introduction of INTENDANTS in Peru and Charcas replaced *corregidores* with these more powerful officials and *SUBDELEGADOS*; the latter paid 3 percent of the tribute collected in their district. This compensation was inadequate and soon subdelegates were again imposing the now illegal *repartimiento*. In Huamanga, Peru, in 1804, the intendant claimed his subdelegates were using TRIBUTE collected as capital, buying 10,000 mules annually to distribute forcibly, and then not paying the sales tax (*ALCABALA*) on the transactions.

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- Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa. *Discourse and Political Reflections on the Kingdoms of Peru*, translated by John J. TePaske and Besse A. Clement and edited by John J. TePaske (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978).

residencia A *residencia*, or judicial review of an official's tenure in office, was employed in Castile with some frequency by Ferdinand and Isabella and routinely by PHILIP II. Carried to the INDIES, the review normally occurred following the official's service, but it could take place during his tenure. The person assigned to take a *residencia* was known as a *juez de residencia* and could hold an office at the time or be specially commissioned.

The *residencia* was to ensure that an official had labored in the Crown's interest and to document that he had not misused his authority to the detriment of

the people in his jurisdiction. Through its routine usage throughout the empire, the *residencia* also was to demonstrate that the monarch, distant though he was, had a genuine concern for the well-being of his vassals and was willing to punish officials who abused their positions.

The *residencia* was employed against royal employees high and low, notably those with judicial responsibilities. VICEROYS, captains general, presidents, *oidores*, provincial officials, and judges who assigned workers to *OBRAJES* were among those subjected to judicial reviews (see *OIDOR*). As spelled out in 1667, *residencias* of viceroys were to be completed within six months of the date on which the edict was announced, and citizens, including Amerindians, were invited to register their complaints. The reviews of *AUDIENCIA* presidents and ministers promoted to other posts were to take place immediately after they received word of the advancement but were not to delay their departure; in cases of prior departure, those being reviewed were to post a bond to pay any resulting fines. Most *residencias* were to be completed in 60 days.

Employing a practice he routinely used in Spain, Philip II ordered that *corregidores* and *alcaldes mayores* in the Spanish colonies were to take the *residencia* of their immediate predecessors in office (see *ALCALDE MAYOR*; *CORREGIDOR*/*CORREGIMIENTO*). Although he subsequently clarified that the successors had to be persons of “satisfaction, sufficiency” and other laudable qualities, provincial officials routinely took the *residencia* of their predecessors and predictably revealed few major problems.

Penalties imposed by judges of *residencias* included fines, imprisonment, and confiscation of property. An unsatisfactory *residencia* could spell the end of an official’s career.

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Revillagigedo, II conde de (Juan Vicente de Güemes Padilla Horcasitas y Aguayo) (b. 1738–d. 1799) *creole viceroy of New Spain* The future second count of Revillagigedo, Juan Vicente de Güemes Padilla Horcasitas y Aguayo was born in HAVANA, the son of Juan Francisco Güemes y Horcasitas, captain general of CUBA and soon to become VICEROY of NEW SPAIN and 1st count of Revillagigedo, and Antonia de Padilla. He began service in the MILITARY as a young boy, obtaining the rank of captain of an infantry company of the palace guard in MEXICO CITY almost simultaneously with being named a knight of Calatrava in 1747. Despite his American birth, Revillagigedo considered CREOLES of questionable loyalty and opposed giving them significant authority, a position that undoubtedly reflected his failure in 1768 to reorganize the provincial militias of PANAMA. Only the friend-

ship of the powerful count of Floridablanca enabled him to resurrect his career.

In March 1789, Revillagigedo was appointed viceroy of New Spain to replace Manuel Antonio Flórez. He arrived at his post convinced that Amerindians, blacks, and *CASTAS* were of little worth and immediately disbanded militia units in Mexico City and PUEBLA composed of *castas*. Nonetheless, he believed that continued colonial rule required keeping the overseas population reasonably content, while making it aware that Spain had the military power to crush a revolt. He proposed the creation of a small, well-trained army of PENINSULARS and creoles that would help to instill a martial spirit and be supported by provincial reserves, but funding was not available for such an army, and creoles were not interested in a force in which they would not be able to obtain militia commissions.

Revillagigedo represented the enlightened despotism associated with Floridablanca and the count of Aranda in Spain. He supported the INTENDANT system ordered for New Spain in 1786, preferably with military officers serving as intendants. While recognizing that it would not solve all of the viceroyalty’s problems, he considered the new system an important means for addressing administrative abuses and usurpations of property, as well as economic problems. Thus, he ordered full compliance with the prohibition of *REPARTIMIENTOS* previously employed by *alcaldes mayores* (see *ALCALDE MAYOR*). The dispute over the use of *repartimiento*, however, was unresolved by the time Revillagigedo’s tenure as viceroy ended.

Revillagigedo championed an improved work ethic and demanded that the thousands of workers in the royal TOBACCO manufactory in Mexico City wear uniforms; the result, according to one official, was that “now they are like new workers.”

Revillagigedo also worked to enforce existing restrictions on drinking establishments and inebriates. With each person over 15 years of age in Mexico City consuming an average of about 187 gallons of PULQUE in some form each year, drunkenness and alcohol-related crimes were rampant. Two approaches he enforced were to prohibit the sale of food in and near the taverns by itinerant vendors and to eliminate seating in the *pulquerías*. His unpopular efforts did not survive his tenure in office.

Viceroy when New Spain was included in the policy of *COMERCIO LIBRE*, Revillagigedo supported the new policy and defended it from the attacks of *CONSULADO* merchants. He also sought to reduce contraband trade, especially that carrying cheap British textiles into Mexico. More broadly, he encouraged the growth of AGRICULTURE, MINING, and economic activities that did not compete with Spain.

Revillagigedo believed that useful public works such as paving, lighting, and cleaning the streets of the capital were appropriate activities for the government and would contribute to a contented populace. Thus, he took steps to clear the plaza in front of the viceregal palace of unsightly vendors’ stalls, repave it, and provide four fountains of drinking water on its sides to replace the

single central one. He also oversaw the renovation of the Coliseo, where theatrical productions were performed. In addition, Revillagigedo supported enlightened publications, notably the *Gaceta* of JOSÉ ANTONIO ALZATE Y RAMÍREZ.

CHARLES IV named the marquis of Branciforte, brother-in-law of royal favorite MANUEL GODOY Y ÁLVAREZ DE FARIA, to replace Revillagigedo in January 1794. The viceroy left office later in the year and returned to Spain, where he died. Mexicans later considered the count of Revillagigedo to be the most enlightened of New Spain's viceroys.

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Riego Revolt (January 1–March 11, 1820) On January 1, 1820, Rafael de Riego y Flórez (b. 1785–d. 1823), commander of the Asturias battalion stationed in Andalusia in anticipation of being sent to fight the rebellion in the Americas, raised a call to restore the CONSTITUTION OF 1812 and started leading his troops to Algeciras, Málaga, Antequera, and other municipalities of southern Spain. His action caught many liberals by surprise, and only after he declared an end to the tithe and the TOBACCO monopoly and offered an additional tax reduction did he start gaining support. Málaga joined the revolt, as did La Coruña, Zaragoza, Barcelona, and other cities, which quickly reestablished PROVINCIAL DEPUTATIONS and constitutional city councils. With his palace surrounded by rioters, FERDINAND VII announced on March 7 that he would swear allegiance to the Constitution of 1812, something he had refused to do on his return from France in 1814. Spain's first experience with constitutional monarchy and second experience with liberal rule had begun.

No form of government in 1820 could solve Spain's fiscal problems. Neither a Provisional Junta of Government established on March 9, nor the Cortes that opened on July 9 was able to provide effective rule. Indeed, the liberals split into two groups, the moderates, as the men of the earlier liberal period were called, and the radicals (*exaltados*), typically younger men who found themselves denied the spoils of victory they expected with the revolt's success.

Under the Constitution, Ferdinand retained substantial authority over appointments. By using it, he was initially able to thwart the radicals, who had expected to control the government. He also secretly sought to

undermine the liberals by obtaining French military support. In April 1823, French troops invaded Spain at his invitation. Unlike the widespread opposition to the French from May 1808 through their defeat in 1813, this time the French army was able to drive the liberals from power and restore Ferdinand to a throne without constitutional restrictions.

The Riego Revolt had important consequences for the Americas. The army intended for reconquest never left Spain, and the new regime ordered a cease-fire and negotiations. This left royalists in areas still beset by civil war and movements for independence without hope for reinforcements. When a new Cortes with 29 American temporary deputies (*suplentes*) met in July 1820, it ended the taxes that supported local MILITARY units; in response, numerous villages in NEW SPAIN removed their defenses. When the Cortes attacked the *FUEROS* of the clergy and military, moreover, it threatened important interest groups in NEW SPAIN, in particular. Although elections for the new Cortes were carried out in regions still under royalist rule and more than 40 proprietary deputies reached Spain by June 1821, it was quickly clear that Spain and the colonies remained unequal. American deputies returned home convinced that Ferdinand and the Cortes would never grant the autonomy they sought within the Spanish nation.

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Rio de Janeiro Along with its economic dependent MINAS GERAIS, the small, tropical captaincy of Rio de Janeiro became the political and economic leader of BRAZIL in the 18th century. Although only PERNAMBUCO exported more dyewood, commerce and a MILITARY base formed the foundation of Rio's rise to power. From Rio went the expedition that established COLÔNIA DO SACRAMENTO in 1680. In the late 17th and 18th centuries, only BAHIA imported more African slaves than Rio (see SLAVERY). A road opened in 1707 to the GOLD MINING district of Minas Gerais enabled Rio to replace SÃO PAULO as the source for slaves, imported merchandise, and food; it also served as the port through which passed gold and DIAMONDS to Portugal.

In 1763, the city of Rio de Janeiro became the new viceregal capital of Brazil, although the change was more titular than substantive, since VICEROYS had little authority beyond their own captaincy save in time of emergency. Already the city was an administrative center with a captain general, a mint since 1703, a *RELAÇÃO* since 1751, an intendency general of gold, and a board of inspection for SUGAR, TOBACCO, and other crops (see MINTS). The viceregal palace was previously the home of the Bureau of Accounts and proved an unsuitable residence for either

Regent John or his wife Carlota Joaquina when they escaped from Portugal in 1808 (see JOHN VI). The city's main fountain was located in the square in front of the palace. Those thirsting for more than water sought the taverns and the sugar brandy (*cachaça*) they offered. An opera house provided formal entertainment.

When the Portuguese Court reached the city of Rio in 1808, it had between 60,000 and 100,000 inhabitants. Waste flowed through channels in the streets, often collecting in undrainable pools. The relatively well-to-do and soldiers traveled through the streets on horse, MULE, occasionally coach, sedan chair, the shoulders of slaves, and sometimes a litter; the unfortunate majority walked.

Nonetheless, Rio de Janeiro remained the capital through the process of obtaining independence under Emperor Pedro I and into the 20th century.

See also RIO DE JANEIRO (Vols. III, IV).

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Río de la Plata The estuary of the Río de la Plata lies between present Argentina and Uruguay and is the result of drainage from the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers. The provinces of Río de la Plata were BUENOS AIRES, PARAGUAY, Tucumán, and Santa Cruz de la Sierra. The original province of Buenos Aires included the BANDA ORIENTAL, Santa Fe, Entre Ríos, and Corrientes. In 1777, the region's provinces were incorporated into the VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA.

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Río de la Plata, Viceroyalty of (Viceroyalty of Buenos Aires) The Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata was permanently established in 1777 with PEDRO DE CEVALLOS, the successful commander of the force that captured COLÔNIA DO SACRAMENTO, serving as the first VICEROY. The viceroyalty included the governorships of BUENOS AIRES, the BANDA ORIENTAL, PARAGUAY, and Tucumán, the *corregimiento* of Cuyo, and CHARCAS (see CORREGIDOR/CORREGIMIENTO). Under the new structure, POTOSÍ'S SILVER, 63 percent of the total registered in PERU in 1776, was to be sent to Buenos Aires rather than LIMA. Largely as a result of this, 42 million pesos of

revenue flowed through Buenos Aires rather than Peru between 1770 and 1800.

The founding of the viceroyalty initiated a flurry of administrative changes. By 1782, nine intendancies were created: Buenos Aires, Paraguay, Córdoba, Salta, Potosí, LA PLATA, Cochabamba, La Paz, and Puno, the last transferred to Peru in 1796. In 1783, the Crown approved an *AUDIENCIA* in Buenos Aires, thus limiting the jurisdiction of the long-established tribunal in La Plata. The royal bureaucracy in Buenos Aires grew from four agencies with 14 employees in 1767 to 10 agencies with more than 125 employees by 1785. The number continued to expand, reaching 164 employees in 1803 before declining, largely because of reductions in the TRIBUNAL OF ACCOUNTS, to 142 in 1810.

COMMERCE

The creation of the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata was a boon for Buenos Aires in general and its merchants in particular. Although contraband and legal TRADE from the city had been growing since at least 1730, the inclusion of the silver-producing region of Charcas in the viceroyalty immediately provided a legal liquid commodity to export. Implementation of *COMERCIO LIBRE* also ensured that the capital's wholesale merchants, who soon increased in number, would have legal access to the Spanish market. An improved external market furthered expansion of CATTLE raising and the preparation of hides, tallow, and jerked beef to sell abroad. In addition, the expulsion of the JESUITS in 1767 made YERBA MATÉ for export more easily available. The expansion of the bureaucracy increased the size of the market for imported goods. The Crown's approval of a merchant guild (*CONSULADO*) for Buenos Aires in 1794 institutionalized the wholesale merchants' ascent.

BUENOS AIRES

The population of the city of Buenos Aires expanded from 26,125 in 1778 to 42,540 in 1810. The prominence of commerce in 1810 is evident; 1,591 (29 percent) of persons with identifiable occupations were merchants, a number equal to combined officials in the MILITARY, CATHOLIC CHURCH, and government. About 30 percent of the 1810 population was of African origin.

Compared to the viceregal capitals of LIMA and MEXICO CITY, government and religious buildings in Buenos Aires were modest. The surroundings became more pleasant by the end of the 18th century, with lighting and pavement on the major streets. A theater named Casa de Comedias had opened, and educational opportunities had improved, although young men wanting a university EDUCATION had to pursue it in Córdoba, La Plata, or elsewhere (see UNIVERSITIES). Viceroy JUAN JOSÉ DE VÉRTIZ Y SALCEDO in 1780 ordered that the PRINTING PRESSES owned by the Jesuits before their expulsion be brought to Buenos Aires.

The relatively recent creation of the viceroyalty, its size, and the way in which Buenos Aires served as a funnel

for its exportable resources resulted in limited political integration, economic competition, and envy of the capital by the other provinces. A political organization mandated from Madrid placed Charcas under a viceroy located in Buenos Aires and an *audiencia* there as well. Neither outlying parts of the viceroyalty nor nearby MONTEVIDEO shared the perception of *porteños* that the organization made perfect sense.

BRITISH INVASIONS

Uniquely, in the early 19th century, Buenos Aires was invaded by the British. On June 27, 1806, an expeditionary force of 1,500 soldiers dispatched from the Cape of Good Hope landed near the capital and captured its fortress. Viceroy RAFAEL DE SOBREMONTÉ abandoned the city and fled to the interior with the royal treasury. From there, he planned to oversee efforts to remove the invaders. The population of Buenos Aires, however, viewed his rapid departure as cowardice. When he returned after SANTIAGO DE LINIERS Y BREMOND had led a successful counterattack and forced the British to surrender, Sobremonte found, on August 14, 1806, that the city council, supported by the Audiencia of Buenos Aires, demanded that he turn over military affairs to Liniers. Thus, the hero against the invaders oversaw the organization of new militia units in anticipation of another British attack, while the viceroy assumed responsibility for readying resistance in Montevideo. The first British invasion had changed the political dynamics in Buenos Aires, and Viceroy Sobremonte and the royal authority he represented had lost.

The second British invasion occupied Montevideo on February 3, 1807. Now the city council of Buenos Aires demanded and the *audiencia* acquiesced in the dismissal of Sobremonte, described as a resignation for reasons of ill health, after this second failure and his replacement by Liniers on an interim basis. General John Whitelocke landed near Buenos Aires on June 28, 1807, with a force of 8,000–9,000 troops. Led by MARTÍN DE ALZAGA, a wealthy merchant who presided over the city council, the local militia held firm, and Whitelocke failed to dislodge the defenders. After his troops suffered heavy losses, Whitelocke surrendered on July 7, 1807. That local militia units rather than royal forces were responsible for the victory strengthened *porteños'* desire for autonomy. At the same time, relations between Liniers and the city fathers deteriorated as he drew closer to the *audiencia* and other royal officials on the one hand, while he and his mistress allegedly favored associates and friendly merchants on the other. The city fathers asked that the Crown replace Liniers as viceroy.

POLITICAL CRISIS

The abdications of CHARLES IV and FERDINAND VII in May 1808 provoked a crisis in Buenos Aires, as elsewhere. When the news reached Buenos Aires in July, some politicians toyed with the idea of Princess Carlota

Joaquina, sister of Ferdinand VII and resident in BRAZIL as the wife of Prince Regent John, becoming queen of a Spanish monarchy that lacked a legitimate ruler in Spain. When the scheme failed, city councilors opted for a government ruling in the name of Ferdinand until his return. This meant both the rejection of Napoleon's representative when he arrived in mid-August and suspicion, particularly by PENINSULARS, that acting viceroy Liniers was pro-French. Governor of the Banda Oriental FRANCISCO JAVIER ELÍO declared Liniers guilty of treason and orchestrated the creation of a junta of peninsulars in Montevideo to rule in Ferdinand's name. Inspired, some peninsulars in Buenos Aires followed their example and conspired to take control of the city council of Buenos Aires in the elections of January 1, 1809. The CREOLE militias, however, responded forcefully and exiled peninsular merchant and hero in the second British invasion Alzaga and his allies to Patagonia. Creole proponents of autonomy controlled Buenos Aires and expected the remainder of the viceroyalty to acquiesce.

French military success in southern Spain forced the JUNTA CENTRAL to flee from SEVILLE to the Isle of León. On January 29, 1810, it named a COUNCIL OF REGENCY to oversee the resistance to the French and to convoke a CORTES. The new government assumed power on February 1, 1810, and two weeks later instructed the "kingdoms of Ultramar" to elect representatives to the Cortes. News of the Junta Central's demise reached Montevideo on May 13. Viceroy BALTASAR HIDALGO DE CISNEROS publicly announced the change of government on May 18, 1810. On May 25, the city council of Buenos Aires named a seven-member Provisional Governing Junta of the Provinces of the Río de la Plata. The Junta quickly discovered that the fragile unity of the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata had disintegrated.

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riots and rebellions Riots and rebellions punctuated the years between 1560 and 1808 in Spanish

America and BRAZIL. Typically, they had a local cause and short duration. Exceptionally large and violent cases led regional administrators to apply significant force to suppress them. The causes of rural rebellions included abuse by local or district officials, including the forced distribution of goods, or *REPARTO*; the imposition of new or increased taxes; more effective tax collection; land hunger and disputes; and forced labor drafts, notably the *MITA* in PERU.

Although the Tepehuán rebellion from 1616 to 1620 temporarily wrested control of part of northwestern Mexico from the Spaniards, the most devastating rebellion in colonial NEW SPAIN was the variously termed “Great Northern Revolt” and “Great Southwestern Revolt” (1680–98). It began with the PUEBLO REVOLT of 1680 in New Mexico. Pueblos and Apaches killed nearly 400 colonists and 21 missionaries; some 2,000 or so remaining colonists fled to the El Paso (Texas) district. Almost the entire northern frontier of New Spain was affected during this long rebellion.

The Tzeltal Revolt of highland Chiapas of 1712 arose from increased demands by clerics and governors that included ecclesiastical *VISITAS* and *reparto de mercancías*, as well as their meddling in municipal elections. Employing a defense of the Mayas’ view of Catholicism, an ambitious indigenous elite sought to establish itself through escalating conflict. The resulting four-month rebellion involved a number of Tzotzil and Tzeltal communities and some 5,000–6,000 men, who slaughtered other Maya who refused to support them.

Riots in important administrative centers were rare but particularly unnerving to colonial authorities. An early example was the riot in QUITO, which began in 1592 after the announcement that a 2 percent sales tax (*ALCABALA*) would be collected. The opponents to the tax fought against its imposition but ultimately lost. The penalty imposed on the city council in 1594 was loss of the privilege to elect municipal justices, a loss that lasted until 1699. In 1765, Quito experienced another insurrection. Against a background of economic decline that began in the late 17th century, angered citizens rioted against the *AGUARDIENTE DE CAÑA* factory. Part of the government’s effort to control production and sale of the alcoholic beverage, the factory represented a threat to small distillers. A temporary coalition of members of the CREOLE elite in Quito and plebeians forced royalist administrators to capitulate but soon broke apart. When a royal army arrived in September 1766, it was greeted warmly. Royal authority was safe until 1809.

A count of village riots and uprisings between 1700 and 1799 reveals 107 in New Spain, 27 in GUATEMALA, 133 in PERU, and 22 in the *AUDIENCIA* district of Quito for a total of 289. In all of these regions, the number

increased after 1750. In Central Mexico and Oaxaca, at least, most rebellions were brief, spontaneous affairs that arose in indigenous villages from arbitrary actions by public officials of state or church and were directed against them. WOMEN were often at the forefront of riots and rebellions, hurling stones and epithets. Such rebellions, however, were neither wars against the colonial system nor class struggle.

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Rosa de Lima (Isabel Flores de Oliva) (b. 1586–d. 1617) *creole Peruvian saint* Born in LIMA, Isabel Flores de Oliva entered the Third Order of Saint Dominic as a young woman and took the name Rosa de Santa María. The name by which she is known recognized both her beauty and that she wore a crown of roses on top of her veil and a crown of thorns underneath it. Living a life of piety, chastity, prayer, seclusion, and mortification of the flesh, she was associated with “many, and very exceptional, miracles.” Eight days after her death, the DOMINICANS began the process of compiling evidence that would document her sanctity. This included numerous testimonials and responses to an extensive list of questions.

In due course, the documentation was sent to Rome, and on Sunday, December 16, 1668, the official papal document conveying word of the beatification of Rosa de Lima was made public in the Peruvian capital of Lima. As a contemporary chronicler noted, “all the religious orders, the viceroy Count of Lemos, and all the tribunals walked in the procession from [the church of] San Francisco to the cathedral.” When canonized in 1671, Santa Rosa de Lima was the first American so honored, demonstrating that Americans could reach this exalted state.

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Sá, Mem de (b. ca. 1500–d. 1572) *Portuguese governor general of Bahia* Governor General Mem de Sá arrived in SALVADOR DA BAHIA on December 28, 1557, and held his post until 1572. His charges included expelling the French from BRAZIL, dealing with NATIVE AMERICANS angry because colonists had taken their lands and forced them to labor, and ensuring the survival of the colony.

Mem de Sá oversaw the consolidation of indigenous peoples in ALDEIAS under the JESUITS, and the number of these villages increased to 11. The governor subjected to WAR those indigenous who resisted relocation, sending three expeditions to capture or kill them. The colonists applauded the latter approach.

Although the threat of French settlement had prompted King John III to establish the donatary system in Brazil in order both to defend the land against French settlement and to buttress Portugal's claim to it through effective occupation, French attacks on Portuguese vessels continued. In 1555, an expedition to Antarctic France resulted in a French settlement and fort on Sergipe Island in Guanabara Bay, as well as a village created by deserters of the expedition on the mainland. Mem de Sá obtained reinforcements from Portugal and also used Amerindian allies to destroy the fort in 1560. A lack of resources to drive the French from their mainland settlement or to rebuild and occupy the fort on Sergipe Island, however, forced him to send a second force in 1563; following its success, the town of RIO DE JANEIRO was founded on March 1, 1565.

Although the Portuguese Crown had sent a few African slaves to Brazil since 1550, in 1559, it authorized the governor of São Tomé to begin sending up to 120 slaves for each plantation (*ENGENHO*) owner (see SLAVERY). The number of slaves in the colony would grow into the 19th century.

When Mem de Sá died in Salvador, he left a safer and more prosperous colony than he had found upon his arrival. His family's fortune had increased as well; at his death, he owned the largest *engenho* in the colony, with 21 African and 90 Amerindian slaves and 109 other workers.

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Saint-Domingue See HISPANIOLA.

Salvador da Bahia Located on a peninsula separating the Bay of All Saints from the Atlantic Ocean, the city of São Salvador da Bahia de Todos os Santos, later known as Salvador, was founded by Governor Tomé de Sousa in 1549. It was the capital of royal government in BRAZIL until 1763, and its status documented the transformation of the donatary province of BAHIA, between Ilhéus and PERNAMBUCO, into a royal province. The governor brought with him artisans and supplies to use in building the city, and construction began on public and private buildings immediately. The bay was surrounded by lands known as the Recôncavo, which became the location of innumerable SUGAR PLANTATIONS that made use of water from the bay and the rivers entering it.

Salvador served as the port from which sugar, TOBACCO, and other products were exported but depended

on the Recôncavo for food and wood for construction and fuel. The MUNICIPAL COUNCIL quickly proved itself a representative of planters and merchants. A high court (*RELAÇÃO*) opened in 1609 and, aside from a break between 1626 and 1652, operated much like an *AUDIENCIA* in the Spanish colonies for the remainder of the colonial era. Royal fiscal officials also had their headquarters in Salvador. JESUITS arriving with Sousa in 1549 quickly created a *COLEGIO*. The city became the see of a bishop in 1551 and an archiepiscopal see in 1676. A number of religious orders had arrived by 1600, but it was not until 1677 that the first female convent opened. The population of the city was around 4,000 in 1587, perhaps 15,000 in 1681, and close to 25,000 in 1724, 34,000 in 1775, and 51,000 in 1807.

Long Brazil's most active center for slaves, used in both sugar and tobacco production, Salvador was the colony's most important port for many years. The Recôncavo also produced large amounts of cassava, a staple for much of the population. In addition to sugar and tobacco, Salvador's merchants exported, among other things, wood, brandy, hides, molasses, and products derived from whaling. They imported a variety of foodstuffs, beverages, textiles, and metals from Portugal.

Although Salvador continued as Brazil's leading port for exports, its early political preeminence was successfully challenged in the 18th century. In 1763, RIO DE JANEIRO became the viceregal capital, although the office of VICEROY was functionally almost identical to that of captain general. The change reflected Rio's importance as a MILITARY base and sugar producer as well as its emergence as the major source of slaves, Brazilian foodstuffs, and European goods for the GOLD and DIAMOND fields of MINAS GERAIS.

The arrival of the Portuguese Court in Brazil on January 22, 1808, and use of Rio de Janeiro as its capital, confirmed the political eclipse of Salvador. In 1817, a Portuguese regiment was stationed in Salvador, and in February 1822, conflict between the Portuguese troops and local soldiers and militia resulted in civilian deaths. Although the forces of the Cortes in Lisbon were victorious, Bahians considered this evidence of their tyranny and willingness to subdue Brazil by force. Bahian deputies in the Cortes considered that body's decision on May 23, 1822, to send additional troops to Salvador a clear confirmation of this approach. What Bahia wanted was regional autonomy under Pedro, a far cry from a united, independent Brazilian nation-state.

Holding the city of Salvador was essential for the Cortes; its freedom from Portuguese control was central to the new Brazilian empire. The Cortes had located Portugal's best military forces in Salvador and, in early 1823, sent nearly 4,000 men to reinforce them. THOMAS, LORD COCHRANE, then in Pedro I's employ, demonstrated his remarkable bravado and, on May 4, 1823, tricked the Portuguese fleet into withdrawing, thinking Cochrane's squadron was much larger than its three ships. By the end

of the month Bahia was free from Portuguese rule (see BRAZIL, INDEPENDENCE OF).

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San Ildefonso, Treaty of (October 1, 1777) Signed on October 1, 1777, the Treaty of San Ildefonso ended nearly a century of conflict between Spain and Portugal in the River Plate region. The conflict began in 1680 when Portugal constructed a trading fort at COLÔNIA DO SACRAMENTO. With Spain having ousted the Portuguese from Colônia in 1762, only to have it restored to them in the TREATY OF PARIS in 1763, PEDRO DE CEVALLOS sailed from CÁDIZ in mid-November 1776 to the River Plate region with the largest Spanish force ever sent to the overseas territories; it included nearly 10,000 troops, 8,500 sailors, and other personnel. His attack on Colônia was successful, and on June 4, 1777, the Portuguese surrendered, enabling the Spanish to destroy the fortress.

The Treaty of San Ildefonso fixed BRAZIL's southern boundary beginning at the Chuí River and prevented Cevallos from attacking the Brazilian province of Rio Grande. It did, however, confirm Spain's full sovereignty over the River Plate region, including seven Jesuit mission villages that the 1750 TREATY OF MADRID, subsequently abrogated in 1761, had ordered transferred to Portugal. The Treaty of San Ildefonso also recognized Portuguese possession of the Amazon Basin, thus giving Brazil its western boundary and a landmass of nearly 3 million square miles (7.8 million km²). The Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494 was now defunct, and the Spanish set to work establishing the VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA.

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San Marcos, University of See UNIVERSITY OF SAN MARCOS.

Sanlúcar de Barrameda (San Lúcar de Barrameda)

Located at the mouth of the Guadalquivir River downstream from SEVILLE, the port of Sanlúcar de Barrameda was a base for early Spanish expeditions to the New World. It quickly benefited from the Andalusian monopoly of TRADE to the Americas created in the 16th century. By the beginning of the 17th century, the outgoing FLEETS assembled at either Sanlúcar or CÁDIZ; larger

ships returning from the INDIES unloaded at Cádiz, while the smaller ones proceeded to Sanlúcar and, after unloading some cargo, to Seville. Although Sanlúcar was better protected than Cádiz and enjoyed better access to Seville, its treacherous sandbar and the increased size of merchant ships, from 70 tons in 1504 to 391 tons in the early 1640s, made its use increasingly dangerous. Indeed, Sanlúcar had a bad reputation resulting from the many shipwrecks in its vicinity. Its liability benefited Cádiz, from which most sailings to the Indies departed from the 1630s onward. The opposition of the merchants of Seville to Cádiz's growing preeminence, however, resulted in a royal decision in 1666 to suppress the latter's Customs House and Juzgado de Indias and to move immediate administrative oversight to Sanlúcar under the supervision of the CASA DE CONTRATACIÓN (Board of Trade) and Customs House of Seville. Bitterly opposed by Cádiz merchants, Sanlúcar was stripped of its gains in 1679 when its rival offered a donation of 70,000 escudos to the Crown. Cádiz was henceforth the master of the Atlantic trade to the colonies, although the Board of Trade was not transferred to it from Seville until 1717.

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San Martín, José de (b. 1778–d. 1850) *creole military leader in wars for independence in South America* Born in Yapeyú in the Misiones district of Corrientes in present-day Argentina, José de San Martín moved with his family to BUENOS AIRES in 1781 and then to Spain in 1783. After some schooling in Madrid and Málaga, he began a MILITARY career in 1789. He reached the rank of lieutenant colonel before leaving CÁDIZ on September 14, 1811, for London and, the following year, for Buenos Aires. There, in March 1812, he founded the Cavalry Grenadiers as authorized by the First Triumvirate.

San Martín led his grenadiers to victory over the royalists in the province of Santa Fe on February 3, 1813. MANUEL BELGRANO's defeats in October and November resulted in San Martín's appointment as general in chief in January 1814, but he resigned in April 1814, having no interest in leading another Buenos Aires army to CHARCAS. He envisioned independence for PERU coming via CHILE and secured an appointment in August 1814 as governor intendant of Cuyo in the Andes adjacent to Chile.

With the blessing of the government in Buenos Aires, especially after Juan Martín de Pueyrredón became supreme director of the UNITED PROVINCES OF THE RÍO DE LA PLATA in May 1816, San Martín formed at Cuyo's capital of Mendoza a small, well-disciplined Army of the Andes. By the end of 1816, the force had 4,000 men, most of them from the Río de la Plata region. It included about



Portrait of José de San Martín, hero of independence in Chile and Peru (Private collection)

700 black and *MULATO* slaves and several hundred political exiles from Chile, most notably BERNARDO O'HIGGINS. In January 1817, San Martín, titled commander in chief of the Army of the Andes by Pueyrredón, sent the first part of the army over the Andes and into Chile. By early February, the entire force was in Chile.

The Army of the Andes won the first engagement, the BATTLE OF CHACABUCO, on February 12, 1817, and moved into SANTIAGO DE CHILE where on February 15 the city fathers asked San Martín to become head of state, an honor he declined, opening the way for O'Higgins's selection. Although subsequently defeated at Cancha Rayada, the invaders were again successful at the BATTLE OF MAIPÓ on April 5, 1818; Chile's independence would never again be in doubt, although Valdivia was not taken until early 1820.

From the beginning, San Martín considered the independence of PERU his ultimate objective. The naval successes of THOMAS, LORD COCHRANE, a skilled soldier of fortune, both gave Chile a small fleet and eliminated Spanish warships from coastal waters. With the support of O'Higgins and Cochrane, San Martín was able to land an invading force at Pisco, about 150 miles (240 km) south of LIMA, in early September 1820. There, he waited for the Peruvians to rise against the Spaniards. The delay angered Cochrane, and his relations with San Martín got progressively worse. When the British admiral captured the *Esmeralda*, Spain's best warship, on November 5, 1820, it bolstered his desire to attack Lima directly.

San Martín advanced to Ancón, a few miles north of Lima but would not attack the city. On January 29, 1821, a coup in Lima replaced Viceroy JOAQUÍN DE LA PEZUELA with José de La Serna, but Cochrane's blockade of CALLAO created conditions in Lima that made the royalists withdraw from the city into the interior of Peru following the signing of a 20-day truce on May 23, 1821. General José de Canterac led half of the cavalry and infantry out of Lima on June 25, and on July 4 La Serna abandoned Lima as well. After panic in the capital, the MUNICIPAL COUNCIL, believing it had no choice, drew up a declaration of independence that was proclaimed on July 28. On August 3, San Martín became protector with supreme authority in both civil and military affairs.

San Martín had taken Lima but not defeated the royalists in Peru. It quickly became clear to him, moreover, that he lacked the financial resources to build an army adequate to challenge the undefeated royalist forces. Additionally, enough people in Lima had supported independence through intimidation that his position soon became untenable. Aside from the political and military challenges, the general in chief was suffering from asthma and a stomach ulcer and addicted to opium; as a leader, he was failing, and his supporters were leaving him. In October 1821, Cochrane seized the bullion reserve to pay his sailors and sailed away with his fleet. Desertions from the army, which had never been large, increased to the point that some contemporaries thought all the remaining soldiers were slaves.

Neither paper money issued out of desperation nor the persecution of PENINSULARS orchestrated by his compatriot and minister of war Bernardo Monteagudo solved San Martín's financial problems. In despair, the protector met with the Liberator SIMÓN BOLÍVAR on July 26–27 in GUAYAQUIL. No one else was present, but the two greatest leaders of the wars of INDEPENDENCE OF SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA certainly discussed how to complete independence in Peru, as well as the form of government it should adopt. On the latter point, they could not have agreed, for San Martín was a monarchist, and Bolívar, a republican.

Following the meeting, San Martín returned to Lima. When the Peruvian Congress finally met on September 20, 1822, he relinquished his authority to it and the same evening sailed south. After stops in Chile and Buenos Aires, he went to Europe, dying in Boulogne-sur-Mer, France.

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Santiago de Chile Founded on the Mapocho River in 1541 by Pedro de Valdivia and a small group of conquistadores, the capital of colonial CHILE was located in the central valley of an administrative unit that became known as the Audiencia of Chile. To the north, lay a desert region that provided access to the Pacific Ocean for CHARCAS, or Upper Peru, but did not become Chilean until the War of the Pacific, 1879–84. South of the Bío-Bío River lived ARAUCANIANS, who periodically destroyed fortified frontier towns located there.

After successfully fighting NATIVE AMERICANS in the valley of the Mapocho, Valdivia awarded ENCOMIENDAS, the standard reward of conquest, to his followers. Although in 1542 the Crown issued the New Laws restricting *encomienda*, in Chile the institution had a long life as descendants of conquistadores and early settlers sought to retain control over labor. Valdivia also used the creation of the town and its MUNICIPAL COUNCIL as a way to reward the other conquistadores through town lots and offices, himself accepting the governorship of Chile offered by the council.

Santiago lasted seven months before the indigenous burned it to the ground, prompting Valdivia and the other conquistadores over the next 12 years to found a small number of frontier forts; at each, the governor assigned *encomiendas*. Following his death at the hands of the CACIQUE Lautaro, who had earlier been his groom, Chile remained a frontier, and Santiago, a modest frontier town that served as a base for expeditions north, south, and east over the Andes. Periodic aid sent by the VICEROY OF PERU helped it survive.

By 1600, the population of Santiago was perhaps several thousand Amerindians and 500–700 Spaniards and mestizos (see MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO). Surrounding estates grew WHEAT and other grains, grapes, fruit, vegetables, and livestock, paid for originally in GOLD dust. Communication with LIMA went through the port of Valparaíso, although the voyage to CALLAO could take three to four months.

The continued precarious existence of Santiago and other Chilean towns led the Crown to order the Lima treasury to send it funds annually (*situado*) to support MILITARY expenses and thus enable the residents to devote themselves to agricultural production, livestock, TRADE, and other ventures; in practice, however, much of the *situado* was spent in Lima (see AGRICULTURE). Santiago, of course, had a small complement of officials and some priests and friars.

As Chile's largest city, Santiago offered the best educational opportunities in the colony (see EDUCATION). A seminary and a Jesuit COLEGIO were located there, but Chileans pursuing degrees typically went to the UNIVERSITY OF SAN MARCOS in Lima until the Royal University of San Felipe opened its doors in Santiago in the mid-18th century (see JESUITS).

By 1780, Santiago had a population of 25,000 that increased to well over 30,000 by 1810. Undoubtedly, an important fraction of the 24,000 immigrants to Chile from Spain between 1701 and 1810 settled in the capital;

a significant number of **BASQUES** were among them. Home to an **AUDIENCIA** that was permanently established in 1606, Santiago became the capital of one of the two intendancies created in 1787 (see **INTENDANT**).

Aware of the benefits of office, Santiago families were well represented in administrative positions, and **CREOLE** daughters often married **PENINSULARS** appointed to high positions. They also often had ties to elite families in Lima, a relationship encouraged by the substantial exportation of wheat to Lima following the earthquake that struck the Peruvian capital in 1687. The construction of a mint in Santiago testified to the increase in gold production in the 18th century; the establishment of a merchant guild (**CONSULADO**) in Santiago in 1795 provided the wholesale merchants with a corporate foundation comparable to that enjoyed by merchants in Lima (see **MINTS**).

The constitutional crisis that gripped Spain in 1808 quickly affected Santiago as well. Within months, a group of creole **AUTONOMISTS** wanted a junta. Following the *audiencia's* deposition of the captain general on July 16, 1810, a **CABILDO ABIERTO** of September 18 established a junta in the name of **FERDINAND VII** and announced that a national congress would be convened. Despite most Chileans' pursuit of autonomy rather than independence, Viceroy **JOSÉ FERNANDO DE ABASCAL Y SOUSA** in Lima sent forces in 1813 that harshly reestablished royalist rule in 1813–14. It required an invasion led by **JOSÉ DE SAN MARTÍN** in 1817 to achieve independence in 1818 (see **SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA, INDEPENDENCE OF**). Santiago continued as Chile's capital.

See also **SANTIAGO DE CHILE** (Vols. III, IV).

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Santo Domingo Santo Domingo was the name of the first true city Spaniards established in the New World (see **CITIES**). Located on the island of **HISPANIOLA** (la Española), the name *Santo Domingo* was used for the city and also for the **AUDIENCIA** that resided there. After the French formally obtained the western part of Hispaniola in 1697, referring to it as Saint Domingue, the Spaniards referred to their remaining portion of the island as Santo Domingo.

See also **SANTO DOMINGO** (Vols. III, IV).

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São Paulo **BRAZIL's** donatary captaincy of **RIO DE JANEIRO** was the original administrative unit from which

the Captaincy General of São Paulo evolved (see **CAPTAINCIES GENERAL**). Located about 30 miles (48 km) inland from the port of Santos but separated from the coast by mountains, what became the city of São Paulo was initially a small frontier community that resulted from the merger of a secular village and a Jesuit mission in 1564. The town's residents included persons of Portuguese descent, but the paucity of Portuguese women resulted in numerous **MAMELUCOS**. The Brazilian equivalent of mestizos in Spanish America, *mamelucos* not only had Amerindian ancestry but also could often speak a common native language (*lingua geral*) and demonstrate mastery of native material culture (see **MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO**). São Paulo in 1600 had fewer than 2,000 inhabitants; widespread poverty and the need for cooperation against much more numerous non-Europeans in the region reduced the social distance among the Europeans and their descendants.

With difficult communication with the coast and no obvious source of wealth, the *paulistas*, as the frontier town's citizens were called, focused on the possibilities offered by the interior (**SERTÃO**) of **BRAZIL**. Already in the late 16th century, **BANDEIRAS** had pushed into the interior in pursuit of **NATIVE AMERICANS** to enslave, mineral wealth, and precious stones. Success as a *bandeirante* could lift a man of humble birth into the upper strata of local society. Enslaved Amerindians provided labor on the *paulistas'* landed estates and could also be sold, although their value was far less than that of African slaves (see **SLAVERY**). The number of Amerindian slaves a man owned largely determined his wealth.

In the 1590s and early 17th century, Spanish **JESUITS** moved into territory about midway between **ASUNCIÓN** and São Paulo. Between 1610 and 1630, they established 15 **MISSIONS** (*reducciones*) in several valleys in their missionary province of Guairá. Natives fleeing Paraguayan Spaniards who had tried to establish the towns of Ciudad Real and Villa Rica in the region quickly populated the missions. Their presence proved irresistible to *bandeirantes*. *Paulista* attacks on the outskirts of the missions began in 1616; a raid in 1623–24 netted more than 1,000 neophytes. A raid in 1629 entered a **REDUCCIÓN** and seized some 4,000 Amerindians. This precedent stimulated other raids, and in 1631, the Jesuits led some 10,000 indigenous from their remaining villages down the Paraná River. A *bandeirante* raid against Ciudad Real and Villa Rica brought both towns to an end. The Jesuits led their neophytes east of the upper Uruguay River in present Rio Grande do Sul, but in 1636, 1637, and 1638, *paulistas* raided the new locations. Finally, securing permission to arm and train the Native Americans in military skills, the Jesuits and the native people defeated the *paulistas* at Mboreré in 1641. A final *bandeirante* expedition in 1648 brought the Jesuit province of Itatín to an end while serving to support Portuguese claims on Brazil's southern and western frontiers.

As the time and distance required for *bandeirante* raids increased, the number of expeditions declined. Explorers of the vast interior increasingly sought precious metals and jewels, but not until the last decade of the 17th century would they be successful, with remarkable finds in what became known as MINAS GERAIS.

The estates (*FAZENDAS*) of São Paulo relied on Amerindian labor in producing WHEAT, grapes, MAIZE, CATTLE, and their byproducts. *Paulistas* also sold indigenous slaves to landowners in Rio de Janeiro and São Vicente. By the end of the 17th century, the city of São Paulo was a respectable urban center that dominated its surroundings. Prominent families fought over local affairs and royal authority was minimal until after the *paulistas* were defeated in the WAR OF THE EMBOABAS in 1708–09 in Minas Gerais.

Joined to Minas Gerais as a joint captaincy general from 1709, São Paulo became an independent captaincy general in 1720 that included what in the 1740s became the Captaincies General of Goiás and MATO GROSSO. The creation of a second *RELAÇÃO* in Rio de Janeiro in 1751 reflected the growing importance of southern Brazil, as did the decision to move the VICEROY from SALVADOR DA BAHIA and make Rio de Janeiro the viceregal capital of Brazil in 1763. Although Jesuits had been present in São Paulo since the 16th century, the region had no bishop until 1745.

The population of the city of São Paulo around 1800 was some 24,000; the captaincy as a whole had perhaps 160,000. This placed the captaincy behind Minas Gerais, PERNAMBUCO, Rio de Janeiro, and BAHIA, all of which had between 247,000 and 407,000 inhabitants. The city, however, grew little between the mid-1760s and early 19th century, and its share of the captaincy's population declined from about 25 percent to less than 12 percent.

By the end of the 18th century, SUGAR had become the most important export of the Captaincy General of São Paulo; it would remain so until displaced by coffee in the mid-19th century. By the early 19th century, the captaincy was also exporting rice to Portugal, although less than 50 percent of the amount sent by Rio de Janeiro and less than one-sixth of the amount sent from MARANHÃO. Coffee was first exported from São Paulo in 1796, decades later than from northeastern Brazil, but the amount in 1807 was still very modest, about 2 percent of what Rio was exporting.

With JOHN VI in Portugal and the captaincies of Brazil divided in their loyalty toward the Cortes and Prince Regent Pedro, in late December 1821 the governing junta of São Paulo formally and graphically attacked the Cortes as “a small group of incompetents.” It protested to Pedro that, if he returned to Portugal as the Cortes demanded, a “river of blood. . . [would] flow in Brazil because of your departure.” São Paulo supported independence from Portugal (see BRAZIL, INDEPENDENCE OF).

See also SÃO PAULO (Vols. III, IV).

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sertão The *sertão* was the frontier and the wilderness, the backlands and all unexplored and unsettled land of BRAZIL's interior. Forested, often mountainous, sparsely inhabited, and broken by rivers that served as roads, it was home to numerous relatively small indigenous groups. Its mystery and potential resources attracted Portuguese explorers, slavers, and prospectors.

Although missionaries and slavers started entering the *sertão* in the 16th century, effective settlement began, with few exceptions, in the 17th century, and most municipalities were founded after 1700. By that date, Brazil's borders extended from the headwaters of the Amazon in the north to the RÍO DE LA PLATA in the south and to the Andes in the west. Establishing these boundaries had required ejecting the French, English, and Dutch from the Amazon Delta, founding the fortified trading post of COLÔNIA DO SACRAMENTO at the upper end of the estuary of the Río de la Plata, and the work of countless *BANDEIRAS* from SÃO PAULO in the central and western interior. The latter's depredations left the *sertão* with fewer inhabitants.

During the Dutch occupation of northeastern Brazil, ranchers moved CATTLE into the interior west of PERNAMBUCO and BAHIA. This initiated the conquest and settlement of lands along the São Francisco River and the plains of Piauí. In the south, herds of feral cattle populated the plains of Rio Grande do Sul and the BANDA ORIENTAL.

The discovery of GOLD in MINAS GERAIS in the 1690s and MATTO GROSSO subsequently resulted in permanent Portuguese settlement in these inland regions. In the north, the exploration and limited Portuguese settlement of the Amazon Valley originated from Belém at the mouth of the great river. The *sertão* west of Pernambuco and Bahia attracted runaway slaves and some freedmen, as well as extensive herds of cattle (see SLAVERY).

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Seville More than any other Spanish municipality, 16th-century Seville benefited from the development of empire. Located on the Guadalquivir River some 70 miles (113 km) from CÁDIZ, the Andalusian city was a

modest river port when Christopher Columbus first set sail in 1492. Estimates of its population vary significantly, but the city had perhaps 50,000 inhabitants in 1530. Toward the end of the 16th century, it might have had about 90,000 or even 150,000; a parish count in 1588 revealed just over 120,000; in any case, Seville was the largest and most vibrant city in the realms of Castile and Aragon.

Across the Guadalquivir River and beyond the city walls lay the district of Triana, connected to Seville by a pontoon bridge and home to sailors who manned the ships to the Americas. During the 16th century, an enormous cathedral was completed, as were buildings for the mint, the merchants' exchange (Lonja), and the customhouse.

The creation of the CASA DE CONTRATACIÓN (Board of Trade) in 1503 and the Consulado of Seville in 1543 gave the city's merchants a formal monopoly over TRADE to the colonies (see CONSULADO). As the embarkation point for the INDIES, Seville became the temporary residence of thousands of immigrants to the New World. The city and surrounding region of Andalusia provided nearly 40 percent of immigrants between 1493 and 1600, an amount greater than the next highest regions—Extremadura and New Castile—combined.

The opportunities for profit in the colonies attracted to commerce Andalusian nobles whose ancestors would have shunned trade. This new interest facilitated marriages between young noble heirs and daughters of wealthy merchants and thus broadened the social base of the NOBILITY.

The region around Seville produced grapes and olives, the former turned into WINE and the latter used for oil and soap. Manufactured goods—textiles and other products—were imported from elsewhere in Spain or abroad. Foreign and naturalized merchants, particularly the Genoese in the 16th century, were active in Seville, providing capital and foreign-manufactured textiles and other merchandise that increasingly filled the holds of ships bound for the colonies.

Seville's early control of the Indies trade slipped to CÁDIZ in the early 17th century. Silting in the Guadalquivir River prevented large ships from reaching the river port, and in any case, ships sailing to the Indies carried primarily products from manufacturers elsewhere in Europe. With its superior location on the Atlantic, Cádiz emerged as the port of choice for legal as well as contraband trade.

The formal demise of Seville in the Indies trade came years after its actual occurrence. In 1717, the Board of Trade was formally transferred to Cádiz in belated recognition of that city's ascendance. The population of Seville reflected its decline. In 1650, it had dropped to perhaps 65,000, a number it had again in the mid-18th century, although there are indications that it had risen and fallen during the intervening century. The census conducted under the count of Floridablanca in 1786 indi-

cated 76,463 inhabitants. An epidemic of yellow fever in 1800, however, resulted in the population declining again to about 65,000.

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sheep Sheep were central to the Castilian ECONOMY and diet. High-quality wool was the major Castilian export during the years of exploration, conquest, and settlement of the Americas; mutton was a favorite item for Castilian dinners. Given the importance of sheep in Spain, it is not surprising that Christopher Columbus introduced them to HISPANIOLA in 1493. They did poorly on the islands of the CARIBBEAN, but when introduced into central NEW SPAIN soon after Hernando Cortés's arrival there, they multiplied rapidly. Although VICEROY Antonio de Mendoza introduced into New Spain merino sheep, the source of very high-quality wool, sheep with lower-quality, long-staple wool were more common.

Sheep were important to colonists, who used them for food, wool, and dressed sheepskins. Mutton continued to be popular, and dressed sheepskins could be used in a variety of ways, including for clothing and as storage containers for the MERCURY used in SILVER production. Producing woolen textiles became central to a number of colonial economies, including those in New Spain and QUITO.

Spaniards introduced sheep into the Valle del Mezquital north of the Valley of Mexico by the 1530s at the latest. Their numbers remained low until the 1550s when the flocks roughly quadrupled, to some 3,900 head. Rapid growth continued in the 1560s and 1570s, and land grants of three square miles (7.8 km²) that were to hold 2,000 head were stocked with 10,000 to 15,000 animals. By the end of the 1570s, nearly 4 million grazing sheep had displaced irrigation AGRICULTURE, as well as indigenous agriculturalists. At this point, the ovine population had exceeded the degraded land's carrying capacity and plummeted as the rate of natural increase slowed. By 1599, the estimated number of sheep was 72 percent of its peak two decades earlier.

In the Valley of Mexico, flocks of 12,000 to 15,000 sheep were present by 1560 and 50,000 to 70,000 by the end of the century. Reportedly, there were nearly 1 million sheep near Querétaro by 1630. The famed Jesuit HACIENDA of Santa Lucía had 100,000 sheep in 1620 and 150,000 sheep in the 1730s (see JESUITS).

Sheep in southern Mexico provided wool for Amerindian villagers, who used it in making a variety of clothing. Large northern flocks provided wool for the

OBRAJES, as well as mutton and hides. As with *CATTLE*, large-scale sheep raising moved toward the north of New Spain, away from the more populous central region. New Spain as a whole had an estimated 4.6 million sheep and goats by 1600. Demand for wool by *obrajes* in *PUEBLA* started declining by 1580 and by *obrajes* in *MEXICO CITY* from the early 17th century. In Querétaro, however, the manufactories continued to use large quantities of raw wool until *MIGUEL HIDALGO Y COSTILLA*'s revolt in the early 19th century.

In the Andes, *NATIVE AMERICANS* raised sheep by at least the 1560s. More than other livestock, sheep were valuable because of their multiple products: wool, mutton, tallow, dung, and sometimes milk. In the basin around *QUITO*, 150,000 sheep and goats were present by 1585 and perhaps 600,000 were grazing in Latacunga and Riobamba. The *obrajes* in the Quito region continued to require large quantities of wool until the late 17th century. Demand then declined, and by 1768, only a few manufactures there remained in business due to the increasing popularity of cotton cloth.

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shipbuilding Colonists began building ships soon after reaching the Pacific coast of the American mainlands, for European ships rarely reached the western coasts before the 1690s. The demand for foodstuffs, domestic animals, merchandise, and slaves created by the conquest and colonization of the Inca Empire and the availability of these items in *NEW SPAIN* and Central America spelled opportunity for those who could construct ships to transport them to *LIMA*, in particular (see *SLAVERY*).

By the middle of the 16th century, ships were constructed in ports of *New Spain*, *GUATEMALA*, *EL SALVADOR*, and *GUAYAQUIL*, but Realejo, *NICARAGUA*, had emerged as the major shipbuilding site. Although hot, humid, and unhealthy, it had a fine port and was near to the timber, pitch, and resins needed in a shipbuilding industry. Indeed, only iron, used principally in anchors, had to be imported from Spain. The ships constructed handled most of the intercolonial *TRADE* along the Pacific coast as well as the trade with Manila until 1585, after which the galleons

were built in Manila much less expensively (see *MANILA GALLEONS*). The size of ships built at Realejo could be very large; one constructed in 1579 had a cargo capacity of 700 tons. After Sir *FRANCIS DRAKE* and his fleet threatened the port in 1579, John Cavendish in 1587 seized the 700-ton galleon, and the city of León was moved to within three leagues of the port in 1610, Realejo's fortunes declined, although it remained capable of building one 300-ton vessel a year as late as the 1740s.

In the 17th century, between 30 and 70 ships, collectively known as the Royal South Sea Fleet, were plying the waters of the Pacific coast (see *FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM*). Most were privately owned and carried goods from Lima to other Pacific ports in the *VICEROYALTY OF PERU* and to *New Spain*, although the latter was generally prohibited from 1631 until the 1770s. Builders in the Gulf of Guayaquil emerged as the most important source of these ships.

The Gulf of Guayaquil had advantages of natural resources, including an excellent variety and quality of timber, and needed to import only iron for anchors, hardware, and nails. The city of Guayaquil served as the port for the *GOLD* and textiles from *QUITO* and, starting in the early 17th century, *CACAO*. The nearby resources and location enabled it quickly to become a center of shipbuilding. It was building galleys commissioned by the *VICEROY* of Peru probably from the 1550s and certainly from the 1570s. Already in the 16th century, Guayaquil was building large ships of 300 to 400 tons. In 1644, it produced an enormous ship of nearly 1,000 tons, the biggest ship to sail on the *CALLAO-PANAMA* run. About once a decade in the 17th century, the viceroy of Peru commissioned the construction of two ships, usually galleons built in response to threats or rumors of *FOREIGNERS*. Between private and public commissions, there was enough work that Guayaquil's shipyard developed a skilled workforce of blacks and mulattoes (see *MULATO*). A 1736 compilation revealed that at least 176 ships had been constructed at Guayaquil, many if not most of them of substantial size.

HAVANA became the most important American shipyard for the Atlantic fleet, accounting for about three-quarters of American ships used in the fleets. Until 1590, the ships were relatively small, but after that date, builders constructed galleons. Ships constructed in American shipyards by the 1640s accounted for at least one-third of the ships used in Spain's transatlantic trade and, overall, were much more common than those built in Spain. Although it had to import naval stores, *CUBA* had adequate timber until the 1620s and, as the last *New World* stop for the returning fleets, repair facilities.

Entrepreneurs in Maracaibo and *CARTAGENA DE INDIAS* built ships for Caribbean navigation. By the early 17th century, the latter's shipyards were building ships for the fleets, and by the middle of the century, some of these were more than 600 tons.

Shipbuilding continued in the 18th century. Increased cacao exports from Guayaquil beginning in the 1780s

stimulated the industry. Between 1779 and 1788, the shipyard built a dozen new ships and repaired more than 60 others. The Havana shipyard, employing some 800 workers including over 250 slaves, constructed 47 ships for the Royal Navy between 1700 and 1760, but after the Seven Years' War produced far fewer as resources went into increased fortifications for Cuba.

Beginning in 1549, BAHIA became a shipyard for Brazil. Benefiting from access to excellent timber, private contractors constructed ships that sailed to Portugal and Africa. Ship construction continued throughout the colonial period, and in 1795, the shipyards of Bahia were credited with "having built the greater part of the Portuguese marine."

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David R. Radell and James J. Parsons. "Realejo: A Forgotten Colonial Port and Shipbuilding Center in Nicaragua." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 51, no. 2 (May 1971): 295–312.

Siete Partidas The law of Siete Partidas (seven parts) was compiled in Castile during the reign of Alfonso X the Learned (1252–84). The jurists who compiled it tried to bring together Roman civil law and Castilian *FUEROS*. The introduction of legal innovations that modified the *fueros*, however, produced enough objections that Alfonso X never promulgated the new code. Alfonso XI finally did so in 1348.

Despite its troubled beginnings, jurists and magistrates used the Siete Partidas, and slowly, various provisions entered Castilian courts and, after the code was translated, Portuguese courts as well. The Laws of Toro (1505) confirmed the ongoing importance of the Siete Partidas, although its precedence came after, first, royal laws, which superseded *fueros* and customs, and, second, *fueros* and municipal legislation.

Because the overseas territories belonged to the Crown of Castile, Castilian legal tradition was employed in them. A law issued by CHARLES I in 1530 that appeared in the *RECOPILACIÓN DE LEYES DE LOS REYNOS DE LAS INDIAS* (1681) stated that if no specific legislation concerning a particular matter had been issued for the Indies, Castilian law was to be followed as outlined in the Laws of Toro, unless specifically prohibited. Of the various compilations of Castilian law, the Siete Partidas proved the most important juridical source in colonial private law, serving as a framework for civil procedures.

The Roman legal tradition (*ius commune*) of civil and canon law was taught in Spanish and colonial UNIVERSITIES. All Castilian and colonial lawyers were thus trained with an emphasis on legislation and learned commentary rather than the custom and case law so important in the English tradition.

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Sigüenza y Góngora, Carlos de (b. 1645–d. 1700) *creole savant in New Spain* Born in MEXICO CITY, Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora became a novice in the Society of Jesus in 1660, took his first vows in 1662, earned expulsion in 1668, and was never permitted to rejoin the JESUITS. In the meantime, he had studied the humanities and theology. He continued to study theology at the UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO, applied himself to mastery of mathematics, and nurtured a spirit of intellectual inquiry and interest in science. In 1672, he secured the university's chair of mathematics and astrology although he had little regard for the latter. Because he was not a cleric and thus lacked the financial support enjoyed by many professors, he pieced together a variety of modest employments, the most valuable of which was chaplain of the Love of God Hospital.

A close friend of Sister JUANA INÉS DE LA CRUZ and Archbishop of Mexico Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas, Sigüenza stimulated others to write on topics about NEW SPAIN and its past. His broad and eclectic intellectual interests included pre-Hispanic civilizations, the history of both the cathedral and University of Mexico, astronomy including the "Great Comet of 1680," and OUR LADY OF GUADALUPE. The controversy that he had with Father EUSEBIO KINO, a Jesuit missionary in northern New Spain, over the meaning of the comet provoked Sigüenza to parade his erudition, disdain for astrology, and rejection of the traditional idea that the comet portended coming disasters.

The last important pre-ENLIGHTENMENT intellectual in New Spain, Sigüenza championed both the past and the present in Mexico. His life and work has won him acclaim as a CREOLE patriot.

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silver The value of Spanish American silver production surpassed that of GOLD by the mid-16th century.

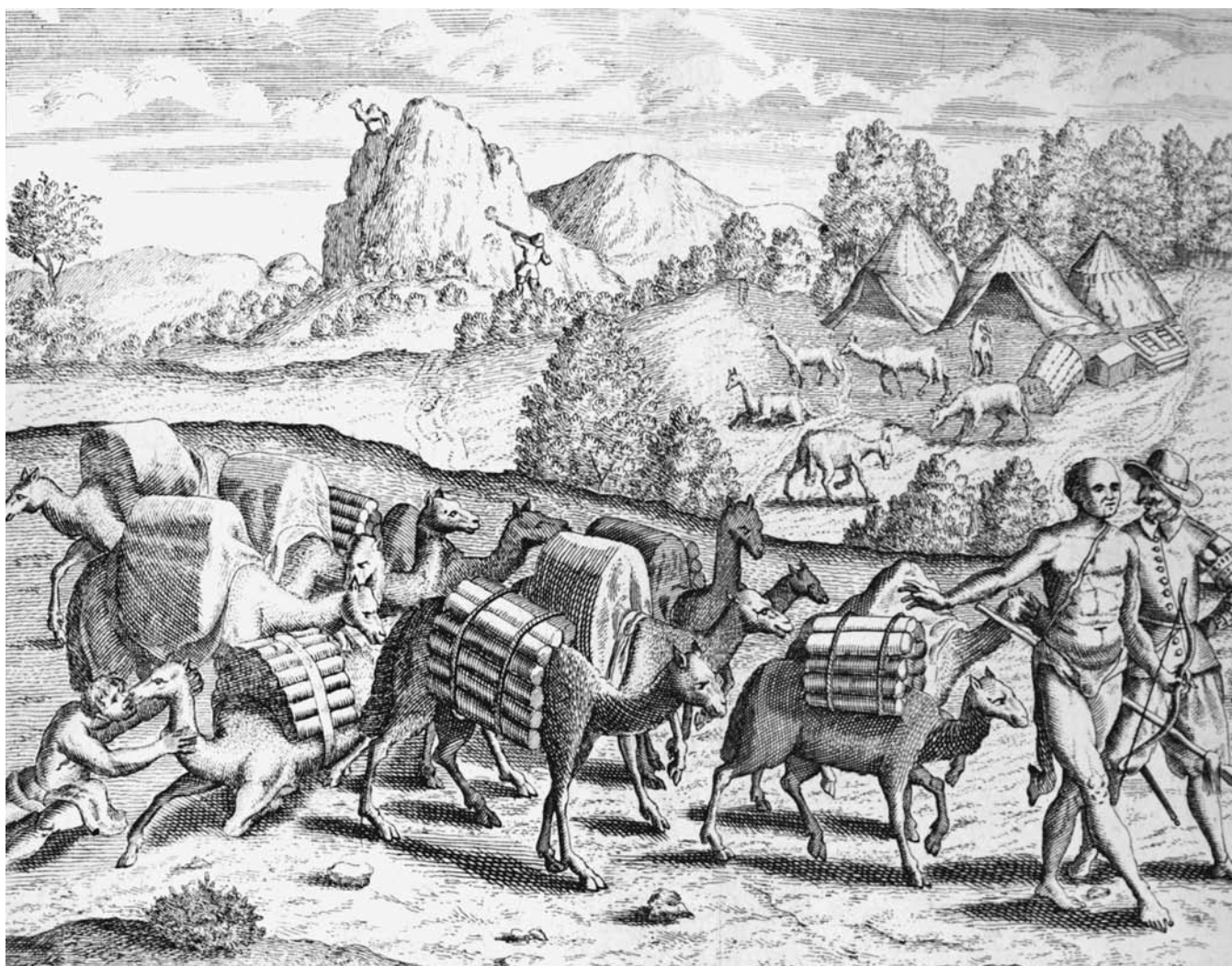
Rich lodes discovered at POTOSÍ (1545), in CHARCAS, and ZACATECAS (1546), in NEW SPAIN, were the most important, but other mines were already in production, and more would be established. For the remainder of the colonial era, silver production and the precious metal's remission to Spain were central to Spain's colonial economic and commercial policies.

More than gold MINING, much of which was undertaken by individual miners with minimal investment, successful silver production required substantial capital; a dependable supply of labor; sources of equipment; timber, charcoal, foodstuffs, and other items, for example, COCA in Charcas; processing mills; a TRANSPORTATION system that could move supplies to the mines and silver to the treasury offices and MINTS; and access to CREDIT. A regular and adequate supply of MERCURY for processing silver was also extremely important.

Silver was PERU's principal export during the colonial era. Potosí dominated silver production in 1560 and reached its apogee in the early 1590s. Although regis-

tered production declined thereafter, Potosí continued to be the Viceroyalty of Peru's single-largest producer throughout the 17th century and until its transfer to the newly founded VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA in 1777. Its transfer meant that Charcas's silver would flow through BUENOS AIRES. Silver production in the truncated Viceroyalty of Peru subsequently increased, more than doubling between 1777 and 1792 and peaking in 1799. Serious decline set in only in 1812.

Silver was also New Spain's most valuable export. By the early 1560s, mines at Zacatecas were employing the patio, or amalgamation, process to such an extent that smelting had become a complementary method of separating silver from ore. Although Potosí was the byword for silver mining, Mexican mines ultimately produced much more than those in Peru. This resulted from the higher-quality ore and lower costs of operation, including lower TAXATION until 1736, and lower labor costs. Combined, they provided a greater incentive to invest in the rehabilitation of mines, for example, by digging



Llamas and mules were the primary means of transporting silver in South America. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

adits for drainage; the investment, in turn, resulted in mines of unprecedented physical size and large workforces, as well as high levels of production toward the end of colonial Mexico. In addition, Mexico had many more mines—some 3,000—and a number of major mining camps, rather than just one. Finally, the quality of MERCURY that New Spain received from ALMADÉN was higher than what Peruvian mines received locally from HUANCAMELICA. Mexico's growth in registered silver production has been divided into three periods: The first period of production, 1559–1627, had an annual growth rate of 2.5 percent; from 1628 to 1724, the rate was 1.2 percent; and from 1725 to 1809, the annual rate was between 1.2 and 1.4 percent.

The result was that Mexico's registered bullion (primarily silver) production surpassed that of Peru in the 1670s. Starting in 1701, in every decade except the 1760s, Mexican production rose to new heights. Several figures illustrate this. From 1701 to 1710, Mexican production was 48,299,649 pesos; from 1751 to 1760, it was 111,751,450; from 1801 to 1810, the total was 216,430,466 pesos. Peruvian production, in contrast, peaked in the 1790s at 97,450,758 pesos before declining from 1801 to 1810 to 72,298,090. Overall, from 1524 to 1810, Mexico produced almost 2 billion pesos (1,946,439,377) of bullion; Peru's total production to 1810 was just under 1.5 billion pesos (1,469,339,035).

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slavery Slavery was a legal condition in which a person was held as chattel, a piece of property that could be bought and sold. The condition passed through the mother; thus, in the Americas, the *MULATO* child of a slave mother and a Spanish or Portuguese man was born a slave. By the 1560s, Amerindian slavery, which predated the arrival of and continued under the Spaniards and Portuguese, was in decline in Spanish America except in frontier regions. Indigenous slaves were taken as a spoil of WAR in CHILE until late in the 17th century and in northern NEW SPAIN into the 18th century. In contrast, African slavery, brought to America by 1502, was of a much larger scale and predominated in mainland Spanish America into the independence period and, in CUBA,

PUERTO RICO, and some independent states, beyond. The institution remained extremely important in BRAZIL for much of the 19th century.

Estimated slave imports to Latin America between 1551 and 1810 reveal the magnitude of this business. Spanish America imported 62,500 African slaves from 1551 to 1600, 292,500 from 1601 to 1700, and 578,600 from 1701 to 1810, for a total of 933,500. For the same periods, imports to Brazil were 50,000, 560,000, and 1,891,400, for a total of 2,501,400. The number of imported slaves varied substantially by region. Between 1521 and 1639, New Spain received 110,525 slaves, about half of the estimated number imported to Spanish America during those years. In 1646, it had 35,089 Africans, and 116,529 persons of African descent. The effective termination of the slave TRADE to New Spain in 1640 resulted in the number of slaves declining and free persons with black ancestry increasing.

Slaves received directly from Africa were termed *bozales*. They reached the Americas with no knowledge of Spanish or Portuguese languages and culture or Catholicism. The number of men imported consistently exceeded that of WOMEN. The dehumanizing term *pieza* referred to a prime slave, who could be either male or female, although the precise meaning of the term varied; two-thirds or half a *pieza* referred to a young, old, or somehow physically defective slave.

The vast majority of *bozales* purchased in Latin America spent the remainder of their relatively short lives engaged in hard physical labor, living in cramped and poorly equipped space, and eating new and often limited amounts of food. Many worked on SUGAR PLANTATIONS in Brazil and *ingenios* in Mexico and the coastal valleys of PERU and, in the late 18th and well into the 19th centuries, in CUBA; in CACAO fields of VENEZUELA; and in GOLD mines in MINAS GERAIS and MATO GROSSO, Brazil, and CHOCÓ of NEW GRANADA (see *ENGENHO*). Few ever gained their freedom.

Slaves who worked in urban areas, especially blacks and mulattoes born in the colonies and able to speak Spanish as a native tongue, were relatively favored. Often domestic servants or artisans, they were sometimes able to join *COFRADÍAS*, were better positioned to amass savings through working on their days off, and were more likely to purchase their freedom.

More male than female slaves entered the colonies, and many masters, especially of field slaves, considered it cheaper to import new slaves than to encourage reproduction. This made marriage often difficult to arrange and sustain. Nonetheless, by 1650, the sex ratio among slaves in Mexico was nearly even. While a number of slaves married, less formal arrangements were common and frequently involved male slaves and Amerindian and *CASTA* women (see FAMILY). The importation of slaves and their reproduction, thus, had an important effect on the racial composition of Latin America (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*; *PARDO*; *ZAMBO*).

Fear of African slaves prompted numerous restrictive laws, for example, limiting the number of slaves who could congregate and prohibiting certain types of dress. Runaway slaves were an ongoing problem, and sometimes groups of them remained in *palenques*, or *QUILOMBOS*, for years.

Slaves had a significant presence in urban life, starting in Mexico City and LIMA, before spreading to the countryside. In 1570, Mexico City had 8,000 black slaves, 1,000 mulattoes, and 8,000 white males. By 1600, persons of African descent accounted for 40 percent of the non-Amerindian population in PUEBLA and 65 percent in VERACRUZ.

Opportunities for manumission in Latin America were much greater than in the English colonies, although it was almost exclusively slaves born in the Americas and usually those in urban areas that secured it. Slaves obtained their freedom in one of several ways. Release by a master through a will sometimes occurred after a slave had performed excellent service over many years or, in more cynical cases, to spare the master's heirs from taking care of old and infirm slaves. A slave could purchase freedom, but this required having the opportunity to earn cash over a number of years. Females were more likely than males to gain manumission. Being the concubine of a master sometimes brought manumission, as did being a *mulato* child fathered by the master.

In 1800, between 550,000 and 750,000 slaves lived in Spanish America. Cuba had by far the largest number, with some 212,000. Peru, Venezuela, and New Granada had between 70,000 and 89,000. Brazil in 1823 had about 1.2 million slaves, about 400,000 of them in BAHIA and PERNAMBUCO.

Slaves, free blacks, and *castas* were important militarily for both royalist and insurgent forces during the wars of independence in Spanish America. In BUENOS AIRES, slaves had gained freedom through fighting the British in 1806 and 1807. In the following decade, governments in Buenos Aires promised freedom in exchange for five years' of MILITARY service. In Chile, the rebel government promised freedom in August 1814 to male slaves who enlisted. JOSÉ DE SAN MARTÍN'S Army of the Andes had two regiments of blacks (*morenos*) and *pardos* (mulattoes and others with some African ancestry) that included some 1,550 former slaves. In the BANDA ORIENTAL, JOSÉ GERVASIO ARTIGAS'S forces included many blacks and mulattoes. Both royalists and republicans in Venezuela used the promise of freedom to attract them. In New Spain, which had few black slaves in 1810, rebel leader JOSÉ MARÍA MORELOS Y PAVÓN called for an end to slavery and all discrimination based on race, but only in 1829 was the institution formally terminated.

See also SLAVERY (Vols. I, III).

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smuggling The shipment and sale of untaxed, undertaxed, or prohibited items to, from, among, or within colonies was the bane of honest officials and a potentially lucrative source of income for dishonest ones. The higher the cost of items bought or sold legally, the greater the incentive for sellers and buyers to resort to contraband and avoid TAXATION. The ability to purchase at lower cost illegal merchandise of equal or greater quality to that purchased legally enabled the buyer to sell it at a lower price with the same or greater profit margin, or to sell at the market rate for legal merchandise at a still higher profit. Because smuggling was illicit, documentation of it is sporadic rather than systematic, and its exact magnitude will never be known. Nonetheless, it is possible to outline some major routes and commodities involved in colonial smuggling.

Leaving aside the practice of bribing officials and thus assuming some risk of detection, items of high value and small size were much more attractive to smugglers than large items of little value. For example, smuggling GOLD or DIAMONDS was particularly advantageous because their value was high for their relatively small size. Throughout the colonial era, gold smuggling from NEW GRANADA was common. Similarly, especially in the first half of the 18th century, contraband gold from MINAS GERAIS and MATO GROSSO defrauded the Portuguese Crown. The efforts to prevent diamond smuggling from the Diamond District of BRAZIL were draconian for the 18th century but never solved the problem. As long as adequate demand for gems made smuggling profitable, it continued.

The Atlantic fleet system, designed to protect the movement of goods from Spain to the colonies and of precious metals from the colonies to Spain, turned into a major conduit of smuggled goods sent west and bullion carried east (see FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM). While some smuggling undoubtedly antedated the system, its scale seems to have been reasonably modest for most of the 16th century. Following Sir Francis Drake's raid on CÁDIZ and the loss of the Spanish Armada in 1588, the Spanish Crown increased the tax paid to defend the fleet (*avería*) from under 2 percent to 8 percent in 1591. By 1635, the *avería* was 35 percent. The incentive to smuggle grew with each increase.

The effect of the *avería* compounded that of customs duties, which were assessed at a rate of 15 percent on value until 1660 on goods leaving Spain and 17.5 percent on goods shipped from the colonies. Merchandise being

sent to PERU across the Isthmus of PANAMA attracted an additional 5 percent duty at CALLAO because of its higher value resulting from the cost of TRANSPORTATION. In addition, some commodities, for example, COCHINEAL, attracted special taxes. Cochineal in 1616 was taxed at 50 ducats an *arroba*, which was 40 percent of its selling price of 126 ducats an *arroba*. By the time the system of taxation was changed in 1660 to quotas largely paid by the merchants involved in the TRADE, the damage had long been done.

By 1560, colonists were producing some of the foodstuffs that had originally been imported. Growing self-sufficiency eliminated the importation of grains and, in some markets, of WINE. The progressive decline of Spanish textile producers in the 16th century as a result of inflation, which priced them out of European markets, diminished the attractiveness of Spanish textiles in colonial markets as well.

Spain's inability to supply the goods that colonists wanted resulted in Spanish merchants often serving as agents for foreign merchants whose countries' produced the merchandise, especially textiles, that colonials wanted to buy. Foreign wholesalers, moreover, were willing to sell on CREDIT. To the extent that their goods had dominated exports sent on the fleet to the colonies, the returning fleet brought silver to cover the debts. The Spanish Crown's habit of seizing private SILVER made it necessary to pay debts literally in the Bay of CÁDIZ, rather than on land at the port. The real loser was the Crown itself, for probably few if any Spanish merchants in the late 17th century actually made honest declarations of the silver they remitted.

Although JOHN HAWKINS tried in the 1560s to sell goods in the Spanish CARIBBEAN after paying taxes, the Crown quickly made clear its opposition to the approach. A century later, JAMAICA was under English rule and, as the raiding of the age of the BUCCANEERS gave way to trading, English merchants proceeded, as the Dutch had been doing on TIERRA FIRME from their base on Curaçao since 1634, to take manufactured goods directly to inlets and bays and sell them to Spanish contraband traders. French smugglers followed suit.

A major outlet for contraband slaves and merchandise exchanged for silver was the RÍO DE LA PLATA estuary (see SLAVERY). The Portuguese construction of the fortified trading post of COLÔNIA DO SACRAMENTO in 1680 provided a convenient point of exchange for silver from CHARCAS in return for English manufacturers and African slaves. This illicit trade drained silver from the legal trade conducted via the fleet system while reducing the market for goods brought across Panama and down the coast to LIMA.

Trade with Manila in the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS added a Pacific dimension to contraband. East Asian silks and other exports purchased with Mexican and, legally until 1631, Peruvian silver undercut Spanish and other European products against which they competed. In

addition, they often addressed issues of taste and style more effectively. The price of silks was so low that the fabric could be trans-shipped across NEW SPAIN and reexported to Spain to be sold at a profit, a practice the Crown, of course, banned. To the extent that the amount of silver sent to Manila on the galleons exceeded the official limit, the Crown was again the loser as untaxed goods purchased with contraband silver entered the colonies (see MANILA GALLEONS).

To some degree, all contraband trade rested on complicit officials that benefited from it. Within the fleet system, contraband goods were sent without registration on warships rather than merchant ships. Goods were falsely declared, with the Consulado of Seville adamantly refusing to allow CASA DE CONTRATACIÓN officials to open the containers (see CONSULADO). Merchants connived to avoid showing the registration from SEVILLE in PORTOBELLO and vice-versa.

The ability to use unregistered silver increased the metal's value. Merchants avoided taxation by avoiding registration; they also reduced the risk of confiscation in Cádiz or Seville. Efforts to avoid registration of silver began when the ore was processed. Since royal officials knew how much silver could be produced at a given site using a given amount of MERCURY, the use of unregistered mercury had two advantages: circumventing tax on the mercury itself and not paying the tax on silver.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that contraband was extensive by the 1620s and continued at some level throughout the remainder of the colonial era. In 1624, some 85 percent of the merchandise on the fleet to Portobello had escaped registration in Seville. In 1642, the commanders of the combined fleets arranged to declare less than half of the private silver being taken to Spain. Officials in Spain estimated in 1698 that the fleets' commanders were carrying 21 million pesos illegally. Riohacha, New Granada, received smuggled goods worth more than 3 million pesos a year in the early 18th century. In 1737, a Spanish official estimated that three-quarters of New Granada's annual gold production was leaving CARTAGENA DE INDIAS illegally. And, bullion was not the colonial item being smuggled out of the Americas. In the early 18th century, less than one-third of VENEZUELA's cacao production was being exported legally; the creation of the REAL COMPAÑÍA GUIPÚZCOANA DE CARACAS in 1728 was an effort to force production into a legal distribution system.

While the financial benefit of using unregistered mercury in processing silver ore is obvious, historians do not agree on how much mercury escaped taxation. Estimates of unregistered mercury mined at HUANCANELICA vary from no more than 25 percent in the worst of times to as much as half. How much unregistered mercury from ALMADÉN crossed the Atlantic to VERACRUZ is totally unknown. Mercury, of course, was but a means to the end of securing silver.

There is no agreement on the amount of silver produced, and the disagreement is greatest in relation to the

half-century from 1660 to 1710, precisely the time when contraband was arguably at its highest level. Figures based on silver taxed in the colonies provide the minimum quantity of silver produced; the amount for 1660–1710 was 471 million pesos. Based on published newspaper reports read by Dutch merchants, a calculation of the amount of bullion that reached Europe in those years yields more than 693 million pesos. Some additional millions went to Manila. If the reports on the amount of American bullion reaching Europe were correct, the amount of smuggled silver for 1660–1710 exceeded 200 million pesos.

The WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION brought numerous French merchant ships around Cape Horn to the west coast of South America. Between 1701 and 1725, French traders sold goods, principally textiles, for almost 55 million pesos to purchasers in the Viceroyalty of Peru. With nearly 40 percent of this amount in unminted chunks of silver, it appears that production at POTOSÍ was increasing from the beginning of the 18th century.

The TREATY OF UTRECHT, which ended the War of the Spanish Succession, gave Britain the right to an annual ship sailing with each fleet to Portobelo and Veracruz as well as a monopoly on the introduction of slaves. Both rights resulted in considerable contraband trade until the outbreak of the WAR OF JENKINS' EAR in 1739 effectively terminated them.

Slowly, Spain turned to COMERCIO LIBRE in an effort to make legal trade more attractive. Phased in over a quarter of a century, from 1765 to 1789, the new policy brought gratifying results, as legal trade increased substantially. Contraband, however, was never fully eliminated and probably increased when the Crown's inability to challenge British naval supremacy forced it to concede neutral trade with the colonies during much of the reign of CHARLES IV, a measure that helped merchants from the United States, in particular.

While not getting the formal free access they wanted from Spain, despite their country supporting Spain's struggle against the French 1808 to 1813, British merchants benefited from the wars of independence in the colonies and quickly established themselves in the newly independent countries.

Although contraband gold and diamonds were the most valuable items smuggled out of Brazil, by the late 17th century, East India shippers on their way to Portugal stopped in BAHIA and loaded contraband TOBACCO. Fraud also occurred in the SUGAR trade, with crates mismarked regarding weight and quality. Finally, in 1751, the Portuguese Crown created boards of inspection at major Brazilian ports in an attempt to eliminate it; planters and merchants were outraged. CATTLE were smuggled into Minas Gerais from Bahia. The border with the Spanish side of the Río de la Plata was porous, and smugglers sent contraband hides across it for sale in the MINING districts.

Smuggling was thus an ongoing activity in which citizens of the Iberian countries and colonists worked, often with FOREIGNERS, to defraud their own governments.

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Sobremonte, Rafael de (b. 1745–d. 1827) *Spanish viceroy of Río de la Plata* Born in SEVILLE, Spain, Rafael de Sobremonte followed a MILITARY career from 1759. After tours in both the colonies and Spain, in 1779, he was appointed secretary of the VICEROY of RÍO DE LA PLATA. Advanced to the rank of lieutenant colonel in 1780, he was named governor-intendant of the province of Córdoba de Tucumán in 1783. He proved an excellent INTENDANT, creating a number of new towns, establishing a chair of civil law at the University of San Carlos in Córdoba, and installing lighting in the city, among other improvements. In 1797, he held the rank of brigadier and the inherited title of marqués de Sobremonte when appointed inspector general and second in command to the viceroy. Upon the death of Viceroy Joaquín del Pino, on April 28, 1804, Sobremonte became viceroy. He held that position when a British expeditionary force came into view on June 25, 1806.

The British occupied BUENOS AIRES on June 27, but Sobremonte had fled to the interior of the viceroyalty with the royal treasury. His flight did not sit well with the city's populace as SANTIAGO DE LINIERS Y BREMOND led the successful effort to expel the enemy on August 12, 1806. Sobremonte's return was viewed with scorn, and when a second British expedition landed on the coast of the BANDA ORIENTAL on January 16, 1807, and took MONTEVIDEO on February 3, a prominent PENINSULAR merchant and city official, MARTÍN DE ALZAGA, led a successful effort to force the Audiencia of Buenos Aires to remove Sobremonte from office. He was replaced by Liniers and in 1809 allowed to return to Spain, where he died in Cádiz many years later, his reputation still lost.

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society The structure of colonial society varied by region and even locale, but several characteristics were common throughout Spanish America and BRAZIL. Conquest provided the initial division between European conquerors and settlers and the indigenous peoples; this

often meant a de facto division between “nobles” and “commoners,” although only a small number of genuine nobles had immigrated (see NOBILITY, COLONIAL). The importation of African slaves added a third, immediately identifiable group at the bottom of this hierarchical society (see SLAVERY).

Racial mixing among Iberians, NATIVE AMERICANS, and Africans led to a plethora of combinations of which the most important were mestizo, or *MAMELUCO*, and *MULATO* (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*). Legal condition as enslaved or free and, additionally in the Spanish colonies, tributary or not, further modified the social categories. Wealth, occupation, honor, lineage (both *LIMPIEZA DE SANGRE*, or blood purity, and descent from a conquistador or early settler), recognition as *don* or *doña* in Spain’s colonies, and legitimacy, legal status, and location of birth also contributed to the place that Spaniards and Portuguese held in colonial society.

The hierarchical ranking of the *sistema de castas*, or caste system, of Spanish America depended on the extent or perceived extent of Spanish ancestry. Its order held Spaniards at the top, followed by *castizos*, Moriscos, mestizos, mulattoes, other *CASTAS*, Amerindians, and blacks. As the colonial period progressed, class—a division between rich and poor with relatively few families between—became increasingly important and resulted in a few indigenous in the upper group and more Spaniards in the far larger lower group. Urban or rural residence also affected the shape of social structures. The term *elite* is often applied to powerful, wealthy, and often extended families that dominated a given city, town, village, or rural area.

By the mid-16th century, Spain’s initial attempts to segregate Spaniards and Amerindians into “two republics,” as, for example, in separate municipal districts in MEXICO CITY, were already failing. When founded as a Spanish city, the central district (*traza*) of Mexico City was 13 square blocks designated for Spanish occupation. Surrounding it was San Juan Tenochtitlán, the indigenous community divided into neighborhoods (*barrios*). It proved impossible to maintain the separation. With as many as 18,000 Spaniards living in Mexico City in 1574, the central district could not accommodate them. Following the pattern of settlement in which the most prominent families lived closest to the city’s *PLAZA MAYOR*, poor Spaniards wound up living outside the *traza* in indigenous neighborhoods. Movement went the other way as well; some indigenous servants lived with Spanish masters in the *traza*.

The introduction of significant numbers of African slaves also affected the two republics. The best estimates indicate that between 1521 and 1594, some 36,500 entered NEW SPAIN; another 50,000 arrived between 1595 and 1622, and 23,500 more in the years to 1639, for a total of 110,525, or almost half of the total imported in the Spanish colonies. By the 1570s, some 8,000 of 20,000 slaves in New Spain lived in Mexico City. While some

lived in the *traza* with Spanish masters, others resided in indigenous neighborhoods.

The appearance of numerous mestizos not reared by Spanish fathers, mulattoes, and other combinations further confounded the notion of two republics. The first generation of mestizos was largely of illegitimate birth, as were many mulattoes and other *castas*. Their origins, perceived vicious and immoral habits, and abuse of Amerindians led the Crown, in 1563, to prohibit non-natives from residing in Indian districts and villages. Repeated subsequently on several occasions, the legislation implied they were to reside in the republic of Spaniards. Rather than two separate republics, Mexico City by the early 17th century had three distinct racial groups and a growing population resulting from their combination. As the importation of African slaves into New Spain dwindled to a trickle after 1640, the tripartite division slowly gave way to a continuum extending from Spaniards to Amerindians to black slaves.

While Spaniards preferred living in CITIES rather than rural areas and about 30 percent of the Spaniards in New Spain in 1574 lived in Mexico City, Native Americans residing in villages made up most of the colony’s population. Despite wide variation in estimates of the size of the indigenous POPULATION of Mexico when the Spaniards arrived, there is general agreement that by 1568, it numbered about 2.65 million on the way to its nadir of 750,000 in the 1620s. Despite demographic disaster, the indigenous population was larger than all other groups combined.

Amerindian villages continued preconquest social distinctions, although Spanish administrative offices were often imposed. *CACIQUES* in MEXICO and *KURAKAS* in PERU headed their villages, owned land, and, in the 16th century, might receive land grants. In many cases, they used their positions to further personal as well as village interests; their estates (*cacicazgos*) were inheritable by heirs. Heads (*principales*) of lesser noble families and relatives of caciques made up the remainder of the local nobility and thus were positioned above indigenous commoners. The social and economic distance between local notables and commoners could be significant, as illustrated in Yucatán by the wealth, material goods, and display of the *batabs*, on the one hand, and the modest conditions of the commoners. To pay TRIBUTE when of tributary age defined an Indian commoner.

The Spanish Crown recognized the existence of indigenous nobilities and provided various status symbols to help them uphold their positions and encourage gratitude for Spanish support. For example, caciques and their eldest sons were exempt from tribute, as were *principales* in many cases, and they typically wore Spanish garb. An 18th-century cacique of Tepoztlán claimed that he would “rather be dead” than dress like a commoner.

Frequently, caciques obtained licenses to own and ride horses with saddles and bridles, carry swords, daggers, and even muskets; other caciques simply did these



Various forms of Peruvian dress on the eve of independence. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

things, considering them necessary and appropriate for their status. Special *COLEGIOS* were established to educate the sons of caciques. In Oaxaca, for example, the caciques dressed in Spanish-style clothing, spoke and wrote Spanish, and, after 1600, lived in the city of Oaxaca rather than their village if their resources permitted. By the second half of the 17th century, however, their powers were waning, although this was not true in all native communities.

Spaniards and Portuguese imported numerous African slaves. Until 1600, more slaves went to Spanish America than to Brazil, but the totals paled compared to what followed. Between 1601 and 1700, Brazil received 560,000, and Spanish America, 292,500; between 1701 and 1810, the number for Brazil was 1,891,400, while Spanish America received 578,600. Reduced to more manageable numbers, about 1,000 to 1,400 a year entered Peru between 1620 and 1640. In the latter year, metropolitan LIMA had a black and mulatto population of about 20,000, a number nearly double the number of Spaniards. The remainder of Peru had perhaps 10,000 blacks and mulattoes.

African slaves engaged in domestic service in a city usually had more opportunities and variety in their lives than those forced to labor on SUGAR or other PLANTATIONS. The former were typically born of a slave mother

in the colonies and thus grew up learning Spanish or Portuguese. The gap between slave and freedman, however, was greater than social distance among slaves. Those slaves who obtained freedom were rarely born and reared in Africa (*bozales*). The largest number of imported slaves worked as fieldhands or in the sugar mills under conditions that led to high mortality rates, but most plantation owners preferred to buy new slaves rather than promote reproduction.

Castas typically occupied intermediate social space between Spaniards, on the one hand, and Amerindians and Africans, on the other. They spoke Spanish and dressed in Spanish-style clothing. An important indicator of their status within the range of *castas* was tribute; if they paid it, they were lower than those who did not. While *casta* status appears racially based in a list of categories in the *sistema de castas*, contemporary observers' perceptions were an important determinant, underscoring the cultural and social nature of the classifications as opposed to genealogical determinism. For example, as more than one official complained, Amerindians who spoke Spanish, cut their hair, and wore Spanish-style clothing could go to a city and pass as mestizos and thus avoid tribute.

Free persons of color had to pay tribute. *ZAMBOS* were ordered to pay it in 1572, and in 1574, free blacks and

mulattoes were added to the tributary category, although they escaped enforcement until the mid-1590s. Free women of color were exempted from tribute in 1631, as were free men of color in the militia. Slave and free black women, however, were subject to sumptuary legislation. By 1600, some freedmen were obtaining minor offices sold at auction, especially when Spanish fathers took an interest in their careers.

The presumed illegitimacy of *castas* provided the Spanish population with clear evidence of a *casta's* inferiority and thus an argument against providing him with an EDUCATION. All persons of African descent were excluded, for example, from Lima's Royal Colegio of San Felipe, although such institutions could grant exceptions. Institutions such as the orphanage of Our Lady of Atocha in Lima could not turn away foundlings, regardless of their perceived ancestry.

By the late 17th century, *castas* were marrying with some frequency. An examination of marriage patterns in two Mexico City parishes in the 1680s and 1690s reveals that indigenous people married mestizos more often than other non-Indians; similarly, blacks married mulattoes more often than other non-blacks. Mestizo-mulatto marriages were the most common *casta* marriages.

Although Spaniards capped the *sistema de castas*, their status varied substantially. The conquerors and first settlers included few nobles sufficiently elevated to warrant use of *don*, or "lord." The feminine form, *doña*, was used more widely for Spanish women. By 1560, Peru might have attracted about 150 *dons* since the 1530s; they were from the bottom of the category—poor relatives and descendants of true *dons*—but knew and transmitted the culture and lifestyle of Spain's nobility. More numerous were *hidalgos*, the lowest level of nobility (see *HIDALGUÍA*). The vast majority of Spanish immigrants were commoners; the range of their occupations indicates that by 1560 in Lima, and a bit earlier in Mexico City, a complete society had taken root with artisans of varied skills, businessmen, professionals, and other occupations necessary to replicate, at least in outline, society in Spain. The most obvious differences were the paucity of titled nobles and rural laborers willing to engage in manual agricultural labor in the colonies (see *AGRICULTURE*).

As the number of CREOLES began to rival and then exceed that of PENINSULARS, place of birth became an easy point of differentiation. Spaniards born in Spain considered themselves superior by that reason alone. Claiming *limpieza de sangre*, they looked down on their creole cousins, assuming they had one or more Amerindian or African ancestors. In addition, they considered creoles lazy and improvident. By the late 18th century, they added to presumed defects that of living in the Americas, a geographical location where, according to numerous European writers, all species, including humans, unavoidably deteriorated. As Alexander von Humboldt noted in his *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*: "The lowest, least educated, and uncultivated European

believes himself superior to the white born in the New World." Peninsulars, of course, were a single-generation phenomenon since their children born in the colonies would be creoles, mestizos, mulattoes, or *castas*. The number of peninsulars, in any case, only briefly exceeded that of creoles.

For their part, creoles who could locate their origins among the conquistadores and early settlers considered most peninsulars ill-mannered, poorly educated, pushy men of modest origins who arrived in the colonies with nothing but connections and took jobs that Americans considered rightfully theirs. Although some peninsulars became wealthy, they were *nouveaux riches* who lacked culture and refinement. At the same time, creole fathers were more than willing to have daughters marry peninsulars who had become men of substance and connections or at least had considerable promise. The loss of creole women in marriage to peninsulars was another reason for creole males' antagonism.

Spaniards born in Spain and the colonies together spanned the entire range of economic possibilities and occupation. With rare exceptions, they held all upper-level administrative appointments in church and state, dominated local offices in Spanish CITIES, and monopolized provincial administration as well. VICEROYS, AUDIENCIA ministers, treasury officials, *corregidores* and *alcaldes mayores*, city councilmen, sheriffs, and many other officials were Spaniards (see *ALCALDE MAYOR*; *CORREGIDOR/CORREGIMIENTO*). High-ranking CATHOLIC CHURCH officials—archbishops, bishops, and members of CATHEDRAL CHAPTERS—were Spaniards, as were curates of the most desirable parishes. Wholesale merchants, major retailers, MINING magnates, and the largest landowners and stockmen were Spaniards. Lawyers, Latin physicians, and university professors were also of Spanish birth (see *UNIVERSITIES*).

Although a few high-ranking officials, especially viceroys under the HABSBURGS, arrived in the colonies with titles of nobility, the Crown granted titles almost exclusively to Spaniards. Even when peninsulars were the original recipients, creoles normally inherited them. Knighthoods in the MILITARY ORDERS of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcántara and the later civil order of Charles III were also a preserve of Spaniards of documented pure ancestry.

The majority of Spaniards, however, held neither title nor knighthood, owned no wholesale or retail business, owned little if any land, and never held an *ENCOMIENDA*. Numbering perhaps 550,000 in the mid-17th century, the number of Spaniards continued to increase. With the total estimated population of Spanish America between 12 and 13 million by the early 19th century, peninsular Spaniards totaled perhaps 30,000–40,000, 15,000 of them in New Spain. Creoles numbered about 2.5 million. While Spaniards tended to be endogamous, a significant minority that married chose non-Spanish partners.

Not surprisingly, some Spaniards were among the dregs of society. Crime statistics for Mexico City in the

early 19th century reveal that Spaniards were responsible for over one-third of all crimes, including violent crimes, property crimes, sexual offenses, adultery, vagrancy, drunkenness, and gambling. Over half of the inmates in the royal poorhouse in Mexico City in 1811 were Spaniards. Recruiting teams for the army in Mexico regularly scoured the taverns searching for vagabonds and other potential soldiers who could be enlisted while inebriated. One peninsular vagabond who daily toured the taverns in Mexico City looking for odd jobs found himself sentenced to an eight-year appointment in PUEBLA's infantry regiment.

Once established, the *sistema de castas* continued throughout the colonial era in Spanish America. Indeed, in the late 18th century, discrimination against *castas*, notably those with some African ancestry, intensified. While the wars of independence did not lead immediately to the abolition of slavery in emerging countries where it was considered economically important, racial attribution such as parish priests had made in recording baptisms and marriages since the 16th century was outlawed in numerous places.

Brazil also had a hierarchical social structure, with the Portuguese born (*REINÓIS*) at the apex, followed by those born in Brazil (*brasileiros*). These included the owners of *ENGENHOS* and *FAZENDAS* and high-ranking officials. None prior to 1808 received titles of nobility, and few entered the military orders. In SÃO PAULO, the rich and powerful were of *mameluco* descent. Mulattoes, free blacks, African slaves, and Amerindians made up the remainder of the major social categories. In contrast to Spanish America, slaves and their descendants were much more numerous in Brazil, and Native Americans and their descendants were far fewer.

Further reading:

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Society of Jesus See JESUITS.

Solórzano y Pereyra, Juan de (b. 1575–d. 1655) *Spanish legist and counselor of the Indies* Born in Madrid, Juan de Solórzano y Pereyra studied law at the

University of Salamanca starting in 1587. He received a licentiate in civil law in 1599 and a doctorate in 1608. After some substitute teaching, he obtained the second chair of civil law in 1606, a position he held until 1609, when he was named *OIDOR* of the Audiencia of Lima. He arrived at his post in mid-1610 and served, including two years as GOVERNOR of HUANCAMELICA, until 1627, when he returned to Spain. After brief service as *FISCAL* of the Council of Hacienda and COUNCIL OF THE INDIES, he was appointed a minister of the latter in 1629, one of the very few men with American *AUDIENCIA* service so honored before 1700. In 1633, PHILIP IV named him *fiscal* of the Council of Castile with retention of his post in the Council of the Indies, but Solórzano begged off serving because of growing deafness. Made a knight of Santiago in 1640, he sought honors of the Council of Castile but was given a full position and allowed to retain his post in the Council of the Indies. At last granted retirement in 1644, he died in Madrid.

Solórzano authored or compiled at least a dozen works, many published multiple times. The first volume of the Latin edition of his most important work, *De indiarum iure*, was initially published in Madrid in 1629. The five-volume Spanish edition, *Política indiana*, appeared in 1647. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Solórzano had a modern view of public office, considering it a public trust rather than a form of property. He was also unusual in recommending that, unless they were native sons, lawyers who practiced before colonial *audiencias* be named to the high tribunals, a recommendation that would have increased the number of CREOLES on the courts. Not surprisingly, creole authors cited Solórzano's work repeatedly.

Further reading:

- D. A. Brading. *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- John Leddy Phelan. *The Kingdom of Quito in the Seventeenth Century: Bureaucratic Politics in the Spanish Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967).

Spanish South America, independence of Independence in mainland Spanish America grew out of a political crisis in Spain, heightened expectations that were dashed, and, ultimately, an awareness that the Spanish government was incapable of addressing what at least some literate Americans thought needed to be changed. As a backdrop were grievances that had stimulated some CREOLES to desire greater autonomy within the empire, but there was no creole movement toward independence prior to 1808. Creoles such as FRANCISCO DE MIRANDA, who actively pursued independence for the colonies before that date, probably numbered no more than a few dozen.

The ties between creoles, who bore the major responsibility for bringing about political independence,

and Spain were long standing and numerous. They included ancestry, language, religion, political heritage, institutions, mores, and customs. Achieving independence required often fervent supporters of the monarchy and FERDINAND VII to move from opposition to neutrality, if not active support of a break with Spain.

BACKGROUND TO THE CRISIS OF 1808

When CHARLES IV ascended the throne in December 1788, he inherited an empire that had arguably never been more prosperous. Aside from the 1760s, registered SILVER production in NEW SPAIN had increased from early in the century. Registered silver production in PERU had also increased, ultimately peaking in the 1790s but remaining at a high level until 1812. Even POTOSÍ had registered growing production from the 1730s until 1800.

From the royal perspective, legal colonial TRADE with Spain was also doing well under *COMERCIO LIBRE*, in place everywhere but New Spain and VENEZUELA; it would take effect in those colonies the following year. WAR with Great Britain initially disrupted the impact of the new policy, but colonial exports to Spain totaled 176 million pesos from 1785 to 1788; goods shipped to the colonies in those years, 48 percent of which were declared to be Spanish, totaled just over 68 million pesos. Annual imports from the colonies for the succeeding eight years would average more than 50 million pesos; exports would average more than 15 million pesos in value each year.

Overall tax returns were also higher than prior to the introduction of the INTENDANT system, although the extent of change varied (see TAXATION). Peru's increase was substantial, while New Spain's was negligible.

Rising revenues over the preceding quarter-century had enabled the strengthening of the colonies' defensive capacity, at least on paper. Rebellions in NEW GRANADA and Peru in the early 1780s had been defeated, and the border issue with BRAZIL had been resolved by force and sanctified by the TREATY OF SAN ILDEFONSO in 1777. The presence of a VICEROY in BUENOS AIRES testified to both the Crown's seriousness about retaining the new border and the increased importance of that city since PEDRO DE CEVALLOS inaugurated the VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA in 1777. Spain's navy, moreover, was substantial, although not well tested in battle.

Population growth throughout the empire was evident by 1788 and would continue throughout Charles IV's reign. Several cities—including MEXICO CITY, HAVANA, LIMA, and PUEBLA—were the largest in the hemisphere.

In short, conditions in the empire in 1788 looked good, certainly better than they had been a century, a half-century, or even 25 years earlier. This optimistic scene disintegrated rapidly during Charles IV's reign. By late spring 1808, Spain was in a political crisis as well as a fiscal crisis arising from war with France starting in 1793 and worsening rapidly after that date. The long years dominated by royal favorite MANUEL GODOY Y ÁLVAREZ

DE FARIA, moreover, had disgraced the monarchy. By early 1808, a French army was on its way to Madrid, and the Portuguese monarchy was already in BRAZIL. The abdication of Charles IV after a riot in the royal residence of Aranjuez in March was followed by Ferdinand VII's abdication and Charles's second abdication, this time to Napoleon, in Bayonne, France, in May 1808.

RESPONSE TO THE ABDICATIONS: SPAIN

The spontaneous formation of local and provincial JUNTAS in Spain that followed the abdications demonstrated immediately that Spaniards would contest French rule, soon to be embodied in Napoleon's brother, JOSEPH I. According to their supporters, the juntas had reassumed sovereignty in the absence of a legitimate government. Thus, they were legitimate and could act in Ferdinand VII's name until he returned. The junta of Asturias quickly sent representatives to Britain seeking aid against France and, as did the JUNTA SUPREMA DE SEVILLA, dispatched agents to the colonies seeking their recognition and support. More juntas appeared in Granada, Valencia, Catalonia, León, Toledo, Jaén, and other locations.

Despite the Spaniards' remarkable victory over the French at Bailén on July 19 and 20, 1808, it soon became apparent that the juntas needed to cooperate so that a single authority could be empowered to act in the name of Ferdinand until his return. From this belief was born the JUNTA CENTRAL. It met initially in Aranjuez, convening on September 25, 1808, and had a full complement of 34 representatives by October 12. Desperate for financial support, the Junta Central decided in October to add deputies from the colonies, although it was not until January 22, 1809, when it was resident in SEVILLE, that it issued a call for their election.

The language of the call was remarkable. "Considering that the vast and precious dominions owned by Spain in the Indies are not properly colonies or factories . . . but an essential and integral part of the Spanish monarchy . . ." each of the four viceroyalties and six captaincies general "must be represented" by a person selected by indirect elections. This promise of a new, inclusive relationship encouraged those who wanted greater autonomy for their colonies. On January 24, 1810, the Junta Central abandoned Seville, to which it had fled after leaving Aranjuez on December 1, 1808; it named a COUNCIL OF REGENCY on January 29, 1810, which assumed authority on January 31 and transferred to the Isle of León the following day as Seville surrendered to the French.

Even more remarkable than the 1809 call for American representation to the Junta Central was a decree the Regency issued February 14, 1810, ordering the election of representatives to the Cortes. "From this moment, Spanish Americans, you are elevated to the dignity of free men; you are no longer as before, doubled over under a yoke that was heavier the farther you were from the center of power [Madrid]; looked upon with indifference, molested by cupidity, and destroyed

by ignorance.” The decree went on to assure residents in the “kingdoms” (not “colonies”) of the New World that the deputies they elected to the Cortes would hold Americans’ destinies in their hands. This admission of past exploitation and discrimination explicitly recognized equality between Americans and PENINSULARS in language from which there could be no effective retreat.

The Cortes opened on the Isle of León on September 24, 1810, with numerous substitute deputies (*suplentes*) authorized to serve until the duly elected deputies arrived. There were 74 representatives from Spain and 30 from the colonies. The French had been besieging CÁDIZ since February 5.

RESPONSE TO THE ABDICATIONS: AMERICAS

The creole response in the Americas to events in Spain followed the example of the Spanish juntas. In the absence of the legitimate monarch, sovereignty returned to the people. In practice, this usually meant sovereignty rested in the MUNICIPAL COUNCIL of a region’s leading city. Thus *cabildos* or *ayuntamientos* came to the fore as offering a legitimate solution to the problem of illegitimate government embodied by Joseph I.

Rumors of the events in Spain reached CARACAS on July 5, 1808. Venezuelans received confirmation of the abdications of Charles and Ferdinand 10 days later when representatives of Napoleon arrived at La Guaira, only to be rejected. In the same month, both word of the events and a representative of Napoleon reached Buenos Aires. On August 21, news of Ferdinand VII’s accession reached the city of LA PLATA.

The first responses to news of the unprecedented events in Spain were to pledge allegiance to Ferdinand VII and hostility to the French and Joseph I and to await more information. As more news arrived, however, divergent opinions began to surface. Initially, the discussion focused primarily on two alternatives: recognize and support the government of resistance in Spain, although until the formation of the Junta Central, the juntas of both Seville and Asturias were seeking recognition as the government of resistance; or establish a local or regional junta that would rule in the name of Ferdinand VII until his return, in other words, follow the example of juntas in Spain. Both alternatives held the possibility of greater autonomy within a continuing political relationship with Spain. The idea of total independence from Spain such as some mainland British colonies had secured in 1783 and, more frighteningly, Haiti had achieved more recently, appeared as a third alternative only to a handful of radicals.

During the remainder of 1808 and 1809 an abortive attempt to overthrow Viceroy SANTIAGO LINIERS Y BREMOND in Buenos Aires failed, but successful depositions removed the president of the Audiencia of CHARCAS, the intendant of La Paz, and the president of the Audiencia of QUITO. Military forces sent from Lima and Buenos Aires by the end of 1809 crushed juntas created in La Plata, La Paz, and Quito.

In the meantime, the designated viceroalties and CAPTAINCIES GENERAL were carrying out the order of January 1809 to elect representatives to the Junta Central and provide them with instructions or lists of grievances to take to Spain. Despite complaints that the number of representatives did not provide equal representation and grousing in the presidencies of Charcas and Quito that they did not get their own deputies, indirect elections took place within a complicated system that allowed nearly 100 CITIES and towns with municipal governments to participate. The short life of the Junta Central, however, meant that in some cases the elections were not completed and that other deputies did not arrive in Spain in time to serve.

The participating municipal councils took seriously the charge to provide their representatives with instructions. All affirmed their loyalty to Ferdinand VII, and most placed this within support for monarchy and articulation of their equality within the “Spanish nation.” Some called for reform that would preclude “favorites” by placing limitations on the monarch.

The discussion of events in Spain, elections, and the mandated preparation of instructions for deputies to the Junta Central initiated a political revolution in the kingdoms of Spanish America. The process of clarifying and cataloging grievances brought to the surface and exacerbated differences of opinion between peninsulars and creoles; the former frequently considered the latter’s ideas treasonous. In the absence of the monarch, the idea that sovereignty returned to the people gained currency. The required election of deputies to the CORTES OF CÁDIZ in 1810 and provision of instructions provoked further discussion and hardened opposing views. Increasingly, those who became known as royalists or reactionaries formed one side and insurgents, traitors, or, more generously, patriots, the other.

By the time elections to the Cortes took place, the situation in Spain had gone from bad to worse. In mid-April 1810, news began reaching the Americas that the French had taken Andalusia and the Junta Central had created a five-member Council of Regency and dissolved itself. With little evidence that Spain could free itself of French domination, AUTONOMISTS in several regions of what would become identified as *Ultramar*, or the overseas dominions, quickly pushed for home rule; they would rule until Ferdinand returned to power and preserve their regions from French domination. While elections to the Cortes took place in much of the INDIES, autonomists moved assertively in varied locations.

In Caracas, the captain general and *audiencia* were deposed and a junta created on April 19, 1810. On May 25, 1810, a junta was established in Buenos Aires. On July 16, 1810, the Audiencia of CHILE deposed the captain general, and two months later, a *CABILDO ABIERTO* established a junta. On September 24, the Cortes began to meet on the Isle of León. By the time that the revolt led by MIGUEL HIDALGO Y COSTILLA was under way in New

Spain, only Peru and GUATEMALA among Spain's mainland colonies were firmly under royalist control.

When the Cortes opened, it had 29 substitutes (*suplentes*) and one proprietary deputy representing the Americas; 74 men represented Spain. The allocations demonstrated that the Americas were not equal to Spain, and American deputies complained. A proposal to allocate deputies on the basis of population failed, since it would give the Americas about 60 percent of the deputies. The bright new day promised in the February 1810 call for elections was not dawning.

American deputies immediately forced the Cortes to address the issue of representation, but the result satisfied very few of them. As approved in a resolution of October 15, 1810, *CASTAS* were excluded from the count of citizens used to determine representation. Creoles and NATIVE AMERICANS, in other words, persons with no African ancestry, were to enjoy equal rights with peninsulars. Each time the issue resurfaced, the American deputies who sought full and equal representation in the Cortes lost.

The American deputies were also unsuccessful in obtaining free trade and the return of the JESUITS. The Cortes approved equal opportunity for all positions but did not guarantee that native sons would get at least half of all positions in their *audiencia* districts, as the American representatives wanted. While the Cortes approved an end to ROYAL MONOPOLIES, the provision was not implemented.

Nonetheless, the Cortes of Cádiz and the constitution promulgated on March 19, 1812, and written by American as well as peninsular deputies, did authorize significant changes. Although Americans did not get as much representation as they sought, they were actively involved in the political process and governance of the "Spanish Nation," as the combination of Spain and the overseas kingdoms was now called. The constitution authorized all population centers of 1,000 or more without formal municipal government to establish *ayuntamientos* or *cabildos*; this resulted in 896 new municipal councils in New Spain, many more in other parts of the Americas, and a dramatic increase in political involvement in the affected areas.

The CONSTITUTION OF 1812 gave substantial power to the unicameral Cortes and placed multiple restrictions on the monarch. The judiciary was to be an independent branch of government, and the regional executives would become *jefes políticos*. Viceroys would lose some authority as they became *jefes políticos superiores*. A PROVINCIAL DEPUTATION was created for each province. This new institution would consist of the province's *jefe político* as presiding officer, the intendant, and seven provincially elected deputies.

Among other important Cortes actions that affected the American kingdoms were the authorization of a free press (November 10, 1810), the abolition of Indian TRIBUTE everywhere and the *MITA* in Peru (March 13, 1811),

and the abolition of the INQUISITION (February 22, 1813). Together, the actions of the Cortes and the Constitution of 1812 created a new political baseline that pleased some, angered others, and forced those who wanted additional changes to offer more far-reaching alternatives. Importantly, the Constitution confirmed that Spain was more equal than the Americas.

Buenos Aires had not formally broken with Spain and considered its jurisdiction the entire Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata. Viceroy JOSÉ FERNANDO DE ABASCAL Y SOUSA, however, annexed Charcas to its former home in the Viceroyalty of Peru. Successive governments in Buenos Aires sent armies to reclaim the highland region. A first one, led by Juan José Castelli, crossed the border of Charcas in October and entered Potosí on November 25. By the time royalist forces commanded by creole JOSÉ MANUEL DE GOYENECHÉ Y BARREDA crushed the auxiliary army from Buenos Aires at Guaqui on June 20, 1811, Castelli had alienated the inhabitants of Potosí, La Plata, Oruro, and La Paz. The royalists unsuccessfully invaded the lower provinces of the River Plate viceroyalty, but forces led by MANUEL BELGRANO routed them at Salta on February 20, 1813. Belgrano then entered Upper Peru and took Potosí on May 7, 1813, remaining in control there until November 18, 1813. Following a defeat on October 1, 1813, by JOAQUÍN DE LA PEZUELA, future viceroy of Peru, and a failed attempt to blow up the MINT (Casa de Moneda), Belgrano led his forces down from the Andes. At Sipe Sipe on November 29, 1815, royalists also destroyed a third invading army sent by Buenos Aires.

Venezuela had already gone much further than the Cortes of Cádiz by declaring independence and a republic on July 5, 1811. It was a disastrous experiment, as royalists regained control, sent SIMÓN BOLÍVAR fleeing, and ended the fledgling state in July 1812.

In New Granada, juntas proliferated in 1810. Cali established one on July 3; Pamplona, on July 4; Socorro, on July 10; and BOGOTÁ, on July 21. CARTAGENA DE INDIAS declared independence as a republic on November 11, 1811, but adjacent provinces would not join it. By late 1812, there were two warring independent states, a centralist state of Cundinamarca and the United Provinces of New Granada.

Chile also responded to events in Spain with an autonomist solution. After Governor Francisco Antonio García Carrasco had alienated the SANTIAGO DE CHILE aristocracy through arrests and punishments seen as arbitrary and unnecessary, on July 16, 1810, the *audiencia* in Santiago deposed and replaced him in actions designed to preempt the city council. When word of the deteriorating situation in Spain arrived, pressure from council members led the interim governor to call a *CABILDO ABIERTO* over the *audiencia's* opposition. The *cabildo abierto* promptly established the National Governing Junta on September 18, 1810, which named the interim governor as its president, swore allegiance to Ferdinand VII, and promised to call a national congress. A royalist insurrec-

tion on April 1, 1811, in which the Audiencia of Chile was implicated, clarified that the course the junta was following, for example, declaring Chile open to international trade, had opposition; the insurrection's failure brought about the demise of the *audiencia*.

On July 4, 1811, the National Congress began to meet, but the following month one faction withdrew to Concepción and established its own junta. On November 15, José María Carrera launched a successful *golpe de estado* (coup d'état), assumed power, and dissolved Congress. His opposition was soon in disarray, and Carrera's power was momentarily unchallenged. His actions, however, prompted Viceroy Abascal in Peru to send a small military unit to support royalists and crush what he perceived as an insurgency. Civil war between royalists and autonomists ended in a stalemate, but Abascal repudiated the resulting Treaty of Lircay (May 3, 1814), and a royalist victory at Rancagua (October 1–2, 1814) forced Carrera, BERNARDO O'HIGGINS, and other autonomists to flee across the Andes.

INDEPENDENCE IN SPAIN, REACTION IN THE COLONIES

Following indispensable aid from Britain; the military acumen of the duke of Wellington; the help of "*guerrillas*," marking the first use of that term; sometimes valuable participation by Spanish armies; and Napoleon's fiasco in Russia and need to withdraw troops from Spain, the last French troops were leaving Madrid by late May 1813. A month later, Joseph I was back in France. After briefly meeting in Cádiz, the first "regular" Cortes adjourned on November 26 to move to Madrid. The Treaty of Valençay of December 11, 1813, ended the war with the French, recognized Ferdinand VII as king of Spain, ordered the evacuation of the last French troops, and stipulated that the British forces were also to withdraw from Spain. Almost unthinkable in 1810, Spain had won its war of independence, and Ferdinand VII was free.

The monarch reached Spain on March 24, 1814, and slowly traveled southward. Greeted everywhere with wild enthusiasm, he soon realized that popular sentiment and enough military support existed to enable him to take decisive action. He did. On May 4 in Valencia, he declared all actions taken by governments of resistance since he left Spain in May 1808 null and void; thus the Constitution of 1812 and all legislation were abrogated. Moreover, he ordered liberal (that is, pro-constitution) leaders in Madrid arrested on May 10, closed the Cortes the following day, and entered Madrid on May 13, 1814. "Beloved Ferdinand" was back with the institutions and officials of the old regime.

The government's finances, not surprisingly, were in even worse shape than in May 1808. Aside from obvious reasons related to five years of warfare in Spain, the colonies were no longer providing reliable or substantial income through taxes in the Americas or on trade with Spain. Ferdinand's return, furthermore, forced the colo-

nists to decide whether to support Ferdinand or rebellion. The changes American deputies had proposed to the Cortes of Cádiz, and that even in 1814 probably a majority of creoles supported, were no longer on the table.

The situation in the colonies in mid-1814 was as follows. In Venezuela, JOSÉ TOMÁS BOVES drove Bolívar's forces from Caracas on June 15, 1814; the Second Republic, established in August 1813, was history. Troops from Peru had reestablished royal authority in Quito in late 1812 and would do so in Chile in October 1814. New Granada remained divided among groups of autonomists. In the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata, Charcas was attached to Peru; PARAGUAY had been de facto independent since May 17, 1811; the BANDA ORIENTAL had rejected permanent alliance, as distinct from opportunistic agreements, with Buenos Aires from the time of the May revolution of 1810 and starting on February 26, 1811, had an autonomist movement led by JOSÉ GERVASIO ARTIGAS. War involving royalist soldiers, troops from Buenos Aires, Artigas's supporters, and a Portuguese army from Brazil ended temporarily in February 1815 when Artigas began a contested rule marked by renewed warfare. Buenos Aires had still not declared independence, but its kaleidoscope of governments had behaved as though independent since May 1810. Peru under Viceroy Abascal had remained under Spanish rule. Central America, CUBA, and PUERTO RICO had also remained loyal. Mexico had weathered the Hidalgo revolt, but rebellion led by JOSÉ MARÍA MORELOS Y PAVÓN was still under way in mid-1814; the countryside, moreover, was marked by banditry, guerrilla warfare, and ongoing discontent. Economic conditions throughout the mainland colonies were generally bleak.

Ferdinand thus faced colonies that had experienced absolute monarchy, juntas, independence, republican government, and constitutional monarchy (although without a monarch). They had voted, established numerous constitutional municipal governments, enjoyed unprecedented freedom of speech, and discussed wide-ranging political options. In addition, they had been promised equality as kingdoms in a Spanish nation only to see their hopes dashed. Their political experience included repeated elections for deputies to the Cortes, deputies to provincial deputations, and members of municipal governments.

Within and among the colonies, there was no agreement in 1814 as to the best form of government, and advocates for different types could be found. Ferdinand, in short, could not do anything without alienating one or another group. His decision to restore monarchical absolutism with institutions and personnel as they were in May 1808 unavoidably cost him potential support. Even more, his decision to reimpose Spanish rule by force of arms ultimately drove adherents and uncommitted members of the colonial elites to allow, if not support, a growing number of active citizens who had moved beyond desiring greater autonomy within a Spanish nation to wanting complete independence.

Opposed to federalism or any form of representative government, Ferdinand turned to force. He ordered General PABLO MORILLO to lead an expedition of some 10,500 men to northern South America. The army of reconquest arrived in April 1815 and was in Caracas the following month. After mopping up the remains of the Second Republic in Venezuela, Morillo quickly moved to New Granada, where conditions were messier. He was able to reestablish Spanish rule by October 1816 but never complete control. The growing problem was that force got out of hand; rebel sons of elite families were executed or sentenced to hard labor, and the families suffered confiscation of property. Growing alienation arising from the abuse of force increased the willingness of the elite to countenance an alternative to Spanish rule. Bolívar offered it.

Building up a cavalry in the Llanos of Venezuela with the aid of José Antonio Páez and benefiting from out-of-work British soldiers, officers, and adventurers who found their way into his forces, Bolívar led his army across the Andes into New Granada. Victorious in the Battle of Boyacá near Bogotá on August 7, 1819, he handed New Granada its independence and turned again to his homeland of Venezuela. The CONGRESS OF ANGSTURA on December 17 proclaimed the Republic of Colombia, uniting New Granada and Venezuela. The BATTLE OF CARABOBO clinched the independence of Venezuela on June 24, 1821. With Antonio José de Sucre's victory over the royalists at Pichincha in the Kingdom of Quito on May 24, 1822, northern South America was independent.

Harsh treatment by royalists after their victory in early October 1814 created among Chile's elite the same willingness to countenance independence as had prepared the way for Bolívar's victorious campaign in the north. With a strategic vision that conceived of Chile rather than Charcas as the route to Peruvian independence, which he considered essential for the survival of other independent states in Spanish South America, JOSÉ DE SAN MARTÍN assembled and trained the Army of the Andes at Mendoza, across the Andes from Chile. Meanwhile, the UNITED PROVINCES OF THE RÍO DE LA PLATA declared independence in 1816.

After naming O'Higgins as his lieutenant and incorporating other Chilean exiles into the army, San Martín crossed the Andes, defeated the royalists at the BATTLE OF CHACABUCO, and entered Santiago. A subsequent victory at MAIPÓ on April 5, 1818, guaranteed Chile's independence and opened the way to Peru. The RIEGO REVOLT that began January 1, 1820, near Cádiz, Spain, and the subsequent reestablishment of constitutional monarchy meant, moreover, that the royalists in Peru would receive no reinforcements from Iberia.

Supported by the navy assembled by the soldier of fortune THOMAS, LORD COCHRANE, San Martín landed his expeditionary army at Pisco, Peru, on September 8, 1820. Since Peruvians withheld the joyous response

to anticipated liberty that San Martín had expected, he moved slowly, entering Lima only after the royalists had withdrawn an army into the interior. Under pressure, the Peruvians in Lima declared independence on July 28, 1821. Tired of inaction, Cochrane sailed away disgustingly in September after taking funds from the treasury to pay his sailors. The royalists remained undefeated, with a larger army than that of the invaders.

With Sucre's success at Pichincha, Peru and Charcas alone remained under Spanish rule. Recognizing that he lacked adequate forces or income to conquer them, on July 26, 1822, San Martín met at Guayaquil with Bolívar, who welcomed him to Colombia. The contents of the discussion are unknown, but the monarchist and the republican could not have agreed on the form of government to be established after independence. Regardless, after the meeting, San Martín departed for Lima, resigned his office of "protector" and never returned to Peru.

Recognizing their lukewarm support for independence, Bolívar made the creoles of Lima beg for his assistance, first sending Sucre and an army in May 1823 and then, after the royalists had reoccupied the city for a month, finally arriving himself in September. The army of independent Peru met the royalist army in the Andes at JUNÍN, defeating it on August 6, 1824. Four months later, on December 9, Sucre defeated the remaining royalist army in Peru at AYACUCHO, between Cuzco and Lima. On August 6, 1825, Upper Peru became independent. The capitulation of the starving garrison at CALLAO on January 23, 1826, ended royalist resistance in Peru.

Taken as a whole, the responses to events in Spain that politicized the elites of the mainland empire were initially grounded in the belief that, in the absence of the monarch, sovereignty returned to the people. This provided justification for creating juntas ruling in the name of Ferdinand and, indeed, all subsequent changes of government. Compared to the American Revolution, the conflicts were longer and covered substantially more territory. Armies were small and major battles were few. Gradually elites came to accept, if not actively support, independence and the home rule at its core. The unresolved problems that surfaced immediately were who should rule at home and through what form of government.

See also PÁEZ, JOSÉ ANTONIO (Vol. III); SUCRE, ANTONIO JOSÉ DE (Vol. III).

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Spanish Succession, War of the The long-awaited death of the pathetic Spanish Habsburg monarch CHARLES II in 1700 provoked a lengthy war of succession to determine whether a Bourbon or Habsburg would succeed him (see BOURBON DYNASTY; HABSBURGS). The claimants were two. In his final will, Charles II had named a Bourbon, Philip, Duke of Anjou, grandson of the Sun King Louis XIV and Queen Maria Theresa, the daughter of PHILIP IV of Spain. Archduke Charles, son of Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I, was the Habsburg claimant. With the defection of Portugal in the METHUEN TREATY with England in 1703, Philip's support was reduced to France. Supporting Charles was a "Grand Alliance" that included England, the United Provinces of the Netherlands, the Holy Roman emperor, and the duke of Savoy. The nominal issue was determining the ruling house for Spain, but the more pressing concern for the Grand Alliance was the extension of French power implicit in a Bourbon ruling in Madrid. France and England also fought the WAR in North America, where the conflict was known as Queen Anne's War (1702–13).

PHILIP V assumed the throne in 1700 and enjoyed more support in Castile than his rival, despite enemy forces entering Madrid in 1706 and again in 1710. In the kingdom of Aragon, however, supporters of the Habsburg pretender turned the conflict into a civil war. The expenses of war forced Philip and his advisers to employ fiscal devices, for example, the systematic sale of appointments to American *AUDIENCIAS*, which they recognized were antithetical to effective colonial administration. They also allowed French merchants to TRADE directly with Peruvian and Chilean ports. Besides draining SILVER from the empire, this decision permanently crippled woolen textile manufacturing in the *audiencia* district of QUITO.

The TREATY OF UTRECHT in 1713 changed the map of Europe. Philip was recognized as king of Spain but lost any right to succession in France for himself or his descendants; similarly, subsequent French Bourbons were prohibited from succeeding to the Spanish throne. Philip retained Spain and the colonies, but lost the Spanish Netherlands, Gibraltar, Menorca, and Italian possessions. Britain received for 30 years the *ASIENTO*, a contract to provide African slaves to Spain's colonies, and, in a remarkable concession, related privileges that included sending a ship full of merchandise with each fleet to VERACRUZ and PORTOBELLO (see FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM).

Philip's victory enabled him to end the special privileges (*FUEROS*) enjoyed by Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia,

and Mallorca—the lands of the Crown of Aragon—and to make the concept of Spain a political reality as well as a geographic entity. With the Spanish Netherlands lost, he could concentrate on establishing effective royal authority in Spain and turn more attention to the colonies. The losses in Italy, coupled with his marriage to Elizabeth Farnese in 1714, however, made regaining lands in Italy an important focus of Spanish foreign policy for decades.

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sports and recreation Colonials often viewed activities that later generations consider sports as integral to religious and civil celebrations and festivals. Bullfights are an example. The first of what became an annual event in MEXICO CITY for nearly two centuries occurred on August 13, 1529, as part of a celebration marking the feast of San Hipólito, the anniversary of Hernando Cortés's victory over the Aztecs. Bullfights were also held annually on the day of Saint James (Santiago), patron saint of Spain, and, after 1586, to celebrate other occasions such as the birthdays of kings and princes, the accession of a new monarch, and the entry of a new VICEROY. From 1753 on, however, a bullfight season in Mexico City was separated from festivals and became a source of income for promoters and the royal treasury. Bullfighting began in LIMA in 1540, with Francisco Pizarro killing one of the three bulls himself.

Originally, bullfights were held in a town or city's central plaza whose corners had been blocked, as was done in QUITO. In Mexico City, a number of plazas were used prior to the opening of a permanent bullring in 1816. Lima enjoyed a dedicated bullring from 1766, the first in the colonies.

Originating with the Moors and imported from Castile, where even kings participated, a mock combat known as *juego de cañas* pitted teams of mounted contestants, each with a shield and a cane (*caña*), against each other. Spectacularly dressed, titled and other recognized nobles were the jousts in these popular games, which were held in Lima's PLAZA MAYOR.

Cockfighting in Lima may have begun as early as 1585. Its primary purpose was to enable spectators to gamble, and large sums were won and lost. The archbishop of Mexico was so disturbed by the destructive consequences of cockfights that he obtained the right to license them and then refused to allow them. The Crown subsequently compensated him and then, in turn, banned the sport. Despite these efforts, cockfighting and associated gambling continued, as did denunciation of the sport. A friar traveling in Mexico in the 18th century remarked that every village had a cockpit, and few Mexican homes did not raise roosters.

BASQUES introduced a game of handball known simply as *pelota*. It was popular in Mexico City among Basque merchants and their employees and subsequently played in PUEBLA, OAXACA, ZACATECAS, and elsewhere. The game required throwing a hard ball against a wall at the far end of a court, although it was played in public squares as well. While the game involved physical agility, gambling on the outcome was what made it exciting for spectators.

Gambling was the most common leisure activity in the colonies. Taverns were only one of many sites where it occurred. Despite repeated prohibitions, many officials engaged in games of chance, at times hosting gambling parties in their residences. Clerics were also prohibited from participating. Playing cards was an entertainment so popular that the Crown created a monopoly to benefit from the sale of the cards (see MONOPOLIES, ROYAL). It also attempted, undoubtedly without success, to limit daily losses to 10 gold pesos.

See also SPORTS AND RECREATION (Vols. III, IV).

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subdelegado The well-documented abuses by *alcaldes mayores* and *corregidores* and the success of the INTENDANT system in Spain after 1749 led to the creation of intendancies in most Spanish colonies (see ALCALDE MAYOR; CORREGIDOR/CORREGIMIENTO). About 40 in number, the intendants had extensive responsibilities in provinces too large to administer without assistants in each subdistrict, or *partido*, into which the intendancy was divided. Consequently, intendants were allowed to place officials known as *subdelegados* in former *corregimientos* and *alcaldías mayores*. Intendants preferred to name their subdelegates, but by the early 1790s, VICEROYS made the appointments from a list of nominees submitted by the intendants.

Throughout the empire, more than 200 subdelegates represented Spanish rule at the local level. Within their subdistricts, they had general administrative oversight, responsibility for tax collection, usually command of the local militia, and authority for implementing orders from their intendant.

Unfortunately for the intendant system, subdelegates received the inadequate remuneration of 3 percent of the TRIBUTE collected in the VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA and of PERU and 5 percent in NEW SPAIN. They resorted to extralegal measures to increase their incomes, which, in Peru, included forcing NATIVE AMERICANS in their jurisdiction to purchase goods (*REPARTO*). Soon, the former criticisms against *corregidores*' corruption, abusive behavior, and inefficiency were made against subdelegates. If the allegations that some intendants required

bribes from men seeking appointments as subdelegates were true, even more exploitation of the indigenous could be expected.

Only Spaniards (both PENINSULARS and CREOLES) were eligible for appointment as subdelegates. Peninsulars had little interest in serving as poorly paid officials in remote indigenous districts, so creoles, including those native to the district, were named, at least in part, by default. Efficient and honest administration at this level remained an unfulfilled vision.

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sugar Christopher Columbus introduced sugarcane plantings from the Canary Islands to HISPANIOLA on his second voyage to the New World in 1493. By 1518, planters on the island exported sugar to Europe, although in very modest amounts. Already, however, they employed African slave labor in its production on PLANTATIONS (see SLAVERY). The availability of the two-roller press in the sugar mills (either water-driven *engenhos*, or *ingenios*, or the smaller, animal-driven *trapiches*) gave New World producers technological equality with producers in Europe and the Atlantic islands.

By the mid-16th century, early settlers had introduced sugarcane on several islands of the CARIBBEAN, although Cuban production was primarily for local consumption well into the 17th century. With his property in Cuernavaca producing sugar by the late 1520s, in 1542, Hernando Cortés agreed to TRADE sugar for slaves with a Genoese trader who warehoused the sugar in VERACRUZ for shipment to Europe. By the early 17th century, sugar production in NEW SPAIN took place in several regions, including the Cuernavaca-Cuatla basin, southern Oaxaca, parts of Michoacán, and in the area of Orizaba, Veracruz, and Atlixco. With the decline of available indigenous laborers, owners turned to African slaves, who were imported in substantial numbers until 1640. Most of the sugar produced was consumed domestically.

By 1550, a small number of planters were producing sugar in coastal PERU, but by the end of the century, WINE production had replaced that of sugar in the south. The first sugar mill on the northern coast of Peru was established in the Chicama Valley by 1558. Starting in the 1570s, landowners in the Saña Valley were producing sugar. Prohibitions against Indian labor, although never uniformly enforced, resulted in the use of African slaves.



This stylized view of a sugar mill documents the hard labor required. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

In the 1530s and 1540s, sugarcane was established as a cash crop in BRAZIL. Introduced from PERNAMBUCO in the north to São Vicente in the south, it was most successful in Pernambuco and the Recôncavo of BAHIA. Planters in both captaincies built plantations that, by about 1580, accounted for some three-quarters of the colony's sugar exports. As a result, Brazilian sugar production was marked by rapid growth into the 1620s; despite some volatility due to WAR and competition from producers in the CARIBBEAN, it experienced overall success into the 1680s, and the addictive sweetener continued to be exported in great quantities.

Between 1570 and 1629, the number of Brazilian sugar mills nearly sextupled from a reported 60 to 346; 230 of the latter number were located in Pernambuco and Bahia. Estimated production for Brazil in 1614 was 700,000 *arrobas* of 32 pounds; an estimate for 1710 was

1,295,700 *arrobas* with the captaincy of RIO DE JANEIRO accounting for nearly as much sugar as Bahia. Although sugar production was depressed during most of the 18th century as a result of high costs, particularly of slaves, and low prices, by the late 1770s, the market was improving. Pernambuco, Bahia, and Rio de Janeiro were the most important production centers, but SÃO PAULO's production was rising by the early 19th century.

Sugar islands in the Caribbean led competition in the 17th and 18th centuries. Barbados's production increased from 6,343 tons in 1712 to 9,025 in 1792; JAMAICA's grew from 4,782 tons in 1703 to 77,800 in 1808; Guadeloupe's rose from 2,106 in 1674 to 8,725 in 1790; CUBA's rose from 10,000 tons in 1774 to 18,571 in 1792; St. Croix's expanded from less than 1,000 tons in 1754 to 15,700 in 1803; Saint Domingue's production rose from 10,500 to 78,696 tons in

1791, the eve of its slave rebellion. The subsequent elimination of Saint Domingue as a major sugar exporter during its revolution opened the market for its competitors, and Brazil and Cuba were among the beneficiaries.

The dependence of sugar planters on slaves was a major determinant of both the ability to produce and the cost of production in a highly capitalized industry. While imported African slave labor was used in producing CACAO, TOBACCO, and other agricultural items and in a variety of other industries, including GOLD MINING in Brazil, the availability and cost of this labor to sugar plantation owners were critical. The average annual importation of slaves was 1,250 for Spanish America and 1,000 for Brazil from 1551 to 1600; this almost tripled for Spanish America (2,925) and sextupled for Brazil (5,600) from 1601 to 1700; the numbers for 1701 to 1810 were 5,786 for Spanish America and 18,914 for Brazil.

Owners also had to invest large amounts in sugar mills. The cost of establishing and maintaining water or animal power and purchasing large cauldrons and presses, among other things, was considerable. It was also necessary to invest in minimal housing, food, and clothing for slaves, as well as a variety of tools. TRANSPORTATION was a further expense. Ownership of a sugar mill enabled plantation owners to earn additional income by processing sugarcane from smaller producers.

Sugar joined SILVER and gold as a defining export from Spanish America and Brazil. Just as early explorers and prospectors sought precious metals, early settlers planted sugarcane in the hope that it would flourish or at least satisfy domestic demand. For some producers, the rewards were substantial; for the laborers, the cost was often even more so.

See also SUGAR (Vols. I, III).

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Suriname The central portion of the Province of Guiana, as the entire coastal region between the Orinoco and Amazon Rivers was known in the 16th century, Suriname was long known in English as Dutch Guiana and Surinam. Bounded by FRENCH GUIANA, Guyana, Brazil, and the Atlantic Ocean, it is considered part of the WEST INDIES.

Dutch traders were present on the rivers of Guiana as early as 1598 and built a fort by 1613 on the Corantijn River. The DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY received control of the Dutch establishments there as part of its charter in 1621. Beginning in 1645, the colony received Dutch and Sephardic Jewish planters from the failed Dutch effort at conquest and colonization in PERNAMBUCO, BRAZIL. The English captured Suriname in 1650 and held it until the Treaty of Breda in 1667 returned it to Dutch control. Seven years later, the Dutch exchanged their claims to New Netherland for English recognition of their claims to Suriname.

Suriname became a SUGAR colony based on PLANTATIONS using African slave labor. Production in 1684 was about 3 million pounds of sugar; benefiting from the WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION, production increased to 15 million pounds by 1713, by which date 171 sugar plantations were in Suriname. Planters faced the problem of securing slaves in the numbers they wanted, but between 1740 and 1774 obtained an annual average of 2,900, significantly more than earlier. By the early 19th century only about 2,500 persons, scarcely more than 4 percent of the population, were white.

In 1799, the British occupied Suriname. Although returned to the Dutch in 1802, the British reoccupied it in May 1804 and did not return it to Holland until 1816.

Suriname was one of the most important centers of the Jewish population in the Western Hemisphere, and Jews there were planters and slaveholders.

See also SURINAME (Vols. III, IV).

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taxation Taxation in colonial Spanish America reflected the fundamental principle of taxation in Old Regime Europe: Commoners paid a much higher percentage of their income in taxes than did nobles. In Spain, the primary division was between *pecheros*—those who paid direct taxation (that is, *TRIBUTE*, or *pecho*)—and nobles, who did not. This distinction translated in the INDIES to Spaniards, who never paid tribute, and NATIVE AMERICANS and others, such as free blacks and *PARDOS*, who did.

Royal officials (*oficiales reales*) designated to collect and disburse income were present from the conquest onward. Tax offices (*cajas reales*) were established wherever and whenever potential income justified them. MEXICO CITY had a *caja* in 1521; VERACRUZ, in 1531; ZACATECAS, in 1544; and GUADALAJARA, in 1559. LIMA and CUZCO had treasury offices (*cajas reales*) in the 1530s.

Excluding labor drafts, categories of taxation included tribute levied on Amerindians as a sign of vassalage to the monarch; taxes on MINING, commerce, sales, office and privilege, the CATHOLIC CHURCH and clerics; and gifts to the Crown, ROYAL MONOPOLIES, and other impositions.

As *ENCOMIENDAS* escheated to the Crown, Amerindian tribute went to the Crown instead of *encomenderos*. Collected by *CACIQUES*, *KURAKAS*, and *principales* (native nobles) in the indigenous villages, the sums were delivered to the Crown's district official (*ALCALDE MAYOR*, *CORREGIDOR*, governor, or *SUBDELEGADO*) responsible for remitting the surplus over expenses to a *caja real*. The amount collected reflected the most current number of tributaries and, thus, rose and fell with significant POPULATION changes.

Particularly in NEW SPAIN, PERU, and NEW GRANADA, taxation on mining was a major source of income to the

Crown. In the mid-16th century, the most common rate was 20 percent (*QUINTO*) of the SILVER or GOLD mined, but most Mexican production paid only 10 percent (*diezmo*) after 1548, a rate that went into effect at POTOSÍ only in 1736. In addition to this basic tax, miners paid other charges, for example, for minting (see MINTS).

Import and export duties (*almojarifazgo*) and taxation to pay for armed escorts for the FLEETS to and from the colonies (*avería*) were introduced in the 16th century. A sales tax (*ALCABALA*) charged every time most goods changed hands was imposed in 1591; Amerindians and clergy were exempt unless involved in large-scale commerce, as were some articles, including MAIZE, grain, bread, horses, books, silver, and copper. In 1631, the Crown imposed a tax (*MEDIA ANATA*) of half a year's salary and one-third of additional benefits on all royal appointments to office. Another tax was charged whenever *OFICIOS VENDIBLES Y RENUNCIABLES* changed hands. Income from unfilled bishoprics went to the Crown, as did the sale of indulgences (*bulas de Santa Cruzada*). In times of great financial stress, typically related to WAR, the Crown sought "gifts" to augment the treasury.

A variety of royal monopolies provided revenue. The monopoly that provided MERCURY to miners at a set price was an early creation (1559). Other monopolies included playing cards (1572), stamped paper (1638), gunpowder, bullfighting, cockfighting, salt, *AGUARDIENTE DE CAÑA*, and snow, carried down from the mountains and used for iced drinks. A major source of royal revenue in the latter part of the 18th and early 19th centuries was that gained from the TOBACCO monopoly.

For most of the colonial era, the Crown employed tax farmers to collect taxes. Tax farmers were individuals or a corporate body that made a successful bid to provide

the treasury office with a specified sum of money for a particular tax for a given period of time, for example, 11 years in a 1626 agreement with a farmer of the *cruzada* in New Spain, in return for authorization to collect the tax. The benefits to the Crown were assured receipt of a known amount of money, including an advance on the total, and freedom from the need to hire tax collectors. The potential benefits to the tax farmer included making a guaranteed commission to cover administrative costs, a guaranteed rate of profit, and a group of tax collection agents who could be used for other purposes such as buying cloth and selling merchandise. In the latter half of the 18th century, the Crown reduced its reliance on tax farmers but assumed a larger payroll through employing more officials to collect taxes. Nonetheless, it normally realized higher net income after making this change.

Taxes in BRAZIL weighed heavily on SUGAR production and went by a variety of names, such as tithes (*dízimos*), sales taxes, *avería* (fleet protection tax), *dote da Inglaterra* (dowry of England), and *sustento da infantaria* (infantry support). Gold miners paid the *quinto*, a tax of 20 percent. There were also taxes on slaves, a variety of excises (*subsídios*), a tax on cattle hides (*quinto do couro*), and transit taxes paid at interior customs posts. Like the Spanish Crown, the Portuguese Crown long relied on tax farmers, auctioning off the position every three years.

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textile industry See *OBRAJES*.

theater Theatrical productions quickly followed Spaniards to the Americas. Friars employed them as a useful means to instruct NATIVE AMERICANS in religious tenets, for the staging gave the message an appearance of universal truth to an illiterate audience consisting of, in most friars' view, perpetual minors. The Amerindians, in turn, drew upon preconquest traditions of dance, mime, and spectacle in adding to the productions. Religious plays were thus acceptable; however, friars tried to prevent native contact with secular productions, "schools where wickedness is taught." Already in the 1540s, the CATHOLIC CHURCH began to censor the religious productions, a responsibility that the INQUISITION assumed in 1574 and also applied to secular theater.

The Spanish population unquestionably enjoyed theater. Many towns offered enclosed courtyards (*corrales*) such as were used in Spain as venues for productions. Probably using *corrales*, theatrical productions were performed in such modest municipalities as Catamarca in 1596, Córdoba and Tucumán in 1610, Santiago del Estero in 1613, and Mendoza in 1618.

In the major CITIES of Spanish America, the palatial dwellings of the wealthy few also served as sites for private presentations. Indeed, the elaborate entries that new VICEROYS made into their capital cities were, in a sense, theater for the entire populace.

In LIMA, enthusiasm for theatrical performances resulted in a resident company by the end of the 16th century performing contemporary plays. A theater constructed there in 1601 was based on one in MEXICO CITY. Traveling artists who had previously played in Madrid and SEVILLE frequented Lima's stages in the early 17th century. By the middle of the century, however, decline was evident in poorer plays, poorer actors, and decreased attendance. Although the Coliseo playhouse was built in 1662, theater in Lima declined for the remainder of the century and never fully recovered as French and Italian influences marked contemporary plays. The Coliseo fell into disrepair, and the viceregal palace became the venue for the privileged to view both productions written in Europe and some written in Lima, notably by PEDRO PERALTA Y BARNUEVO in the first half of the 18th century.

In Mexico City, the shortage of acting companies before 1600 led to the award of monopolies to companies to perform at specified events. Plays produced for the public were presented in various locations—next to the cathedral, in the cemetery, in churches, and even in carts. Private performances in the viceregal palace entertained favored members of the capital's elite. In addition, Mexico City had *corrales* owned by private individuals; these were located in patios and had few amenities.

The Royal Indian Hospital in Mexico City received authorization to raise money through theatrical performances in the mid-16th century and subsequently enjoyed a monopoly on such performances until 1822; it could offer productions itself or rent the theater to contractors. A playhouse was constructed by the end of the 16th century, remodeled extensively between 1638 and 1640 and again 1665. Fire destroyed this building in 1722, but another was constructed in 1725. The New Coliseum, a more attractive playhouse built of stone in 1752, lasted until 1931. It was located on a site that benefited from the introduction of street lighting in the 1790s.

Viceroyalty in Mexico routinely encouraged the theater, for example, by ensuring that plays would be performed during Corpus Christi. The mid-18th century initiated a period of favor not only by the viceroy but also by the church, although perceived "excesses" on the part of producers and actors could lead to trouble. At the end of

the 18th century, the viceroy CONDE DE REVILLAGIGEDO supported the theater, considering it a medium through which commoners could be educated in the ideas and values of the ENLIGHTENMENT. The viceroy oversaw repairs to the playhouse, reorganization of the repertory company, and acquisition of new props, but the results were not financially successful, in part because the female lead left the company, exacerbating a perennial shortage of good, or at least popular, if underpaid actors.

RIO DE JANEIRO had a small opera house when the Portuguese Court arrived in 1808, but it was clearly inadequate to entertain royalty. A new one was quickly constructed; it opened in 1813.

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Tierra Firme The contract Christopher Columbus made with the Crown (*capitulación*) on April 30, 1492, authorized him to seek “Islands and Tierra Firme in the Ocean Sea”; thus, whatever he might find—*islands and mainland*—was approved in advance, provided after 1494, he remained on the Spanish side of the division made with the Portuguese in the Treaty of Tordesillas. Columbus thought he had reached both: The islands became known as the West Indies; the mainland south of the islands as it began to unfold to explorers was soon referred to as “Tierra Firme,” and the formal use of the name designated the lands bounded by the southern coast of the CARIBBEAN. The English translated *Tierra Firme* as the “Spanish Main” and eventually extended the term to include the whole of the Caribbean region, including the sea and the West Indies.

By the middle of the 16th century, successive expeditions of conquest and slaving had ravaged Tierra Firme, whether defined narrowly or broadly. The Spanish-American mainland became the target for French and English corsairs and, in the 17th century, BUCCANEERS.

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tobacco Tobacco was indigenous to the Americas. In the 1550s, the first tobacco seeds were carried to Spain and Portugal, where they were planted in palace gardens. Initially considered valuable for its medicinal properties, tobacco received a ringing endorsement from Nicolás Monardes, a physician in SEVILLE whose 1565 book *Joyful News of our Newe Founde Worlde* described it as a remedy for virtually every known ailment. Cured tobacco from CUBA was considered especially healthful, and ship-

pers from Spain and Portugal were soon carrying it to Europe. England proved an eager market, and smoking tobacco using pipes became the rage during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Africans took to smoking tobacco as well as using snuff, more popular in continental Europe than in England.

In 1606, PHILIP III limited where tobacco could be grown. The approved sites included Cuba, HISPANIOLA, VENEZUELA, and PUERTO RICO. By 1636, Spain had created a monopoly for domestic TRADE (see MONOPOLIES, ROYAL). Between 1717 and 1783, it exported monopolistic control to the colonies. In Cuba and Venezuela, the monopoly focused on cultivation and export of raw leaf tobacco to Spain, where it was turned into cigars, snuff, or cigarettes. In NEW SPAIN, the monopoly controlled the domestic trade, from cultivation to processing to retail sales.

The point of a tobacco monopoly was to extract as much profit from the plant’s sale as possible. The addictive nature of tobacco ensured the continuation of an established market. The monopoly in Spain provided about one-third of domestic tax revenues. In the colonies, it was second only to bullion.

Brazilians also grew tobacco. Sandy soil along the Paraguaçu River in BAHIA became the center of a tobacco industry from the early 17th century. The river port of Cachoeira became important for sending the rolls across the bay to SALVADOR DA BAHIA, from which they were exported. By the early 18th century, production was about 2,400 tons, nearly all of it sent to Lisbon. A market was also developing in West Africa, however, and by 1750 some 3,000 tons were being exported to the Bight of Benin. The Portuguese Crown created a tobacco monopoly that provided it with significant income in the 18th century.

See also TOBACCO (Vols. I, III).

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Toledo y Figueroa, Francisco de (b. 1515–d. 1582) *Spanish viceroy of Peru* Born in Oropesa, Spain, Francisco de Toledo y Figueroa was the son of Francisco de Toledo, 3d count of Oropesa, and María de Figueroa. He entered the Order of Alcántara in 1535, spent nearly 20 years serving in the MILITARY throughout Europe for CHARLES I, and was majordomo to PHILIP II when the king named him the fifth VICEROY OF PERU on May 20, 1568.

Toledo sought to establish firm and effective Spanish authority in Peru and to create fiscal surpluses to remit to Madrid. As viceroy (1569–81), he modified, implemented, and created institutions that shaped the

viceroyalty. He reached LIMA at a time when *ENCOMIENDA*, the fundamental institution for labor and TRIBUTE established by Spaniards after conquest, was in decline, the native population was falling, the colonial state was weak, SILVER production at POTOSÍ was failing, and indigenous resistance to Spanish rule continued.

The new viceroy left SANLÚCAR DE BARRAMEDA on March 19, 1569, and reached Lima on November 30. He understood his responsibilities and quickly learned about the interrelated problems that greeted him.

As the king's image and visible representative in Peru, Toledo realized he could achieve more by seeing the land and being seen throughout it than by remaining in the capital. Consequently, as ordered to do before leaving Spain, he undertook an inspection tour accompanied by a sizable retinue that included Juan de Matienzo, Polo de Ondegardo, and, for part of the time, the Jesuit JOSÉ DE ACOSTA, as well as three interpreters. He left Lima on October 22, 1570, and traveled through Huarochirí to Jauja and on to Huamanga (present-day Ayacucho), where he arrived on December 15, 1570. In that province, he visited the MERCURY mines of HUANCAMELICA and oversaw the founding of Villa Rica de Oropesa, commonly known as Huancavelica, before moving on to Cuzco, which he reached in mid-February 1571 and where he stayed until October 5, 1572, before continuing to Potosí. He subsequently visited the CITIES OF LA PLATA and La Paz before heading to AREQUIPA, where he arrived in July or August and remained until November 1575, when he left for Lima, arriving on November 20.

Toledo expanded and implemented an ambitious program of indigenous resettlement that may have affected up to 1.5 million NATIVE AMERICANS. His objective was to consolidate scattered small villages into new Spanish-style towns, or *reducciones*. (see *REDUCCIÓN*). The new towns were of varied sizes but located where they would be useful to Spanish economic enterprises for labor assignments and TRIBUTE collection. Groups of towns would have a *KURAKA* and an appointed Spanish *corregidor de indios* (see *CORREGIDOR/CORREGIMIENTO*).

Although two of his predecessors had begun the use of *corregidores de indios*, Toledo institutionalized their office throughout Peru and, in the process, reduced the power of *encomenderos*. The *corregidores* were responsible for administering justice, overseeing relations between Spaniards and Amerindians, collecting from *kurakas* tribute assessed according to an established tariff, and ensuring that *mitayos* from the province went to their assigned destinations, whether Potosí, Huancavelica, *OBRAJES*, or others (see *MITA*).

Noting the increase in SILVER production in NEW SPAIN that accompanied the introduction of the amalgamation process, the viceroy oversaw experimentation in Potosí to modify the process for use at an elevation of more than 13,000 feet (3,962 m) above sea level. Equally important, he arranged for mercury producers at Huancavelica to ship their product to the port of

Chincha and from there to the southern port of Arica, before it was carried more than 300 miles (483 km) to Potosí.

Toledo also arranged with mine owners to build capital-intensive ore-processing mills in return for an ample, inexpensive labor supply. The latter he organized through the infamous *mita*, a labor draft that drew on 16 highland provinces for more than 14,000 unskilled mine and mill workers paid less than market wages for their labor for one year out of every seven. The results of Toledo's creation of mining *mitas* for Potosí and Huancavelica and the introduction of the amalgamation process in Potosí resulted in an astonishing expansion of silver production, until it peaked in 1592.

Among his many actions, Toledo also was responsible for the execution of TUPAC AMARU I in 1572, commissioning Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa to write a history that argued the Incas were tyrants and the Spaniards had a right to rule and Christianize them. Under Toledo, also an aqueduct to bring water to Lima was completed, and he established a postal system. He died in Escalona, Spain.

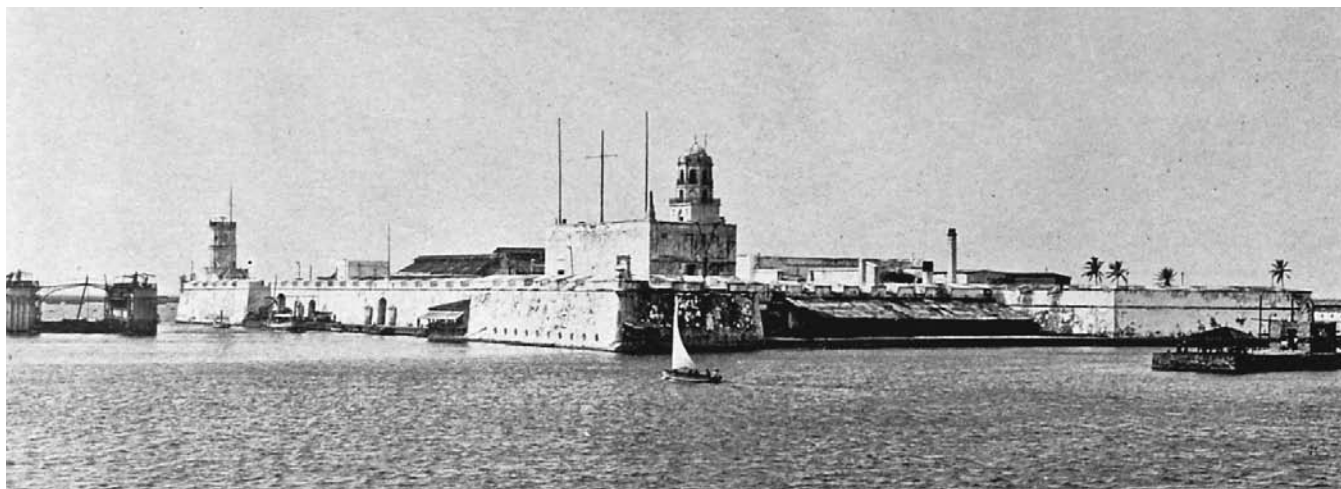
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trade The creation of the CASA DE CONTRATACIÓN, or House of Trade, in SEVILLE in 1503 institutionalized the Spanish Crown's desire to place all trade with the INDIES within a monopolistic system. Ideally, this would mean shipment of Spanish goods in Spanish ships manned by Spanish sailors; the return voyage would bring bullion and other desirable products on Spanish ships with Spanish crews. The trading system as developed in the first half of the 16th century placed the Consulado (merchant guild) of Seville in control of wholesale trade with the colonies and gave the Casa de Contratación oversight of the shippers and shipping (see *CONSULADO*). To protect bullion, agricultural products and merchandise, and persons going between Spain and the colonies, the Crown sent ships in convoys and in the 1560s formally implemented the fleet system (see *FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM*).

Legal trade with the colonies was limited to *consulado* merchants who shipped goods from Seville, SANLÚCAR DE BARRAMEDA, or CÁDIZ to three colonial ports—VERACRUZ, CARTAGENA DE INDIAS, and NOMBRE DE DIOS or, later, PORTOBELLO. From Veracruz, wholesale merchants took goods to warehouses in MEXICO CITY, from which they distributed them. Goods traded at Cartagena were distributed throughout NEW GRANADA. Goods unloaded in Nombre de Dios or Portobello were transported across the isthmus to Panama City and then sent to CALLAO



The presidio of San Juan de Ulúa was built to protect Veracruz. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

for unloading and transport to LIMA and distribution throughout the VICEROYALTY OF PERU.

Initially, Spanish merchants shipped grain and other foodstuffs including olives and olive oil, as well as WINE, metal, tools, glass, books, textiles, and a large variety of other items. Colonists' early dependence on European imports, however, dwindled as locally produced items displaced them. In addition, trade with the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS via the MANILA GALLEONS introduced Oriental silks, ceramics, spices, and other items that competed with European imports.

Overall, textiles were the most important type of merchandise carried by the fleets. Over the 16th century, however, they came from different places. When the century opened, Castile was an important producer of woolen goods. This changed as American bullion flooded into Spain and stimulated higher inflation than in northern Europe. As Spanish prices ceased to be competitive, domestic textile production declined. Increasingly, Spanish merchants served as frontmen for foreign merchants and shipped foreign textiles on the fleets.

By far, the most important colonial export was SILVER from NEW SPAIN and Peru, although GOLD from New Granada led exports from Cartagena. COCHINEAL from GUATEMALA and southern Mexico, INDIGO from Guatemala, CACAO from VENEZUELA and Guatemala, hides from Mexico, emeralds from New Granada, and pearls from Venezuela were also exported, but their combined value in the 16th and 17th centuries probably never reached 30 percent of that of the bullion.

Trade via the fleet system in the 16th and 17th centuries was affected by competition from East Asian goods on the one hand and increased colonial self-sufficiency on the other. Contraband trade that included SMUGGLING within the fleet system itself and trade with FOREIGNERS who landed their ships in American harbors also affected the volume and value of legal trade.

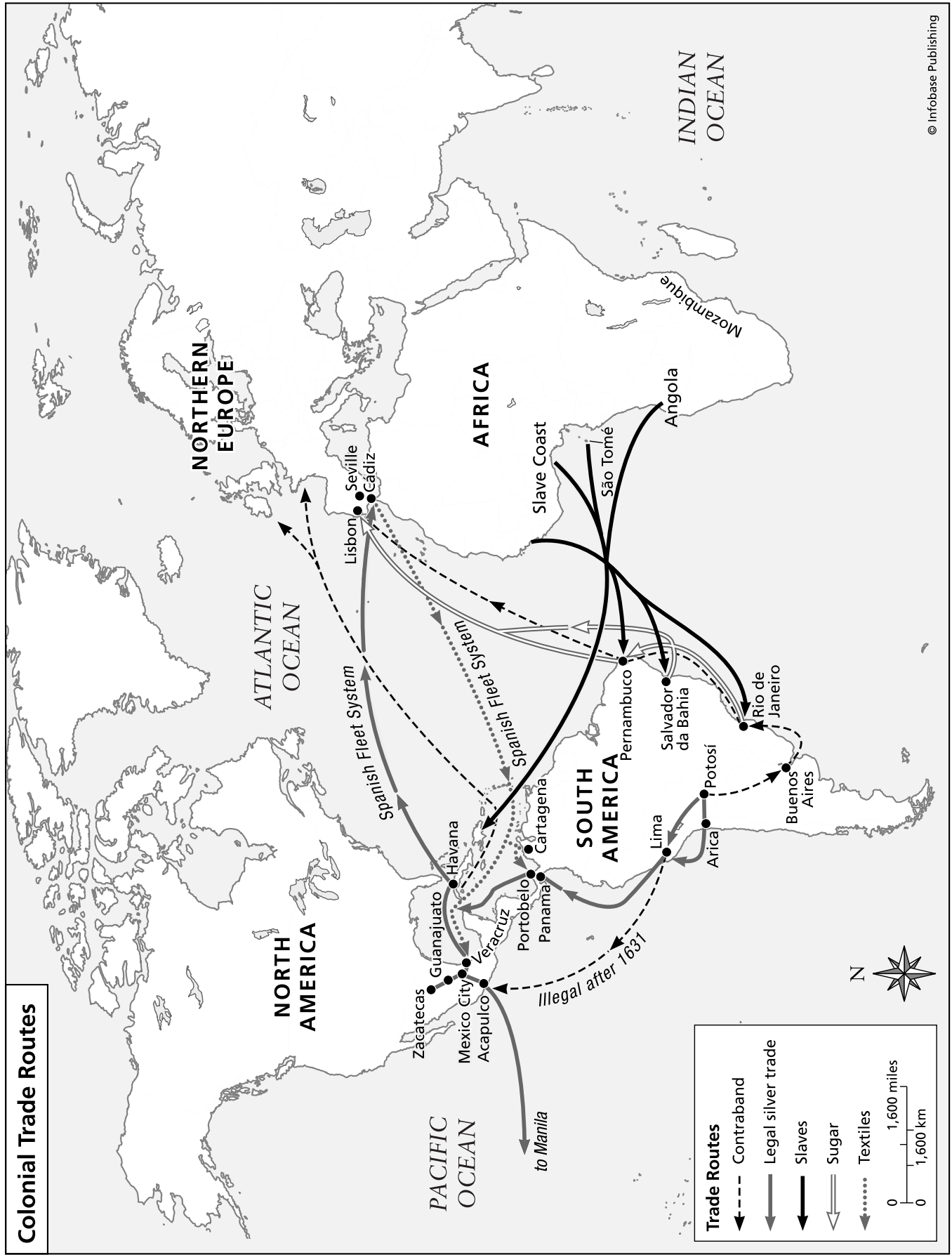
By the end of the 16th century, the amount of silver flowing to East Asia via the Manila galleons exceeded the amount going to Spain via the fleet from New Spain. The Crown had already responded to pressure from the *consulado* merchants of Seville by outlawing intercolonial trade between Peru and New Spain for specified periods of time. In 1631, it ordered an absolute end to the trade. Henceforth, legal trade between New Spain and Peru was an occasional matter, such as sending MERCURY from Peru or a complement to pick up a VICEROY promoted from New Spain to Peru.

As regular sailings by the fleet system faltered from the 1620s and the cost of the tax paid to defend the merchant ships (*avería*) rose, the incentives to smuggle goods increased. Undeclared goods were obviously untaxed. With annual sailings no longer dependable, merchants welcomed merchandise brought by foreigners. Since the illicit merchandise was often similar to products sent via the fleet system, smugglers eliminated the middleman and made prices more attractive.

By the end of the 17th century, the fleet system was a shambles. Sailings were irregular and foreign goods common in American markets. The alliance with France in the WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION resulted in French merchants trading contraband goods in CHILE and Peru. As a result, local markets were flooded with French textiles, and QUITO's already declining textile production was further damaged.

Voyages around Cape Horn and the reliance on register ships from the 1740s provided more flexibility and responsiveness in trade. The last Spanish fleet to PANAMA sailed in 1737 but made it only to Cartagena; the fleet to Veracruz continued intermittently into the 1770s.

The introduction of *COMERCIO LIBRE* on a limited basis in 1765, its major expansion in 1778, and inclusion of New Spain and Venezuela in 1789, produced a demonstrable and substantial increase in legal trade.



Importantly, exports other than silver enabled formerly peripheral regions to participate in trade with Spain at previously unheard-of levels. Goods of Spanish origin, however, accounted for no more than half of the goods sent from Cádiz and the other ports authorized to trade with the colonies.

The outbreak of war between Spain and Great Britain in 1796 ended normal trading between Spain and the colonies. While bullion was impervious to time in port, other exports had limited lives. The inability to sell products, moreover, adversely affected both borrowers and creditors. Thus, producers and merchants in cochineal, indigo, livestock products, and other nonbullion items clamored for access to markets. The Crown authorized neutral trade on November 18, 1797, in all items except bullion after a British blockade of Cádiz, begun in April, paralyzed colonial trade. Under pressure from the merchants of Cádiz, the Crown reversed the decision on April 18, 1799, but in 1801 sold licenses directly to neutral shippers. During a brief period of peace from 1802 to 1804, it appeared that prewar trading patterns were being resumed, but renewal of war in 1804 again forced the Spanish Crown to allow neutral trade.

Spain had lost control of trade with the colonies, and it would never be restored. Nonetheless, even after securing British assistance in the fight against the French in 1808, the successive governments of resistance in Spain would not grant its former enemy the free trade with the colonies it wanted. Colonial officials, however, recognized that taxing any trade was preferable to no income from trade and thus granted exceptions to official policy. In general, the de facto economic independence of Spain's colonies preceded their political independence.

Monopolizing trade with BRAZIL was always a policy objective of Portugal, but its success varied. Dyewood was the initial focus of trade, but SUGAR soon emerged as the dominant export, with SALVADOR DA BAHIA and Recife in PERNAMBUCO as the key ports; later, RIO DE JANEIRO would join them. Portugal lacked the shipping to handle all of the trade from Brazil, thus it licensed ships from other nations and taxed the cargoes. Dutch shippers were prominent in the 16th century until PHILIP II acquired the throne of Portugal in 1580 and imposed the Spanish concept of monopolistic trade. Indeed, conflict over trade became an important reason for Portugal's rebellion against Spain in 1640. By the time the Dutch, who had seized Recife and Pernambuco in 1630, were expelled in 1654, they were producing sugar in SURINAME, and the English were producing it in Barbados. Brazil's sugar PLANTATIONS were facing unprecedented competition. In 1660, Portugal began using a fleet system, which would survive until 1765; three convoys sometimes as large as 100 vessels sailed from Lisbon to Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and Recife.

The discovery of gold in MINAS GERAIS in the 1690s sparked a gold rush, astonishing levels of production for more than half a century, and unprecedented income for

the Portuguese Crown. The METHUEN TREATY of 1703 reaffirmed Portugal's trading ties with England under conditions that benefited Portuguese winemakers and English textile manufacturers. While the balance of trade between wine and textiles favored the latter, Brazilian gold made up the difference. By 1750, British merchants dominated the Brazilian trade, a situation that the new minister, the MARQUÊS DE POMBAL, sought to rectify until he lost power in 1777.

Portugal's dependence on Great Britain was never more apparent than when the royal family and some 10,000 other REINÓIS sailed for Rio de Janeiro in 1807 under British escort. Upon arrival, the prince regent opened the ports of Brazil to friendly nations and thus abrogated the historic Portuguese monopoly. Treaties in 1810 gave Great Britain significant commercial rights and advantages, including a maximum tariff of 15 percent on British goods. No longer was Brazilian trade subservient to Portugal, but the disadvantages of the treaties with Britain would become apparent later.

See also TRADE (Vols. I, III, IV).

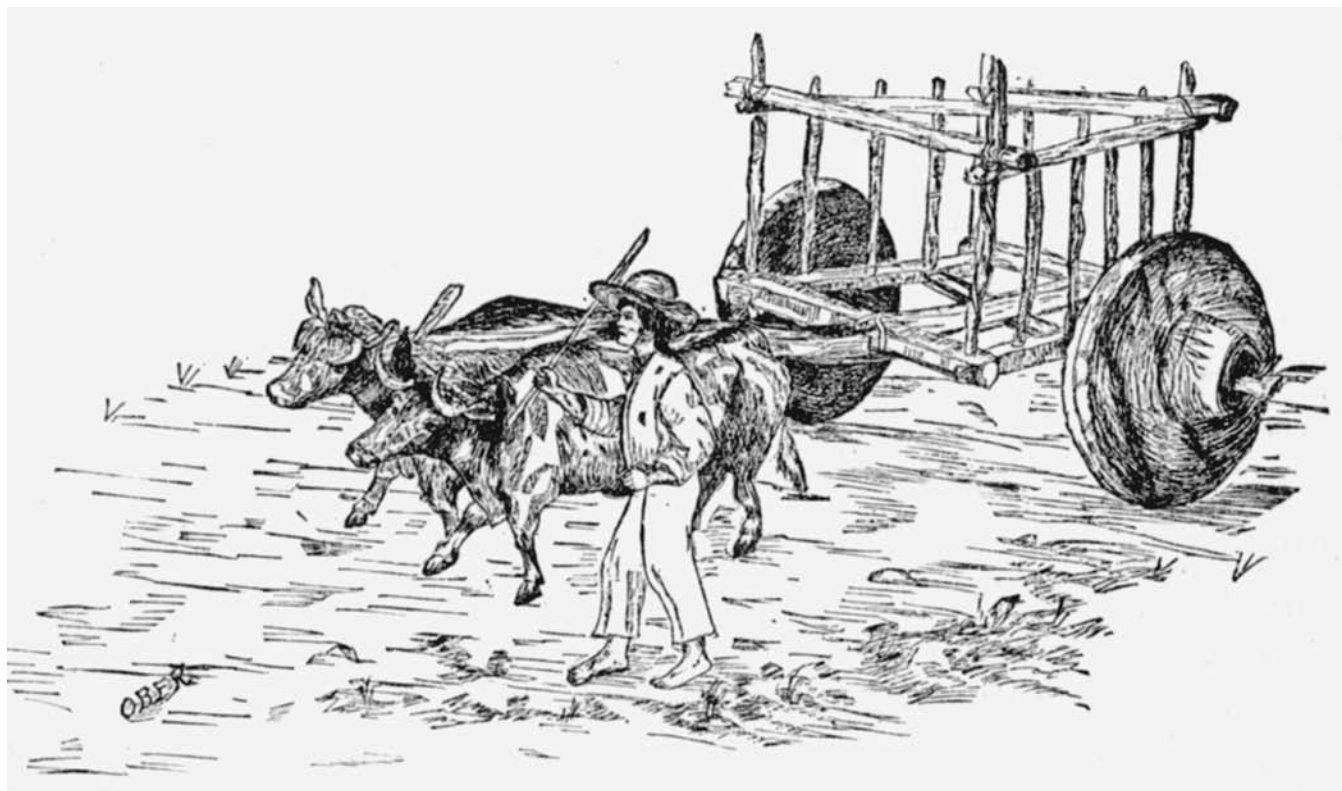
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transportation Time, distance, geography, and value as it related to size and weight were key variables addressed by colonial forms of transportation. By the middle of the 16th century, transatlantic sailing was routine. Navigators knew the best routes from Spanish and Portuguese ports and the safest seasons for sailing. Threats from pirates had already led to the use of small convoys by 1526, although the well-organized annual sailings of the fleets began only in 1564–66. Direct sailings from the west coast of Africa by Portuguese slavers were also under way in the 16th century (see SLAVERY). In 1565, regular sailings from ACAPULCO to MANILA began; the trip west took about three months, while the return was usually about six months but could be longer by a month or two. Coasting in the Americas was under way from Christopher Columbus's time onward, and ships built on the Pacific coast were used to transport conquistadores, slaves, animals, and the paraphernalia of conquest and early settlement to PERU. While ships had obvious limitations based on size, their ability to transport people, animals, and goods was unparalleled. For all but a few persons in the Americas, however, travel to and from Europe or the PHILIPPINE ISLANDS was out of the question. Their interest in transportation was the more mundane "from-here-to-there" variety that connected them to CITIES, TOWNS, or MINING camps.

By the 1560s, many of the most important transit routes within colonies were in place. In NEW SPAIN,



Large-wheeled carts were used to transport materials from Mexico City to mines in the north. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

the route from VERACRUZ to MEXICO CITY was well established; trips could be as short as seven days on horseback, but MULE trains required 20 days to a month, and during the rainy season, delays were common. The route to Acapulco was used after regular trade to Manila began. On the central plateau of Mexico, mules could carry loads of 300 pounds (136 kg) about 12 miles (19 km) a day. The cost of transportation substantially increased the price of goods, for example, adding 70 percent to the cost of WINE transported from Veracruz to Mexico City.

Large carts drawn by six oxen were used for moving cargo from BUENOS AIRES to Córdoba and Salta; the trip took a month to the former and another two to three months to the latter. The carts could carry 3,400 pounds (1,545 kg); mules, in contrast, carried 200 to 300 pounds (90–136 kg) depending on the distance traveled.

The most important measurement of distance was the number of days' travel required to get from place to place, although there was often substantial variation depending on the season and weather. Sailing from CÁDIZ to Veracruz required 70 to 179 days, with 91 days the average. Sailing from CÁDIZ to PANAMA averaged 92 days, but a trip of only 43 days was recorded. Acapulco to CALLAO usually took two to three months between September and February but could require seven to eight months at other times of year; the return voyage, however, could be made in four to six weeks.

From Mexico City it took 15 days to get to ZACATECAS, two months to GUADALAJARA, and three to four months to Parral. LIMA to CUZCO required 22 days, Cuzco to BOGOTÁ took slightly longer, and from Bogotá to CARTAGENA DE INDIAS required three to four weeks. By ship from Cartagena to PORTOBELLO was nine or 10 days, but one could get from Portobelo to Panama City in two days on foot. From Panama's port of Perico to Paita was about a two-week trip. Another 40 to 50 days of travel to reach Callao was good time. In Mexico City and Lima, the elite rode in coaches by the 1620s at the latest.

In travel between Portugal and BRAZIL, it was faster to get from Lisbon to São Luís in MARANHÃO, a trip of about five weeks, than from São Luís to SALVADOR DA BAHIA. Most fleets bound for Salvador or PERNAMBUCO left Lisbon in April and arrived in Recife in about 60 days and Salvador in about 70; fleets from Lisbon to RIO DE JANEIRO usually left between March and May and took about 80 days. The voyage from West African ports to Brazil took about 30 to 50 days.

Roads in Brazil, as in Spanish America, were generally dismal and not worthy of the name. In the late 18th century, Amerindians and African slaves packed goods from Rio de Janeiro to MINAS GERAIS. Most land transportation was accomplished with mules. In the few cities, the elite were carried in decorated sedan chairs that black slaves carried on their shoulders.

See also TRANSPORTATION (Vols. I, III, IV).

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Tribunal of Accounts Although treasury offices (*cajas reales*) were established in the Spanish colonies on the heels of conquest, auditing offices (*tribunales de cuentas*) were not established until the early 17th century. In 1605, Tribunals of Accounts were created for LIMA, MEXICO CITY, and BOGOTÁ. An office was created in QUITO in 1776, and another was established in BUENOS AIRES in 1780, several years after the creation of the VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA.

The charge of the Tribunals of Accounts was to audit all government accounts except for the sales tax (*ALCABALA*), revenues from MERCURY, and TRIBUTE, for which separate provisions had already been made. In addition, the auditors had the responsibility of collecting sums in arrears from debtors, including treasury officers or their bondsmen. This required regular inspection tours of *cajas*. The importance of the treasury office at POTOSÍ was such that an auditor was to visit it every third year.

The Tribunal of Accounts in Lima was to receive annually the accounts of all treasury offices and tax farms in the VICEROYALTY OF PERU and to send the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES a summary of its reviews. There was no appeal beyond it for cases related to the treasuries. By the mid-17th century, it had eight accountants earning between 1,000 and 2,250 *pesos ensayados* (or 12½ *reales*). Nonetheless, backlogs were commonplace.

The Crown's decision to sell appointments to accounting and treasury offices in 1633 resulted in young, inexperienced native sons purchasing them. Between 1633 and 1699, 36 of 44 full-time appointees to Lima's Tribunal of Accounts and treasury offices were purchasers. Eighteen appointments were sold to the Tribunal of Accounts alone between 1700 and 1745. The quality of service by purchasers proved lower than that of pre-1633 appointees.

The ranking employees of the Tribunal of Accounts were subject to review of their actions. Between 1662 and 1685, a review (*VISITA*) of the tribunal in Mexico City resulted in 16 charges, mostly focused on securing required reports from treasury offices and for failing to collect debts. Clearly, the charges had some merit, for one of the accountants bribed an inspector (*visitador*) and was in partnership with some well-known businessmen.

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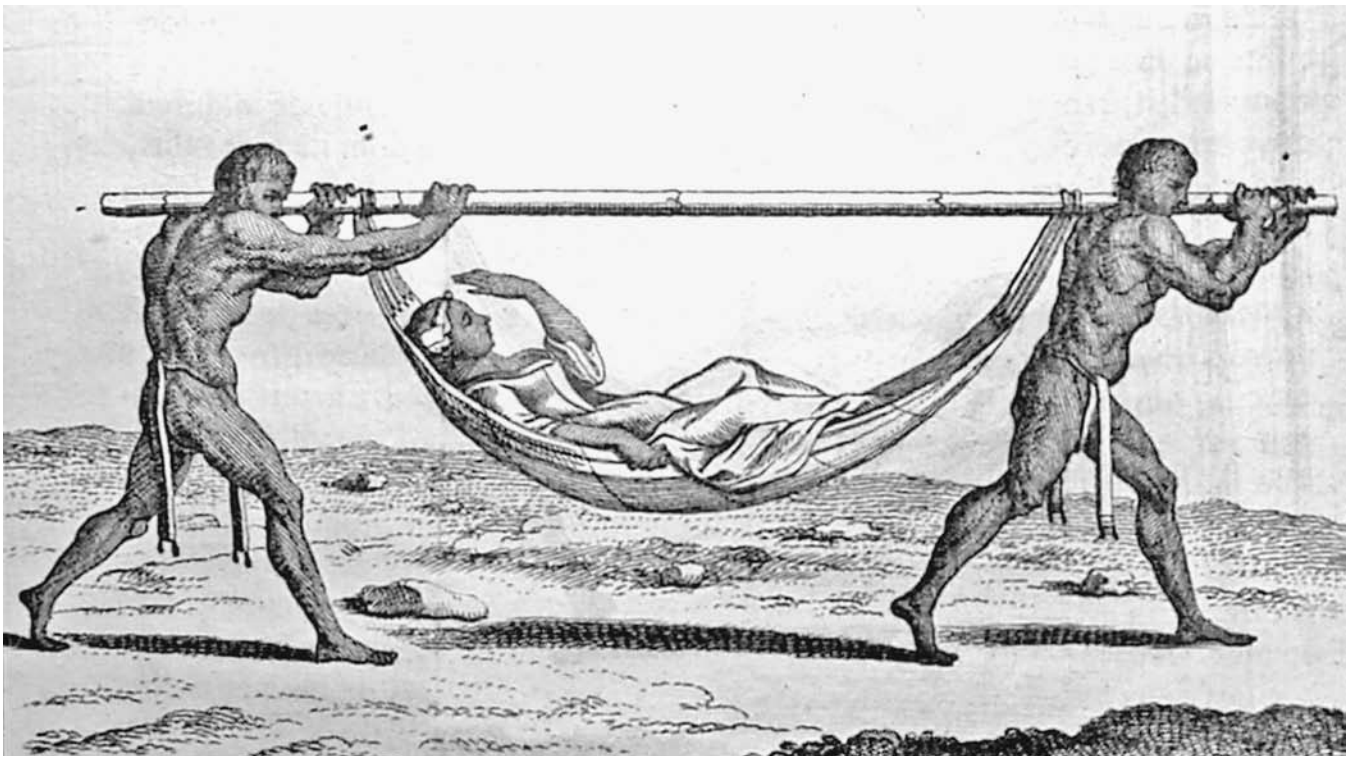
tribute Christopher Columbus initiated the Spaniards' assessment of tribute in the INDIES in the mid-1490s. In Central Mexico, tribute in kind, for example, in MAIZE, salt, cloth, or feathers, antedated the arrival of the Spaniards, who, as a consequence, initially relied on this preconquest demand but expanded it to include newly introduced items, for example, chickens and WHEAT. Uncompensated labor, a form of tribute, was also required. Early grants of *ENCOMIENDA* entitled the recipient to both labor and tribute.

By the mid-16th century, tribute was collected from indigenous people who were not chieftains or their eldest sons. In 1572, PHILIP II ordered the children of free or enslaved blacks and Amerindians to pay tribute; thus, free blacks, *MULATOS*, and *ZAMBOs* were liable for payment.

Tribute varied in form and amount in different colonies and could include labor, goods, or cash. Starting in the mid-16th century, goods in kind gave way to cash. Importantly, this direct tax was levied on NATIVE AMERICANS but not on Spaniards. This differentiation was analogous to the distinction in Spain between commoners (*pecheros*), who paid direct taxation, and nobles, who were exempt. Indeed, being subject to tribute ultimately defined *indio* as a separate legal and fiscal category; mestizos, in contrast, were exempt from tribute, although they paid other taxes (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*).

Full tributaries in the mid-16th-century Valley of Mexico were married adults, heads of families, and persons aged 14 or older. Widows and widowers and bachelors and unmarried WOMEN who did not live with their parents were considered half tributaries and paid half of the amounts charged to full tributaries. Serving members of town councils were exempt from tribute.

Although tribute was defined as a direct tax on individuals paid as a sign of vassalage, in practice, a village chieftain (*KURAKA* or *CACIQUE*) paid an *encomendero* or government official an agreed-upon sum based, theoretically, on the number of tributaries in the village. How the chieftain distributed the tax was left to his discretion; typically, he collected more than the amount due and kept the difference. Converting a tax on individuals into a lump sum for which the village through its chieftain was responsible was recognition that Spaniards (for example, *encomenderos*, *alcaldes mayores* in NEW SPAIN, and *corregidores* in PERU) had to work through an existing indigenous hierarchy (see *ALCALDE MAYOR*; *CORREGIDOR/CORREGIMIENTO*). Allowing the chieftain discretion in its collection, in fact, resembled the way in which villages in Spain turned certain taxes into lump sums through a process known as *encabezamiento*; the MUNICIPAL COUNCIL then determined how to collect the amount. Amerindian governors and town councilors were held personally liable for tribute



Native tribute originally included personal service. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

payments and could be imprisoned and financially ruined if they failed to remit the amounts due.

Until the Crown separated labor and tribute in the New Laws of 1542 and again in 1549, uncompensated labor (*servicios personales*) was a form of tribute common for Native Americans in *encomienda*. It could involve providing agricultural labor, transporting goods, laboring in mines, construction, domestic service, and other types of work.

The amount of tribute paid varied over time and by region, but censuses were used to determine the amount a village owed. In the 1560s, in Coyoacán, New Spain, tributaries were to pay one peso and one-half *fanega* of maize to royal officials in addition to 1.5 or 2 reales for the village; this amount subsequently increased as additional demands were imposed, for example, a half-real to support the construction of the cathedral in Mexico City. In 18th-century Oaxaca, tributaries paid between one and two pesos annually.

In AREQUIPA, Peru, males aged 18 to 50 who lived in their home village paid tribute but enjoyed access to village lands. In the *corregimiento* of Latacunga in the Audiencia of Quito in the early 1670s, the tribute rate varied from 2 to 2.8 pesos. In 18th-century Huarochirí, Peru, a tributary paid between five pesos, four reales and seven pesos.

Censuses and reassessments often lagged POPULATION changes; during a period of demographic decline, this meant that a village's surviving population had a higher assessment, which for some was an incentive to leave the

village even though it meant losing access to its land. Questions of whether remaining community members (*originarios*) in the *reducciones* of Peru were liable for the tribute of those who had left (*FORASTEROS*) and whether the departed were liable for tribute in their home village or their new place of residence were often answered differently, especially when the reassessments did not reflect the current population (see *REDUCCIÓN*).

Tribute became an increasingly important source of income for the Crown as the size of the tributary population increased in the 18th century, in particular. The COUNCIL OF REGENCY abolished tribute on May 26, 1810, and the CORTES OF CÁDIZ issued a decree abolishing it on March 13, 1811. This decision eliminated some 1.2 million pesos annually from royal income in Peru.

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Túpac Amaru I (d. 1572) *Inca ruler of Vilcabamba, Peru* Túpac Amaru was the youngest legitimate son of

Manco Cápac Yupanqui (Manco Inca), brother of the Inca Atahualpa captured by Francisco Pizarro and leader of an Andean army that besieged Spaniards in Cuzco during 1535 and 1536. Túpac Amaru was also brother of Titu Cusi, who ruled the neo-Inca state in the city of Vilcabamba, also known as Espíritu Pampa.

Titu Cusi died unexpectedly in 1571 near Vitcos after drinking a beverage given to him by his mestizo secretary. Although the Inca's existing illness adequately explained his death to some observers, some supporters believed he had been poisoned and immediately killed his secretary. They also thought the sole Spaniard present, a priest with medical skills, was involved and took him to Vilcabamba, where adamant opponents of the Spaniards quickly made Túpac Amaru the new Inca. Unlike his brother, who sought to compromise with Catholicism, Túpac Amaru supported prequest religious beliefs and refused to see the Spanish captive, who was then killed. The new Sapa Inca and hardline generals now determined the policy of the neo-Inca state but did not fully appreciate the strength of the new VICEROY, FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO Y FIGUEROA, who did not yet know about Titu Cusi's death.

While in Cuzco, the viceroy received royal approval for the Treaty of Acobamba, which had been made between his predecessor and Titu Cusi. In it, the Sapa Inca had surrendered himself and his lands to PHILIP II. Toledo sent an envoy to the Sapa Inca, unaware that he was now Túpac Amaru. On receiving word that the Incas had murdered the envoy, the viceroy publicly proclaimed WAR on April 14, 1572.

Toledo mobilized a military force of some 250 Spaniards that included *encomenderos* of appropriate age and men hired as substitutes by those *encomenderos* who were not, about 1,500 auxiliaries from the Cuzco region, and 500 Cañari, indigenous allies of the Spaniards from the time of Francisco Pizarro. A punitive expedition under the leadership of Gabriel de Loarte, *OIDOR* of the Audiencia of Lima and a future councilor of the Indies, left Cuzco. Benefiting from treachery by an Inca captain, the Spaniards' force avoided an ambush, but Túpac Amaru and Titu Cusi's son, Quispe Titu, had already left for Vilcabamba. By the time the Spaniards reached Vilcabamba on June 24, 1572, the Sapa Inca, his wife, and his commander in chief had fled. Shortly after, the Spaniards captured the commander in chief, as well as Túpac Amaru and his wife.

The victors took Túpac Amaru to Cuzco and, following three days of indoctrination in Christian beliefs, baptized him. Following a quick and unjust trial conducted by Loarte, the Inca was declared guilty of a variety of offenses, in most of which he had no part. The sentence was death by beheading. Despite pleas from some clerics to pardon him, the sentence was carried out in Cuzco on September 24, 1572. With Túpac Amaru went the neo-Inca state. As part of his campaign to eliminate the Incas once and for all, Toledo had surviving relatives arrested,

tried, and despoiled of their wealth, although Philip II personally reversed their sentences in 1574.

See also INCAS (Vol. I); MANCO INCA (Vol. I).

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Túpac Amaru II (José Gabriel Condorcanqui) (b. 1742–d. 1781) *mestizo leader of the largest revolt in colonial Peru* Born in Tinta, PERU, of Amerindian and Spanish ancestry, José Gabriel Condorcanqui was educated at a Jesuit school in Cuzco. Able to speak Spanish and Quechua, the future Túpac Amaru II inherited the position of *KURAKA* (cacique) of Tinta. Married at 16 to Micaela Bastidas Puyucagua, he was prosperous, successful, and knowledgeable about the Inca past. He operated a substantial TRANSPORTATION business, carrying MERCURY and merchandise from LIMA and Cuzco to POTOSÍ by way of La Paz with some 350 MULES he had inherited. As a result, he was well traveled in PERU. He also had land in the province of Carabaya. In 1770, he went to Lima to claim the title of marqués de Oropesa, a title granted to the Inca FAMILY. Unsuccessful, he tried again in 1777 when trying to quash a claim made by Diego Felipe Betancour for his *cacicazgo*. While in Lima, he also petitioned on behalf of himself and other *kurakas* against the abuses of the MITA.

In early November 1780, Condorcanqui and some accomplices ambushed Antonio de Arriaga, *CORREGIDOR* of Canas y Canchis. An abusive and exploitive *corregidor*, who had taken advantage of the *REPARTO* to earn considerable sums, Arriaga received no mercy and was executed in the central plaza of Tungasuca within a week. While occasionally *corregidores* had been executed in Peru in the past and more than 100 uprisings against colonial authority occurred between 1720 and 1790, this execution inaugurated the greatest threat to continued Spanish rule in Peru since the 16th century.

Túpac Amaru, as Condorcanqui was now known, as a descendant of TÚPAC AMARU I, followed up the event by charging the assembled crowd to support him in an effort to secure reforms that would alleviate their harsh social and economic conditions. Then, and subsequently, he articulated his aims. He denounced the *corregidor's* abuses and called for, among other things, the abolition of the *mita* that forced men from Tinta to go to POTOSÍ, *repartos* of merchandise, and the recently increased and more effectively collected *ALCABALA* (sales tax); he also called for the creation of an *AUDIENCIA* in Cuzco.

Túpac Amaru followed the standard practice of exonerating the monarch while condemning his advisers. He repeatedly stated his loyalty to CHARLES III while insisting on the need to end bad government. He sought the support of CREOLES, Amerindians, and mestizos (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*). His followers, including those to whom he distributed coins taken from Arriaga, were not as concerned

about sparing “good” creoles. Moreover, indigenous people and mestizos were not fully united behind him.

The rebel leader was able to amass arms and ammunition, and his forces defeated a Spanish militia outside Sangarará. His cause benefited from a growing acceptance of him as the new Sapa Inca, an acceptance furthered by his use of traditional Andean redistribution of plundered cloth and COCA to his followers. Most frightening to the Spanish authorities was the siege of Cuzco, which began at the height of summer on December 28, 1780. However, the defection of numerous indigenous people and the determined pro-Spanish stance by *kuraka* Diego Mateo Pumacahua of Chinchero and his followers resulted in the rebels’ ending the siege on January 10, 1781, and returning to Tinta. Betrayed by an unfaithful friend, Túpac Amaru was captured in April 1781 and brutally executed in the central plaza of Cuzco in May. Diego Cristóbal Túpac Amaru assumed power, but the revolt was on the wane, and the new leader signed a treaty with the viceregal government on November 3 that allowed his forces to return home

without retribution. Remaining rebels agreed to peace on January 27, 1782, bringing what has been called the “Great Rebellion” to an end.

The rebellion was costly, both in terms of human lives and destruction to property, but brought limited change. VICEROY Agustín de Jáuregui decreed an end to the *REPARTIMIENTO* of merchandise in December 1780, although the venerable abuse would sometimes reappear illegally. In 1787, Charles III ordered an *audiencia* to be established in Cuzco.

Considering GARCILASO DE LA VEGA’S work as a stimulus for neo-Inca ideas, the Crown also ordered that his literature be banned from circulation. For the whites of Peru, the fear of social revolution that the rebellion unleashed ultimately served to hinder a movement toward independence for Peru.

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U

Ulloa, Antonio de (b. 1716–d. 1795) *Spanish traveler, scientist, author, and administrator* Born in SEVILLE, Ulloa was the son of Bernardo de Ulloa, an economist best known for coauthoring, with Gerónimo de Uztáriz, *Restablecimiento de las fábricas y comercio español* (1740), a work translated into French and published in 1753. Antonio went to CÁDIZ in 1729 with the intention of enrolling in the naval academy, but the lack of an opening enabled him to sail instead to CARTAGENA DE INDIAS, PORTOBELLO, HAVANA, and SANTO DOMINGO (1730–32) in the Americas. He entered the naval academy in late 1733. Following service off Naples, he returned to Spain and accepted an assignment also given to fellow *guardiamarina* JORGE JUAN Y SANTACILIA to accompany a French scientific expedition to measure an arc of the meridian at the equator.

Juan and Ulloa's assignment took them to PANAMA, the Kingdom of QUITO, and PERU. As a result of their labors, they coauthored the famous *Relación histórica del viaje a la América meridional* (*Voyage to South America*), published in Madrid in 1748. A French edition appeared in Amsterdam and Paris in 1752, and an English translation, in Dublin and London in 1758. They also wrote the equally renowned exposé of conditions in Peru, *Noticias secretas de América* (*Discourse and Political Reflections on the Kingdoms of Peru*). While the former was immediately published, the latter circulated in manuscript until published in London in 1826. Ulloa also published *Noticias americanas* (1772) and *Conversaciones de Ulloa con sus tres hijos en servicio de la marina* (1795).

Ulloa was named governor of HUANCAVELICA on November 4, 1758, and held the post until 1764. In 1765, he was sent to New Orleans as governor of Louisiana, an unfortunate posting as he was driven out of Louisiana in October 1768. In 1777, he commanded the last trea-

sure fleet to VERACRUZ (see FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM). At his death, he was vice admiral and chief of operations of the Royal Navy.

Ulloa was elected a member of the Royal Society of London and academies in Stockholm and Berlin. In 1767, he married Francisca Ramírez de Laredo, CREOLE daughter of the count of San Xavier of LIMA.

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Arthur P. Whitaker. "Antonio de Ulloa." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 15, no. 2 (May 1935): 155–194.

Unanue, Hipólito (b. 1755–d. 1833) *creole physician and author in Peru* The foremost physician of late colonial PERU, Hipólito Unanue secured the chair of anatomy at the UNIVERSITY OF SAN MARCOS in LIMA in 1789. Shortly afterward, he initiated a campaign to reform the study of medicine that bore little fruit for many years. His early fame, however, arose from his many contributions to the *MERCURIO PERUANO* between 1791 and 1794. Only eight of some 55 articles and notes focused on medicine, and about 300 of the 400 pages he wrote dealt with topics ranging from TOBACCO and COCA to indigenous customs and the geography of Peru.

Unanue's best-known publication was *Observations on the Climate of Lima* (1806; revised in 1815). Eighteenth-century writers took climate very seriously, and Unanue

was in their midst. Changes in weather, particularly drops in temperature, he believed, caused nearly all serious diseases. Often warm and humid, Lima, moreover, had given its inhabitants a delicate skin that responded to minute drops in temperature. Backing up his contentions with ample references to contemporary sources and collecting information on weather changes and frequency of disease for six years, he convinced many contemporaries that his argument was valid. Unfortunately, his theory on the climate of Lima and its relationship to disease served to delay rather than advance medical progress.

Although as a young physician he had abhorred systems and advocated reliance upon observation and experience, Unanue in 1806 was willing to accept some systems while rejecting, for example, chemistry. He was suspicious of surgery, rightly considering practitioners to be quacks.

While VICEROY JOSÉ FERNANDO DE ABASCAL Y SOUSA held office, Unanue's career advanced significantly with appointments as first professor of medicine at San Marcos and *protomédico* (see PROTOMEDICATO, ROYAL TRIBUNAL OF). The viceroy also asked him to plan and direct a school of medicine, although Unanue's plan called for far more faculty than could ever be funded. The Medical College of San Fernando opened in 1811, two years before Unanue retired from teaching.

Unanue contributed to *Verdadero peruano*, a government-sponsored periodical that appeared in 1812 to inform Peruvians about government and their rights. He served as minister of finance after JOSÉ DE SAN MARTÍN had led Lima to declare independence in 1821.

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United Provinces of the Río de la Plata On July 9, 1816, a congress that had been meeting in San Miguel in the province of Tucumán since late March declared the complete independence and sovereignty of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata. Even before this declaration, the congress, consisting of 30 deputies from 13 participating provinces of the VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA, had elected Juan Martín de Pueytrédón supreme director. Thus, it completed the de facto independence that had begun on May 25, 1810, in BUENOS AIRES. CHARCAS was represented but BANDA ORIENTAL, Entre Ríos, Corrientes, and Santa Fe were not. The form of government would be republican, an explicit rejection of MANUEL BELGRANO's proposal for a constitutional monarchy with the ruler a descendant of the Incas.

From the beginning, the United Provinces were disunited. The central issue was whether Buenos Aires would dominate the government or whether it should

be truly federal, with equality among provinces that largely ran their own affairs. When an army from BRAZIL invaded Banda Oriental in 1816 and took MONTEVIDEO in January 1817, the congress moved to Buenos Aires, a move that strengthened the unitarists' argument for a strong central government. In 1819, Congress approved a conservative constitution that was accepted by the provinces of Buenos Aires, Salta, Tucumán, Mendoza, Córdoba, Santiago del Estero, San Luis, La Rioja, and Catamarca, as well as the armies of JOSÉ DE SAN MARTÍN and Belgrano. Importantly, a number of provinces along the Uruguay River did not accept the Constitution of 1819. Indeed, Santa Fe declared independence, creating a republic. The national government used force in an effort to subdue Santa Fe. The action failed and, instead, provoked other provinces to rebel, form an army, and successfully take over the capital following a victory at Cepeda on February 1, 1820. The constitution no longer in effect, Buenos Aires created a provincial government. Federalism had triumphed, although its favorable location and control of the estuary of the RÍO DE LA PLATA gave Buenos Aires primary status among the provinces.

Further reading:

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universities At the height of its glory in the early 16th century, the University of Salamanca served as the model for colonial universities in Spanish America. BRAZIL had no colonial university; Brazilian youth seeking a higher education had to go to the University of Coimbra in Portugal.

Spanish colonists quickly clamored for the creation of universities. Formal EDUCATION would enable their sons to follow a career in the CATHOLIC CHURCH or in higher offices of the state. The city council of MEXICO CITY sought a university in the 1530s, and VICEROY Antonio de Mendoza strongly endorsed the idea. LIMA sought a university soon afterward. In 1551, the Crown authorized universities in both cities. The UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO opened its doors in 1553; the UNIVERSITY OF SAN MARCOS in Lima began to function fully in the 1570s. By the late 18th century, some 25 universities had been founded in the Spanish colonies. Major universities—institutions with faculties of arts (philosophy), theology, civil law, canon law, and medicine—numbered 10, while another 15 or so were minor ones that offered work in arts and often theology; JESUITS had eight and DOMINICANS had four minor universities.

Admission to colonial universities was limited to males who were able to understand, write, and, into the 18th century, speak Latin. In practical terms, this meant students were CREOLES and the occasional PENINSULAR, although Amerindians were admissible as well, and despite laws against it, persons of mixed racial backgrounds at

times secured admission. Because Latin was the sole academic requirement, it was not unusual for boys of 14 or 15 to matriculate and receive degrees four years later. Usually, another four years of study were necessary to obtain a professional degree in law or medicine.

The governing body of each university was the *claustró* (cloister), which was composed of all persons with higher academic degrees who had resided in the city for five years or more. The *claustró* elected the rector directly or elected counselors who, in turn, elected the rector. The rector had to hold a doctorate and typically served one or two years without compensation. He exercised jurisdiction over the academic and criminal conduct of the *claustró* and students in accord with the university's constitution. Appeals against the rector's decisions went to the *AUDIENCIA*.

Classes met for about an hour daily, and students enrolled in both a morning class, which began at 7:00 A.M., and an afternoon class, which started at 2:30 P.M. Typically, the professor read in Latin from the course's text for about 30 minutes and then responded to questions. Most undergraduates studied arts (philosophy), which included logic, metaphysics, and physics of Aristotle until the late 18th century. At the conclusion of a four-year course of study, students had to defend orally one or more theses or propositions. Fees for a baccalaureate were nominal. Graduates

who pursued a licentiate degree studied for another three or four years. The doctorate was an expensive formality but required no study beyond the licentiate.

It has been estimated that colonial universities conferred about 150,000 degrees. About 40,000 of them were from the University of Mexico, which enjoyed the sole right to confer degrees within the Audiencia of Mexico. Those who supported founding universities believed that graduates would obtain employment in church and state and, in fact, a substantial number did.

Further reading:

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University of Mexico Spaniards fully understood the importance of a university EDUCATION in transmitting culture, as well as in training future professionals. Wanting their children to enjoy educational



Mexico City was justly proud of its university that opened in 1553. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

opportunities in the colonies commensurate with those in Spain, they sought and encouraged officials to support the creation of UNIVERSITIES in the Americas.

In NEW SPAIN, VICEROY ANTONIO de Mendoza, the MUNICIPAL COUNCIL, and the ecclesiastical authorities petitioned the CROWN to authorize the establishment of a university in MEXICO CITY. Finally, on September 21, 1551, CHARLES I and the queen mother approved the creation of universities in Mexico City and LIMA modeled on the University of Salamanca. The Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico formally opened on January 21, 1553, and classes began on June 5. Viceroy Luis de Velasco attended the initial class of each professor in the seven academic chairs: theology, scripture, canons, arts (logic, metaphysics, physics), laws, decretals, and rhetoric.

The University of Mexico was the only institution of higher learning in New Spain that enjoyed the title of university and conferred degrees until the creation of the University of Guadalajara in 1791. By the end of the colonial period, there were 19 colleges and seminaries in New Spain that prepared students to qualify for them. By independence, the University of Mexico had conferred 39,367 degrees; of this number 37,732 were baccalaureates, and the remainder were the higher degrees of licentiate and doctorate.

The University of Mexico met, at least partially, its original advocates' desire to make available education that would qualify graduates for civil and ecclesiastical positions. At least 61 AUDIENCIA ministers in the Americas studied or received degrees from the University of Mexico.

Further reading:

John Tate Lanning. *Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1971).

University of San Marcos CHARLES I authorized the creation of royal UNIVERSITIES in LIMA and MEXICO CITY in 1551. While the one in Mexico City opened in 1553, EDUCATION in Lima remained in a Dominican convent. A papal bull recognized Lima's university in 1571, allowing it to become the Royal and Pontifical University of San Marcos. In the same year, PHILIP II ordered a cloister of secular doctors to be created and suspended the rectorship held by DOMINICANS until that time. In 1576, the following chairs were established: two in Latin grammar, one in native languages, three in philosophy, three in theology, three in law, two in canon law, and two in medicine, although only one was filled. In 1578, San Marcos had reached the point that the UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO had achieved in 1553; it was at last a functioning university.

As the University of Salamanca had been their model, San Marcos and the University of Mexico served as models in the New World. With the five faculties of philosophy, theology, law, canon law, and medicine, both

were "major" universities, as distinct from minor universities with fewer faculties.

Benefiting from the presence of the very successful Jesuit COLEGIO of San Pablo, the Colegio of San Martín, the Conciliar Seminary of Santo Toribio, and the residential Royal Colegio of San Felipe, a *colegio mayor* for post-baccalaureate students, the University of San Marcos was the primary source of university degrees in the VICEROYALTY OF PERU (see COLEGIO/COLEGIO MAYOR). San Martín, created in 1582, was placed under the direction of the JESUITS and offered studies in philosophy and theology. The Seminary of Santo Toribio was established by the archbishop of Lima and future saint TORIBIO ALFONSO DE MOGROVEJO and opened in 1591; the Royal College of San Felipe opened in 1592. Following the expulsion of the Jesuits, VICEROY MANUEL DE AMAT Y JUNYENT combined San Martín and San Felipe into the Convictorio of San Carlos.

Numerous alumni of the University of San Marcos had successful careers in church and state. At least 121 AUDIENCIA ministers named from 1687 to 1821 had studied at or in another way been affiliated with San Marcos.

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Upper Peru See CHARCAS.

Uruguay See BANDA ORIENTAL.

Utrecht, Treaty of (1713) A series of treaties signed at Utrecht in spring 1713 ended the WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION. The major provisions were that PHILIP V was confirmed on the throne of Spain but renounced for himself and his heirs any claim to the throne of France; Spain gave up to Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI the Spanish Netherlands, the Kingdom of Naples, Sardinia, and much of the Duchy of Milan; to Savoy went Sicily and the remainder of the Duchy of Milan; and Great Britain received Gibraltar and Minorca, a 30-year monopoly to supply 4,800 African slaves annually to the Spanish Empire (the *ASIENTO*), the right to send an annual ship with the fleet to NEW SPAIN and the galleons to PORTOBELLO, and authorization to have factors at a number of ports, including HAVANA, VERACRUZ, CARTAGENA DE INDIAS, PANAMA, La Guaira, and BUENOS AIRES.

Less well known but nonetheless a very important part of the treaty signed with Britain was reaffirmation

of commercial privileges Spain had conceded to England, the Hanseatic League, the Dutch, and the French in treaties between 1648 and 1667. These included exemption from search and seizure and the use of English resident consuls to adjudicate cases involving English merchants. In addition, English warehouses were normally exempt from searches by Spanish officials. This was particularly important to foreign merchants and their representatives. The commercial privileges meant that the British enjoyed legal access to Spanish America and, through it, an unrivaled opportunity for contraband TRADE.

Importantly, the commercial treaty with Britain called for the reestablishment of the fleet system, since it was within the framework of this historic trading system

that the English were to send an annual ship (see FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM). Two subsequent treaties with Great Britain, in 1715 and 1716, clarified ambiguities, stated that the taxes levied would be at the rates established in 1667, and reaffirmed that the fleets to Portobelo and Veracruz would sail each year. The promised annual sailings never occurred.

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vecino *Vecindad*, or the condition of citizenship, was held by *vecinos*, adult European citizens of Spanish and Spanish American municipalities, property owners, and the heads of citizen households; the term did not apply to clerics, Spaniards resident in Amerindian villages, or HACIENDA managers. Thus, *vecinos* made up the base that formed municipalities and were eligible for its elective offices. Everywhere, they quickly were but a small minority of the municipality's residents.

Residence and intent to remain indefinitely were central to *vecindad*. Although individuals might seek *vecino* status from the Spanish municipality, often to gain access to land, non-Spaniards were excluded. Access to land for new *vecinos*, of course, diminished over time, and in CARACAS, for example, the relationship disappeared in the second half of the 17th century. At the same time, individuals who acted like *vecinos* were considered to be such. In LIMA from the 1560s, viceregal grants of *ENCOMIENDA* within Lima's jurisdiction required the recipient to reside in the capital; this was an implicit statement of *vecino* status. As was the case in GUATEMALA, the result was two categories of *vecino*: *vecino encomendero*, or *vecino feudatario*, and simply *vecino*, although other terms might be used. In Trujillo, PERU, *encomenderos* were *vecino feudatarios*; non-*encomenderos* who were citizens with lots and houses were *vecino ciudadanos*; the two categories were separate socioeconomic groups, and a royal decree prior to 1567 ordered that each one should have half of the members on the city council.

When municipalities were established, the Spaniards present had the opportunity to become *vecinos*; each founding *vecino* was entitled to a city lot and some land. Subsequent arrivals could and did petition for citizenship (*vecindad*), although this diminished from the early 17th

century. In some places, the founding *vecinos* might have been restricted to *encomenderos*. In 1554, the initial distinction between merchants and *vecinos* was ended with the royal declaration that any Spaniard who had a fixed residence (*casa poblada*) was a *vecino*.

Vecino could refer to non-Spanish residents of neighborhoods, towns, and CITIES, as well as citizen of a Spanish urban center. In 16th-century Santiago de Guatemala, households of the richest families might have 70 or more persons including the *vecino*, his immediate family, relatives, hangers-on (*paniaguados*), servants, and slaves. Demographers of colonial Spanish America often use a multiplier of six with the number of *vecinos* to get an approximate size of the population.

Some 200 Spanish municipalities existed in Spanish America by 1570, each with a complement of *vecinos* that normally but not invariably excluded non-Spaniards; non-Spanish Europeans faced restrictions in becoming *vecinos*. Thus, citizenship gave greater opportunities to Spaniards than to non-Spaniards. It also helped to link the notions of Spaniard and citizen. The creation of the "republics of Indians" tended to emphasize residence and fulfilling a citizen's role rather than descent. As with the Spanish municipalities, increasingly, individuals could choose their place of residence and, through appropriate behavior, become a *vecino*.

Over time, citizenship changed from being a legal category to a condition derived from social reputation and then to a status denied to non-Spaniards. Once land grants were no longer available, citizens in Spanish American municipalities had no real benefits over non-citizens; frequently, the latter were eligible for municipal offices and enjoyed access to communal lands. Place of ongoing residence became identified with citizenship;

there was also a link between nativeness or birth in a municipality and citizenship.

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Venegas, Francisco Javier de (b. 1760–d. 1818)

Spanish military officer and viceroy of New Spain A career MILITARY officer born in Zafra, Badajoz, Spain, who entered the Order of Calatrava in 1792, Francisco Javier de Venegas was a brigadier in 1808. A commanding officer of forces that participated in the great Spanish victory at Bailén in July 1808, he also led an army that suffered defeats at Uclés in January and Almonacid in August 1809. Named VICEROY OF NEW GRANADA by title of May 20, 1810, he never served in the position, for he was appointed to the same post for NEW SPAIN by title of July 10, 1810.

Venegas reached VERACRUZ on August 25, 1810, and MEXICO CITY on September 14, two days before MIGUEL HIDALGO Y COSTILLA'S GRITO DE DOLORES. Sending Brigadier FÉLIX DE CALLEJA DEL REY and other officers against Hidalgo's ill-disciplined and untrained force, the royalist troops won important engagements at Las Cruces on October 30 and Aculco on November 3, 1810. Mexico City was spared an attack, but more than a decade of warfare lay ahead.

Venegas's tenure as viceroy was marked by WAR with insurgents, financial woes, and political conflict with AUTONOMISTS in Mexico City. The CORTES OF CÁDIZ undercut his authority when it reduced his title from viceroy of New Spain to "superior political chief" of the province of Mexico.

The defeat, capture, and execution of Hidalgo were a victory for Venegas and the royalists but did not end the insurgency. Indeed, JOSÉ MARÍA MORELOS Y PAVÓN took it to new heights, while pockets of rebellion continued or reappeared outside of the territory he controlled.

Following the exposure of two plots, in August 1811, Venegas created a Committee of Police and Public Tranquillity that undertook a door-to-door registration of the populace in each of 16 districts. He also imposed a systematic passport program to track persons entering and leaving the capital. Popular antipathy to the actions and the impossibility of keeping track of Amerindians bringing provisions and fuel to Mexico City, however, resulted in lax and ultimately no enforcement. When the CONSTITUTION OF 1812 reached him, Venegas delayed publishing it for more than three weeks. Finally, and against his preference, he promulgated it on September 30, 1812.



Viceroy of New Spain Francisco Javier de Venegas led the royalist response to the Hidalgo revolt in 1810. (Private collection)

The constitutional provision on freedom of the press enabled campaigning before the parish elections of November 29, 1812; the victory of only CREOLE autonomists in Mexico City, however, confirmed his worst fears. Accordingly, Venegas suspended the election and persecuted persons he thought favored the insurgents; these included the creole AUDIENCIA minister Jacobo de Villaurrutia and writer José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi. While these actions were a setback for the autonomists, the replacement of Venegas by General Calleja on March 4, 1813, resulted in new elections and another victory by the autonomists.

Venegas returned to Spain where in 1816 FERDINAND VII named him marqués de la Reunión de Nueva España. He died as captain general of Galicia.

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Venezuela Venezuela consists of four major regions: the Coast, the Coastal Range, the Llanos, and the Segovia Highlands. The Coast includes the ports of Puerto Cabello and La Guaira and produced CACAO and coffee on the eve of independence. The Coastal Range has a more pleasant climate, river valleys, and the city

of CARACAS, and boasted the best agricultural land in the colony (see AGRICULTURE). The Llanos of the interior were the home of Venezuela's cowboys (*LLANEROS*) and a livestock industry that served internal markets. The Segovia Highlands include Coro and Barquisimeto; cacao and SUGAR were grown there, and the region was an outlet for the Llanos's livestock.

Venezuela attracted few Spaniards in the 16th century, although the city of Caracas was founded in 1567. Initially, the Spaniards turned to enslaving NATIVE AMERICANS as a source of income. The conquered indigenous population was divided into *ENCOMIENDAS* that numbered 40 in 1578 but with only about 4,000 tributaries, a third of the original number due to population decline. By the 1580s, the exportation of locally produced WHEAT and flour to CARTAGENA DE INDIAS, where it helped to provision the fleet, produced more profit than did slaving for the planters who lived in Caracas (see FLEETS/FLEET SYSTEM). Success attracted English BUCCANEERS' attention, and in 1595, the town was sacked and burned. The citizens quickly rebuilt and resumed wheat flour production. Flour was even used as a medium of exchange.

A series of years with poor rainfall and bad harvests brought prosperity based on wheat to an end, although the city council of Caracas continued to favor wheat producers and, with the support of the governor, secured a moratorium on planting TOBACCO. By 1620, however, the heyday of wheat production and TRADE was clearly over; cacao production based on native cacao trees, less than 1 percent of exports in 1607, steadily emerged as Venezuela's leading export, with consumers in NEW SPAIN being the primary market. Amerindians in *encomiendas* initially provided labor for the first cacao boom from the late 1620s to mid-century, but growers soon replaced them with African slaves bought from Portuguese traders; black SLAVERY, therefore, emerged as Venezuela's leading form of labor and remained so until at least 1750.

A blight that began in the coastal HACIENDAS in the mid-1630s destroyed more than half of the cacao trees within a decade. An earthquake that destroyed Caracas in 1641 was the second catastrophe. The third was the spectacular collapse of cacao prices, from 20 to 30 pesos a *fanega* in 1647 to five pesos in 1654. This was probably the result of rapidly growing competition from GUAYAQUIL. The devastated market was further hindered by a shortage of circulating SILVER coin and the need for Mexican CREDIT. Finally, it took five years for newly planted cacao trees to become productive.

The cacao trade to New Spain provided the basis for recovery starting in the mid-1670s, and in 1684 Caracas was again thriving, with its planters owning well over 400,000 cacao trees. By that time, many groves had resulted from replanting, and an increasing number were located south and east of Caracas on the banks of the Tuy River. Slave labor had become ever more important and was especially valuable in clearing and planting new fields

during much of the year. By 1720, there were more than 2 million trees in the Caracas Province; the number was more than 5 million in 1744. Over half of the trees were in the region of the Tuy River.

By the early 18th century, society in the Caracas region was hierarchical and heavily based on race, extending from wealthy Spaniards at the top to black slaves at the bottom. Between were immigrants from the Canary Islands, other Spaniards of slight means, and *CASTAS*, including *PARDOS*, an umbrella term that included *MULATOS* and other persons of mixed African ancestry. Amerindians were present but had no certain place in the *sistema de castas* of Venezuela at this point. It was only in 1691 that the crown ended *encomienda* and indigenous labor.

After long neglect, the Spanish Crown in the 1720s perceived Venezuela as a potential source of income and its cacao production as a source of supply for the growing Spanish and European markets. To achieve these goals, in 1728 it created the REAL COMPAÑÍA GUIPÚZCOANA DE CARACAS, a commercial company with monopolistic control over the cacao trade to Spain and the responsibility of ending contraband trade in cacao. Its charter did not alter the longstanding trade with New Spain. Investors anticipated profits from an expansion of cacao production and a reduction in contraband.

Working in concert with BASQUE governors of the province, the company's factors interfered with the Mexico trade and their anti-SMUGGLING efforts affected traditional, albeit illegal, trading channels. The result was a protest in 1749 led by Canary Islander cacao farmers, who marched to Caracas and frightened the governor into fleeing to the nearby fortress at the port of La Guaira. This action converted protest into rebellion. An immediate MILITARY response by troops sent from Spain and HISPANIOLA resulted in the arrest and execution of the leaders, as well as administrative changes that initiated the better-known efforts to strengthen royal authority, income, and defense that the Crown imposed throughout the empire after the loss of HAVANA. Although the disruption of the slave trade in 1739 and the company's heavy-handed policies ended the cacao boom that had begun in the 1670s, the company remained in Venezuela until the Crown terminated its charter in 1784. Twenty years later, the province of Caracas was producing nearly 80 percent of Venezuela's cacao, still its principal export, although responsible for less than half of Venezuela's export earnings. Caracas was also the site for the production of INDIGO and coffee, both growing exports.

In 1776–77, the Crown brought together the six provinces of Maracaibo, Cumaná, Margarita, Trinidad, Guayana, and Caracas into an administrative unit independent from the VICEROYALTY OF NEW GRANADA and the Audiencias of Santo Domingo and Bogotá. Previously called TIERRA FIRME, the new unit was known as the Captaincy General and Intendancy of Venezuela (see CAPTAINCIES GENERAL; INTENDANT). With its port, La Guaira, handling almost all trade with Spain, an *AUDIENCIA* created

in 1786, a merchant guild (*CONSULADO*) established in 1793, a university from 1725, an archbishop from 1803, and a population exceeding 31,000 at the beginning of the 19th century, Caracas was clearly the most important city in Venezuela.

On the eve of the war of independence, Venezuela had a population of 800,000, of which the province of Caracas had about 455,000. Of this number, 46 percent were *castas*; 26 percent were whites; 15 percent were black slaves; and 13 percent were NATIVE AMERICANS. At the top of society was the long-established elite of Caracas that dated back generations. PENINSULARS were no more than 6 or 8 percent of the white population and included perhaps more illegal immigrants from the Canaries than legal immigrants from Spain, the latter averaging maybe 100 annually. Peninsulars were prominent in the upper administrative positions and wholesale trade. Probably, most Spaniards, regardless of place of birth, were poor whites engaged in agricultural production.

Making up almost 60 percent of the free population, *castas* and *pardos* included artisans, day laborers, and militiamen; probably most were engaged in agricultural labor, although few were in debt to their employers. Many had small plots of land; most lived at or slightly above the subsistence level. A majority of black slaves worked on PLANTATIONS and haciendas, but some 8,000 were domestics in Caracas in 1785.

Because of the continuing existence of the Real Compañía Guipúzcoana, Venezuela was not included in the 1778 expansion of *COMERCIO LIBRE*. Spain's involvement in war against Britain the following year, however, resulted in neutral trade, which enabled Venezuelan producers of agricultural staples to get them to market in a timely manner, a consideration far more important in an agricultural colony than one in which silver, which did not deteriorate or spoil, was the primary export. With the end of war with Britain in 1783 and the demise of the Real Compañía Guipúzcoana, Venezuela enjoyed increased production and prosperity until 1796, when Spain and Great Britain again went to war.

Exports plummeted in 1797, and Britain's conquest of Trinidad and then Curaçao in 1800 raised the possibility of an invasion of Cumaná. Neutral trade was a solution for the planters but not one attractive to merchants tied to CÁDIZ. Nonetheless, by 1799, both groups recognized that free trade with foreign colonies in the Antilles was the only way to keep the ECONOMY running, albeit with exports about half of what they had been in 1796. The Spanish Crown's decision to end free trade in 1799, reaffirmed in 1800, caused outrage in Caracas.

Despite peace in 1802, Caracas's trade remained at a low level, in large part because droughts and insects reduced the cacao harvest by more than 50 percent. A renewal of war between Spain and Britain in 1804 again produced depression in Caracas. Neutral trade did not solve the problem, for Britain had taken Curaçao again in 1806, and U.S. merchants were soon under an embargo

prohibiting trade with belligerents. The economic travail had seriously reduced the revenues of the captaincy general as well, and Caracas had a substantial internal debt. Despite the problems, planters and merchants provided resources to defeat FRANCISCO DE MIRANDA and his expeditionaries in 1806.

The French invaded Spain in 1807, and CHARLES IV and FERDINAND VII abdicated in May 1808. The political crisis of 1808 caused by the abdications produced a kaleidoscope of events and reactions in Venezuela that resulted in the formation of a ruling junta on April 19, 1810, that refused to acknowledge the questionable legitimacy of the COUNCIL OF REGENCY in Spain. As events spiraled out of control, the Regency's representative Antonio de Cortabarría reached PUERTO RICO where, on January 21, 1811, he declared Venezuela under blockade. The Venezuelans established the First Republic on July 5, 1811, initiating civil war. Defeated in July 1812, the cause of independence smoldered but did not die.

SIMÓN BOLÍVAR returned to Caracas in triumph on August 6, 1813, and established the Second Republic. On June 15, 1814, royalists under JOSÉ TOMÁS BOVES drove him from Caracas. PABLO MORILLO and an army of reconquest arrived in April 1815 and occupied Caracas and some other key locations, but renewed civil war ended when the patriots finally emerged victorious in the BATTLE OF CARABOBO on June 24, 1821. Venezuela was an autonomous but not fully independent state, for it was linked until 1830 to New Granada and the former *audiencia* district of QUITO in Bolívar's Gran Colombia.

See also GRAN COLOMBIA (Vol. III); VENEZUELA (Vols. I, III, IV).

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Veracruz (Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz) In 1519, the expedition led by Hernando Cortés founded the first Spanish municipality at Ulúa, located across the bay from present-day Veracruz. Moved to a coastal location about 35 miles (56 km) north a month later, Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz was situated in lands of the Cempoalans in what became the VICEROYALTY OF NEW SPAIN. Moved south about halfway between the second and original sites in 1525, it was relocated to its fourth and final site opposite San Juan de Ulúa in 1599–1600. In each location, it was the entry port for New Spain. Veracruz was also the name of the province (*alcaldía mayor*), of which the town of Veracruz was the capital.



A picturesque view of the port of Veracruz (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

The importance of the town of Veracruz rested on commerce. Throughout the colonial era, it was the terminus for the FLEETS and single ships from Spain, as well as ships from the CARIBBEAN region. Ideally, the New Spain fleet (*flota*) sailed from CÁDIZ in May or June accompanied by single ships that would carry and pick up goods in the West Indies. The fleet landed at Veracruz, but the inhospitable climate and prevalence of disease resulted in goods being conveyed by MULES to MEXICO CITY. There, wholesale merchants (*comerciantes*) purchased the merchandise, sold some in Mexico City, and distributed the rest through commercial networks extending throughout the viceroyalty.

Veracruz was the terminus for MERCURY from Spain, whether brought on the fleet or by pairs of ships (*azogues*), for the MINING camps. The fleet also brought military supplies for the fort at San Juan de Ulúa, the viceregal guard, the fort at ACAPULCO, and PRESIDIOS in the frontier areas of New Spain. Dispatch ships (*avisos*) arrived in Veracruz with official correspondence and information about the anticipated arrival of the fleet. While TRADE with Spain was paramount, Veracruz was also the port of entry for imports from other colonies, notably CACAO from VENEZUELA.

As the viceroyalty's major port, a variety of exports flowed through Veracruz to Spain. SILVER was the most valuable, but other exports included hides, COCHINEAL,

INDIGO, silk, and other East Asian products that had been carried by mule train from Acapulco via Mexico City. Officials, military personnel, clerics, and private parties passed through Veracruz on their way to Spain. New Spain also sent exports and sometimes subsidies (*situados*) to Caribbean and Gulf ports and Florida. Ideally, the fleet of New Spain met in HAVANA the galleons that had been to CARTAGENA DE INDIAS and NOMBRE DE DIOS or, later, PORTOBELLO to return to Spain as a single fleet.

Fleet sailings became irregular by the 1620s and increasingly so as the century progressed. In 1708, during the WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION, foreign (French) ships sailed in the fleet to New Spain for the first time. France would never be able to do this again, but a treaty signed at UTRECHT in 1713 awarded Great Britain a monopoly on the slave trade (*ASIENTO*) to the Spanish colonies, as well as the right to send one annual ship carrying 500 tons of cargo with the New Spain fleet and a second ship of the same capacity with the galleons. By 1715, however, Mexican merchants had become so accustomed to buying East Asian goods and illicit merchandise from foreign islands in the Caribbean that their interest in the restoration of regular fleets was minimal. Consequently, when the fleet system was restored, but with the important change that a PORTOBELLO-style fair was to be held at

Jalapa, an inland location more salubrious than Veracruz, Mexican merchants refused to cooperate.

The arrival of the annual British ship, moreover, meant competition for the business of New Spain merchants; with better merchandise and prices, the British flooded the market and Spanish merchants were forced to wait for their rivals' departure to move their goods to Mexico City, a market temporarily overflowing with competitive merchandise. With the exception of the fair of 1729, subsequent efforts to make the fair work largely failed. When the Crown authorized limited *COMERCIO LIBRE* starting in 1765, goods that previously had gone directly to Veracruz increasingly went to ports authorized for "free trade" and then reached New Spain illicitly. Only in 1789 did the fleet system that funneled merchandise through Veracruz come to an end.

Men who went through "seasoning" and survived the threat of disease considered Veracruz a place of opportunity. Successful merchants petitioned for their own *CONSULADO*; the Crown authorized one in 1795. Veracruz survived as the major port of Mexico after independence in 1821.

As New Spain's naval gateway and major port, Veracruz had great strategic importance. More than once, corsairs had assailed it; in 1683, they pillaged it. The British capture of Havana in 1762 underscored the potential of a foreign invasion through Veracruz. The basic approaches to defense were two: either make Veracruz the focal point or garrison troops in the healthier interior towns of Jalapa, Orizaba, Córdoba, and Perote.

Yellow fever was but one danger for the unacclimatized. Fouled water was a breeding ground for diseases with terrifying mortality rates. Of 100 vagabonds sent from PUEBLA to Veracruz to serve in its garrison in 1801, 85 died within a month. WAR against Britain in 1796 heightened the anxiety of royal authorities in Mexico, but a yellow fever epidemic among unclimatized troops increased desertions and underscored the futility of sending men from the highlands to Veracruz. By 1798, the city of Veracruz's population had declined from some 16,000 in 1796 to 6,000 or 8,000. Another effort in 1799 to staff the garrison yielded a similar result; 1,220 deaths and 1,558 desertions resulted from the "horrible cemetery" of Veracruz between then and 1803.

A miserable climate, disease, and distance from the capital of New Spain made the town of Veracruz a place that most Spaniards tried to leave as quickly as possible. In New Spain, the route from Veracruz to Mexico City was well established; trips averaged about a month, but delays during the rainy season were common. The cost of TRANSPORTATION added substantially to the price of goods, for example, 70 percent to the cost of WINE transported to Mexico City.

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Vértiz y Salcedo, Juan José de (b. 1719–d. 1798/1799) *creole viceroy of Río de la Plata* Born in Mérida, Yucatán, as a son of the provincial governor, Juan José de Vértiz y Salcedo entered the Order of Santiago in 1760. A career MILITARY officer, he was named governor of BUENOS AIRES in 1771 to replace PEDRO DE CEVALLOS. After Cevallos served as founding VICEROY of the VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA in 1777–78, Vértiz replaced him until 1784.

Vértiz was viceroy during a time of significant change in Buenos Aires. The INTENDANT system authorized for the viceroyalty in 1782 initially included a superintendent with extensive financial powers that viceroys had traditionally held in other parts of the empire. In the following year, an AUDIENCIA was authorized in the capital, although it was not fully functioning until 1785. The Crown created a host of supporting treasury officials and expanded existing offices. From 35 officials in Buenos Aires in 1778, the number had grown to 126 by 1785.

Vértiz appreciated the need for revenue and in 1779 allowed Portuguese ships with slaves and TOBACCO to enter the harbor at Buenos Aires (see SLAVERY). Despite the general prohibition against foreign traders, the TRADE enabled customs duties to be collected and thus provided needed revenue to the viceregal government.

Vértiz also had to deal with the Túpac Katari revolt in CHARCAS. A rebellion of Aymara speakers, Katari's forces besieged La Paz at length in 1781 before the arrival of royalist forces, including some sent from Buenos Aires, brought an end to the rebellion.

The viceroy made welcome improvements to the city of Buenos Aires, which included cleaning, paving, and lighting major streets. In addition, he established the Colegio of San Carlos, an orphanage, and a hospital (see COLEGIO/COLEGIO MAYOR). Cultural improvements included the creation of the city's first THEATER and the importation of PRINTING PRESSES. Finally, he promoted the founding of the towns of Gualegay, Concepción del Uruguay, and Gualeguaychu between the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers and San Juan Bautista, San José, and other towns in the BANDA ORIENTAL.

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viceroy/viceroyalty Faced with the enormous distances, the lengthy time required for TRANSPORTATION, the great size of the INDIES, and the failure of earlier administrative institutions, both the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns employed viceroys as the chief executives of their respective domains. The position had antecedents in Spain, where Ferdinand of Aragon had placed viceroys in his kingdoms because of his absence in Castile. The position literally was that of “vice king,” or the king’s alter ego as his substitute. Consequently, viceroys, especially under the HABSBURGS of Spain, were received regally and lived in splendor, complete with a palace and honor guard. An appointment as viceroy was a great honor; it also afforded substantial opportunity for personal gain.

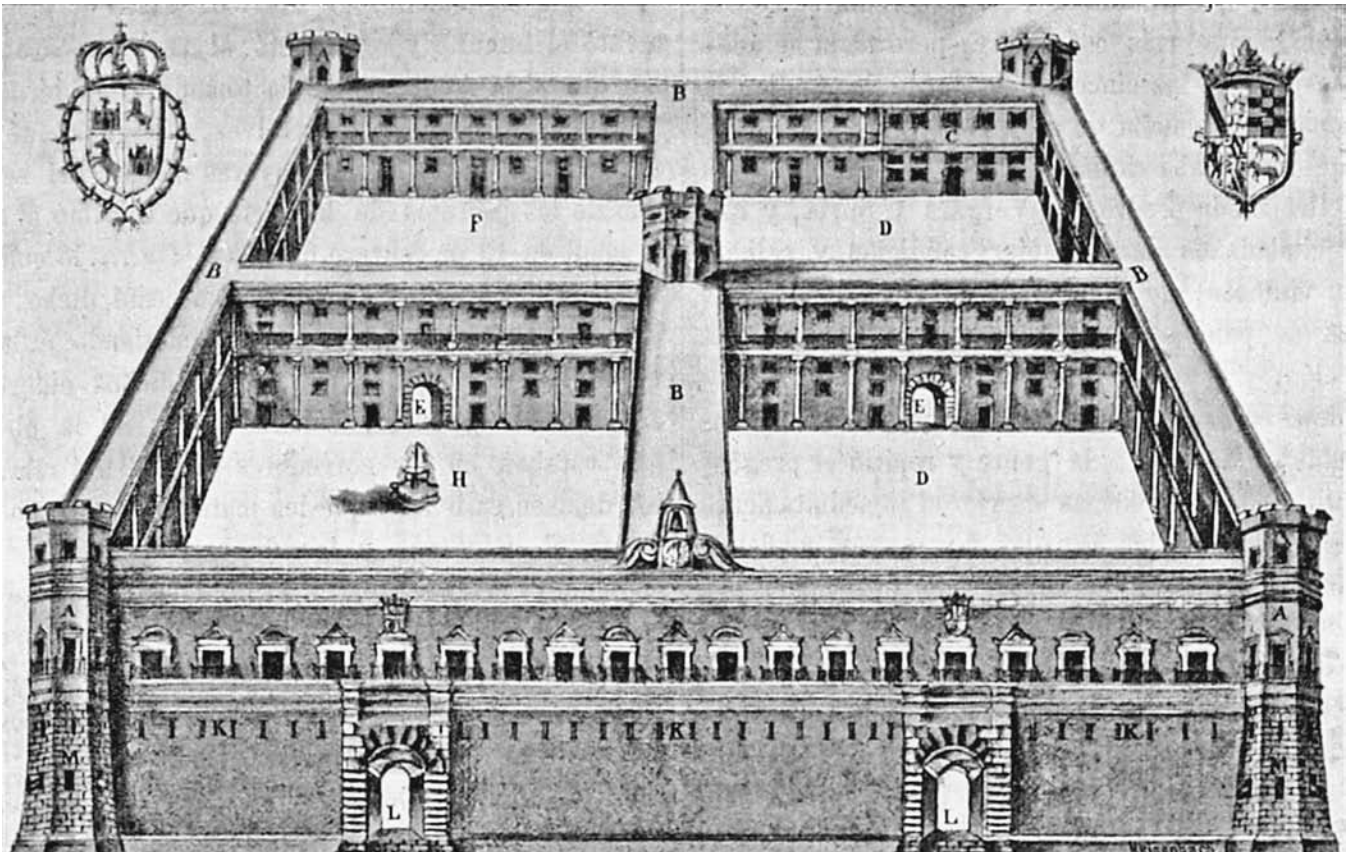
The first viceroy in the Indies was Antonio de Mendoza, who held the position for NEW SPAIN from 1535 to 1550 and established the office on a sound footing. The initial viceroy for PERU was Blasco Núñez Vela who arrived in 1544 determined to put the New Laws of 1542 into effect; he was killed for his efforts, the only serving viceroy to suffer that fate. Not until the fifth viceroy, FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO Y FIGUEROA, was the position secured in Peru. Although the Crown established the VICEROYALTY OF NEW GRANADA in the late 1710s, it required the appointment of Sebastián de Eslava to establish it successfully in a second effort in 1739. The fourth and final viceroyalty in Spanish America was that

of RÍO DE LA PLATA, created in 1777; the first viceroy was PEDRO DE CEVALLOS.

The Portuguese Crown retitled the governor general of BAHIA viceroy for BRAZIL in 1720 and in 1763 moved the office to RIO DE JANEIRO. Viceroys in Brazil, however, never had the authority of their counterparts in Spanish America.

Viceroys in the Spanish colonies had extensive responsibilities that included those under the titles of captain general, president of the AUDIENCIA in the capital, and governor. Thus, the early viceroys of New Spain and Peru promoted expeditions of conquest and settlement, distributed ENCOMIENDAS and land, supervised the founding of new towns, oversaw the royal patronage (PATRONATO REAL), ensured defense and domestic tranquility, and, most important to the Crown, sent revenues to Spain.

While viceroys under the Habsburgs were to appear regal, the Crown placed numerous restrictions on their authority. These included instructions and other directives from the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES, recommendations by their predecessors in office, and prohibitions on specified economic activities and personal ties. Other institutions and individuals, including the *audiencia*, the archbishop, the MUNICIPAL COUNCIL of the capital, and the ranking treasury officials, also served as checks on the viceroys. At any time, the Crown could initiate a VISITA,



View of the viceregal palace in Mexico City (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

sending a *visitador*, or inspector, with extensive authority. And always, there was the *RESIDENCIA*, a formal judicial review of the viceroy's tenure in office.

Viceroyalties were term appointees and could not plan on spending the remainder of their career in office. In contrast, until the late 18th century, *audiencia* ministers in MEXICO CITY and LIMA typically remained at their posts until death or retirement. While they faced restrictions on their local ties, in practice long-serving ministers tended to have a variety of local personal and economic relationships and over time were apt to view issues differently than a viceroy fresh from Spain would. As a result, it behooved viceroys to pay attention to the often more knowledgeable *audiencia* ministers before issuing or enforcing controversial legislation.

An examination of the 44 viceroys of New Spain from 1535 to 1808 reveals some of their characteristics. All but three were PENINSULARS; the CREOLES were a son of an *audiencia* president of QUITO, a son of a general who had held administrative positions in the colonies, and the son of an earlier peninsular viceroy of New Spain. On average, the viceroys served for between five and six years. The 24 Habsburg viceroys were of unquestioned nobility. All but four had titles when appointed; three of the four were scions of major families in Spain; the fourth received a title during an unprecedented second term as viceroy from 1607 to 1611. While many Habsburg viceroys had some MILITARY experience, of the 20 Bourbon viceroys, at least 18 and possibly all 20 had such experience (see BOURBON DYNASTY). In 11 cases, viceroys held titles of nobility prior to their appointments; a twelfth received a title subsequently. A majority of the viceroys named by both the Habsburg and Bourbon monarchs were knights in MILITARY ORDERS. Aside from their generally higher noble background, the Habsburg appointees were younger; six were in their 30s and five in their 40s when named. Of the Bourbon appointees, only one was under 50 when appointed; the unique case was Bernardo de Gálvez, nephew of Minister of the Indies JOSÉ DE GÁLVEZ Y GALLARDO. While all of the Habsburg viceroys were either married or widowers, at least three of the Bourbon viceroys were bachelors.

Starting with Mendoza and ending in 1688 with the count of la Monclova, nine viceroys of New Spain advanced to Peru; the reverse was never true. After 1688, there is no pattern of advancement for the viceroys of New Spain; frequently they died in office. Seven Bourbon viceroys, but only two Habsburg appointees, died while serving.

An appointment as viceroy, especially until the late 1670s, gave the recipient enormous patronage opportunities. Viceroys arrived in New Spain and Peru with substantial entourages that included FAMILY members, servants, and a variety of hangers-on (*paniaguados*). It was routine for the hangers-on to receive appointments, including as provincial administrators, and to marry local women of good family. Maids-in-waiting to the vicereine also found marital

opportunities. Their power gave the viceroys an opportunity for self-enrichment by illegally selling appointments and other favors; the Crown's decision in 1678 to limit viceroys to naming only 12 provincial administrators so that the royal treasury would benefit from selling appointments was a notable reduction of viceregal patronage, although viceroys could still make interim appointments.

Viceroys in Spanish America continued to serve through the wars of independence (see MEXICO, INDEPENDENCE OF; SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA, INDEPENDENCE OF). Along with *audiencia* ministers, they were a favored target for expulsion in the early days of AUTONOMISTS' efforts to achieve self-rule. Extreme royalists proved willing to overthrow viceroys as well, as the case of JOSÉ DE ITURRIGARAY Y ARÓSTEGUI in New Spain demonstrated.

See also VICEROY/VICEROYALTY (Vol. I).

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Vila Rica do Ouro Prêto The discovery of GOLD in MINAS GERAIS, BRAZIL, in the mid-1690s led to an unprecedented gold rush. A MULE train leaving RIO DE JANEIRO needed about 15 days to reach Vila Rica de Ouro Prêto (rich town of black gold). Established as a MINING camp in 1698 and one of the most populous mining settlements in the captaincy in 1711, Vila Rica was elevated on July 8 of that year to the status of town, complete with a MUNICIPAL COUNCIL, and became the capital of its own district (*comarca*) in 1714. In 1720, it became the capital of the captaincy of Minas Gerais, confirming its status as an administrative as well as a commercial center. Its early riches brought appellations that included "fabulous city" and "precious pearl of all Brazil."

The colonial town reached its highest population in the 1740s, with about 15,000 inhabitants. Beginning in the early 1750s, mining in the captaincy started to decline, and in the 1760s, the economic downturn became substantial and continued until late in the century. The population had dropped to about 7,000 by the 1790s. The census of 1804 reveals that more than 83 percent of adults of marriageable age (males at 14, females at 12) were single, less than a third of the heads of extended families living together were married, and women headed 45 percent of families. Marriage had become a form of social

differentiation in Vila Rica, with the local elite marrying to the extent that suitable brides were available.

While the inhabitants of Vila Rica—whites, blacks, and mulattoes—were at least technically Christians, the diocesan clergy provided religious instruction and services (see *MULATO*). Unlike in the remainder of colonial Brazil, the religious orders were excluded from the mining zone. Lay brotherhoods (*irmandades*) customarily built their own churches in Minas Gerais, and those in Vila Rica followed this practice.

Twice in its early years, Vila Rica experienced political violence. The WAR OF THE EMBOABAS in 1708–09 brought the defeat of the *paulistas*, and in 1720, the European immigrants who had been successful in the first conflict found themselves defeated in an antitax riot.

Mining wealth available in Vila Rica in the first half of the 18th century enabled the construction of rich churches and elaborate private dwellings for the elite. Architectural forms common to northern Portugal marked the buildings. Now called simply Ouro Prêto, the historic center remains a living museum of colonial architecture.

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visita A *visita*, or inspection tour, was always a potential threat to royal officeholders in Spanish America. A general *visita* could encompass an *AUDIENCIA* district or an entire viceroyalty. A visitor general selected by the king conducted it, armed with extensive authority that challenged that of a VICEROY. In specific *visitas*, a visitor named by the viceroy examined a particular official or district. Either kind of *visita* could occur without warning. There were also routine *visitas*, such as those of prisons, that an *audiencia* was to make three times annually and that inspectors were to make of ships used in the INDIES TRADE. Bishops carried out ecclesiastical *visitas*.

By the mid-16th century, the Spanish Crown had already employed a general *visita*, sending Francisco Tello de Sandoval as visitor general to NEW SPAIN on an inspection tour that lasted from 1544 to 1547. The expense and years that general *visitas* consumed meant that the Crown resorted to them only when convinced that serious problems needed special attention. Such problems might involve, for example, a viceroy, president and ministers of an *audiencia*, or treasury officials.

General *visitas* to Mexico included those by Pedro de Moya y Contreras (1583–86); JUAN DE PALAFOX Y MENDOZA (1640–48), continued by Pedro de Gálvez (1650–54); Francisco Garzarón (1716–27), completed by Pedro Domingo de Contreras (1731–34); and JOSÉ DE GÁLVEZ Y GALLARDO (1765–71). General *visitas* to PERU included those by Juan de Cornejo (1664–66) and Francisco Antonio de Manzolo (1664–70), continued by Álvaro de Ibarra until his death in January 1675 and then by *OIDOR* of LIMA Agustín Mauricio Venegas de Villavicencio (1677–80) and *contador mayor* of the TRIBUNAL OF ACCOUNTS Juan de Saiceta y Cucho (1677–83). This lengthy *visita* was at last completed by Lima *oidor* Juan de Peñalosa (1683–ca. 1697). An important *visita* was begun by JOSÉ ANTONIO DE ARECHE Y SORNOZA (1777–81) and completed by Jorge de Escobedo y Alarcón (1781–85). Measures Areche took during the *visita* were among the causes of the TŪPAC AMARU II revolt.

Visitas invariably created conflict precisely because the beneficiaries of abuses were under attack. The viceroy Marqués de Montesclaros of New Spain is credited with the summary that general “visitations are comparable to the whirlwinds often seen in the public squares and streets, which serve no purpose save to stir up dust, straw, and other trash, and scatter them about the heads of the people.”

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W



war By the middle of the 16th century, Spain had participated in European conflicts for decades and would continue its frequent and expensive involvement into the early 19th century. Portugal, in contrast, was a minor player in European conflicts and more apt to be at war with Spain than any other European power. Both Iberian countries' colonists, however, intermittently fought NATIVE AMERICANS on the empires' frontiers for generations.

The riches that Spain was receiving from its American colonies by the end of CHARLES I's reign and especially during the reign of PHILIP II attracted the French, English, and Dutch. They concluded that raiding selected locations and even establishing their own colonies in the New World would cut the supply of SILVER to Spain and thus render it incapable of continuing to fight in European wars.

Examples of foreign interlopers on lands the Spanish and Portuguese believed were theirs alone by virtue of papal donation and the Treaty of Tordesillas include the French settlements in Florida in the 1560s and in several locations in BRAZIL beginning in the early 16th century. The most egregious invasion of Brazil came at the hands of the Dutch when they took PERNAMBUCO and held it from 1630 to 1654. The inability of PHILIP IV to expel the Dutch earlier made Spain's dynastic grip on Portugal even more tenuous.

Nonetheless, during the 16th century, raids rather than conquest were the rule. This changed in the early and mid-17th century when Spain's rivals—France, England, and rebellious Dutch provinces—began to seize lightly settled islands in the CARIBBEAN and also to establish colonies on the North American mainland and Guiana. Portugal's successful war of independence against Spain,

which commenced in 1640 and was formally ended by treaty in 1668, had as its major colonial consequence improved English access to the markets of CHARCAS. The



Sir Francis Drake was Spain's enemy in peace and war. (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri—St. Louis)

places where the English, French, and Dutch settled, however, offered neither the labor pool nor the mineral wealth that Spain had gained in NEW SPAIN and South America. The lands Spain retained in 1700 were far more impressive than those lost to its rivals.

Although the French and British expanded their colonial holdings in the first half of the 18th century, their respective claims rubbed against each other more than with the Spanish. While the British admiral Edward Vernon took PORTOBELLO in 1739, he could not repeat his success at CARTAGENA DE INDIAS. The decisive British victory in the Seven Years' War came more at the expense of the French than the Spanish. Although Spain yielded Florida to Britain in exchange for the return of HAVANA, it received Louisiana from the French. As an ally of France, Spain became involved in the war against Britain by the thirteen colonies and obtained East Florida and a strip of land along the Gulf of Mexico known as West Florida as a result of Britain's defeat. Subsequent arrangements benefiting the newly established United States resulted from European events rather than war in the Americas.

Starting with the establishment of COLÔNIA DO SACRAMENTO, ongoing friction in the "debatable lands" between their colonies led to war between Spain and Portugal on several occasions. The fate of the BANDA ORIENTAL was not permanently resolved until Britain intervened and forced the establishment of an independent Uruguay in 1828.

The wars of the French Revolution extended to Spain's colonies through Britain's naval dominance and blockade of CÁDIZ. The neutral TRADE that Spain adopted, however, confirmed to many, but certainly not all, merchants that trade with Spain was no longer necessary. The French invasion of the Iberian Peninsula that began in 1807 initiated wars of independence in both Portugal and Spain, which ultimately resulted in both Brazil and Spain's mainland colonies in the Americas gaining independence (see BRAZIL, INDEPENDENCE OF; MEXICO, INDEPENDENCE OF; SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA, INDEPENDENCE OF).

wars of independence See BRAZIL, INDEPENDENCE OF; MEXICO, INDEPENDENCE OF; SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA, INDEPENDENCE OF.

weights and measures The benefits of an agreed-upon system of weights, measures, and coinage were self-evident to consumers in the colonial world. Consumers also agreed that vendors should use accurate weights and measures. The Spanish Crown was always concerned, as were MUNICIPAL COUNCILS, that the weight of bread, meat, and other products was fair and consistent. Indeed, towns often had an inspector who checked the scales in shops to verify their accuracy as a form of consumer protection. In MEXICO CITY in 1559, all persons who owned weights and measures were to have the designated public officials check, adjust, and seal them. The measure was repeated again in 1567 and extended to the whole of NEW SPAIN in 1574. Despite this encouragement, nonstandard measures were never eliminated.

Coinage in the colonies had many names and values that changed over time. At different times, coins were minted of GOLD, SILVER, silver and copper, and copper. By the mid-16th century, some earlier coins, for example, the *maravedí*, had become money of account, or units employed in bookkeeping. Silver taken to the mint in Mexico City in the 16th century was measured in marks valued as 65 reales of eight pesos and one real; by 1700, a mark was valued at 70 reales or eight pesos and six reales (see MINTS). The silver peso of eight reales was known in English as the "piece of eight." With a silver peso worth 272 *maravedís*, the accounting unit of one *maravedí* had a value of less than one-third of a United States penny in late colonial times. Although the Mexico City mint produced some copper coins in the 1540s–60s, the indigenous people considered them worthless, and the mint discontinued them. Beginning in the reign of PHILIP III, the mints in Spain churned out *vellón*, originally copper and silver coinage, but soon only copper. In 1728, the ratio between gold and silver was adjusted. The above

Spanish Monetary Units

	VALUE IN COIN	METAL IN COIN	VALUE IN MARAVEDÍS
Mark (<i>marco</i>)	8 pesos, 1–6 reales; or, 65–70 reales	Silver	2,210–2,380 <i>mrvs.</i>
Peso (<i>peso de ocho</i>)	8 reales	Silver	272 <i>mrvs.</i>
Peso de oro (<i>peso ensayado</i>)	1.2 ducats	Gold	450 <i>mrvs.</i>
Ducat (<i>ducado</i>)	11 reales	Unit of account	375 <i>mrvs.</i>
Real (<i>real de plata</i>)	$\frac{1}{8}$ peso	Silver	34 <i>mrvs.</i>
<i>Real de vellón</i>	$\frac{1}{20}$ peso	Copper	13.6 <i>mrvs.</i>
Escudo (<i>escudo</i>)	20 reales	Gold	680 <i>mrvs.</i>
Doubloon (<i>doblón</i>)	2 escudos	Gold	1,360 <i>mrvs.</i>

Common Spanish Units of Measurement*

<i>Pie</i> (foot)	11 inches
<i>Vara</i> (yard)	3 <i>pies</i> ; 33 inches, or 0.84 m
<i>Legua</i> (league)	5,000 <i>varas</i> ; 2.6 miles, i.e., the distance a man can walk in an hour
<i>Fanega</i>	1.6 bushels, or 35 liters
<i>Libra</i> (pound)	1 pound, or 0.45 kg
<i>Arroba</i>	25 <i>libras</i>
<i>Quintal</i>	100 <i>libras</i> ; 4 <i>arrobas</i>
<i>Sitio de ganado mayor</i> (land for cattle, horses)	5,000 <i>varas</i> × 5,000 <i>varas</i> ; 4,316 acres, or 1,747 ha.
<i>Sitio de ganado menor</i> (land for sheep, goats)	3,333.3 <i>varas</i> × 3,333.3 <i>varas</i> ; 1,918 acres, or 776 ha.
<i>Caballería</i>	1,104 <i>varas</i> × 552 <i>varas</i> ; 105 acres, or 42.5 ha.

*There is considerable uncertainty about the precise values of most units of measurement, and there were often regional variations. Commonly used values are indicated in the following table, "Common Spanish Uses of Measurement."

table provides the most commonly employed units and their value.

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wheat Spaniards could not envision civilized life without bread made from wheat. The grain was sown in HISPANIOLA in 1493 and thereafter carried by Spaniards to every settlement where the climate was appropriate. Although Spaniards encouraged and even required Amerindians in Central Mexico to grow wheat as TRIBUTE, the NATIVE AMERICANS showed no inclination to comply and grew only miniscule amounts. As a consequence, Spaniards began setting up their own fields to supervise the cultivation of wheat.

Spanish landowners soon realized that irrigation was often necessary and constructed canals from which to water the fields. Where irrigation was available in the Valley of Mexico, two crops could be raised each year. As MINING camps opened north of MEXICO CITY, recipients of land grants quickly turned to the production of wheat and MAIZE to sell to miners and indigenous people. Wheat, barley, rye, and oats were very successful in the PUEBLA region of NEW SPAIN, to which immigrant Spanish farmers had been recruited. By the 1570s, the Valley of San Pablo annually produced 70,000–80,000 *fanegas* of wheat, an amount equaled by the Valley of

Atlixco. By 1632, some 90 HACIENDAS produced 150,000 *fanegas* of wheat a year. Wheat from Puebla went to Mexico City, Yucatán, CUBA, and, as *bizcocho* (hard, dry wafers) to feed sailors in the Atlantic and Pacific. By the late 18th century, however, the BAJÍO and Michoacán had displaced Puebla in many of its earlier internal markets. Oaxaca, on the other hand, produced wheat only for local consumption.

Wheat did not transplant as successfully in the Andean regions as in New Spain. In the dry coastal strip, irrigation was required for germination. Above 12,000 feet (3,658 m), wheat would not grow. Nonetheless, in numerous valleys between those extremes—for example, QUITO, Cajamarca, Huamanga, CUZCO, and AREQUIPA—wheat grew sufficiently well that it supplied local needs and might even be exported. Both LIMA and POTOSÍ brought in wheat from other regions. After the earthquake of 1687, Lima depended on wheat imported from CHILE. In the Río de la Plata region, wheat production for the local economy was under way by the end of the 16th century, and bread made from locally grown wheat accounted for perhaps half of a daily diet in BUENOS AIRES.

At the end of the 16th century, the finest wheat bread (*pan blanco*) sold in Mexico City cost almost double the price of the coarse bread sold to the poor. At the same time, the cost of bread per pound was about four times that of beef; unlike in Europe, the poor in the New World could eat beef rather than bread and gruel. By 1800, four classes of wheat bread were available in Mexico City. In addition, maize was available for the very poor. Multiple classes of bread were available in POTOSÍ in the late 17th century: *pan blanco* for the well-to-do; *three-fer* for poor Spaniards, Africans, and Amerindians; and a cheap and low-quality bread (*molletes*) for servants and indigenous.

Other than owners of wholesale bakeries (*panaderías*), most Spaniards purchased wheat in the form of bread. In Potosí in 1603, some 28 bakeries turned out 36,000 pounds (16,364 kg) of bread daily. The MUNICIPAL COUNCIL repeatedly sought to ensure that bakers and the owners of neighborhood grocery stores (*PULPERÍAS*) charged a fair price for bread instead of engaging in profiteering, a practice that the complete dependence on imported wheat, including that from the Valleys of Cochabamba and Chuquisaca, facilitated.

While Spaniards favored wheat bread throughout the colonial era; the indigenous population preferred the traditional and less expensive maize and, in the Andes, also potatoes. *CASTAS* ate wheat bread if they were able, for it served as a symbol of taste and status. It was probably more readily available at prices Spaniards could afford in the Americas than in Spain itself.

Wheat was also consumed in BRAZIL but was far less important than in the Spanish colonies. Wealthy families in SALVADOR DA BAHIA ate imported and then locally grown wheat from the mid-16th century onward. A little wheat was grown for local consumption in SÃO PAULO.

Most of the population in Brazil used flour made from the root of the cassava. Settlement in Rio Grande do Sul in the 18th century enabled sufficient wheat production that by the 1790s the grain was being exported to Brazilian ports in the north.

See also WHEAT (Vols. I, III).

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wine An alcoholic beverage made from grapes, wine was an indispensable component of civilized existence for Iberians. It was essential for religious ritual, consumed daily with meals, and, at times, a medium of exchange.

Christopher Columbus brought wine on his first voyage and cuttings for grape vines on his second voyage to HISPANIOLA, although they did not grow well. With limited amounts of poor-quality local wine, Spanish consumers imported the beverage from Spain throughout the colonial era. Royal efforts to restrict wine production in NEW SPAIN and thus protect Spanish exporters were somewhat successful. Grapes and wine production prospered in PERU, CHILE, Mendoza, Tucumán and elsewhere in the RÍO DE LA PLATA.

Selling wine locally by the late 1540s, within 20 years *encomenderos* and other landowners in the region of AREQUIPA had developed estates known as *heredades*, which were devoted to the commercial production of wine (see *ENCOMIENDA*). These were located in the river valleys, especially that of the Vitor River, which ran from the Andes to the Pacific coast. The second half of the 16th century was generally a period of prosperity for the estate owners, at least until the 1590s. By the 1580s, the region was producing more than 100,000 jugs (*botijas*) of wine annually, with exports going to Cuzco and POTOSÍ as well as LIMA. The decline in indigenous workers as a result of disease, in particular, led to the use of African slaves and increased the cost of production by the 1580s, while overproduction lowered the sale price of wine by 50 percent between the mid-1580s and the mid-1590s (see *SLAVERY*). A devastating earthquake and volcanic eruption in February 1600 reduced wine production by 95 percent in 1601 and the quality to impotability.

By 1630, the Valley of Vitor was producing about 80,000 jugs a year, and production from the Valleys of Moquegua and Sigua added more than another 100,000 jugs annually. Prices declined, however, and by 1650, a jug was worth only one peso, less than a quarter of its value in the mid-1580s. Between 1700 and 1775, production in the southern valleys increased,

but vintners turned to producing brandy, a beverage in high demand from Spaniards in the MINING centers of CHARCAS.

Wine production in Chile was also significant. The climate of central Chile was similar to that of the wine-growing regions of Europe, and friars and settlers soon planted vines of the black grape known as *mónica* and began producing wine. The region around Mendoza, now in Argentina, also produced limited quantities of the beverage. In 1614, the Diocese of Santiago reportedly produced 200,000 jugs of the beverage. Prior to their expulsion in 1767, the JESUITS produced the highest-quality wine in the colony.

The consumers of wine included the colonial elites of every city, but also nonelites. Potosí offered a choice of Spanish and colonial vintages, including a Spanish white wine that sold for 10 pesos a bottle at the end of the 16th century. At about the same time, the city council was upset that the grocery stores (*PULPERÍAS*) in the city were allegedly selling wine to Amerindians, who paid for it with stolen goods. It repeatedly tried to stop sales to indigenous people. In MEXICO CITY in the late 18th century, liquor stores (*viñaterías*) sold limited local vintages and imported wines from Spain to male and female customers, who could consume the beverage on the spot or elsewhere.

Portugal was an important exporter of wine, and as the number of Portuguese in BRAZIL increased, the colony became a valued customer. The colonists had no choice, for they were prohibited by law from producing wine, a restriction that on occasion prevented mass from being said in RIO DE JANEIRO.

See also ALCOHOL (Vol. I); WINE (Vol. I).

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women Females accounted for approximately half of the population in the New World when the Spaniards and Portuguese arrived, and there is no reason to think this figure had changed significantly by the middle of the 16th century. By that time, however, Amerindian females, although predominant numerically, had been joined by a small number of Spanish and Portuguese, mestiza, and African women (see *MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO*; *SLAVERY*).

The cultures of the Americas, Africa, and Iberia held in common some important beliefs about women's roles. The world of work was largely gender specific, with women and men having defined sets of tasks. Women had tasks as difficult and burdensome as those for men

but less valued and rewarded. In general, the societies were patriarchal, and women were required to be both virginal and monogamous, whereas men were not. Finally, women were largely restricted to private rather than public roles.

Prior to 1560, only 2,633 Spanish females have been identified as emigrants from Spain to the Americas; of that number, well over 50 percent were from Andalusia and especially from the province and city of SEVILLE. Another 7,485 have been identified as reaching the colonies between 1560 and 1599; again, the majority were from Andalusia in general, and Seville was particularly well represented. Combined with the heavy emigration of men from the same areas, the result was that Seville had an inordinate influence on the speech, behavioral patterns, values, and attitudes of 16th-century colonists.

The percentage of identified Spanish female emigrants from 1493 to 1599 was 18.4 percent of the total. Not surprisingly, the percentage increased markedly after 1560, as the major conquests had ended and the opportunities for adventurers, as opposed to artisans, professionals, and other FAMILY men, had largely disappeared. From 1560 to 1579, 28.5 percent of emigrants were female; for the following 20 years, the number is 26 percent. With Spanish women in charge of domestic matters, including a primary role in rearing children and instructing domestic servants and slaves, the transfer of the Andalusian variant of domestic culture, in particular, was ensured.

By 1560, the arrival of Spanish women had already meant the routine displacement of Amerindian concubines from the homes of conquistadores and the devaluing of their mestizo children. The increase in the number of Spanish women, however, did not end sexual liaisons by their husbands with NATIVE AMERICANS or, increasingly, women of African descent (see *MULATO*).

CREOLE daughters of elite families had two socially acceptable options when they came of age: entering into marriage or entering a convent. The first convents were established in MEXICO CITY in 1540, in LIMA by the mid-1560s, and in PUEBLA shortly afterward. In BRAZIL, the first convent was created in 1677; before then, women seeking religious seclusion had to go to Portugal. Whether the daughter was going to become a “bride of Christ” or remain in secular society, the family was expected to provide a DOWRY. The relatively small number of women in convents probably peaked in the mid- to late 17th century. By 1810, the total number of women in convents in Brazil and Spanish America combined was about 6,000.

While elite married women might have pleasant lives, complications at childbirth often caused death at a young age. Routinely, moreover, young elite women married older men, in some cases old enough to be their fathers. This was especially true when the husband was a PENINSULAR who married after becoming financially secure. This circumstance often resulted in women inheriting their share of husbands’ assets, receiving the

value of their dowries, and entering the single-most empowering legal state women could achieve in the colonies—widowhood.

Very few women, of course, belonged to an elite. Whether descended from Spaniards, Amerindians, or Africans, most spent their lives engaged in domestic duties and physical labor. For indigenous women in Mexico, preparing food, especially tortillas, required hours of labor every day. Some women in CITIES became small retailers, whether street vendors or working in a stall. In POTOSÍ from the mid-16th to mid-17th centuries especially, a number of indigenous women spent their days making the alcoholic beverage *chicha* to sell.

By the end of the 18th century, women were a majority in most if not all Latin American cities. Race and class largely determined what they did. Elite women of wealth, whether widowed or single, had the greatest range of options. While they neither would nor could work in public, they did invest in property or a variety of businesses, including *OBRAJES* and retail shops and stores.



A lady of Lima, 1819 (From the collections of the Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri–St. Louis)

Several elite women in Lima owned ships that carried WHEAT from CHILE to the capital.

The further down a woman was on the social scale, the more public her occupation tended to be. Weaving was an occupation for many women. Food preparation and retailing were other frequent occupations. The marketplaces in all cities had female vendors selling items that were supposedly available only in *PULPERÍAS*. Domestic labor at home or working for other women for wages was the most common occupation. By 1600, almost exclusively Amerindians, blacks, and *CASTAS* performed such domestic service. Only women were midwives, but slave and indigenous women often worked as wet nurses. Another female occupation was seamstress, for only women sewed clothing for women; men who sewed clothes for men were called tailors and were much better compensated.

Although women were the majority in cities, the reverse was true in the countryside. This was partly the result of mortality resulting from childbirth and partly a consequence of rural girls going to urban centers to make a living. Marriage in rural areas was the rule, for a man alone could not provide the labor needed in an independent household.

See also WOMEN (Vols. I, III, IV).

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yanacónaje The social group known as *yana* during Inca rule expanded substantially after the conquest and was known to colonial officials as *yanacóna*. Devoid of ties to ancestral communities and kin groups and exempt from *MITA* service, this servile population quickly included NATIVE AMERICANS who attached themselves to Spaniards, often working for them in exchange for access to a small plot of land. In the years before the amalgamation process was successfully employed at POTOSÍ, *yanacónas* operated the wind ovens or small kilns used in smelting there. Others were artisans and craftsmen.

Although VICEROY FRANCISCO DE TOLEDO Y FIGUEROA identified one group of *yanacónas* as working for Spaniards and exempt from the *mita*, other *yanacónas* were subject to relocation in *reducciones*, TAXATION, and *mita* service (see *REDUCCIÓN*). Those in CITIES were attached to urban parishes. In particularly the provinces affected by a MINING *mita*, *yanacóna* status on a Spanish HACIENDA was a major advantage for Amerindians.

In the early 17th century, an inspection of the farms in the jurisdiction of LA PLATA revealed 920, with nearly 7,000 men from villages affected by the Potosí *mita* lacking ancestors on the properties when Toledo implemented the *reducciones*. As a group, *yanacónas* denied knowing their ancestral villages, claimed they were from cities, and tended to use Spanish last names. One *KURAKA* stated that the men who left his village “become *yanacónas* by adopting different clothing and last names and claiming to be free of the *mita*.”

By the middle of the 17th century, *FORASTEROS*, another category of indigenous people who had left their villages and could be found on Spanish estates, mines, cities, and Amerindian villages in which they had no right to

land, outnumbered *yanacónas* in CHARCAS. In the jurisdictions of La Paz and CUZCO in 1646, *forasteros* were more than twice as numerous as *yanacónas*. The important difference between *forasteros* and *yanacónas* was that the former retained ties to their villages of origin and sometimes benefits from them, while *yanacónas* lacked such connections in order to escape *mita* service and often to pay a lower tribute than *originarios*.

In the Cuzco region, *hacendados* in the 18th century relied on *yanacónas* and seasonal wage laborers. Even after independence, Amerindian laborers were referred to informally as *yanacónas*.

See also *YANA* (Vol. I).

Further reading:

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yerba maté Yerba maté was a tree (*Ilex paraguayensis*) native to PARAGUAY and southern BRAZIL whose leaves were used to make a popular beverage of the same name. Made by steeping hot water with broken or powdered leaves in a SILVER cup (*maté*), “Paraguayan tea” was often drunk through a silver tube.

One of Paraguay’s only cash crops, as well as an early medium of exchange, yerba was exported by the early 17th century, if not before. JESUITS exported it from their MISSIONS by 1680. By the late 17th century, it was Paraguay’s most important export, being sent to provinces throughout the VICEROYALTY OF PERU. Paraguayans harvested natural yerba maté from royal forests rather than developing yerba PLANTATIONS, as Jesuits did.

Following the introduction of *COMERCIO LIBRE* in the VICEROYALTY OF RÍO DE LA PLATA in 1778, the exportation of yerba maté from Paraguay, Corrientes and Misiones in present-day Argentina, and adjoining lands in BRAZIL and the BANDA ORIENTAL expanded rapidly until 1808. Yerba exports from ASUNCIÓN expanded from 26,429 *arrobas* in 1776 to an average of 195,102 *arrobas* annually from 1792 to 1796 and 271,322 *arrobas* per year from 1803 to 1807. In 1808, the export of yerba was the second highest of the colonial era, at 327,150 *arrobas*. Exports plummeted with

the political disruptions at BUENOS AIRES and within the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata. Only 150,300 *arrobas* in 1812, exports in 1820 were but 42,365 *arrobas* and would fall still further under the rule of José Gaspar de Francia in Paraguay.

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Zacatecas After the discovery of SILVER in 1546, the mines of Zacatecas quickly became NEW SPAIN's premier source of the precious metal. The town of Zacatecas was founded in 1548, the year in which the discovery of three major lodes of silver ore initiated a rush. The Royal Road (Camino Real) was soon begun to connect the mining district to Querétaro and an already established route to MEXICO CITY. Feeder routes quickly linked it to suppliers from Michoacán and GUADALAJARA. Wagon and MULE trains carried food (including WHEAT for Spaniards and MAIZE for Amerindians and mules), equipment, lead, MERCURY, and other supplies. The BAJÓ became the dominant supplier of wheat and maize. Beef and mutton were available from ranches developed near Zacatecas (see RANCHING).

CHICHIMECAS responded to Spanish settlement by turning the northern area into a "land of war" from 1550 to 1590, although ultimately a policy of trading food and clothing for peace prevailed. In 1608, the permanent population of Zacatecas was about 4,500, with Spaniards numbering some 1,500 and indigenous, blacks, and mestizos comprising the balance (see MESTIZAJE/MESTIZO). The Spanish population in 1640 was perhaps 2,000–2,500.

Once established, silver production remained on a plateau from 1560 until the mid-1610s, when it jumped upward and remained at a high level into the mid-1630s, nearly 20 years after San Luis Potosí and just after Parral, with an important silver strike in 1631, went into decline. Zacatecan production suffered a serious depression from 1640 to 1665, in part a consequence of inadequate mercury for processing ore by the patio process, rose again from 1670 to 1690, and then declined once more until 1705. Until at least 1732, the region was producing a quarter of the viceroyalty's silver, but it then went into

a decline as a result of flooding, which exacerbated high production costs.

In 1767, miner José de la Borda convinced Visitor General JOSÉ DE GÁLVEZ Y GALLARDO and the VICEROY Marqués de Croix to give him tax breaks, including lower-priced mercury, that enabled him to open new mines in a lode known as the Veta Grande, build a large refining mill, and drain the mine of Quebradilla. By also cutting wages a third, he was able to mine and process ore at a lower cost. Importantly, Borda's achievement attracted other investors who were successful miners elsewhere in New Spain and merchants who withdrew capital from TRADE. The result of this investment coupled with the Crown's reduction in the price of mercury by 75 percent between 1767 and 1776, a reduction in the price of blasting powder, and flexible TAXATION applied to miners in Zacatecas was a resurgence of silver production. By 1803, Zacatecas ranked behind only GUANAJUATO and perhaps Catorce in silver production in New Spain. The depredations associated with the MIGUEL HIDALGO Y CASTILLA's revolt, however, ended its high level of productivity.

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zambo In colonial Spanish America, *zambo* usually referred to the offspring of a NATIVE AMERICAN and a

black, although by 1600 it was rarely used in Mexico, where a variety of terms including *MULATO* or *mulato pardo* (dark mulatto) were employed. In Peru, the term *sambo* was used for the offspring of a black man and a *mulata*, while the offspring of an Amerindian and a black person was termed a *chino*. *Zambos* thus fit into the broader mixed racial category of *CASTAS* or, in some regions, for example, Río de la Plata, *PARDOS*. In this broader context, the existence of some African heritage, not the extent, made it important.

The mother's status as free or slave determined that of her *zambo* child. Most *zambos* were, in fact, born to Native American women and thus free; one consequence was repeated royal orders prohibiting blacks from living in indigenous villages beginning in 1563. Free *zambos*, however, were required to pay *TRIBUTE*. Viceroy Martín Enríquez wrote in 1574 that "Negroes prefer to marry Indian women rather than Negresses, so that their children will be born free." At about the same time, the viceroy of *NEW SPAIN* was concerned about *zambos* causing unrest and potentially rebellion among the indigenous

communities in which they were raised, although there was no *zambo*-led Afro-Indian rebellion in the history of the viceroyalty. By 1650, the population of *zambos* and mulattoes in Mexico exceeded 100,000. The Crown was also concerned about unskilled *zambos*' contribution to the *ECONOMY* and about blacks abusing Amerindians in *PERU*, but the persons of African descent were fewer and less threatening there.

The second-class status of *zambos* and other *castas* was reaffirmed in the *CONSTITUTION OF 1812*. After considerable debate, that document vested automatic citizenship in Spaniards and Amerindians resident in Spain and the Americas, but not in persons from Africa or reputed to be Africans and their descendants.

Further reading:

- Frederick P. Bowser. *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524–1650* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1974).
 Edgar F. Love. "Legal Restrictions on Afro-Indian Relations in Colonial Mexico." *Journal of Negro History* 55, no. 2 (April 1970): 131–139.

APPENDIX

PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENTS

The majority of the translated primary sources that follow are laws—royal *cédulas* and royal orders—issued by a Spanish monarch, who routinely refers to himself as both “I” and “we,” or the minister of the Indies in Spain. Intended to resolve a specific problem in a particular geographical location, they were also applied elsewhere. In several cases the documents are recommendations (*consultas*) by the Council of the Indies regarding specific issues. As a group, these sources provide a view of colonial administration and society from Spain, although their content often includes a brief summary of the problem being addressed as presented by an official or cleric in the Americas. Another type of official document is the *relación de méritos y servicios*, or résumé prepared by officials in Spain from documentation submitted by an aspirant planning to apply for a government or clerical position. The résumé of Peruvian José Baquíjano y Carrillo de Córdoba is one of literally thousands available in Spanish archives. These official documents are arranged below by topic.

Unlike the *cédulas*, *consultas*, orders, and résumés, all of which are official documents from Spanish archives, the letters related to medical care are private correspondence in a private collection. Finally, two of the last three documents were written by travelers. Thus, they are descriptions and observations from outsiders rather than materials produced by persons born and raised in the colonies. The declaration of independence adopted in Caracas in 1811 is an early example of declarations adopted by 1826 throughout Spain’s mainland empire.

Nepotism, Local Ties, and Appointments to Office

Royal Cédula: That Relatives of the Presidents, Oidores and Fiscales of the Audiencias May Not Be Appointed to Corregimientos and Other Offices, September 5, 1555

Spanish monarchs relied on government officials to provide justice and administrative oversight in the colonies. The lengthy time required for letters to travel from Spain to New Spain or Peru and then for a response to travel back meant that effective control of officials was difficult. Soon after conquest, one step the Crown took to restrict the powerful members of colonial audiencias was to prohibit them from naming relatives (nepotism) to other positions. In this way, it tried to reduce the ministers’ conflicts of interest.



Valladolid, September 5, 1555.

The King. We are informed of the difficulties that result from our Viceroy and *Audiencias* of the Indies, islands and *Tierra Firme* of the Ocean Sea, giving *corregimientos* and other judicial positions to fathers-in-law, brothers, sons, sons-in-law, and brothers-in-law of the presidents, *oidores* and *fiscales* of those *Audiencias*. We are aware of the problems that these relationships create for when the presidents or *oidores* hear the appeals of the cases and the *fiscales* are involved, the injured parties may have reason to complain and fear that they will not receive justice. To avoid these problems, our Council of Indies has seen and discussed this issue and recommended that I issue this Royal *Cédula*. By it we prohibit and expressly forbid that from now on, in no part of the Indies, can any of the sons, brothers, fathers-in-law, sons-in-law, nor brothers-in-law of any president, *oidor*, or *fiscal* of any of our *Audiencias* in the Indies, be appointed to any of the *corregimientos* or other judicial offices of our Indies. If any

is appointed, he will be removed from the post, not be allowed to serve it any longer, and will pay a fine of one thousand gold *pesos* to our *cámara* and treasury. We order our viceroys, presidents, and *oidores* of our Royal Audiencias to observe and comply with this *cédula* and all that it contains. Do not alter its intention and neither authorize nor consent to any alterations.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 1: 1493–1592, 332–333 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953).

Royal *Cédula*: That No Viceroy, President, Oidor, Alcalde del Crimen, Fiscal, nor Any of Their Sons or Daughters May Marry in Their Districts, February 10, 1575

Restricting marriage between royal officeholders and local women was of particular importance because marriage could immediately and explicitly link an official to a local elite faction and compromise the administration of justice. Examples of this occurred within a few years after audiencias were established. Thus, the Crown tried to bar high-ranking officials from marrying locally, although the general prohibition was later weakened by royal willingness to provide dispensations for a price.



Madrid, February 10, 1575.

The King [Philip II]. Because of *visitas* and *residencias* and other reports that have been sent and through experience, we have seen some problems as a result of marriages contracted by our Viceroys, presidents and *oidores*, *alcaldes del crimen* and *fiscales* of our *Audiencias* of the Indies, islands and Tierra Firme of the Ocean Sea, and their sons and daughters. It is desirable for good administration of justice that they be free of relatives and kin in their districts so that they can do their job, consider and resolve matters with complete integrity, and prevent any need or excuse for appeals and other recourses that would preclude their hearing cases. Our Royal Council of the Indies has seen and discussed this issue. In order to avoid these difficulties and so that our subjects and vassals may receive justice without offense, we have agreed to send this *cédula*, by which we prohibit and expressly forbid that from now on, until a new order is issued, or without our particular license, our viceroys, presidents, and *oidores*, *alcaldes del crimen*, and *fiscales* of our *Audiencias* may not marry in their districts while they are serving. The same applies to their sons and daughters while these officials are serving. The punishment for not complying with this order is removal from office, and we will name another person to hold it. To ensure fulfillment of this *cédula*, we order that it be read in each and every one of our *Audiencias* with the president and *oidores*, *alcaldes* and *fiscales* in attendance; our scribe of the *cámara* and government will witness the event.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 1: 1493–1592, 486–487 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953).

Royal *Cédula*: That the Royal Officials Cannot Make Contracts for Marriage nor Marry in Their Districts, November 15, 1592

*As the date of this document testifies, the problem of royal officials creating local ties did not go away. Moreover, it affected every type of royal official. Notice that the *cédula* was to be distributed in the cities where audiencia ministers, governors, provincial officials, and treasury officials were located. Nonetheless, the problem persisted. Despite the king's declaration that he would not grant licenses, the Crown soon yielded and, for a fee, allowed officials to marry locally. Only in the latter half of the 18th century was an effective policy implemented. For audiencia ministers, the Crown typically followed the grant of a license to marry locally with a transfer to another location.*



Viana, November 15, 1592.

The King. In regards to the different *cédulas* [dated February 10, 1575, and February 26, 1582] that prohibit the persons named from marrying without my license. I understand that in the hope they had that I would give my permission, some have discussed marriage and made secret arrangements to marry. I will not give these licenses, and the persons risk danger to their honor and property. These ministers then try to excuse themselves with my refusal to grant the license. My Royal Council of Indies has discussed this issue and recommended to me that this must stop. Accordingly I declare that it is my will that in these cases, where any of my ministers or officials or any other person included in the prohibitions, contracts or arranges to marry, by word or promise or writing or with the hope that I will give them the license so that they can marry in their districts where they have appointments, will be deprived of their offices as though they had truly married. Moreover, they cannot obtain other employment of any type in the Indies. So that it will be public and known by all, I order that this *cédula* be published and circulated in all of the cities where my *Audiencias*, governors, *corregidores*, *alcaldes mayores* and treasury officials reside.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 1: 1493–1592, 626 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953).

Advice of the Council of the Indies Regarding the Problems That Result from Selling Offices in the Indies, and Especially the Posts of Justice and Government, November 9, 1693

Desperate for money, the Spanish Crown began to sell appointments to treasury positions in 1633, to provincial administrative positions in 1678, and systematically to audiencia

positions in late 1687. The Council of the Indies did not hesitate to point out to the king and his immediate advisers, in suitably respectful language, the detrimental implications the sales had for the provision of justice and honest administration. Penury triumphed, however, and the Crown continued to sell appointments until the mid-18th century.

One must distinguish between the sale of appointments and the sale of local positions, for example, of alderman, ensbrined in 1606. The latter were pieces of property that could be resold or passed to heirs. The former were for the lifetime of the purchaser. As a result, they were particularly attractive to young, inexperienced men who anticipated a lifetime of employment at public expense as the guaranteed profit on their investment. The sale of appointments of corregidor and alcalde mayor had a different dynamic. Since they were for a term of three to five years, the purchaser had a brief period to benefit, and his objective was to make enough to pay the purchase price, usually borrowed from a merchant, to cover the expenses of his time in office, and build savings for the future. It is no surprise that these term appointees forced large quantities of merchandise on the Amerindians in their districts through reparto.

The consequences of the Crown selling audiencia appointments until 1750 were young appointees, an unprecedented number of native sons, and long tenures in office. In some cases, purchasers served for many decades. The corruption decried by Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa was directly related, in their view, to the sales.



Madrid, November 9, 1693.

It is not the intention of the Council, Lord, to limit Your Majesty. Rather, we [members of the Council of the Indies] want to console him with just and relevant resources for the many problems and weaknesses that this Monarchy is suffering. . . .

We also do not want to omit nor ignore that offices have been sold in different times, and we concur that circumstances can make them licit. These are the cases that produce a morally impossible difficulty, if not in the realm of speculation, at least in practice. This makes it indispensable that simultaneously the properties of the Royal Patrimony are encumbered; royal income is legally distributed; there is verifiable extreme [financial] necessity without judicial appeal; a meritorious purchaser is available; and the price of the sale is low. The absence of any of these related conditions makes the sale of office illegal.

The Council only mentions these interrelated conditions if Your Majesty is going to administer justice and not regarding his general obligations in the Catholic dominions of these Kingdoms where the weight, application, and censure of these requisites is lacking. . . . Now the Council must represent that neither can it ignore the fundamental points made above as elemental principles nor what experience has shown concerning the sale of offices.

The Council has letters from Viceroys, Presidents, *Audiencias* and cities that provide evidence of the absolute ruin of those Kingdoms resulting from similar sales.

In the Archives, there are many complaints, offenses, and injustices that, because of sales, have suffered the vassals of the New World that has contributed so many riches to the Crown.

There are also complaints from the inhabitants that are faithful, dedicated, and tribute paying vassals whose merits and services make them legitimately deserving of these posts. Yet they suffer from governance by less worthy subjects that only pass through and work to recover their investments by excessive usury.

We also have knowledge of the greatest damages that those kingdoms suffer because of sales. Every day the Faith is propagated, but it establishes no roots because there is no administration of justice.

We also find evidence that, because the distances are so great and the sailings of the fleets and galleons are so seldom, it is morally impossible to resolve the problems and provide relief to those that are suffering without hope of a solution. For this reason, though with different distances, His Majesty Don Felipe II sent an order to Italy prohibiting similar sales.

We also have notices of problems without solution when posts filled by viceregal appointment are not approved [by the Council of the Indies]. The Viceroys do not have the rewards that can be distributed among the worthy and to those that have the first claim to them. When the Viceroys abuse this, it affects the persons selected and the punishment of transgressors when the Council can prove the excesses.

We also find the worthy justifiably provoked when they are assured preference [in appointments] by divine, pontifical, and human laws, and when they witness the irregularities that corrupt virtues. This reduces the motivation of the subjects, reduces the number of students in the Universities, and causes desertion from the militia.

We also know from experience that the combination of selling governorships and extending the time of the residencias means that when irregularities are found, the evidence has disappeared, and the interested parties have already died.

We also find in the reliable registry that not only are governorships, posts in navigation, and judicial positions sold, but also the promise of the posts to second and third buyers, a practice of successions that impedes new sales. This practice is of no worthwhile benefit for if the buyers die before taking office, the Royal Treasury of His Majesty returns the payment, often with substantial interest.

We also find justified resentment, documented by experiences and foreseen in repeated decrees by His Majesty, and so many Kings, of the harm caused by promised rights of succession to positions (*futuras*) where foul play cuts short the life course of men, and where in the Indies the owners of futures and their successors easily conspire, not only to gain [benefits] through violence but to destroy to the roots what in a brief time they obtained through envy of he that cultivated it.

We also found that the deception with which the posts are sold through repeated delays, makes it difficult for anyone to

want to purchase them. This is done to lower or remove the price. The price remains in name only other than the agreed to gratuity and interests. This does not help resolve the present financial demands. . . .

The Council could extend and discuss this longer. The Council supposes that His Majesty is very well aware of these and other more important reports. It is with inconsolable pain that we find no remedies in this institution. We desire the fulfillment of our obligations, the security of the Royal conscience and we believe that, even more that his life and succession, they being so important to his vassals and Kingdoms, the King should firmly guarantee the administration of justice and abolition of the sale of positions. The Council believes that the great necessities will not be remedied if there is no fair distribution of rewards when this and justice are two attributions that constitute and canonize Kings.

If, nonetheless His Majesty in his catholic zeal and vigilance, recognized by the Council in its service in all that is under its authority, and in the desire for the greatest success, finds it necessary to use these sales, we beg that he take into account the combination of qualities that will make them more acceptable, exempting completely from sale positions of strictly judicial administration and the military governorships on the coasts of the Indies, as their principal keys to survival. If they are lost, there will be no hope of recovering them. For the rest, those that would obtain the positions should be the most worthy. The payment should be the fair price that makes them less prohibitive, and from there, the legitimate execution. With a narrow line, we can arrive at a fair medium, correcting the pernicious consequences as much as possible. In this manner, this Monarchy will find a better form of divine justice than the current repeated and melancholy constitution. His Majesty will achieve the happy fruit of its imitation, as the Council promises His Majesty, to whom, with great reverence and respect, we humbly sought to make a seriously considered response, and who will resolve that which is to his best service.

Resolution of the King [Charles II]: It has always been my desire to end those sales, but the extensive public needs, they have been not only accepted, but obligatory to avoid greater difficulties, and thus the Council will have to understand it, and I will continue to deliberate ending these negotiations when it is possible.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 3, Book 1: 1691–1779, 34–39 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1962).

Résumé of the Merits, and Services of Doctor don Josef Baquijano y Carrillo de Córdova, Lawyer of the Royal Audiencia of Lima, November 20, 1773

Men who aspired to royal appointments or other favors employed a document similar to a résumé that combined information about their education, employment, and family.

Unlike today's self-prepared compilations, the résumés of aspirants in the late colonial era were assembled by royal officials employed by the Council of the Indies and its smaller patronage committee, Cámara of the Indies, on the basis of notarized copies of official documents. These included baptismal records, genealogical materials, and university transcripts. What is strikingly absent in the résumé below is any mention that the subject's father had become one of Lima's wealthiest merchants prior to his death in 1759.

The document is a translation of the official résumé of a celebrated creole from Lima, Peru, Josef Baquijano y Carrillo de Córdova, compiled for use during his first trip to Spain in pursuit of an audiencia appointment. It illustrates the speed with which very bright students who mastered Latin at a young age could complete university degrees. More important, it demonstrates the importance of family background and the services of ancestors in bolstering the case for an aspirant to office. In 1773, Baquijano had few personal accomplishments to relate, but he could track his deceased father and paternal ancestors to Vizcaya, Spain, where noble status was widespread, and, on his maternal side, to conquistadores of Peru as well as to a grandfather who held for many years an important position as regent of the Tribunal of Accounts in Lima.

Baquijano was unsuccessful in securing the appointment he sought on this trip to Spain. After returning to Lima, teaching at the University of San Marcos, and writing for the Mercurio peruano, in the 1790s, he went to Spain again to pursue preferment and ultimately was named an alcalde del crimen of the Audiencia of Lima in 1797. Already evident in 1773, but much more so starting in 1776, the Crown's policy of favoring peninsulars for American positions and severely limiting the appointment of men to their home district made Baquijano's success in 1797 particularly notable.



He is, as can be verified, a native of that Capital [Lima], twenty-two years old, completed on March 13 of this year, and the legitimate son of Don Juan Bautista Baquijano and Doña María Ignacia Carrillo de Córdova, Count and Countess of Vistaflorida, both from families of notorious distinction and quality.

On April 22, 1762, he entered the Royal *Seminario Colegio de Santo Toribio* in the capital city of Lima with a paid scholarship. He studied law with singular application and benefit, as seen in his regular examinations of the four Books of *Instituta*, which he passed unanimously in the various literary acts that he completed and from which he advanced as a graduate student in the faculty [of law] on April 15, 1765.

He graduated with a baccalaureate degree in canon law from the Real University of San Marcos on February 18, 1765; on April 29th of the same year, he received the degrees of *Licenciado* and Doctor after completing the public

and secret examinations, as established by the [University's] Constitutions.

After the requisite apprenticeship with a practicing attorney, by the Royal *Audiencia* of Lima approved him to practice law on December 5, 1769. On the ninth of January and seventeenth of March of the current year 1773, he was named a legal advisor to the Tribunal of the *Consulado* and the City Council of that Capital, respectively.

On March 24, 29, and 31, and April 4, [1773], the above-mentioned City Council of Lima, the Cathedral Chapter of the Metropolitan Cathedral [in Lima] and its current prelate, and the Reverend Bishop of Cuzco, currently a resident there, have informed His Majesty of the legitimacy of this interested party [Baquijano], the notorious distinction of his family, his outstanding scholastic achievements, and his desire to distinguish himself in his literary career, for which he has come to these kingdoms [Spain]. The Cathedral Chapter added that because of the moderation, judgement, and conduct with which he distinguished himself among his fellow students, he was selected as one of the teachers of the school and then as President of the Law Conferences there. The City Council notes that, in addition to his family's distinction on both sides, on the maternal side he is descended from Conquistadors of Peru, and the grandson of Don Augustín Carrillo de Córdova, who was Regent of the Royal Tribunal of Accounts [in Lima], serving for a period of more than thirty years with zeal, honesty, and commitment to Royal Service.

From the testimony of twelve witnesses, received at the request of the widow Countess of Vistaflorida, Doña María Ignacia Carrillo de Córdova y Garcés, before the Count of Casa-Tagle, magistrate of the City of Lima, in the month of December, 1771, and other attached documents, it is known that the mentioned Doctor Don Josef Xavier Baquijano is her legitimate son, and of Don Juan Bautista Baquijano, Count of Vistaflorida, who was the legitimate son of Don Martín and Doña Clara de Baquijano, natives and property owners (*vecinos*) of the Parish of Yurreta in the Merindad de Durango in the Señorío de Vizcaya, both noble and descendants of noble cavaliers.

That on the maternal line, Don Xavier is also noble and distinguished, and the legitimate grandson of Don Augustín Carrillo de Córdova, who served more than thirty years in the employment of Regent of the Royal Tribunal of Accounts in Lima, and of Doña Rosa Garcés.

He is also the legitimate great-grandson of General Don Fernando Carrillo de Córdova y Doña Ursola [sic] de Agüero y Añasco. The above-mentioned Doña Rosa was the legitimate daughter of Don Antonio Garcés y Mansilla and Doña Ana Luperguer [sic] Irarrázabal.

He is the great-great-grandson of Captain Fernando Carrillo de Córdova, Alderman, and perpetual General Representative (*Procurador*) of the City of Lima, and Doña Isabel de Quesada y Sotomayor.

He is the great-great-great-grandson of General Hernán Carrillo de Córdova and Doña Leonor de Carvajal, both natives of the City of Córdoba in these kingdoms, who moved to Peru.

Hernán Carrillo, Lieutenant of the Captain General of Sea and Land, who as such commanded the Royal Navy in various encounters with the enemies and pirates that infested the seas. In recognition of this, on December 4, 1601, His Majesty, Don Felipe, issued an order to Don Luis de Velasco [sic], Viceroy of Peru at the time, that in attention to his [Hernán's] singular services he be provided with employment in the Royal Service that corresponded to his merit and abilities and in which he could serve with honor and benefit.

The above-mentioned Doña Ursola Agüero y Añasco, great-grandmother of Don Josef Xavier Baquijano, was the legitimate daughter of the Field Marshal Don Luis de Agüero y Padilla and Doña Jacoba de Añasco y Córdova.

The above-mentioned Don Luis, third grandfather for this line of the same Don Josef Xavier Baquijano, was the legitimate son of Don Josef de Agüero and Doña Marcela de Padilla.

This same Don Josef was the legitimate son of Don Diego de Agüero and Doña Beatriz Brabo de Lagunas.

This Don Diego was the legitimate son of Don Diego de Agüero the elder and Doña Luisa de Garay.

This Don Diego the elder, native of the Merindad of Trasmiera, in the mountains of Burgos, was one of the first famous Conquistadors in the Kingdom of Peru, and a legitimate son of Garcia de Agüero, also a native of the mountains [of Burgos].

The above-mentioned Doña Ana Lisperguer Itarrázabal, great-grandmother along these lines, of Don Josef Xavier, was the legitimate daughter of Don Juan Rodolfo Lisperguer and Doña Catalina Andía Itarrázabal.

The above-mentioned Don Antonio Garcés de Mansilla, maternal great-grandfather of Don Josef Xavier, was native of the *Señorío* of Molina, legitimate son of Don Juan Garcés de Mansilla and Doña Isabel de Tavira.

This Don Juan was also the legitimate son of Miguel Garcés de Mansilla and Doña María Lazaro, and Doña María Lazaro was the legitimate daughter of Don Juan Tavira and Doña Isabel de Logroño. All of the above proves that Don Joseph Xavier Baquijano, is a noble cavalier on the paternal and maternal side, a descendent of one of the first Conquistadores of Peru, and that his ancestors have served honorable employments corresponding to his notorious quality.

There were various accompanying documents exhibited by the interested party (which were returned) and the recommendations that remain in this Secretariat for Peru of the Supreme Council and Cámara of the Indies, and which I certify, as Secretary of His Majesty and *Oficial Mayor* of the same. Madrid, November 20th 1773.

[signed]

Francisco Eduardo Paniagua

Source: Translated by author from *Relación de los Méritos, y Servicios . . . Baquijano*, 1773. Archivo General de Indias (Seville, Spain), Charcas 501.

Royal Order: That American Spaniards Be Proposed for Civil and Ecclesiastic Employments of Spain and Reserving One-Third of the Prebends in America for Them, February 21, 1776

American Spaniards (españoles americanos), as this royal order refers to creoles, were very successful in securing audiencia positions during the era in which the Crown sold appointments and also were effective in obtaining positions in the cathedrals of the Americas. This remarkable document informed the Cámara of Castile that it was to recommend creoles of “proven virtue and literature” for positions in the cathedrals and tribunals of Spain. Similarly, it informed the Cámara of the Indies that it was to propose Americans for the positions in the colonies, reserving one-third of the cathedral chapters for them.



El Pardo, February 21, 1776.

With the Catholic and pious care that the King devotes to maintaining the splendor of the divine cult in the cathedral churches of his dominions of America, and to providing ever better government and administration of justice to his vassals by the secular tribunals, he has deigned to resolve, with the goal of also strengthening the union of those kingdoms with these and rewarding equally the suitability, merit and services of the American Spaniards, that the Cámara of Castile propose those Americans of proven virtue and learning [*literatura*] for ecclesiastic prebends and *togada* positions in the churches and tribunals of Spain, including in this order those that are now serving these positions in the Indies. The Minister of the Indies [*via reservada*] is to see that the Cámara of the Indies is informed of this and the Minister of Grace and Justice is to do the same for the Cámara of Castile for the same two objectives, with the express declaration that the third part of canonries and prebends of those cathedrals are always reserved for the Spaniards of the Indies [creoles].

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 3, Book 1: 1691–1779, 405–406 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1962).

Royal Cédula: That the American and European Vassals Are Equal, January 2, 1778

The municipal council of Mexico City complained about what it considered an unfair proportion of the cathedral chapter positions guaranteed to Americans. In a heated response, Minister of the Indies José de Gálvez informed the council that it should show gratitude rather than complain, especially since the reservation of one-third did not restrict Americans from holding more.

For the American audiencias, appointments made in 1776–77 were ominous, as 31 of 34 new men named were peninsulars. Between 1778 and 1808, peninsulars were 70 percent of the new men appointed. Available figures are not as precise for the cathedral chapters of Lima and Mexico City, but between 1700 and 1799, about 85 percent of Lima’s chapter was made up of creoles. The comparable figure for Mexico City was about 70 percent. While the response by Mexico City’s municipal council seems rather prickly in light of these numbers, it clearly reveals the importance of offices to Americans and their unhappiness at the possibility of losing the gains of an earlier time.



Madrid, January 2, 1778.

Josef de Gálvez to the City Council, Justice and Regiment of the city of Mexico. I have informed the King of Your Honor’s representation of last 24th of July, in which you complain about His Majesty’s order of February 21st, 1776, that reserved one third of the canonries and prebends of America for American Spaniards, and also about an order of September 17th of the same year, that instructed [the Cámara of the Indies] to propose European Spaniards for the vacant position of dean of that Metropolitan see and to follow the same practice for the dignitaries of the rest of the churches of the Indies. Immediately His Majesty perceived the lack of exactness with which Your Honor refers to the two Royal Orders and that either you do not understand or you pretend to misunderstand the spirit of the motive and the finality of the Orders, it being absolutely clear that they were motivated by His Majesty’s religious zeal and paternal love for his American vassals and his desire for their well-being and happiness. In the first [Order], His Majesty expressed that to maintain in the Cathedrals of the Indies the splendor of the divine cult and in the secular tribunals the greatest exactness in the administration of justice, and with the goal of strengthening the union of the kingdoms [of Spain and the Indies] and giving equal reward to the merits and services of his vassals, it was his intention that the Cámara of Castile propose Americans for prebends and *togada* appointments in the churches and tribunals of Spain and that the Cámara of the Indies do the same for the churches and tribunals of those realms, with the stipulation that in those, the third part of the canonries and predendaries was reserved for Spaniards from the Indies, an expression that clearly explains that in all of the churches in America, a third part of the prebendaries should be from the Indies; this does not preclude many more, as there have always been and there always will be.

On the second hand, His Majesty ordered that for the position of dean in that Metropolitan see, vacant at the time, to recommend European Spaniards and that it do the same for the dignitaries of the other Cathedrals of America. He did not order Americans excluded, indeed they were recommended for that dignitary and for others; most recently both Americans and Europeans were recommended for archdeacon of the same Metropolitan see, and His Majesty has selected the American don Luis de Torres Tuñón.

Thus it is manifest that His Majesty, through the two cited orders, opened the doors to the churches and to the tribunals of Spain to his vassals of Indies, manifesting his paternal desires that these and the vassals from Europe be equal. It is well known that, after the two Royal Orders, [the Cámara of the Indies] is recommending and [His Majesty] is appointing Americans to these dignitaries. Finally given the small number of Europeans in the Cathedral of Mexico and in the other Cathedrals of both Americas, there is no rational or fair reason for your complaints and even less for the grievances it contains. His Majesty has ordered me to inform Your Honor of this, advising you that the care and attentions with which His generosity seeks the well-being, happiness, and the security of his beloved vassals, the Americans, rightly demands from the Municipality of Mexico appreciation [*justicia*] in place of unfounded complaints, and recognition that love and gratitude have always been His most glorious nature and character.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 3, Book 1: 1691–1779, 434–435 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1962).

Two Republics

Royal Cédula: Ordering That Spaniards, Mulattoes, Blacks, and Mestizos Should Not Live in the Indian Towns, February 18, 1587

The Spanish Crown recognized, as did the friars, that from the earliest days of contact, Spaniards abused Native Americans by excessive demands for labor and tribute. Already in 1512, the Laws of Burgos restricted what Spaniards could require and tried to impose humane limitations on labor and tribute. The New Laws of 1542 were an even more celebrated effort to curb Spanish exploitation. By this time, the concept of separate “republics” for Indians and Spaniards had emerged, as friars, in particular, believed that Spaniards were providing examples of morally reprehensible behavior to the indigenous people.

The idea of two republics rested on the retention of native villages and the creation of Spanish municipalities; each would be home to its respective, racially defined population. In 1533, Charles I had ordered that Amerindians be kept separate from “Spaniards, mestizos, and Indian vagabonds.” The concept of two republics enshrined segregation, but it is important to recognize that the majority of Amerindians fully endorsed the idea of keeping others out of their communities.



Madrid, February 18, 1587.

The King [Philip II]. To the President and *oidores* of my Royal Audiencia in the city of Santiago in the province of Guatemala. I have been informed that, despite my orders that Spaniards, mulattos, blacks, and mestizos should not live in Indian towns, to avoid the evil treatment that they receive, I have learned that you, my President, have given licenses for some Spaniards to live among the Indians. In particular, you have given permission for them to live in the towns of Icalcos and Naolingó. You should have restrained yourself in granting these permissions and taken more care not to contradict my orders. I have determined that it [segregation] is for the good of the Indians, which is why you should fulfill my orders. You should not go against the customs of the provinces and you should not approve Spaniards to live in the towns of Icalcos and Naolingó. You should gather the Spaniards in the village of Trinidad or other towns for Spaniards. Do not allow the Spaniards, mulattos, blacks nor mestizos to live in the Indian towns, because this is my will.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 1: 1493–1592, 572–573 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953).

Royal Cédula: About the Punctual Observance of the Orders That Have Been Issued Regarding the Relief and Proper Treatment of the Indians, September 19, 1675

Spaniards continued to abuse Amerindians despite repeated royal orders outlining proper treatment of the indigenous. The predictable result was still more orders referring to earlier restrictions and charging officials to enforce them. Nearly a century after Buenos Aires was permanently established, the Crown responded to specific examples of mistreatment with a reiteration that officials should follow proper judicial procedures dealing with the Amerindians.



Madrid, September 19, 1675.

The Queen Regent [Mariana of Austria; mother of Charles II]. Many different and repeated *cédulas* have been issued to the Viceroy, Presidents and Governors, Archbishops and Bishops of the Metropolitan Churches and Cathedrals of the West Indies, regarding the conversion of the infidel Indians and conservation of those that have been already reduced to our Holy Catholic Faith, their proper treatment, relief, and education. However, I have learned, from a letter from the Governor and Captain General of the provinces of Río de la Plata, dated October 20, 1674, that after he arrived at his post, he witnessed the poor treatment that the domestic Indians and those in *encomienda* receive in those provinces. They are hung, tied to tree trunks, sometimes by their feet, other times by

their hands. Some of them receive this treatment as a response for requesting their payment for personal services. When they request payment, they are brutally whipped. They are treated more cruelly than if they were slaves. This is seen in the complaints that have been made in various cases. In one case, the [Indian] *alcalde* of a religious brotherhood was punished, without the common practice of informing the Governors and justices so that they could protect him. Since the officials were not informed, there was no blamable omission on their part. And this occurred in one of the provinces where the Indians are best protected. For reasons given, for the correction of these problems and fulfilling the orders that have been given, we published a proclamation ordering that no *vecino*, of any quality, be allowed to whip any Indian, nor consent that any Indian be whipped, nor cut their hair, nor allow that any Indian be punished. If they must be corrected, they must attend the courts and be heard and be treated properly according to other orders given previously. Since this has been seen by the Royal Council of the Indies, with what has been said on this topic and what has been requested of the *fiscal*, I have determined to approve the *bando* that was published by the Governor, in addition to instructions given here. Therefore, I order that the Viceroy, Presidents, Governors, and all other magistrates in all the West Indies, the Archbishops and Bishops of the Metropolitan Churches and Cathedrals, review the older and recent *cédulas*, for the conservation, relief and good treatment of Indians, and for the way that the Indians should be treated and assisted. Pay particular attention to the punctual execution of the *cédulas*. Do not allow nor give the opportunity for not fulfilling this order. Those that transgress this order will have charges listed in their *residencia*, for the unscrupulous behavior of tolerating abuses. More than anything, I order this for your own conscience and the service of God, Our Savior, and my principal desire is the prompt observance of the orders that I have given.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 2, Book 2: 1659–1690, 621–622 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1958).

Royal Cédula: To the Viceroy of New Spain, Ordering That He Take Care That the Indians Not Live Outside of Their Neighborhoods, April 2, 1676

The concept of “two republics” was clearly visible in indigenous villages from which non-Indians, other than children of Amerindian mothers, were excluded as a matter of policy. The use of segregation also extended into “Spanish” cities where Amerindians were to reside in separate districts or barrios. As the following document illustrates, part of the reason for segregation was to enable clerics to impart Christian doctrine more efficiently.



Madrid, April 2, 1676.

The King [Charles II]. To the Very Reverend in Christ, Father Don Fray Payo de Ribera, Archbishop of the Metropolitan Church of the City of Mexico, my Viceroy, Governor and interim Captain General of New Spain. My Council of the Indies has received the news that in that city, the Indians lack religious doctrine and education. Many do not know the precise prayers for their salvation and some barely know how to make the sign of the cross. This has been observed by zealous persons who have informed us. We have sent priests to teach the doctrine and we know that the fault is partly theirs. But under your administration, as we know, the priests give the excuse that Indians leave their neighborhoods to live in the city among the Spaniards. When the Indians are in the city, they cannot be found, nor well administered. The previous government of that kingdom received my *cédula*, but the priests have not been able to make them return to live in their neighborhoods, despite my orders. Having been considered by the Council of the Indies and knowing how important it is to resolve this, once again, I order that you comply with the *cédulas* that I have issued on this matter. Do not permit the Indians to live outside of their neighborhoods, because of the harm that results when they cannot attend the training in religious doctrine and spiritual education. I also order that you verify that the parish clergy in charge of teaching the doctrine, fulfill this obligation. Carelessness in this obligation causes serious problems of conscience.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 2, Book 2: 1659–1690, 629 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1958).

Royal Cédula: That the Indians of the City of Mexico Live in the Designated Neighborhoods, April 10, 1699

The difficulty of segregating Amerindians from the rest of the population was clearly visible in Mexico City. Amerindians persisted in living in the city’s center, in part because they resided as servants in Spaniards’ homes. This document of 1699 refers to an earlier effort to move the indigenous people out of the Spaniards’ residential area into their own neighborhoods or in their villages outside of the capital. It exemplifies the Crown’s habitual reference to earlier directives and the absence of their ongoing enforcement.



Madrid, April 10, 1699.

The King. To Don Josef Sarmiento de Valladares, my Viceroy, Governor, and Captain General of the Provinces of New Spain and President of my Royal Audiencia of Mexico. In a letter dated October 31, 1697, you sent a report where it is clear that you recommend that it would be useful for the Indians that live in the center of that city, in the houses of Spaniards, to live in

their neighborhoods in the places that have been designated for them. In these places, they should build shelters to live in. In this way, they would not live hidden in the houses of Spaniards and avoid paying the Royal Tribute. They would have their own parishes and know their own priests and would be taught the doctrine and instruction of our Holy Faith. For this reason, you were obliged to publish a proclamation of May 20, 1697, that the Indians that have their dwellings outside of that city should live there. They would be enumerated in the parish and fulfill their Christian obligations. Even though your predecessor complied with this order, subsequently the practice has weakened, and it has been necessary to repeat the *bando* and to insist that it be enforced. The Royal Council of the Indies has seen your letter and testimony and heard the *fiscal*. We have decided to thank you for what you have achieved, charging you with special care in fulfilling and observing the *bando* that you published, so that its implementation is not lessened. This is my will.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 3, Book 1: 1691–1779, 74 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1962).

**Royal Cédula: To the Governor of
Cumaná, Ordering Him That the Laws
Cited Here State That Indians Should
Reside in the Indian Towns,
May 25, 1752**

The policy that Amerindians should reside in their own towns was empire-wide. Spanish settlement in the province of Cumaná, located in the eastern portion of modern-day Venezuela, began with a Franciscan mission in 1520. The order established more missions subsequently but faced the common problem that Spanish landowners saw their indigenous populations as sources of labor. In this specific case, cacao growers around Caracas recruited Amerindians from the missions, a process that harmed the royal treasury, local hacendados, and the missions. This royal cédula from 1752 is a reminder that the Crown persisted in supporting separate indigenous villages even after more than two centuries of miscegenation.



Aranjuez, May 25, 1752.

The King [Ferdinand VI]. To the Governor and Capitan General of the province of Cumaná. My Council of the Indies has learned that there is a growing number of Indians that are distracted from the conversions and missions of Piritus, Palenques, Cumanagotos, Caribes and others of that same province under the supervision of the religious of the Order of San Francisco because they go to work on the cacao haciendas on the coast and province of Caracas. This causes serious harm to the Indians and many offenses to God. It also harms my Royal Treasury, because in addition to paying tribute, they are

needed by subjects to cultivate their lands and haciendas. It is also harmful for the missionaries. The converted Indians are in the same condition as those that are in the wild. Even worse, this goes against everything that has been ordered through repeated Royal resolutions that the Indians should live in their towns of residence. Those that are married and have children should not wander from their towns, as has been stated in various *Laws of the Indies*, especially number 18 of title 3, book 6. Number 19 prohibits governors and courts from giving licenses to Indians to live outside of their communities, with serious penalties. In cases such as that of orphaned Indians, only law 12, title 1 of the same book allows changing residency. This does not apply to Indians in *reducciones* established by my Royal Orders. Since it is my intention to avoid these damages, I order you to enforce these laws and take the necessary action for their most exact observance. Your efforts should protect the Indians and gather the dispersed Indians in your districts. You should assure that they receive fair treatment and protect them from extortion and abuse. You should be aware of law 12, title 1, book 6, and enforce it. These orders also are going to the governor and bishop of Caracas, to be fulfilled by all. This is my will.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 3, Book 1: 1691–1779, 263–264 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1962).

**Consulta of the Council of the Indies
Regarding the Reasons That the Governor
and Intendant of Nicaragua Had for Not
Exacting the Tribute Established for the
Mulattoes and Free Blacks,
September 10, 1788**

Although the intendant system established between the 1760s and 1780s had the major objective of increasing the collection of revenue, the following document illustrates that intendants, as well as earlier officials for more than two centuries, employed the approach, although not the words, of “obedezco pero no cumplo” to avoid implementing directives whose enforcement would provoke serious problems. In this case, the intendant of Nicaragua responds to the hatred of mulattoes and free blacks toward paying tribute by informing the Council of the Indies why it would be better not to collect it. The response from authorities in Spain demonstrates flexibility in administration even after the reforms of Charles III.



Madrid, September 10, 1788.

Señor. By order of Your Majesty [Charles III], on May 29 of this year, Don Antonio Valdés sent the report of Don Juan de Ayssa, Intendant Governor of the province of Nicaragua to the Council so that it could provide its comments to Your Majesty. This report, dated January 20, contained the reasons

for not implementing the practice of extracting tribute from the mulattos and free blacks as ordered by article 137 of the Royal Ordinance of Intendants of New Spain.

The above-named Governor, having prudently and carefully considered what is contained in the article, explored how the mulattos and blacks would respond. He determined that they would not placidly accept the imposition of annual tribute.

This contribution is conceptually just and extremely moderate, given the industry, investment, and assistance that the contributors enjoy. It is not a new tax, but as old as its constituents in America. Although the lack of observance of the laws does not reduce their rights and force, trying to reestablish it can give the impression that it is new.

This consideration, supported by the practical knowledge that he has acquired, persuades him that it is not convenient to enforce this point vigorously. The very large number of mulattos in the province in proportion to the rest of the population, their particular character, relationships and ideas, the limited forces and support the Government has to sustain and enforce its measures, and the proximity to the Caribs [an indigenous people], would facilitate unpunishable efforts at resistance. At the least it would favor the abandonment of the country whose profits are the result of the industry and application of the population.

To this one must add that the mulattos detest the designation “tribute” more than the payment itself. They are falsely persuaded that their class is superior to that of the Indians, whom they judge as inferior by virtue of being tributaries. The mulattos are deeply offended at the appearance of equality with the Indians.

Nevertheless, one might achieve the objective simply by changing the name of the tax and not altering its substance. It is certain that sometimes common opinion, ignorance, and preoccupation undermine some efforts, but without the repugnance that other means produce. Not using the word tribute will produce more willing acceptance, particularly if Your Majesty deigns to express as a sign of his beneficence the appreciation that his beloved vassals deserve, in gratitude for their application, industry, obedience, and effective services.

To this end [the Governor] has been working to bring together in villages the many individuals of that class that live dispersed and those that wander in the vast landscapes of the provinces. He is persuaded that this policy would succeed in convincing them of the advantages of sociable living, strengthening at the same time the spirit of patriotism that a solitary existence weakens and making them accustomed to order, public administration, and subordination.

Meanwhile, he has abstained from forcing any changes, limiting himself to informing the Junta Superior of Guatemala of the inconveniences, so that they can adopt the necessary measures to be implemented in the interim until Your Majesty gives new orders. This report is born of the goal of achieving public tranquility and well-executed policy.

The Council has considered the report and the accompanying comments by the *Contaduría General* and the Fiscal.

The Junta Superior of Guatemala should send its recommendation to the Council and also to the Governor of Nicaragua.

Your Majesty will resolve this according to your Royal pleasure.

Resolution of the King: As it is presented and in gratitude to the Governor and Intendent of Nicaragua for the care with which this matter has been managed. The King charges him to continue with the same prudence and collect as much as possible without irritating those vassals [the mulattoes].

Report of the *Contaduría General*, dated August 7, 1788.

The reasons that the Governor uses to support the suspension of the article mentioned above demonstrates good judgment and careful meditation of an issue that by its delicate nature warrants full consideration. [The Contador] recognizes and acknowledges the fairness of the contribution and does not doubt that it will produce the desired result. All of these reflections emphasize the importance of the name and form in which the aforesaid tax must be established. This must be done in such a way that it is neither rejected nor produces fatal consequences. It must be guided by local knowledge, that will provide a strong foundation and thus favor success. It would be best to follow these recommendations. The service of the King will be complete, without the risk that results from damaging the public.

The *Contador General* sees the benefit of the Governor’s suggestions. The report embraces a political topic that is vital to governing, particularly in such distant lands, and has given him a very favorable view of the solid instruction and prudent behavior of the Governor.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 3, Book 2: 1780–1807, 28–30 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1962).

Blacks

Royal Cédula: That No Black in the Province of Peru Can Carry Arms, January 18, 1552

The importation of black slaves directly from Africa was well established by the 1550s. Their presence added a third racial group to colonial society and ensured that the distinction between slaves and freedmen would persist long after the end of Amerindian slavery. Although a few blacks participated in the conquests, the Crown, its officials in the colonies, and Spaniards, whether or not they owned slaves, feared the threat that armed slaves posed. In addition, already by 1552, the

practice of blacks abusing Amerindians was apparent. The Crown's response was to prohibit blacks from carrying arms, a restriction never fully implemented.



Toro, January 18, 1552.

The Prince [future Philip II]. To the President and *oidores* of the Royal Audiencia of the provinces of Peru. We have been informed that it is not desirable that in the provinces of that Audiencia, any black carry a sword, knife, or dagger. Because they have carried these arms freely up to now, there have been deaths of Indians and other disadvantages. I have been asked to put an end to this problem, should I choose to do so. The Council of the Indies has discussed this and agreed to recommend that I send this *Cédula* to you; I concurred. I order that you read the *cédula*, and enforce and expressly prohibit any black in any of the provinces of that Audiencia from carrying a sword, knife, or dagger. You should impose harsh punishments for infractions and publish this disposition so that everyone will be aware of it and no one can pretend to be ignorant of it.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 1: 1493–1592, 299–300 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953).

Royal *Cédula*: That the Indians Should Not Be Injured by Blacks, May 10, 1554

To enforce the prohibition against blacks carrying arms and to police the crimes of blacks against Amerindians, the Crown approved the creation of constables. Issued in the mid-16th century, this prohibition, like much other legislation, was designed to protect the Amerindians from abuse.



Valladolid, May 10, 1554.

The Prince [future Philip II]. To the President and *oidores* of the Royal Audiencia of the provinces of Peru. We have been informed that there are many blacks in the City of the Kings and that they cause great harm to the Indians. They steal from them in the fields and in their houses. The same problem is prevalent in the rest of the towns of that land. Although many corrections have been suggested, none have been implemented. To solve this problem, you should appoint one or two constables for each Indian town. They should be generous in their support of the Indians and defend them in each town and the roads. They should have the authority to capture the blacks and bring them to justice. The constables can be paid from the fines or with a small salary from the His Majesty's coffers. All of this should be done so that the Indians are protected from the blacks.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 1: 1493–1592, 321 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953).

Royal *Cédula*: That All Blacks (Men and Women), Mulattoes and Free Mulattoes in the Indies Should Pay Tribute to His Majesty, April 27, 1574

Since a female slave's legal condition determined that her children would be slaves, regardless of the father's legal status, there were mulatto, zambo, and black slaves. Over time, the number of free blacks increased as a consequence of manumission, the purchase of freedom, and the birth of children to free black women. Perceiving the free blacks and their offspring as a potential source of revenue, the Crown determined in 1574 that they should pay tribute as the Amerindians did. The justification for this decision was the benefits they received by virtue of their freedom and status as vassals of the monarch.



Madrid, April 27, 1574.

The King [Philip II]. We have been informed that many of the black slaves (both male and female), mulattos and mulattas taken to the Indies and those that were born there and live there, have been able to save and buy freedom with the riches present in the Indies. They have many sources of income and riches. Thus for many just causes, and particularly because they live in our lands and enjoy peace and justice and have moved from being slaves to being free, they should now pay tribute in the same manner as the Indians that are native to the lands and always paid considerable tribute to their lords. This should be one silver *marco* each per year. This has been discussed and agreed upon by our Council of the Indies and accordingly we have decided to send this letter. Therefore, we order our Viceroy, Presidents, and *oidores* of our Royal Audiencias of the Indies, islands and *tierra firme* of the Ocean sea and our governors, each in his district and jurisdiction, to distribute upon receipt of this order the amount of tribute that you think appropriate to all of the blacks, male and female, and the free mulattos and mulattas that are and will be in those parts so that they can serve us through personal service, working their land, and other commercial activities each year. After assigning the tribute, the officials should make a list of the amounts that can be collected as royal income in each district. With the present *cédula*, we order you to do this and comply. The sums collected should be placed in the three-keyed chest, noting the amounts, in the same way that is always done. This is the order that we give to our Viceroy, audiencias, governors, and other magistrates. All assistance should be provided for the collection of these funds.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 1: 1493–1592, 482–483 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953).

Mestizos

Royal Cédula: About Gathering and Educating the Abandoned Children of Spaniards and Mestizos, February 13, 1554

Few Iberian women arrived in the colonies during the years of conquest and early settlement. Consequently, Spaniards and Portuguese had indigenous women as concubines; their offspring were mestizos and mamelucos.

While the first generation of mestizo children reared by their Spanish fathers were considered Spaniards, especially if their parents had married, most mestizos were of illegitimate birth and abandoned by their fathers. By the 1530s, their number was sufficient to attract royal attention and continued to grow. The Crown's initial response revealed its recognition that many mestizos lacked a fixed residence or employment. These "vagabonds," particularly male and female orphans, needed shelter and education or training in useful skills.



Valladolid, February 13, 1554.

The Prince [future Philip II]. To the President and *oidores* of the Royal *Audiencia* of the provinces of Peru. We have been informed that in your region there are many orphaned children, sons and daughters of deceased Spaniards, that are abandoned, committing idolatry and other crimes and sins, fornication and adultery, robberies and murders. The orphans' property is in the hands of administrators that rob them. To end these abuses, it has been ruled that you should gather into towns these sons and daughters of Spaniards. The orphans should be separated from the bad lives that they lead, and their properties should be administered in such a way that they benefit from the income. The income from their own properties should provide them with food and shelter. They should be put in schools, one for boys and one for girls, where they will be taught the Christian faith and way of life. If there are not enough good and virtuous people to educate these children, they can be put under the care of the religious orders. To pay for this, you should assign someone to administer the expenses.

Requested to address this issue, the Council of the Indies of His Majesty recommended that I send this *cédula* and I agreed to do so. You should inform us of the progress, including the number of sons and daughters of Spaniards and mestizos that are in this condition and how many you care for.

You should appoint tutors that will take care of them and their properties. The boys should be taught an occupation and the girls should learn good habits. If necessary for the boys, you should start a school; for the girls, you should start a home, where each of them can live off of the income of their own property. Those that do not have property should be supported

by donations. If any of the mestizo boys or girls requests a license to travel to Spain, it should be granted.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810, Vol. 1: 1493–1592, 320–321 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953).

Royal Cédula: About the Mestizos in Guatemala, October 3, 1555

By the 1550s, the number of mestizos in Guatemala was large enough to attract royal attention. Recognizing that many were abandoned ("without help"), the Crown used experience, or at least aspirations, in Mexico as a model. It turned to education as a way to make mestizos self-sufficient. Thus, boys were to be trained in a trade, and girls were to learn household activities, sewing, and "good habits." For them, marriage was the longer-term goal.



Valladolid, October 3, 1555.

The King [Charles I]. To Doctor Quesada, President of our Royal *Audiencia* de los Confines. You have informed us that there is a large and growing number of mestizos and mestizas without help and recommended that we order how to remedy this. The boys should be taught a trade. We order that you start a home or school where they can be educated and supervised. After they learn a trade, they can be obliged to work. For the girls, you should found a house where they can be taught to work and sew and learn good habits. When they reach the proper age, each can be married according to her rank. As you know, this is the system that is used in Mexico City. In Santiago, you should introduce the same practice. You will keep us informed of the progress and any further actions we should order.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810, Vol. 1: 1493–1592, 333–334 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953).

Royal Cédula: About the Facilities for Training Male Mestizos to Be Priests and for Admitting the Female Mestizos in the Monasteries of Nuns, August 31, 1588

Many of the earliest mestizos were the sons and daughters of Spanish conquerors and first settlers and Amerindian women. The growing number of Spanish women in the colonies, however, enabled the Spanish fathers of illegitimate mestizo children to take Spanish wives. Understandably, the wives were much more concerned with the education, oppor-

tunities, and inheritance of their own children than of their illegitimate half siblings. Some fathers took an interest in all of their children, and their mestizo sons gained an education. As employment, the church offered a potential solution for some, although the question of their ordination as clergy bedeviled policymakers for many years. Mestizas sought admission to convents, and their eligibility and status within convents were other questions to be answered, although the city fathers of Cuzco in 1551 had supported the establishment of the Convent of Santa Clara for the orphaned mestiza daughters of the conquistadores.



San Lorenzo, August 31, 1588.

The King [Philip II]. To the Reverend in Christ, archbishop of the metropolitan church of the City of the Kings of the provinces of Peru and the Reverend Bishops in Christ of the cathedral churches of the cities of Cuzco, la Plata, San Francisco de Quito and Tucumán of those provinces, each in its district.

Pedro Rengifo, who says that he is the natural [illegitimate] son of Captain Francisco Rengifo, *vecino* of the City of la Paz of those provinces, for himself and in the name of all of the children of Spaniards and Indians of the provinces, called mestizos, has informed me that they are children of principal persons that served in the discovery, pacification, and settlement of those provinces and in the recovery of the provinces when some people rebelled against my service. Some of them, on their mothers' side, are descendents of the Lords that possessed these provinces, *caciques*, and other principal Indians. They have continued to serve me in every way, following the example of their fathers. They are all poor because the property of their parents was left to legitimate children and the wives of their fathers. As descendents of persons of quality, few or none of them have learned trades and many have studied with the intention of converting the Indians. Many of the mestizos were at the point of being ordained and were ready to receive their orders, but in fulfillment of my *cédulas* of December 2, 1578, in response to a claim that the mestizos were not yet prepared, their ordination was withheld in order to investigate whether this was true. I asked you to look into this carefully and not to ordain mestizos until the answer was clear. The *cédulas* were interpreted and extended to the mestizas that were allowed to be lay but not regular nuns. Carrying out these *cédulas* also led to damaging the teaching and conversion of the Indians, because the mestizos know their language. Those that were ordained and will be virtuous and set good examples should be favored. Considering this, in the City of Kings, in 1582, the Provincial Council determined that these *cédulas* should not be fulfilled. Based on information that was presented and reviewed, my Council of the Indies agreed that I should suspend the *cédulas*. In the session of Provincial Council, it was decided that the mestizas that are regular nuns should be admitted as such. The Council agreed that I should order

by this *cédula* approving the ordination of mestizos as priests if they have the qualities and aptitude necessary. This should take place only after an investigation has shown that their lives and customs are appropriate and they are well taught and capable of serving. Regardless of the constitutions of the nunneries, mestiza women may be admitted in full regular status without hindrance provided their life and customs are appropriate.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 1: 1493–1592, 595–596 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953).

Royal Cédula: To the Governor of Yucatán about Not Giving the Position of Notary to Mestizos, June 14, 1599

By the late 16th century, a growing number of mestizo men were literate and employed in some cases as notaries, or escribanos. Other than specific cases approved by the Crown, however, the policy enunciated in 1599 succinctly prohibited mestizos from being named notaries. The reference to the persons eligible for these positions clearly meant persons of legitimate birth and full Spanish descent.



Barcelona, June 14, 1599.

The King [Philip III]. To my Governor of the province of Yucatán. We have been informed that on some occasions you employ mestizos as notaries [*escribanos*]. This is prohibited for it causes damages and vexations to those that have businesses. In the future, you may not use them. We order that any employment that you have should not be given to mestizos, nor should you consent that they be selected or serve in the case of vacancies of other notaries. You should employ the persons that are loyal, meet legal requirements, and comply with all of the laws of my kingdoms. Those that are prohibited should be removed, because this is what is best for good administration. It is my will that this not be applied to those that are authorized by *cédulas de arbitrios*.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 2, Book 1: 1593–1659, 61 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1958).

Royal Cédula: Soliciting Information about Mestizos Who Hold Public Offices, September 9, 1600

Correctly suspecting that mestizos held positions as aldermen, provincial administrators, and notaries, in 1600, the Crown asked the viceroy of Peru to investigate and submit a report

on their number and whether royal laws, such as the one above from 1599, were being broadcast and observed. The royal interest in whether mestizos in such positions had been appropriately trained or whether there were problems resulting from their service suggests some openness to their employment in positions originally held by Spaniards.



Madrid, September 9th, 1600.

The King [Philip III]. To my Viceroy, President and *oidores* of my Royal *Audiencia* of the City of Kings in the provinces of Peru. I understand that in these provinces are some mestizos employed as district officials [in *corregimientos*, *alcaldías mayores*], aldermen [in *regimientos*], scribes and notaries [in *escribanías*] and other positions of this type. I want to be better informed about this and whether the mestizos that are employed in these occupations have the appropriate training and who provided it. I also want to be informed whether it is generally ordered that mestizos should not have this type of employment and if this is honored or ignored and what difficulties have resulted, are occurring, and will continue to occur. I order you to investigate this in detail and to send me a report with your opinion.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 2, Book 1: 1493–1592, 64–65. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953).

Mulattoes

Royal Ordinance: That No Black or Mulatto Have Indians at his Service, June 14, 1589

Mulattoes, typically the offspring of a Spanish man and an enslaved or free black woman, rather than the reverse, were one of many categories in the hierarchically organized society based on race and culture under the sistema de castas. Often lumped together with blacks, mulattoes were subject to discriminatory legislation based on race and legitimacy. Their inclusion as tributaries by the 1570s was one indication of this. Prohibitions on having Amerindians work for them and against carrying weapons were two other signs of their status. Complaints that mulattoes lived in an unacceptable manner persisted throughout the colonial era.

The size of the mulatto population was directly related to the number of African slaves brought to a specific area. Venezuela had numerous blacks and mulattoes, but Brazil had far more.



San Lorenzo, June 14, 1589.

The King [Philip II]. To my Viceroy of the Provinces of Peru. In the name of the *Ciudad de la Plata* of the province of *Charcas* of that land, I have been asked to confirm the orders given by Don Francisco de Toledo, who was my Viceroy of those provinces, that no black nor mulato may have in his service either *yanacunas* or any other Indians. This has been reviewed by the members of my Council of the Indies and I have agreed. Therefore, I order that you enforce what Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo ordered concerning this issue.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 1: 1493–1592, 600 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953).

Royal Cédula: To the Governor of Venezuela, That He Maintain the Cédula Regarding Taxation of Free Blacks and Mulattoes, September 21, 1592

Free blacks and mulattoes objected to paying tribute like Amerindians. As this document indicates, the requirement that they do so in Venezuela needed repetition. This did not, however, meet the vecinos' request that they be subject to encomienda.



Burgos, September 21, 1592.

The King [Philip II]. To my Governor in the province of Venezuela. On the part of the *vecinos* and inhabitants of the cities of this province, I have been informed that there are many mulattos, children of Indian women [and black males], that pretend to enjoy the liberty that belongs to their mothers. They move about freely, causing damages, committing crimes and excesses that would end if they were corrected and subjected to the service of their *encomenderos* just as their mothers are. The *vecinos* request that I order that these mulattos go into the same service as their mothers. This has been reviewed by my Royal Council of the Indies, and the order has already been given for those parts regarding the tribute of the black men and women and free mulatto men and women. Therefore, there is and will be a *cédula* in the following tone [dated April 27, 1574; see page 344]: I order you that you read, comply, and fulfill all that is contained and declared as if it were directed at you, without making any changes in it.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 1: 1493–1592, 623–624 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953).

Royal Cédula: That the Mulattoes and Persons of Mixed Indian and Black Parentage Be Raised with Good Habits and That They Be Occupied in Useful Tasks and Jobs, August 16, 1601

Concern about the increasing number of mulattoes and zambos living as vagabonds and without schools or jobs that would eliminate their alleged laziness preoccupied Spanish authorities in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. In this case, the king asks the viceroy of Peru to investigate these problems and to find a solution for them.



San Lorenzo, August 16, 1601.

The King [Philip III]. To the Marquis of Montesclaros, my relative and Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of the provinces Peru. Pedro de Ludeña, my *corregidor* of the Villa of Potosí, has written to me about the many mulattos, mestizos, and persons of mixed Indian and black parentage (*zambos* or *zambaigos*) in that region. They cause serious problems, not only because of their growing numbers, but also because the Spaniards do not employ them, nor are there any provincial schools, studies, or jobs that can occupy the youths. They live like vagabonds during the period in which they should be learning good habits. They turn to vices and laziness, and any effort to correct them just makes them move to another place to continue the same bad habits. What is needed is a universal solution. Although the Count of Monterrey knew of this problem and was determined to resolve it, nothing has been put into effect after his death. Since it is necessary that you investigate and understand this problem, I order that you do so. After you have looked into this matter with due consideration, you should provide the necessary general solution to reduce the problems. You will find a way for these people to learn and live with good habits, and you should insure that they are productively occupied and employed, since laziness is the cause of damage to society and hinders good habits. You will keep me informed of all that you do and order.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810, Vol. 2, Book 1: 1593–1659, 134–135 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1958).

Royal Cédula: To the Viceroy of New Spain. That You Remedy the Problems That Result from the Free Blacks and Mulattoes Who Are in the Land, October 17, 1607

After challenging the viceroy of Peru to solve the problem posed by unschooled and unemployed mulattoes and zambos, Philip III turned to New Spain. There, similar issues were present,

plus the additional one that “their women dress with great excess.” Disapproval of “their women” dressing in a manner above their station became an ongoing issue. Sumptuary legislation in Spain indicates that some Spaniards, and in particular the conde-duque de Olivares who advised Philip IV for many years, considered expenditure on fancy clothing there was excessive as well.



San Lorenzo, October 17, 1607.

The King. To Don Luis de Velasco, my Viceroy, Governor, and Captain General of the provinces of New Spain. I [Philip III] have been informed that in New Spain there are many free blacks and mulattos and mestizos that sustain themselves through trickery and bartering expensive goods. Most of them are free, and their women dress with great excess. The problems caused by these people and their way of life should be resolved. You should be aware of the problem and find the solution that you consider to be the most convenient.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810, Vol. 2, Book 1: 1593–1659, 135 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1958).

Castas

Royal Cédula: That No Mulatto, Mestizo, or Man Who Is Not of Legitimate Birth, Can Have Indians or Hold Royal or Public Employment, February 27, 1549

Colonial society was based on legislatively identified racial categories, each with defined rights, privileges, and responsibilities. The ultimate source for racial identification in this sistema de castas was a priest’s entry in a parish record book for baptisms and marriages. Without a record of baptism, a person of mixed ancestry in an area of Spanish settlement was presumed to be illegitimate, a reasonable assumption in the 16th century when Spaniards considered the terms mestizo and illegitimate to be synonymous. The distinction between legitimate and illegitimate was crucial to Spaniards. Once blacks were present in substantial numbers, a person of illegitimate birth born to a non-Spanish woman was presumed to have some African ancestry.

By the middle of the 16th century, the number of mulattoes, mestizos, and persons born out of wedlock was sufficiently large that the Spanish Crown often aggregated them in legislation. This cédula of 1549 identifies mulattoes and mestizos

in a prohibition against holding office or benefiting from Amerindian labor.

In the early 19th century, the Council of the Indies still distinguished between the legitimate mestizo, eligible for all offices in church and state, and the castas. It was willing, however, to concede eligibility to persons of African descent (morenos and pardos) and legitimate birth provided their four immediate generations of ancestors were also of legitimate birth, a problematic stipulation.



Valladolid, February 27, 1549.

The King [Charles I]. To the President and *oidores* of our Royal *Audiencia* of the New Kingdom of Granada. Alonso Téllez and Pedro de Colmenares, in the name of that province, have informed me that, although it is well known that laws and pragmatics of our realms order that no mulatto, mestizo, nor man of illegitimate birth can have Indians, nor royal nor public office without a special license. They request that we send these laws to you so that that you can comply with them. We remind you that mulattos, mestizos and illegitimate persons cannot have Indians through *repartimiento* or any other manner; nor can they hold royal appointments. This was seen by our Council of Indies, and it was agreed that we should issue this *cédula*, so that you can know these laws and pragmatics, comply with them, and enforce them without exceptions.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 1: 1493–1592, 256 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953).

Royal Cédula: That Indians, Mestizos and Mulattoes Can neither Have nor Carry Weapons, December 10, 1566

The idea that the lower orders of colonial society would own or carry weapons was anathema to authorities in Spain, and as early as 1535, they prohibited it. Nonetheless, officials in the Americas found it necessary on occasion to arm them for defense. In 1615, the viceroy of Peru organized colored militia companies as part of his effort to meet a threat by the Dutch. The following document is just one example of royal concern over arming Amerindians, mestizos, and mulattoes.



Madrid, December 10, 1566.

The King [Philip II]. To *Licenciado* Castro of our Council of the Indies and president of our Royal *Audiencia* residing in the City of Kings in the provinces of Peru. We have been informed that although we have ordered that Indians and mes-

tizos and mulattos in these parts are prohibited from having or carrying arms, the Marquis of Cañete and Count of Nieva, previous viceroys of those lands, and other persons that have governed there have given permission to some Indians and mestizos and mulattos to have and carry arms. They should not have done this for it is against what we have ordered. It also causes other problems. To end this practice, it has been discussed in our Council of the Indies and decided that we should send this *cédula* to you. I have agreed with this recommendation so that you can be informed and know that Indians and mestizos and mulattos have some arms. You must remove these weapons or have them removed and procure that in the future, they do not have nor carry arms in any manner. Regarding those that have been given license by our viceroys or governors, you should take the arms and sell them. The proceeds of the sale will be given to the Indians or persons from whom the arms were taken, and the other arms will be placed in storage for protection and use when necessary. You will inform us when this has been done.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 1: 1493–1592, 410 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953).

Royal Cédula: That Blacks, Mulattoes, and Mestizos Should Not Live with Indians, November 25, 1578

As the sistema de castas became more complex, the Crown expanded the list of racial categories forbidden to live among the Amerindian population. This document from 1578 disparages the behavior of mulattoes, blacks, and mestizos and blames them for teaching the Amerindians “bad habits, laziness and vices.”



Madrid, November 25, 1578.

The King [Philip II]. To our Viceroy and president of our *Audiencia* that resides in Mexico City of New Spain. We have been informed that it is very undesirable for the good of the Indians of those provinces that they be in the company of mulattos, mestizos, and blacks because the latter not only take advantage of the Indians but also teach them bad habits, laziness and vices. This will impede the salvation of the Indians' souls, because no good can come from the company of mulattos, blacks and mestizos; they are universally inclined to poor behavior. I order that you take great care to prohibit this and, in the future, enforce that they not be in the company of Indians. You should order that all of the tribunals of the districts of this *Audiencia* be very careful to maintain this separation, punishing all that are found in the company of Indians, or in the Indian villages. You will procure to enforce and comply with the contents of this *cédula*, and inform us of the way that you do so.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 1: 1493–1592, 513 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953).

Royal Cédula: That the Viceroy of Peru Address Whether It Would Be Convenient to Gather the Mulattoes, Blacks, and Zambaigos in Towns, April 10, 1609

All racial combinations other than a mestizo born of married Spanish and Amerindian parents formed the castas. Royal efforts to prevent non-Indians from residing with Amerindians reflected the desire for two “republics.” While the restriction against mestizos, mulattoes, and blacks was intended to protect the Amerindians, the royal cédula of 1609 reveals the ongoing uncertainty about what to do with these groups, repeatedly described in derogatory language.



Madrid, April 10, 1609.

The King [Philip III]. To the Marquis of Montesclaros, my Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of the provinces of Peru. I have been informed that it would be advisable to gather the large number of mulattos, free blacks, mestizos, and *zambaigos* that are found in those provinces and in the provinces of Charcas. If brought together in Spanish towns, they could pay their tribute and personal service at the mountain of Potosí as is done by the Indians, who are freer. I want to see what you think about this and whether it would be convenient to relocate the mulattos, *zambaigos*, and free blacks and mestizos. I want to know if it could be done easily and in what manner, in which towns they could be relocated, what tribute could be imposed, and if they could be distributed to labor in the mines of Potosí. I also want to know what problems or benefits could arise from this, as I have ordered you to report by another *cédula*. Inform me if another order is advisable to address and eliminate the problems that one can fear as a result of the growth, bad customs, and inclinations of these people. I order that, having paid close attention, you send me a report regarding this. You should also send a list with the number of free blacks, mulattos, *zambaigos*, and mestizos that are found in this district, listing each group separately.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 2, Book 1: 1593–1659, 148 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1958).

“Unequal” Marriages and Gracias al Sacar

Pragmatic Sanction to Avoid the Abuse of Contracting Unequal Marriages, March 23, 1776 (Excerpts)

The importance of matrimony for a stable, well-ordered polity contained in the Crown’s legislation on castas and their component groups came to the fore in this Pragmatic Sanction. The document outlined the responsibility of children under the age of 25 to secure paternal consent, or that of other specified persons in the father’s absence, to their marriage or face disinheritance. The law applied to all children, from those of the highest titled nobility to those of the lowest commoners. Children older than 25 years also had to seek parental counsel but could marry without parental approval. Jurisdiction over marriage moved from ecclesiastical to civil courts. The purpose of the Pragmatic Sanction was to enable parents to stop “unequal” marriages, for example, those between nobles and commoners.

When Charles III extended the Pragmatic Sanction to the Indies in 1778, he specifically excluded from its application mulattoes, blacks, and castas other than militia officers and a few other special cases. This meant, for example, that Spanish parents could prevent a marriage of a son or daughter to a casta solely because of his or her ancestors or lack of legitimate birth.



El Pardo. March 23, 1776.

Don Carlos, by the Grace of God, King of Castile, etc. Know that as part of my Royal Authority to prevent through healthy measures the disorders that are introduced over time, establishing sanctions to punish infractions, accommodating the circumstances of each case and qualities of the persons, laws should be vigorously observed. The abuse of children of families contracting unequal marriages, without waiting for the advice and consent of their parents or guardians, has become frequent, with grave injury and offense to God. This results in the disruption of the good order of the State and continuous discord and damages to the families against the intention and pious intention of the Church, that, even though it does not annul such marriages, has always detested them and prohibited them as opposite to the honor, respect and obedience that children owe their parents in such a serious and important matter. . . .

1. For these reasons, and for the organized observance of the laws of this Kingdom going back as far as the laws of the *Fuero Juzgo* [a seventh-century compilation], that consider the marriages of sons and daughters of good families, I order that from now on, in agreement with these laws, the sons and daughters that are under 25 years of age must obtain their father’s advice and permission. In the absence of the father, they must obtain their mother’s consent. In the absence of both parents, the sons and daughters must obtain consent of the paternal or maternal grandparents, respectively. If there

- are no grandparents, they must have the consent of the two closest relatives, who must be of legal age and not interested parties in the marriage. If there are no relatives that meet these criteria, then the tutors or guardians can give permission. It is understood that relatives, tutors or guardians should exercise this right with the approval of a royal judge. If the royal judge is not in a position to exercise this authority, then the authority rests in the nearest *corregidor* or *alcalde mayor*.
2. That this obligation applies to all classes, from the highest classes in the State, without exception, to the most common classes of the towns. All of them, without exception, owe the indispensable and natural obligation of parental respect. Parents hold this right by natural obligation and because of the serious implications in the selection of the most appropriate person. This selection cannot be left to a person that is not of legal age, without the intervening parental deliberation and consent, based on an understanding of the consequences. Parents have the right to put a timely end to potentially damaging results both for the family and society.
 3. If a marriage is celebrated without the proper advice and consent, by this simple fact, those that contract this marriage and the children and descendants that result from this marriage will lose all civil privileges, including the right to a dowry and the right to obligatory inheritance from parents and grandparents, whose respect and obedience were offended by not honoring this Pragmatic. Disinheritance, under these conditions, is fair. Those who are disobedient and ungrateful cannot demand justice, nor protest the will of their parents or grandparents. Parents and grandparents have the right freely to dispose of their properties, without more obligation than basic sustenance.
 4. I also declare persons that disobey this Pragmatic will be deprived of their income and the right to inherit the entails, religious foundations, and other perpetual family rights that would belong or be inherited by them. This will apply until all other legitimate heirs to the entail are deceased. Only then may the disobeying party inherit.
 5. If the person that marries without permission is the last of the line of descendants, the transversal descendants will inherit, in the order of birthrights. Those that prohibit a marriage and their descendants cannot inherit the rights as a result of denying permission, except in the case of last resort and exhausting the transversal options. This does not remove the basic right to sustenance by persons that break the prohibition to marry without permission.
 6. Persons that are over 25 years of age fulfill the obligation by requesting paternal consent for marriage. Based on other laws, no delay is allowed at this age. But if the son or daughter marries without requesting parental consent, the same penalties will apply regarding both normal inheritance rights and entails.
 7. It is my intention and will that the disposition of the Pragmatic shall preserve all rights and authority of the

parents regarding the intervention and marriage of their children. The parents should use their authority to guide their children for the benefit of the children and the State. It is important to warn against the potential for abuse and excesses on the part of parents and relatives in the arbitrary use of this right. Children have freedom to choose their vocation. Should this be marriage, parents cannot force sons and daughters to marry against their will. There have been numerous cases where parents and relatives have denied permission to be married honorably to a person that the son or daughter selects, with the intention of forcing them for reasons of temporal benefits to marry against their will to a person that they find repugnant. Parents must respect the fundamental intention of the holy sacrament of marriage.

8. Considering the very serious temporal and spiritual damages that are caused to the civil and Christian republic as a result of prohibiting fair and honest marriages or from celebrating marriages without the due liberty and mutual affection of the parties, I declare and order that parents, grandparents, relatives, tutors and guardians, should give their consent if there is no just and rational cause to deny it, such as serious offense to the family honor or if it were harmful for the State.
9. This is the procedure to protest the irrational refusal of the parents, grandparents, relatives, tutors, or guardians [to allow a marriage]. Persons under 25 years of age and those over 25, should submit their case to the ordinary royal magistrate that must review and resolve the case within eight days, and by appeal to the Council, Chancellery, or *Audiencia* of the respective region, which must review and resolve the case within 30 days. The declaration cannot be appealed, so that reasonable and just marriages cannot be delayed.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 3, Book 1: 1691–1779, 406–409 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1962).

Royal Cédula: Inserting the New List of Fees for the Payment of Services Indicated in the *Gracias al Sacar*, August 3, 1801 (Excerpts)

The right of the Spanish monarch to grant dispensations to the law was unquestioned. Originally issued in 1795, a revised price list (arancel) of specific dispensations published on August 3, 1801, again systematized them, providing for a precise payment for a particular dispensation, provided the Cámara of the Indies approved it. Charles IV promised that revenues received would be applied to the interest and amortization of royal bills issued to finance Spain's involvement in European wars.

The price list covered many items, ranging from approval to establish an entail (mayorazgo) to dispensations from the age required to serve in a particular position. Of particular

interest to contemporaries were legitimation of birth and the purchase of “whiteness” through buying a dispensation from being a pardo, or person with some African ancestry. While some elites felt threatened by a potential invasion of their ranks by “inferiors,” the number of identified dispensations actually granted to pardos was small.



Madrid, August 3, 1801.

The King. Because in my Royal Pragmatic Sanction of August 30th of last year I identified the total income going to the Cámara as one of the sources to be applied to the payment of interest for the *vales reales* and the loans made, especially from mortgages, to the *Caja de Amortización*, the proceeds from *gracias al sacar* issued by my Cámaras of Castile and the Indies are included. By a Royal Order issued the same day, I asked the Cámara of the Indies to recommend as soon as possible the fees that would provide the greatest increases in income. In complying with this royal request, the Cámara of the Indies by recommendation of June 1 of this year proposed a list of fees that I consider just and in accord with my sovereign intentions. Consequently, I have approved the following:

First Chapter: For permission to establish *mayorazgos*, the payment will be twenty thousand *reales vellón*.

2. For the confirmation of *mayorazgos*, twenty thousand.
3. For the age supplement of notaries, lawyers, doctors, surgeons, pharmacists and others of this class, for each year that they are lacking, they will pay one thousand two hundred.
4. For the age supplement to be *regidor* of any capital city of a province, for each year that they are lacking to reach the age of eighteen, a payment of four thousand five hundred.
5. For the age supplement to be *regidor* of any city that is not the capital of a province, for each year that they are lacking to reach the age of eighteen, a payment of one thousand five hundred.
6. In the towns and villages of Spaniards, seven hundred and fifty. . .
16. For the exemptions from royal or seigneurial jurisdiction for the villages or hamlets that become towns, for each *vecino*, the payment of six hundred and fifty. . .
26. For a license to serve as employees of the Royal Treasury (Real Hacienda) in the capital city of a province, even if the person is a retail merchant, the payment will be nine thousand.
27. In the cities that are not capitals of a province, six thousand.
28. In a town or hamlet of Spaniards, two thousand eight hundred.
29. For the license to serve as *regidor* and notary at the same time, in towns and hamlets of Spaniards, if it is one with a large population, two thousand eight hundred.
30. In the small towns and hamlets, the payment will be one thousand five hundred.

31. For the license for a *regidor*, and those that succeed him, to elect and be elected as *alcaldes* in the year that it is their turn by luck, as long as they do not have more than one vote, if it is in a capital city of a province, the payment will be four thousand five hundred.
32. In those cities that are not capitals, two thousand eight hundred.
33. In the towns and hamlets of Spaniards, one thousand eight hundred. . .
43. For the license of a cleric who is also a lawyer, so that, despite his category of priest, he can practice in matters that are purely civil, he should pay two thousand eight hundred.
44. For the license to transfer the properties of *mayorazgos* in all classes of *mayorazgos*, there is a payment of five thousand five hundred.
45. For the favor of enjoying an entail when one does not reside where the founder specified, a payment of six thousand. . .
47. For the child of unknown parents to serve in positions of notary, a supplement of six thousand.
48. For the legitimation of a child (son or daughter) to inherit and enjoy the privilege of legitimacy, when both parents are single, the payment is five thousand five hundred.
49. For the extraordinary legitimations to inherit and enjoy the nobility of fathers that are members of the military orders and married, or the children of clerics, the payment is thirty three thousand for all of them.
50. For the legitimation of the same class as the above, for children born of unmarried mothers and fathers that are married, the fee is twenty five thousand eight hundred.
51. For each of the privileges of nobility (*hidalguía*), the payment is one hundred and seven thousand.
52. For the declaration of nobility (*hidalguía*) and nobility of blood, the payment should be in proportion to the justification that is presented and according to the linkage to the true rights, with payments of sixty, eighty and one hundred thousand.
53. For the favor of a title of Castile for a subject that resides in the Indies, if the person is lacking any or all of the criteria established by law, the Cámara will establish the quota that must be paid, based on the dispensations needed.
54. And in regard to the provision of the same Cámara from the year 1785 that orders that titles of Castile issued to persons in the Indies, will not express the monetary payment made by the recipients, both secretariats should observe this resolution, but without prejudice to what the Cámara might indicate when appropriate, as foreseen, and always when there are no very relevant reasons that should exempt the recipients from all or part of the payment, in which case His Majesty must make the determination.
55. For the licenses that are given to foreigners to go to the Indies, the payment will be the amount that the Cámara determines, based on the consideration of the conditions and circumstances of the license.

56. For the same license for residents of the Indies, the payment will be eight thousand two hundred.
57. For letters of naturalization for the Indies when the interested party is not lacking any of the requirements established by law, the payment will be eight thousand two hundred.
58. And when the person is lacking any or all of the indicated qualities and these qualities must be dispensed, the Cámara will regulate the amount that must be added to the established payment.
59. For the license to *encomenderos* so that they can reside in these Kingdoms, the payment will be one thousand four hundred. . . .
63. For the concession of the use of the distinction *Don*, one thousand four hundred. . . .
69. For the dispensation of the quality of *pardo*, a payment of seven hundred should be made.
70. For the dispensation of the quality of *quinterón*, the payment is one thousand one hundred.

Source: Richard Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, Vol. 3, Book 2: 1780–1807, 778–783 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1962).

Medical Matters

Letter from Ciriaco Sepúlveda to Dr. Narciso Esparragosa Concerning the Illness That Both Doctors Were Treating, ca. 1800

Historians of colonial Latin America find personal letters far less frequently than official correspondence. The selections that follow are personal letters between Dr. Narciso Esparragosa and friends, relatives, and patients. The greetings and signatures therefore have a more familiar tone; the writers are revealed as real people faced with medical problems that often had no certain cure.

Dr. Esparragosa was the protomédico of the Kingdom of Guatemala and its foremost surgeon in the early 19th century. His accomplishments bought him the position of surgeon of the royal bedchamber and the right to wear a gold-embroidered uniform. Sepúlveda was Esparragosa's student and friend. He left Guatemala City to practice medicine in other parts of Central America.



Dear Dr. Don Narciso,

My dear friend, I am very sorry to hear about your poor health. I hope that you are soon recovered from the fever. I am at your service, in whatever you may need.

Around three o'clock I saw the answer that you sent, in which you write to don Francisco Andonay. You are right to be surprised that he did not tell you about the condition of your *comadre* [probably godmother], but don Francisco did not tell me that he had consulted you about his sister. If he had told me, I would have informed you and asked your advice. Her present condition is that she is still ill. The illness began on Thursday, at 7 o'clock at night. She began feeling cold and then the fever started. The fever continued through Thursday and Friday, and on Friday night, at about nine o'clock, she started having pains in her side, near her ribs. On Saturday morning, at about six o'clock, the pain subsided. Then she felt a sharp pain on her right side and had great difficulty breathing and pain in her blood. I immediately ordered that she be bled and I observed that the blood was in an inflamed state. I also ordered ammonia salts, water with willow, and cutting on her legs and feet. The next day, the pain in her side returned. I repeated the blood-letting and the blood did not look inflamed at all. The pain continued, though it was not as sharp. But on the fifth day, I noticed that she had very little phlegm and a dry cough. I applied the laxative for the pain, which did not stop. On the sixth day, I applied another, which did not raise a blister. It healed and began to ooze on the second day. On the second day of the blood-letting, I started to give her the indicated powders in simple vinegar. Today she is very weak, and a cinnamon-yellow color. The fever goes up at night and lasts until about two o'clock in the morning. Together with the first powders that you sent, at ten o'clock on day five, I gave her Escorscionera water [a kind of tea] and palm water. Her tongue is thickly coated. I have a list of the dark symptoms. I continue to give her the antipruritic [medicine], giving two at ten o'clock on day five, and ten o'clock at night.

This is all that I have to report to you. I hope that you recover your health. Your servant, who kisses your hands,

[signed] Ciriaco Sepúlveda

Source: Documentos Privados del Dr. Esparragosa. Private Archive. St. Louis, Missouri. Document no. 81, undated.

Letter from Ciriaco Sepúlveda to Dr. Narciso Esparragosa Discussing the Illness of Esparragosa's *Comadre*, ca. 1800

This letter from one physician to another illustrates what practicing physicians in Guatemala around 1800 considered important medical symptoms.



Señor Doctor, Don Narciso Esparragosa,

My sir, right now it is around seven o'clock at night. I am writing this letter to you to inform you of the condition of your *comadre*.

The method that you applied, with the antipruritic powders has given the result of moving the phlegm. It is white and very thick. The pain has reduced. The treatment with the laxative is working, but only in small amounts. I observe a kind of noise

in her throat, like when a cold is congested in the chest. There is little phlegm, but the fever is constant. The fever reduces around ten o'clock. She continues like this until about eight or nine at night, when the fever goes up again. She does not speak clearly and I can observe that she has a blister on her tongue. Her tongue is very dry, with a black film that extends from the back to about half of the tongue. She has slight delirium, which has gone on for about three days. She has been constipated for about three days and up to today, her abdomen has not moved. I ordered that she should be given the treatments that you sent. The result was that she successfully sweated from the waist to the head. This is all that I have to report at this time.

I hope that you have recovered from the fevers and you order whatever you consider necessary.
Your servant, who kisses your hand,

[signed] Ciriaco Sepúlveda

Source: Documentos Privados del Dr. Esparragosa. Private Archive. Document no. 85, undated.

Letter from Gertrudiz Zavala to Dr. Narciso Esparragosa, ca. 1800

In this letter, a patient complains that she is ill and in a bad mood.



Señor Don Narciso Esparragosa,

My dear Señor, who has my greatest appreciation. I have never stopped having the confidence in putting my care in your hands, and you have never failed to carefully manage the reestablishment of my health. I cannot find any cause for the displeasure that has caused me to be in a very bad mood, which was caused by the practical joke that was played yesterday. I feel infinite displeasure that you felt compelled to joke. I do not have the health to support this problem.

I kiss your hands,

[signed] Gertrudis Zavala

Source: Documentos Privados del Dr. Esparragosa. Private Archive. Document no. 86, undated.

Letter from Dr. Narciso Esparragosa to Mariano Herrarte, ca. 1800

Dr. Esparragosa writes about contagion in furniture and clothing.



Señor Don Mariano Herrarte,

My dear Señor, of my greatest appreciation. To remove all of the traces of contagion in the furniture and clothing of the persons who had direct contact with the President, Don

Mariano Toledo during his illness, especially during the last months of the illness.

I believe that all of the clothing should be boiled with lye and smoked with sulphur. You should do the same with the furniture that allows this type of procedure. The bed should be burned. If you need to reuse the bed, after washing it carefully and smoking it, it can be sent to the hospital. The books do not need to be treated, because the priest did not touch any of the books during all the time he was sick. The few that were in his room when he died, should be smoked.

The room where he died should also be smoked, the bricks should be washed and the walls should be white-washed. There is nothing else that can be done regarding the furniture that was used by the father in the last months of his illness to reduce the residue of contagion.

I remain at your service, with the greatest affection. You servant and master. I kiss your hands.

[signed Esparragosa]

Source: Documentos Privados del Dr. Esparragosa. Private Archive. Document no. 88, undated.

Letter from Antonio González to Dr. Narciso Esparragosa, August 13, 1808

Royal officials had to obtain permission to leave their positions for personal reasons. In this letter from Antonio González, Dr. Narciso Esparragosa is informed that his request to spend time in a warmer climate has been approved.



In attention to the serious and notorious illness have been suffering, I grant you the license that you request to move to warmer place to convalesce. You may be in this warmer place until next November. You may also suspend your work in the Royal Hospital. Your obligations will be covered by the Second Surgeon, Don José Tomás Cáceres and Doctor Don Mariano Larabe, who will attend the patients daily and continue with his obligations with the medical school.

Everything that His Majesty proposes will be communicated to the Brotherhood Charity and you are informed so that you can use this permission when it is convenient.

God Protect His Majesty. Royal Palace, August 13, 1808.

[signed] Antonio Gonzalez

Source: Documentos Privados del Dr. Esparragosa. Private Archive. Document no. 98, August 13, 1808.

Medical report by Dr. Narciso Esparragosa, December 29, 1814

This document provides an official report by Dr. Narciso Esparragosa on wounds sustained by one Antonio Trujillo.

*The Protomédico*

It is true that Antonio Trujillo has lost the use of his right arm, as the result of a wound to his shoulder. The wound is on the front of his shoulder and there is another on the joint of his elbow. These wounds, with very notable scars, damaged some of his nerves, veins, and tendons that are necessary for movement and nutrition. This extremity has less than half of the normal volume, compared to the other, and it also lacks the necessary movement and force.

In regards to everything else, Trujillo is a strong and robust man. This is reported to you in fulfillment of medical requirements.

New Guatemala, December 29, 1814.

Source: Documentos Privados del Dr. Esparragosa. Private Archive. Document no. 102, December 29, 1811.

**Letter from José María Jáuregui to
Dr. Narciso Esparragosa,
April 9, 1815**

A friend, José María Jáuregui, provides family news as well as a request for Dr. Narciso Esparragosa to comment on medical treatment prescribed by an English doctor.



Señor Doctor Don Narciso Esparragosa
San Salvador, April 9, 1815.

My dear friend and Señor:

This letter has two objectives. The first is to introduce my new daughter to you. As you have heard, this gift from God was presented to me by Doña Juana Josefa Cobar, the wife of my son Manuel José. She is a truly a gift from God, born without being delivered by me, guarding human prudence. His Majesty ordered the marriage, which makes it bitter for me. But I have the intimate satisfaction of seeing the principles, means, and, ultimately, that everything has ended with honor and in fulfillment of God's plan. Blessed be it.

Due to our friendship, I was waiting to share this with you. But it is not late to honor you by sharing the good news.

The second, unavoidable objective of this letter is to bother you. I am counting on your good-will in tolerating me. You well know that María Manuela has suffered an irritation in the liver. She has spleen problems, is subject to fluxes, and is excessive in all ways. She suffers from periods of diarrhea, and a weak and profound pulse. Once again, she is suffering from irregular menstruation, which tends to stop, then start again. It lasts much more than normal, but with small amounts and irregular color.

She improves with the freshest water that is available. She improves and is happy with this, but the disorder tends to repeat the next month. I doubt that, at her 43 years, these changes mean the end of menstruation.

While we have been in this state, the English doctor, Don Juan Marcos Imeri, has come here. He has the following cure for María Manuela:

Three days of cold baths.

A laxative called *Angélica* in cold water, while she is fasting.

The next day, on the morning and afternoon, a thimbleful of *citric acid* dissolved in cold water and the same amount of *Alkali* also dissolved in the same water. Both solutions should be taken immediately. When she finished both jars of remedies that the doctor left, she should take another laxative called *Angélica*. Starting the next day, she should take twenty-five drops of *Jesuita* in water.

When she finished the jar of drops, another of the same laxatives. The next day, she should start the other jar of drops, and end with the same laxative. He says that this cure is superior for treating liver ailments, problems with the spleen, and other illnesses that come from viscous humors.

My Manuel José also has liver problems and possible problems in the blood, which make his gums bleed.

For this, Doctor Imeri has dictated the following method:

Three days of cold baths and fluids. Then a laxative *Angélica*. Starting the next day, while fasting, twenty five drops of *Marendants Antiscorbutic*^a in a small amount of water of Escorcionera.^b At ten o'clock on the next day, a small packet of *Oxigenata Muriat Potasb*^c diluted in the same water. At night, two *Keyser pills*^d with water. He should take a laxative every eight days and on the days that he does not take a laxative, he should take a cold bath. At the end of this, he should rinse his gums with the water that the doctor left in a small jar. I do not know what the water is.

The same occurs with another water that he has prescribed for soaking some threads, which should be repeatedly placed on my Petronita on a fistula that she has in the gap where a molar has broken. The English doctor says that it will not heal until the molar is taken out. He says that this water will make the tooth fall out. But he warns that she should not swallow the saliva, even if it is not dangerous.

I would like to hear your opinion about all of these remedies, in particular for the two primary patients. I will tell you that I try to guess about the remedies because the doctor does not explain them to me. I see that I am familiar with some of

^a Antiscorbutic was a treatment used to prevent and cure the disease scurvy. It was usually heavily concentrated with Vitamin C.

^b Escorcionera is a plant with roots that were either used as a balm for wounds, sores, rheumatism, or arthritis, or mixed with tea for diabetes, gastrointestinal disorders, and liver ailments.

^c Muriatic acid, also known as hydrochloric acid, would be mixed with salt of potassium, intended to cleanse the stomach by inducing vomiting.

^d Keyser's Pills, or Keyser Pills, invented by French military contractor Jean Keyser, were made of mercury mixed with vinegar to treat rheumatism, asthma, apoplexy (an outdated term that refers to hemorrhages), palsy, excess swelling, sciatica, eye diseases, and gout.

them. But for those that I do not understand and the English doctor has not explained, I ask that you tell me whether these remedies should be applied. I ask you this because you were the one who cured Manuel José four years ago with quinine when he had a mortal attack of worms. After the treatment, he suffered a terrible rash on his face. Ever since, he has had a weak stomach and headaches, including on his wedding day. With the answer to my pestering questions, you know that Manuela is with me and that this is your house. We await your valued orders, and we desire that you enjoy complete health. We reiterate our affection.

I kiss your hands,

[signed] José Mariano Jáuregui

P.S.

My brother Don Pedro and my sister María Gertrudis have not written in many days, even to answer our letters. If you know anything about them, or anything about the house of my uncle Don Pablo, or about my brothers and children who are in Dueñas, I would appreciate it if you could let me know.

Source: Documentos Privados del Dr. Esparragosa. Private Archive. Document no. 105, April 9, 1815.

Outsiders' Perspective

On Cartagena de Indias, Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, *A Voyage to South America*, 1758 (Excerpts)

In the mid-1730s, Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa reached South America as part of a scientific expedition. They subsequently published A Voyage to South America in 1748 in Spanish (the first English translation appearing a decade later), a description of the places they visited and the people they encountered. The following selection, from an 1807 edition translated by John Adams, describes Cartagena de Indias—which for almost two centuries was a stop for the galleons that arrived from Spain laden with merchandise and returned there with gold from New Granada and silver from Peru—and the city's inhabitants.

The peninsular observers noted at once the sistema de castas and described it at some length. They also commented on various social customs of the inhabitants, including drinking and smoking, and their dances.



The city and suburbs are well laid out, the streets being straight, broad, uniform, and well paved. The houses are built of stone, except a few of brick; but consist chiefly of only one

story above the ground-floor; the apartments well contrived. All the houses have balconies and lattices of wood, as more durable in this climate than iron, the latter being soon corroded and destroyed by the moisture and acrimonious quality of the nitrous air; from whence, and the smoky colour of the walls, the outside of the buildings makes but an indifferent appearance.

The churches and convents of this city are the cathedral, that of the Trinity in the suburbs, built by bishop Don Gregory de Molleda, who also in 1734 founded a chapel of ease dedicated to St. Toribio. The orders which have convents at Cartagena are those of St. Francis, in the suburbs, St. Dominic, St. Agustin, La Merced, also the Jacobines, and Recollets; a college of Jesuits and an hospital of San Juan de Dios. The nunneries are those of St. Clara and St. Teresa. All the churches and convents are of a proper architecture, and sufficiently capacious; but there appears something of poverty in the ornaments, some of them wanting what even decency requires. The communities, particularly that of St. Francis, are pretty numerous, and consist of Europeans, white Creoles, and native Indians.

Cartagena, together with its suburbs, is equal to a city of the third rank in Europe. It is well peopled, though most of its inhabitants are descended from the Indian tribes. It is not the most opulent in this country, for, besides the pillages it has suffered, no mines are worked here; so that most of the money seen in it is sent from Santa Fe and Quito, to pay the salaries of the governor and other civil and military officers, and the wages of the garrison; and even this makes no long stay here. It is not however unfrequent to find persons who have acquired handsome fortunes by commerce, whose houses are splendidly furnished, and who live in every respect agreeable to their wealth. The governor resides in the city, which till 1739 was independent of the military government. In civil affairs, an appeal lies to the audience of Santa Fe; and a viceroy of Santa Fe being that year created, under the title of viceroy of New Granada, the government of Cartagena became subject to him also in military affairs. The first who filled this viceroyalty was lieutenant-general Don Sebastian de Eslava; who defended Cartagena against the powerful invasion of the English in 1741.

Cartagena has also a bishop, whose spiritual jurisdiction is of the same extent as the military and civil government. The ecclesiastical chapter is composed of the bishop and prebends. There is also a court of inquisition, whose power reaches to the three provinces of Isla Espanola (where it was first settled), Terra Firma, and Santa Fe.

Besides these tribunals, the police and administration of justice in the city is under a secular magistracy, consisting of regidores, from whom every year are chosen two alcaldes, who are generally persons of the highest esteem and distinction. There is also an office of revenue, under an accountant and treasurer: here all taxes and monies belonging to the king are received; and the proper issues directed. A person of the law, with the title of auditor de la gente de Guerra, determines processes. . . .

CHAP. IV. OF THE INHABITANTS OF CARTHAGENA.

The inhabitants may be divided into different casts [sic] or tribes, who derive their origin from a coalition of Whites, Negroes, and Indians. Of each of these we shall treat particularly.

The Whites may be divided into two classes, the Europeans, and Creoles, or Whites born in the country. The formerly are commonly called Chapetones, but are not numerous; most of them either return into Spain after acquiring a competent fortune, or remove up into inland provinces in order to increase it. Those who are settled at Carthagena, carry on the whole trade of that place, and live in opulence; whilst the other inhabitants are indigent, and reduced to have recourse to mean and hard labour for subsistence. The families of the White Creoles compose the landed interest; some of them have large estates, and are highly respected, because their ancestors came into the country invested with honourable posts, bringing their families with them when they settled here. Some of these families, in order to keep up their original dignity, have either married their children to their equals in the country, or sent them as officers on board the galleons; but others have greatly declined. Besides these, there are other Whites, in mean circumstances, who either owe their origin to Indian families, or at least to an intermarriage with them, so that there is some mixture in their blood; but when this is not discoverable by their colour, the conceit of being Whites alleviates the pressure of every other calamity.

Among the other tribes which are derived from an intermarriage of the Whites with the Negroes, the first are the Mulattos. Next to these the Tercerones, produced from a White and a Mulatto, with some approximation to the former, but no so near as to obliterate their origin. After these follow the Quarterones, proceeding from a White and a Terceron. The last are the Quinterones, who owe their origin to a White and Quarteron. This is the last gradation, there being no visible difference between them and the Whites, either in colour or features; nay, they are often fairer than the Spaniards. The children of a White and Quarteron are also called Spaniards, and consider themselves as free from all taint of the Negro race. Every person is so jealous of the order of their tribe or cast, that if, through inadvertence, you call them by a degree lower than what they actually are, they are highly offended, never suffering themselves to be deprived of so valuable a gift of fortune.

Before they attain the class of the Quinterones, there are several intervening circumstances which throw them back; for between the Mulatto and the Negro there is an intermediate race, which they call Sambos, owing their origin to a mixture between one of these with an Indian, or among themselves. They are also distinguished according to the casts their fathers were of. Betwixt the Tercerones and the Mulattos, the Quarterones and the Tercerones, &c. are those called Tente en el Ayre, suspended in the air, because they neither advance nor recede. Children, whose parents are a Quarteron or Quinteron, and a Mulatto or Terceron, are Salto atras, retrogrades, because, instead of advancing towards being Whites, they have gone backwards toward the Negro race. The Children between a Negro and Quarteron are called Sambos de Negro, de Mulatto, de Terceron, &c.

These are the most known and common tribes or Castas; there are indeed several others proceeding from their intermarriages; but, being so various, even they themselves cannot easily distinguish them; and these are the only people one sees in the city, the estancias¹, and the villages; for if any Whites, especially women, are met with, it is only accidental; these generally residing in their houses; at least, if they are of any rank or character.

These casts, from the Mulattos, all affect the Spanish dress, but wear very slight stuffs on account of the heat of the climate. These are the mechanics of the city; the Whites, whether Creoles or Chapitones, [sic] disdaining such a mean occupation, follow nothing below merchandise. But it being impossible for all to succeed, great numbers not being able to procure sufficient credit, they become poor and miserable from their aversion to those trades they follow in Europe; and, instead of the riches which they flattered themselves with possessing in the Indies, they experience the most complicated wretchedness.

The class of Negroes is not the least numerous, and is divided into two parts; the free and the slaves. These are again subdivided into Creoles and Bozares [sic], part of which are employed in the cultivation of the haciendas² [sic], or estancias. Those in the city are obliged to perform the most laborious services, and pay out of their wages a certain quota to their masters, subsisting themselves on the small remainder. The violence of the heat not permitting them to wear any clothes, their only covering is a small piece of cotton stuff about their waist; the female slaves go in the same manner. Some of these live at the estancias, being married to the slaves who work there; whose those in the city sell in the markets all kinds of eatables, and dry fruits, sweetmeats, cakes made of the maize, and cassava, and several other things about the streets. Those who have children sucking at their breast, which is the case of the generality, carry them on their shoulders, in order to have their arms at liberty; and when the infants are hungry, they give them the breast either under the arm or over the shoulder, without taking them from their backs. This will perhaps appear incredible; but their breasts, being left to grow without any pressure on them, often hang down to their very waist, and are not therefore difficult to turn over their shoulders for the convenience of the infant.

The dress of the Whites, both men and women, differs very little from that worn in Spain. The persons in grand employments wear the same habits as in Europe; but with this difference, that all their clothes are very light, the waistcoats and breeches being of fine Bretagne linen, and the coat of some other thin stuff. Wigs are not much worn here; and during our stay, the governor and two or three of the chief officers only appeared in them. Neckcloths are also uncommon, the neck of the shirt being adorned with large gold buttons, and these generally suffered to hang loose. On their heads they wear a cap of very fine and white

¹ Estancia properly signifies a mansion, or place where one stops to rest; but at Carthagena it implies a country-house, which, by reason of the great number of slaves belonging to it, often equals a considerable village.

² Hazienda in this place signifies a country-house, with the lands belonging to it.

linen. Others go entirely bareheaded, having their hair cut from the nape of the neck.³ Fans are very commonly worn by men, and made of a very thin kind of palm in the form of a crescent, having a stick of the same wood in the middle. Those who are not of the White class, or of any eminent family, wear a cloak and a hat flapped; though some Mulattos and Negroes dress like the Spaniards and great men of the country.

The Spanish women wear a kind of petticoat, which they call pollera, made of a thin silke [sic], without any lining; and on their body, a very thin white waistcoat; but even this is only worn in what they call winter, it being insupportable in summer. They however always lace in such a manner as to conceal their breasts. When they go abroad, they wear a mantelet; and on the days of precept, they go to mass at three in the morning, in order to discharge that duty, and return before the violent heat of the day, which begins with the dawn. . . .

Both sexes are possessed of a great deal of wit and penetration, and also of a genius proper to excel in all kinds of mechanic arts. This is particularly conspicuous in those who apply themselves to literature, and who, at a tender age, shew [sic] a judgment and perspicacity, which, in other climates, is attained only by a long series of years and the greatest application. This happy disposition and perspicacity continues till they are between twenty and thirty years of age, after which they generally decline as fast as they rose; and frequently, before they arrive at that age, when they should begin to read the advantage of their studies, a natural indolence checks their farther progress, and they forsake the sciences, leaving the surprising effects of their capacity imperfect.

The principal cause of the short duration of such promising beginnings, and of the indolent turn so often seen in these bright geniuses, is doubtless the want of proper objects for exercising their faculties, and the small hopes of being preferred to any post answerable to the pains they have taken. For as there is in this country neither army nor navy, and the civil employments very few, it is not at all surprising that the despair of making their fortunes, by this method, should dampen their ardour for excelling in the sciences, and plunge them into idleness, the sure forerunner of vice; where they lose the use of their reason, and stifle those good principles which fired them when young and under proper subjection. The same is evident in the mechanic arts, in which they demonstrate a surprising skill in a very little time; but soon leave these also imperfect, without attempting to improve on the methods of their masters. Nothing indeed is more surprising than the early advances of the mind in this country, children of two or three years of age conversing with a regularity and seriousness that is rarely seen in Europe at six or seven; and at an age when they can scarce see the light, are acquainted with all the depths of wickedness.

The genius of the Americans being more forward than that of the Europeans, many have been willing to believe that it also sooner decays; and that at sixty years, or before, they have

outlived that solid judgment and penetration, so general among us at that time of life; and it has been said that their genius decays, while that of the Europeans is hastening to its maturity and perfection. But this is a vulgar prejudice, confuted by numberless instances, and particularly by the celebrated father Fr. Benito Feyjoo. . . .

The use of brandy is so common, that the most regular and sober persons never omit drinking a glass of it every morning about eleven o'clock; alleging that this spirit strengthens the stomach, weakened by copious and constant perspiration, and sharpens the appetite. Hazer las onze, to take a whet at eleven, that is, to drink a glass of brandy, is the common invitation. This custom, not esteemed pernicious by these people, when used with moderation, has degenerated into vice; many being so fond of it, that, during the whole day, they do nothing but hazer las onze. Persons of distinction use Spanish brandy; but the lower class and Negroes very contentedly take up with that of the country, extracted from the juice of the sugar cane, and thence called Agoa ardente de canna, [*aguardiente*] or cane brandy, of which sort the consumption is much the greatest.

Chocolate, here known only by the name of cacao, is so common, that there is not a Negro slave but constantly allows himself a regale of it after breakfast; and the Negro women sell it ready made about the streets, at the rate of a quarter of a real (about five farthings sterling) for a dish. This is however so far from being all cacao, that the principal ingredient is maize; but that used by the better sort is neat, and worked as in Spain. This they constantly repeat an hour after dinner, but never use it fasting, or without eating something with it. . . .

The passion for smoking is no less universal, prevailing among persons of all ranks in both sexes. The ladies and other white women smoke in their houses, a decency not observed either by the women of the other casts, nor by the men in general, who regard neither time nor place. The manner of using it is, by slender rolls composed of the leaves of that plant; and the women have a particular manner of inhaling the smoke. They put the lighted part of the roll into their mouths, and there continue it a long time without its being quenched, or the fire incommoding them. A compliment paid to those for whom they profess an intimacy and esteem, is, to light their tobacco for them, and to hand them round to those who visit them. To refuse the offer would be a mark of rudeness not easily digested; and accordingly they are very cautious of paying this compliment to any but those whom they previously know to be used to tobacco. This custom the ladies learn in their childhood from their nurses, who are Negro slaves; it is so common among persons of rank, that those who come from Europe easily join in it, if they intend to make any considerable stay in the country.

One of the most favourite amusements of the natives here, is a ball, or Fandango. These are the distinguished rejoicing on festivals and remarkable days. But while the galleons, guarda costas, or other Spanish ships are here, they are most common, and at the same time conducted with the least order; the crews of the ships forcing themselves into their ballrooms. These diversions, in houses of distinction, are conducted in a very regular manner; they open with Spanish dances, and are suc-

³ Here, and in most parts of South America, they have their hair cut so short, that a stranger would think every man had a wig, but did not wear it on account of the heat. —A.

ceeded by those of the country, which are not without spirit and gracefulness. These are accompanied with singing, and the parties rarely break up before daylight.

The Fandangos, or balls, of the populace, consist principally in drinking brandy and wine, intermixed with indecent and scandalous motions and gestures; and these continual rounds of drinking soon give rise to quarrels, which often bring on misfortunes. When strangers of rank visit the city, they are generally at the expense of these balls; as the entrance is free, and no want of liquor, they need give themselves no concern about the want of company.

Source: George Juan and Antonio de Ulloa. *A Voyage to South America: Describing at Large the Spanish Cities, Towns, Provinces, &c.*, Vol. 1, translated by John Adams, 23–25, 29–40, passim (London: John Stockdale, 1807).

“Preliminary Remarks” on Venezuela’s Declaration of Independence, *Interesting Official Documents*, 1812 (Excerpts)

In 1812, a volume of documents published in English and Spanish appeared in London. Intended to enlist British support for Venezuelan independence, it provided lengthy unsigned “Preliminary Remarks” as an introduction to Venezuela’s Declaration of Independence of July 5, 1811, a manifesto outlining Venezuela’s reasons for declaring independence, the federal constitution of December 21, 1811, and other materials.

The opening remarks justified Venezuelan independence as an appropriate response to oppression and the denial of justified requests for redress. Employing terms such as corrupt, unreasonable restrictions, arbitrary acts, wanton ignorance, and a systematic plan of debasement, the author portrays the Venezuelan response as a reasonable last resort.

The Act of Independence presents the formal Venezuelan case for breaking with Spain. It pays attention to the political crisis caused by the abdications of Charles IV and Ferdinand VII and the French invasion of Spain. The interpretation of the abdications, however, condemns the Bourbons for acquiescing and “abandoning the country of Spain.” The act also criticizes the governments of resistance in Spain. Notable is the use of language reminiscent of the earlier American and French Revolutions.



PRELIMINARY REMARKS

No period of the history of nations, like the present, has been marked by events, so great and interesting. . . . Revolutions, both signal and unexpected, have taken place, reform has been the watch-word. . . . In Europe, whole nations have been seen to struggle for redress of grievances, even those who have been longest accustomed to clank the galling chains of Despotism, have pondered on their long forgotten rights, and have felt

that they were yet men. Whilst such was the sense of feeling in Europe, and similar was the sigh that re-echoed to the most distant poles, could it be expected that Spanish America, those regions so long trampled upon, and enslaved, where a reform was in short the most wanting, would alone stand still, and bear with her former hardships; that she would calmly behold, whilst the governments of Spain, were busied in meliorating their own condition, that she was yet debarred from all relief, her claims unheard, and that she was even left in a more degraded state, than under the corrupt administration of the late ministers of Charles IV. As was natural, these vast and interesting settlements equally felt the electric shock, for political, like human bodies, seem naturally destined to rise [sic] from irrational to rational life; and confident of the justice of their demands, they asked redress, but it was denied. . . .

The first and most material question that occurs in treating the subject, is, whether or not, the Spanish Settlements at the time of the entry of the French into Spain, and of the dissolution of the Monarchy, from their situation, required redress and a reform of government; and next, whether they asked it, and were denied. Too much is already known to the European public, and the degraded state of the colonies has been the too frequent theme of our own writers, as well as those of the French, to make it necessary here to give any picture of the state of these said colonies, or of the manner in which they were governed; suffice it to say, that the people were oppressed by the crown, and by monopolies; the commonalty and peasantry groaned under burdensome and unreasonable restrictions, destructive of all enterprise; the laws did not inflict punishment on the guilty, nor afford protection to the innocent; arbitrary acts were common; the natives were debarred⁴ from a fair participation in offices of trust and emolument; a system of government prevailed, disgraceful to the Statute books of Spain and the Indies, opposed to the common rights of mankind, and hostile to the dictates of truth and reason;⁵ the Americans in short, could be considered in no other state than in that of feudal vassalage to Spain. Who is there unapprised of those chasms which existed in the branches of industry, occasioned by wanton ignorance, by which great masses of labour were suspended; who is there that has not beheld a system of monopoly, generated by a false principle of preference to few, but hostile to productive labour, and destructive to the basis of

⁴ As a proof how little the Spanish Americans shared in the offices of distinction in their own country, we add the following statement of persons who have been in command there, since its settlement.

	EUROPEANS	AMERICANS
Arzobispo y Obispos	702	278
Virreyes	166	4
Capitanes Generales y Gobernadores	588	14
[Totals]	1,456	296

Vide *El Censor Extraordinario*, Cadiz, Jan. 26, 1810.

⁵ The Viceroy held in their own hands, the Executive, Legislative, and Military Powers.

society; a systematic plan of debasement extending even to the prohibition of the necessary schools;⁶ these are all facts which the most unblushing advocates for arbitrary power cannot deny, nor can they ever be palliated by the ingenious and specious pieces written in Cadiz to prove the utility and advantages of dependence and monopoly.

That repeated efforts were made for a reform of government, and to obtain the right of legislating locally for themselves in their own concerns, is proved, not only by the applications of the respective American municipalities and Juntas, but also by the Journals of the Cortes and their Debates. The claims of the Americans, were defined and laid before the Spanish Government, in eleven propositions on the 16th November, 1810, they were repeated on the 31st December, and again on the 1st of August, 1811 in the well known *Representacion de la Deputacion Americana á las Cortes de España*, but were never attended to. A torpor seemed to have succeeded to distress, and to the violent convulsions of a calamitous revolution, which appeared to render the government deaf to the just cries and appeals of a well deserving moiety of the nation; there was wanting a healing and cementing principle of benevolence, nor is there up to the present day, a proper measure of redress or of conciliation, on record.

Had the early governments of Spain, possessed talents, and disinterested views and virtues, suited to their power, in the first stages of the revolution, such was the enthusiastic spirit which pervaded the breast of every American, that they might have had them united as brothers, and besides have conferred upon them the most important blessings, such as humanity dictated, such as prudence and policy urged, and such as their own rights entitled them to. Unfortunately for both nations, and still more so for the common cause, the long neglected claims of the Americans remained unheard; in the eye of reason and justice that period had arrived, in which both continents were to be placed on an equal footing; yet no redress or reform was offered, every avenue to a fair restoration was closed, and there appears to have been a decided opposition to every revival of light, and to every restitution of happiness and equality. Mutual distrust and animosity gradually were engendered, an inextinguishable spirit of resentment at length flamed, and there appeared nothing left in the governments of Spain, of those enlightened principles which are always directed to the general, and not particular interests; an apathy followed, joined to a systematic exclusion from those diffused enjoyments which belonged to the whole, and not to the detached portions of the nation. The claims of the Americans tended to remove extensive, inveterate, and galling ills; this besides a right, became a measure of national policy, and when first agitated, if the welfare of the people had been really the object of the rulers in Spain, by merely following the dictates of an enlarged

philanthropy, we repeat, that they might have associated their American brethren [sic], by which they would have given force to those parts, they have now disjointed.

It is not in our power to enter into the different stages of open hostility, mutual aggression, and growing enmity, that have since been followed up; they are better seen from the official declarations of those sections, which have been driven to the extreme of separation; and perhaps no collection of documents is more explanatory thereof, than the following. Venezuela has been the first to break entirely the fetters which bound her to the mother country, and after three years expended in vain efforts of redress, and after bearing with every degradation and indignity that could be heaped upon her, she has asserted that undoubted right, which every people has, to interpose and to adopt such measures, as are most conducive to their own internal welfare, and the most effective to repel foreign attack.

That imperious causes have compelled her to this step, to this last alternative, is seen by the manifesto she addresses to the impartial world, and that the exertions of the representatives of the people are directed to the well-being of their constituents, is also evinced, by the constitution, framed for the administration of law, as well as from the results of their other solemn deliberations. It is indeed, an era, new to the inhabitants of Venezuela, to see their rights defined, and their liberties secured; it is a period novel and extraordinary, to behold their rulers and judges become answerable to them alone for their conduct; but through the transition from the abject state in which they lately drooped, to the dignified one in which they now stand, is great, it will nevertheless be found, that the natives of Spanish America, are generally as well prepared to share and enjoy the blessings at which they have aimed, as those of the nation, which seeks to prolong its sway over them; and the documents composing this volume, will be found as well constructed, as well argued, and in every sense as sound, as any of the boasted measures of the Cortes, and they exceed them in liberality and philanthropy. To every mind, pure and unprejudiced, the occurrences of Venezuela, will appear as the fair and honest result of a wish on the part of the people to insure to themselves the greatest security and happiness; nor can any opposite allegations of national policy, for a longer dependence, without redress, be urged, that will bear the test of candour and of reason, unless it can be proved, that a country becomes more interesting by being debased, than when rendered free and prosperous. . . .

. . . the ideas which circulated in the Settlements of the hopeless state of Spain, at the time the French entered Andalusia; to which was added the dread of falling into the hands of the same usurpers, were the chief causes of the Americans resolving no longer to trust to the administration of their European governors, conceiving their own affairs more secure when confided to their own assemblies or Juntas, whom they created after the manner of the Province of Spain. That they had cause to suspect the whole of the viceroys and governors, has been proved by posterior events; they all proclaimed the doctrine, that America ought to share the same fate as the Peninsula, and that when the one was conquered, the other was

⁶ It is a fact that notwithstanding the remonstrances of the municipality, the university, and all the representative bodies, in Caracas, it was not allowed to teach mathematics, to have a printing-press, a school for the tuition of navigation, or the study of jus publicum; and that in Merida, one of the provinces of Venezuela, a university was not tolerated. In Buenos Ayres, and in other parts, similar restrictions existed.

to submit; in short, the commanders abroad were prepared for this alternative, they had been previously chosen by the Prince of Peace, and were ready to be moulded to the views on which he had acted. Was it therefore natural, was it reasonable, after their own dear-bought experience, for these distant colonies to have confidence in such chiefs; was it prudent to leave themselves to the mercy of men, who had no other interest in the country, than to prolong the continuation of their command, which had been secured to them by the French, and their Spanish partisans. . . .

That a people, capable of addressing to the world such sentiments, as are contained in the documents comprising this volume, and that after emerging from the dark reign of feudal vassalage, they will ever again descend from the summit of felicity and dignity to which they have attained, to the wretchedness and dishonour attendant on despotic government, appears the wild chimera of political visionaries. . . .

ACT OF INDEPENDENCE

IN THE NAME OF THE ALL-POWERFUL GOD,

We the Representatives of the United Provinces of Caracas, Cumana, Varinas, Margarita, Barcelona, Merida, and Truxillo, forming the American Confederation of Venezuela, in the South Continent, in Congress assembled, considering the full and absolute possession of our Rights, which we recovered justly and legally from the 19th of April, 1810, in consequence of the occurrences in Bayona, and the occupation of the Spanish Throne by conquest, and the succession of a new Dynasty, constituted without our consent: are desirous, before we make use of those Rights, of which we have been deprived by force for more than three ages, but now restored to us by the political order of human events, to make known to the world the reasons which have emanated from these same occurrences, and which authorize us in the free use we are now about to make of our own Sovereignty.

We do not wish, nevertheless, to begin by alledging [sic] the rights inherent in every conquered country, to recover its state of property and independence; we generously forget the long series of ills, injuries, and privations, which the sad right of conquest has indistinctly caused, to all the descendants of the Discoverers, Conquerors, and Settlers of these Countries, plunged into a worse state by the very same cause that ought to have favoured them; and, drawing a veil over the 300 years of Spanish dominion in America, we will now only present to view the authentic and well-known facts, which ought to have wrested from one world, the right over the other, by the invasion, disorder, and conquest, that have already dissolved the Spanish Nation.

This disorder has increased the ills of America, by rendering void its claims and remonstrances, enabling the Governors of Spain to insult and oppress this part of the Nation, thus leaving it without the succour and guarantee of the Laws.

It is contrary to order, impossible to the Government of Spain, and fatal to the welfare of America, that the latter, possessed of a range of country infinitely more extensive, and a population incomparably more numerous, should depend and be subject to a Peninsular Corner of the European Continent.

The Cessions and Abdications at Bayona, the Revolutions of the Escorial and Aranjuez, and the Orders of the Royal Substitute, the Duke of Berg, sent to America, suffice to give virtue to the rights, which till then the Americans had sacrificed to the unity and integrity of the Spanish Nation.

Venezuela was the first to acknowledge, and generously to preserve, this integrity; not to abandon the cause of its brothers, as long as the same retained the least hope of salvation.

America was called into a new existence, since she could, and ought, to take upon herself the charge of her own fate and preservation; as Spain might acknowledge, or not, the rights of a King, who had preferred his own existence to the dignity of the Nation over which he governed.

All the Bourbons concurred to the invalid stipulations of Bayona, abandoning the country of Spain, against the will of the People;—they violated, disdained, and trampled on the sacred duty they had contracted with the Spaniards of both Worlds, when with their blood and treasure they had placed them on the Throne, in despite of the House of Austria. By such a conduct, they were left disqualified and incapable of governing a Free People, whom they delivered up like a flock of Slaves.

The intrusive Governments that arrogated to themselves the National Representation, took advantage of the dispositions which the good faith, distance, oppression, and ignorance, created in the Americans, against the new Dynasty that had entered Spain by means of force; and contrary to their principles, they sustained amongst us the illusion in favour of Ferdinand, in order to devour and harass us with impunity: at most, they promised to us liberty, equality, and fraternity, conveyed in pompous discourses and studied phrases, for the purpose of covering the snare laid by a cunning, useless, and degrading Representation.

As soon as they were dissolved, and had substituted amongst themselves the various forms of the Government of Spain; and as soon as the imperious law of necessity had dictated to Venezuela the urgency of preserving itself, in order to guard and maintain the rights of her King, and to offer an asylum to her European brethren against the ills that threatened them; their former conduct was divulged: they varied their principles, and gave the appellations of insurrection, perfidy, and ingratitude, to the same acts that had served as models for the Governments of Spain; because then was closed to them the gate to the monopoly of administration, which they meant to perpetuate under the name of an imaginary King.

Notwithstanding our protests, our moderation, generosity, and the inviolability of our principles, contrary to the wishes of our brethren in Europe, we were declared in a state of rebellion; we were blockaded; war was declared against us; agents were sent amongst us, to excite us one against the other, endeavouring to take away our credit with the other Nations of Europe, by imploring their assistance to oppress us.

Without taking the least notion of our reasons, without presenting them to the impartial judgment of the world, and without any other judges than our own enemies, we were condemned to a mournful incommunication with our brethren; and, to add contempt to calumny, empowered agents are named

for us, against our own express will, that in their Cortes they may arbitrarily dispose of our interests, under the influence and force of our enemies.

In order to crush and suppress the effects of our Representation, when they were obliged to grant it to us, we were submitted to a paltry and diminutive scale; and the form of election was subjected to the passive voice of the Municipal Bodies, degraded by the despotism of the Governors: which amounted to an insult to our plain dealing and good faith, more than a consideration of our incontestable political importance.

Always deaf to the cries of justice on our part, the Governments of Spain have endeavoured to discredit all our efforts, by declaring as criminal, and stamping with infamy, and rewarding with the scaffold and confiscation, every attempt, which at different periods some Americans have made, for the felicity of their country: as was that which lately our own security dictated to us, that we might not be driven into a state of disorder which we foresaw, and hurried to that horrid fate which we are about to remove for ever from us. By means of such atrocious policy, they have succeeded in making our brethren insensible to our misfortunes; in arming them against us; in erasing from their bosoms the sweet impressions of friendship, of consanguinity; and converting into enemies a part of our own great family.

At a time that we, faithful to our promises, were sacrificing our security and civil dignity, not to abandon the rights which we generously preserved to Ferdinand of Bourbon, we have seen that, to the relations of force which bound him to the Emperor of the French, he has added the ties of blood and friendship; in consequence of which, even the Governments of Spain have already declared their resolution only to acknowledge him conditionally.⁷

In this mournful alternative we have remained three years, in a state of political indecision and ambiguity, so fatal and dangerous, that this alone would suffice to authorize the resolution, which the faith of our promises, and the bonds of fraternity had caused us to defer, till necessity has obliged us to go beyond what we at first proposed, impelled by the hostile and unnatural conduct of the Governments of Spain, which have disburdened us of our conditional oath, by which circumstance, we are called to the august representation we now exercise.

But we, who glory in grounding our proceedings on better principles, and not wishing to establish our felicity on the misfortunes of our fellow-beings, do consider and declare as friends, companions of our fate, and participators of our felicity, those who, united to us by the ties of blood, language, and religion, have suffered the same evils in the anterior order of things, provided they acknowledge our *absolute independence* of the same, and of any other foreign power whatever; that they aid us to sustain it with their lives, fortune, and sentiments; declaring and acknowledging them (as well as to every other nation,) in war enemies, and in peace friends, brothers [sic], and co-patriots.

In consequence of all these solid, public, and incontestable reasons of policy, which so powerfully urge the necessity of recovering our natural dignity, restored to us by the order of events; and in compliance with the imprescriptible rights enjoyed by nations, to destroy every pact, agreement, or association, which does not answer the purposes for which governments were established; we believe that we cannot, nor ought not, to preserve the bonds which hitherto kept us united to the Government of Spain; and that, like all the other nations of the world, we are free, and authorized not to depend on any other authority than our own, and to take amongst the powers of the earth the place of equality which the Supreme Being and Nature assign to us, and to which we are called by the succession of human events, and urged by our own good and utility.

Notwithstanding we are aware of the difficulties that attend, and the obligations imposed upon us, by the rank we are about to take in the political order of the world; as well as the powerful influence of forms and habitudes, to which unfortunately we have been accustomed: we at the same time know, that the shameful submission to them, when we can throw them off, would be still more ignominious for us, and more fatal to our posterity, than our long and painful slavery; and that it now becomes an indispensable duty to provide for our own preservation, security, and felicity, by essentially varying all the forms of our former constitution.

In consequence whereof, considering, by the reasons thus alledged [sic], that we have satisfied the respect which we owe to the opinions of the human race, and the dignity of other nations, in the number of whom we are about to enter, and on whose communication and friendship we rely: We, the Representatives of the United Provinces of Venezuela, calling on the **SUPREME BEING** to witness the justice of our proceedings and the rectitude of our intentions, do implore his divine and celestial help; and ratifying, at the moment in which we are born to the dignity which his Providence restores to us, the desire we have of living and dying free, and of believing and defending the holy Catholic and Apostolic Religion of Jesus Christ. We, therefore, in the name and by the will and authority which we hold from the virtuous People of Venezuela, **DO** declare solemnly to the world, that its united Provinces are, and ought to be, from this day, by act and right, Free, Sovereign, and Independent States; and that they are absolved from every submission and dependence on the Throne of Spain, or on those who do, or may call themselves its Agents and Representatives; and that a free and independent State, thus constituted, has full power to take that form of Government which may be conformable to the general will of the People, to declare war, make peace, form alliances, regulate treaties of commerce, limits, and navigation; and to do and transact every act, in like manner as other free and independent States. And that this, our solemn Declaration, may be held valid, firm, and durable, we hereby mutually bind each Province to the other, and pledge our lives, fortunes, and the sacred tie of our national honour. Done in the Federal Palace of Caracas; signed by our own hands, sealed with the great Provisional Seal of the Confederation, and

⁷ He was at one time supposed to be married to a relation of Buonaparte.

countersigned by the Secretary of Congress, this 5th day of July, 1811, the first of our Independence. [signatures follow]

Source: *Interesting Official Documents Relating to the United Provinces of Venezuela*, iii–xxiii, 3–19 (London: Longman & Co., 1812).

**On the Independence of Peru,
William B. Stevenson, *A Historica
and Descriptive Narrative of Twenty Years'
Residence in South America, 1825* (Excerpts)**

William Bennet Stevenson described himself as the former private secretary to the president and captain general of Quito, a naval officer, and private secretary of Thomas, Lord Cochrane. An eyewitness to events in Peru, he published a three-volume account of his travels in 1825.

Stevenson clearly considered Peruvian independence desirable (“redeemed from foreign despotism”) but noted that it was the support of other independent governments that effected it. The importance of José de San Martín is obvious. The author’s description of the proclamation of Peruvian independence on July 28, 1821, gives no indication that many Peruvians signed the declaration under duress. The initial tenuousness accompanying independence is evident in the final paragraphs of the selection.



The population of Peru has been estimated at 1,300,000. This population is similar to other parts of America, formerly Spanish, consisting of Creoles, European Spaniards, Indians, Negroes, and the various mixed races. The European Spaniards have nearly disappeared, in consequence of the revolution. The Creoles constitute the enlightened portion of the community, and are the most efficient and patriotic supporters of liberty and independence. The people of colour comprising the Indians and all the casts have been much devoted to the revolution. The Indians, heretofore a much degraded class, have generally filled the ranks of the armies, and made excellent soldiers. The Negroes and Mulattos are most numerous on the coast of the Pacific, and the Indians, Mestizos, and Cholos, in the interior. The latter class are derived from Mestizos and Indians. These degraded classes possess great muscular power, and are remarkable for the quickness of their perception, and their faculty for imitation. They make ingenious artisans and mechanics, excel in painting and sculpture; many of their performances in these arts are said not to be inferior to those of the Italian masters. Some of these classes have been even leaders in the revolution. Many mulattos on the coast possess property, and make pretensions to learning, particularly to medicine, as they are not permitted to enter into the professions of law or divinity; they afford many expert quacks. Before the revolution, they obtained letters patent of the king, conferring on them the *dignity and title* of “Don,” of which they were extremely vain. . . .

[T]he gallant general San Martin, perceiving that the independence of Chili would be much exposed, while the royalists were able to command the wealth and resources of Peru, conceived the noble project of liberating that country also. He, accordingly, with the aid of the governments of Chili and Buenos Ayres, made immediate preparations to fit out an expedition against that country. A naval armament was provided with all possible hast, and lord Cochrane, arriving in Chili, in November, 1818, was immediately appointed to the command. Many English and American officers and seamen flocked to his standard, and by great exertions a formidable squadron was equipped, and sailed in 1819. This squadron visited the coast of Peru, and continued to harass the enemy by capturing their ships, and blockading their ports, until the army was ready, which was not, however, until August, 1820. The expedition was reported ready for sailing on the 15th, and on the 18th the troops were embarked on Valparaiso. Their appearance and discipline were worthy of any country, and their numbers amounted to 4900; 15,000 stand of arms, with a proportionate quantity of ammunition and clothing, were shipped for the purpose of organizing a corps of Peruvians, who, it was expected, would flock to the revolutionary standard as soon as the expedition landed. General San Martin was appointed commander in chief of the liberating army of Peru. The fleet under lord Cochrane consisted of the flag ship of fifty guns, one of sixty guns, another of forty, and four smaller vessels; the transports were twenty in number.⁸

Before the expedition sailed, the following bulletin was published:

An expedition, equipped by means of great sacrifices, is at length ready to proceed, and the army of Chili, united to that of the Andes, is now called upon to redeem the land in which slavery has long existed, and from whence the latest efforts have been made to oppress the whole continent. Happy be this day on which the record of the movements and the actions of the expedition commences. The object of this enterprise is to decide whether or not the time is arrived, when the influence of South America upon the rest of the world, shall be commensurate with its extent, its riches, and its’ situation.

The expedition sailed from the port of Valparaiso in Chili on the 20th of August, 1820, and reached Pisco, which is situated about 100 miles south of Lima, on the 7th of September, and by the 11th the whole army was disembarked. The Spanish troops stationed in the neighbourhood had previously retired to Lima, where the viceroy resolved to collect his whole army. The liberating army at first encountered no resistance, and on the 26th of September an armistice for eight days was concluded, at the request of the viceroy, and commissioners from both parties held a conference. On the 4th of October, the armistice terminated without any successful result to the negotiation, which had been

⁸ Journal of B. Hall.

attempted, and on the 26th the expedition moved northward to Ancon. Lord Cochrane, with part of the squadron, anchored in the outer roads of Callao, the sea port of Lima. The inner harbour is extensively and strongly fortified, and is called the castle of Callao. Under the protection of the batteries, lay three Spanish armed vessels of war, a forty gun frigate, and two sloops of war, guarded by fourteen gun boats. On the night of the 5th of November, lord Cochrane, with 240 volunteers in fourteen boats, attempted the daring enterprise of cutting out the Spanish frigate, and succeeded in the most gallant manner, with the loss of only 41 killed and wounded. The Spanish loss was 120 men. This success annihilated the Spanish naval power on the Pacific.

The joy occasioned by this splendid naval exploit was increased by col. Arenales, who had been sent from Pisco with 1000 men, with orders to proceed by a circuitous route around Lima, until he rejoined the army. On his march, he attacked and defeated a detachment of the royal army sent from Lima to oppose him; and at the same time took the commanding officer prisoner. Many districts declared in favour of the liberating army, and the revolutionary cause became so popular, that on the 3d of December a whole regiment of the royalists, with their colonel at their head, deserted from the Spanish service, and joined the liberating army.

After a short stay at Ancon, San Martin proceeded to Huara, a strong position near the port of Huacho, about 75 miles north of Lima. Here the army remained for six months, engaged in recruiting; in disseminating the spirit of independence, and cutting off the resources of the royalists in Lima. After another unavailing armistice, the liberating army began to advance towards the capital on the 5th of July, 1821, when the viceroy, alarmed for its security, issued a proclamation, announcing his intention of abandoning the city, and pointing out Callao as a asylum for those who felt insecure in the capital. This was a signal for an immediate flight; the consternation was excessive throughout the city; the road to Callao was crowded with fugitives, carrying their most valuable effects. The women were seen flying in all directions towards the convents, and the narrow streets were literally chocked up with loaded wagons, mules, and mounted horsemen; the confusion continuing all night, and until day-break. The viceroy marched out with his troops, not leaving a single sentinel over the power magazine, having previously nominated the marquis Montemire as governor of the city, who immediately called a meeting of the inhabitants, and the cabildo, or town council, which resolved to invite San Martin to enter the capital. The answer of San Martin was full of magnanimity, and immediately inspired the greatest confidence among the inhabitants. He told them that he did not desire to enter the capital as a conqueror, but as their liberator; adding as proof of his sincerity, that the governor might command a portion of his troops, for the security of the persons and property of the inhabitants. The people who deserted the city, now returned to their dwellings, and order was restored; and San Martin, who a few days before was considered an enemy, was now hailed as a benefactor. On the 12th of July, he made his entry into the capital, without ostentation or ceremony, and in a manner worthy of a republican general. He was accompanied by a single aid-

de-camp only, and was received with the greatest enthusiasm by most of the inhabitants. All classes were anxious to behold the man who had performed such distinguished services for their country; he was kind, courteous, and affable to all. The females caught the enthusiasm of the men, and vied with each other in paying their respects to their liberator. To every one he had something kind and appropriate to say, occasioning an agreeable surprise to the person he addressed. San Martin now commenced the difficult task of reforming the abuses of the colonial government, and published an address to the Peruvians, containing sound and judicious sentiments, which justly entitles it to preservation.⁹

On the 28th of July, 1821, the independence of Peru was solemnly proclaimed. The troops were drawn up in the great square, in the centre of which was erected a lofty stage, from which San Martin, accompanied by the governor and some of the principal inhabitants, displayed for the first time the independent flag proclaiming that Peru was *free* and *independent*, by the general will of the people, and the justice of her cause: Then waving the flag, San Martin exclaimed *Vive La Patria! Vive La Libertad! Vive La Independencia!* which was reiterated by the multitude in the square, while the bells rung a joyous peal, and cannon were discharged amidst the universal acclamations of the people. On the 3d of August, San Martin took upon himself the title of protector of Peru, and issued a proclamation.

This proclamation concluded by declaring that the supreme political authority and military command were united in him, under the title of protector, and that Juan Garcia del Rial was named secretary of state, and by specifying the other appointments under his new government. He also addressed a proclamation to the Spaniards, bearing date the 4th of August, in which he says, that he has respected their persons and property agreeably to his promise, but notwithstanding which, they murmur in secret, and maliciously propagate suspicious of his intentions. He assures those who remain peaceable, who swear to the independence of the country, and respect the new government, of being protected in their persons and estates; he offers to such as do not confide in his word, the privilege of passports, within a given time, to leave the country with all their effects, and declares that those who remain and profess to submit to the government, but are plotting against it, shall feel the full rigour of the law, and be deprived of their possessions. . . .

Peru is entirely emancipated from the dominion of Spain. It declared its independence in 1821, after it was liberated by San Martin, and organized a government. This government, however, maintained its authority but a short time after San Martin left Peru, and the Spaniards re-established their authority over the country, which continued until the arrival of the liberating army, under the magnanimous Bolivar, in 1824.

After the great victory of Ayacucho, which annihilated the Spanish army, and liberated the whole of Peru, Bolivar, who had been appointed dictator, convened a congress, and resigned into their hands his authority. This congress, which was installed on the 10th of February, 1825, conferred on the

⁹ Journal of captain Basil Hall.

liberator the supreme political and military power, until the constitutional congress should be installed, in the year 1826. The government, therefore, in Peru, is not yet actually established; its powers are exercised by the Liberator as president and dictator; it is expected that a congress will be convened, a constitution framed, and a republican government organized and put into operation during the year 1823. The Peruvian

territories are the last of the Spanish American dominions redeemed from foreign despotism, and this has been effected by the other independent governments.

Source: W. B. Stevenson. *A Historical and Descriptive Narrative of Twenty Years' Residence in South America*, Vol. 2, 133–144 (London: Hurst, Robinson & Co., 1825).

❧ GLOSSARY ❧

- afrancesados** Spanish supporters of Joseph I
- alcalde de la hermandad** rural constable
- alcalde del primer voto** chairman of a municipal council
- alcalde ordinario** magistrate of first instance in municipalities
- alcaldía mayor** district administered by a provincial official known as an *alcalde mayor*
- alférez mayor** municipal standard-bearer
- alguacil mayor** sheriff or chief constable
- almojarifazgo** import and export duties
- alternativa** formal rotation between Spaniards and creoles in the offices of some religious orders in the Spanish Empire and between Portuguese and *brasileiros* in the Franciscan order in Brazil
- anata entera** tax of one year's salary on royal officeholders
- apiri** ore carrier at mines in Peru
- Armada del Sur** South Sea Fleet based in Callao, Peru
- arras** groom's gift to the bride
- arroba** weight of 25 pounds, or 11.34 kilograms
- asentista** investor in an *asiento*
- avería** tax to pay for defense of the fleets sailing to and from the Americas
- aviador** merchant creditor to miners and officeholders
- aviso** dispatch ship carrying official correspondence and information about the anticipated arrival of a fleet
- ayllu** Andean kin group descended from a common ancestor and with access to land
- ayuntamiento** municipal council; also known as a *cabildo*
- bajón** bassoon
- bamba** popular dance considered "indecent" by some
- bandeirante** participant in a slaving expedition (*bandeira*) against Amerindians in Brazil; *bandeirantes* often set out from São Paulo
- barrio** neighborhood or district in a municipality
- batab** Maya term for leader of an indigenous community; equivalent to cacique and *kuraka*
- bizcocho** hard, dry wafers eaten by sailors at sea
- botija** earthenware jug; often used as a measure for wine
- bozal** slave born in and brought into the Americas directly from Africa
- brasileiro** Portuguese born in Brazil; equivalent to *criollo* in Spanish America
- brigadier de la armada** naval rank between *jefe de escuadra* and *capitán de navío*
- búcaro de Indias** a type of earthenware
- bula de Santa Cruzada** an indulgence that provided income to the Spanish Crown
- caballerizo mayor** master of the horse; a high-ranking official in a royal household
- caballero** knight or horseman
- cabildo** municipal council; also known as an *ayuntamiento*
- cabildo eclesiástico** cathedral chapter
- cachaça** sugar brandy produced in Brazil
- cacicazgo** rights and properties of a cacique
- caja de comunidad** municipal treasury in colonial Native American villages
- caja real** royal treasury office
- Cámara of the Indies** a small group within the Council of the Indies that recommended candidates for positions in the colonies; analogous to the Cámara of Castile
- Camino Real** the royal highway or road
- capa y espada** literally "cape and sword"; the phrase distinguishes nonlawyers from *letrados*
- capitação** head tax on slaves in Brazil
- capitán de fragata** commanding officer of a frigate
- capitán de navío** naval officer between brigadier and capitán de fragata
- capitán de reales guardias españolas** captain of the royal Spanish guard
- capitão do mato** professional hunter of runaway slaves
- capitão mor** governor
- capitulación** contract between the Crown and an explorer or leader of an expedition
- casa de fundición** royal smeltery
- casa de moneda** mint
- Casa de Suplicação** High Court of Appeals in Lisbon

casa poblada fixed residence in a municipality

casa real staff of a royal household

catastro single tax on income proposed by the marqués de la Ensenada

cédula a royal decree issued by a council over the monarch's signature

certámenes poetic contests

chanfre precenter

chapetón derogatory term for a peninsular; poor, boorish greenhorn

chicha alcoholic beverage made from corn in Peru; corn beer

chino in Peru, offspring of an Amerindian and an African; in New Spain, an enslaved Filipino

chirimía flute

chorillo shop producing coarse fabric

chuchumbe popular dance considered indecent by some

chuño freeze-dried potatoes in Charcas

cimarrón fugitive slave

claustro governing body of a colonial university

coa digging stick

cobija a type of poncha worn by *llaneros*

coboclos offspring of white and indigenous parents in Brazil; synonymous with *mestiços* and *mamelucos*

colegial a student in a secondary school (*colegio*) in the Spanish colonies and Brazil

coliseo playhouse

comandante del navío naval commander

comandante general de marina high-ranking naval officer

comarca district or province in Brazil

comendador knight of a military order with an income derived from an *encomienda* in Iberia

comerciante wholesale merchant

comissário volante itinerant trader in Brazil

compadrazgo godparentage

composición fee charged to regularize a land title and certain legal infractions

conciencia de sí sense of local pride and awareness

confraria religious brotherhood in Brazil; synonymous with *irmandade*

consolidación an effort by the Spanish Crown in the early 19th century to appropriate the funds of pious foundations and chantries

convictorio residential *colegio* for secondary students

corral enclosed courtyard where theatrical productions were presented

criollo a creole; term applied to a Spaniard born in the New World and, less frequently, to an African slave born in the New World

cuerpo de blandengues cavalry unit in Banda Oriental

cura priest

cura doctrinero priest in an indigenous parish

degredado criminal sent into penal exile

depositario general public trustee

derecho indiano Spanish colonial law

derrama a per-capita tax; in Guatemala a version of the *reparto*

desagüe drainage project in the Valley of Mexico

desembargador judge on a *relação* in the Portuguese world; counterpart to an *oidor* on Spanish courts

diezmo a tithe or 10 percent tax for the church paid on specified agricultural products

divorcio permanent separation of a married couple but with no right of remarriage while both spouses lived

dizimo tithe in Brazil; equivalent to *diezmo* in Spanish America

doctrina de indios an Amerindian parish

domiciliario peninsular cleric who remained in the Americas

don, doña lord, lady; terms recognizing nobility

dote da Inglaterra English dowry; annual tax levied on each municipal council in Brazil

ejido common land held by a Native American village in New Spain

encabezamiento lump sum that a municipality paid for taxes originally levied on a per capita basis

encomienda mitaya form of *encomienda* used in Paraguay

encomienda originaria form of *encomienda* used in Paraguay

enconchado oil painting with mother-of-pearl

entradas quasi-military expeditions sent to enslave Native Americans in Brazil

escribano a notary

español americano American Spaniard; creole

español europeo peninsular Spaniard

estancia de labor plowland

estancia de labor y ganados fields and livestock

estancia de pan llevar wheatland

estanciero owner of land (*estancia*) used for ranching

europeo in the Spanish colonies, a person born in Spain

europeu in Brazil, a person born in Portugal

Euskera Basque language

exaltado radical

familiar agent of the Inquisition

farinha de mandioca flour made from the cassava (manioc)

fazendeiro owner of land used for ranching (*fazenda*) in Brazil

fianza performance bond required of some officeholders

fidalgos low-level gentry; the lowest rank of nobility in the Portuguese world

fiel ejecutor inspector of weights and measures

fijo regular army units

filho da terra term used in Brazil for locally born Portuguese; analogous to creole in Spanish America

flota fleet; fleet sent from Spain to New Spain

gachupín derogatory term for a peninsular; arrogant newcomer

ganado mayor cattle

ganado menor sheep and goats

- gobierno municipal** municipal matters
- golpe de estado** coup d'état
- gracia y justicia** "grace and justice"; portfolio of a ministry of the same name created in early 18th-century Spain
- grand blanc** great plantation owner on Saint Domingue
- guardia marina/guardiamarina** midshipman
- guayaquileño** person from Guayaquil, Ecuador
- guayra** Andean wind oven used in processing silver ore prior to the introduction of the amalgamation process
- guesito** popular dance considered "indecent" by some
- hábito** knighthood
- hacendado** owner of a landed estate (hacienda), often of considerable size
- hacienda de minas** reduction works for processing silver ore
- heredades** estates in the Arequipa, Peru, region devoted to commercial production of wine
- hidalgo** untitled noble; the lowest level of nobility in Spain; *fidalgo* in Portugal
- huacas** traditional Andean gods
- huasos** Chilean cowboys
- indios de faltriquera** "Indians in the pocket"; the cash that mine owners received in lieu of *mitayo* labor
- irmandade** religious brotherhood in Brazil; synonym for *cofraria*
- ius commune** Roman legal tradition of civil and canon law
- jefe de escuadra** naval rank between lieutenant general and brigadier
- jefe político** political chief; administrative title employed in the Spanish Constitution of 1812
- jefe político superior** superior political chief; reduced title given to viceroys in the Spanish Constitution of 1812
- juego de cañas** mock combat with teams of mounted contestants armed with a cane and a shield
- juez** judge
- juez de repartimiento/juez repartidor** official that distributed *repartimiento* labor
- juez hacedor** cleric who oversaw the collection and disbursement of tithes
- juiz de fora** royal judge in Brazil
- junta de fazenda** treasury board in Brazil; created in 1760s
- Juzgado de Indias** court for commercial matters related to the Spanish colonies; subordinate to the Casa de Contratación
- ladino** casta or Hispanized Native American in Guatemala
- latifundio** large landed estate
- lengua general** term applied to written version of Quechua
- limeño** person born in Lima, Peru
- limpeça da sangue** purity of blood or unsullied ancestry; Portuguese equivalent of *limpieza de sangre*
- lingua geral** term applied to a common form of the Tupí-Guaraní language
- Llanos** tropical plains of Venezuela
- Lonja/Casa Lonja** merchant exchange in Seville, Spain
- lugar** here, hamlet
- maestro de capilla** music director
- magistral** copper or iron pyrite; employed in amalgamation process
- maravedí** Spanish unit of account of very small value
- masa** dough made of corn for tortillas
- mate** silver cup used for drinking *yerba maté*
- medio-rationero** lowest-level member of a cathedral chapter
- mercedes** grants made by the king or his representative of land, office, labor, or other items
- mesta** stockmen's association
- mestiço** offspring of white and indigenous parents in Brazil; also known as *mameluco* and *coboco*; same as *metizo* in Spanish America
- milpa** native field in New Spain typically used for growing maize
- minga** non-*mitayo* wage-earning indigenous miner in Charcas
- ministro togado** councilor of the Indies and other councils who was a *letrado*
- mitayo** Amerindian subject to the rotational forced labor draft of South America known as the *mita*
- mocambo** fugitive slave community in Brazil; synonymous with *quilombo*
- molino** mill; stamping mill in mining
- molletes** low-quality bread in Potosí
- monica** black grape planted in Chile for wine production
- montañés** person from the Province of Santander, Spain
- moreno** person with both parents of African ancestry
- morgado** entailed estate in Portuguese world; comparable to *mayorazgo* in Spanish world
- Morisco** christianized Muslim
- municipio** town in Brazil
- norte chico** part of Atacama and Aconcagua provinces and province of Coquimbo in Chile
- novohispano** person born and reared in New Spain
- obrador** small shop used for weaving
- obraje de añil** dyeworks for indigo
- oficial real** one of the royal treasury employees designated to collect and disburse income in Spanish America
- originario** Native American with rights and responsibilities in village of birth
- ouvidor** judge on a *relação* in Brazil
- paisano** countryman, usually from the same small region or municipality
- palenque** a fortified hamlet of runaway slaves in Spanish America; equivalent to *quilombo* in Brazil
- palmarista** resident of Palmares, a fugitive slave community Brazil
- panadería** bakery
- pan blanca** finest wheat bread

paniaguado hanger-on; part of an entourage
pañó azul blue woolen cloth produced in Quito
parlamento meeting between Spanish authority and Araucanian leaders in Chile
partido subdistrict of an intendency
patio process amalgamation process that employed mercury to separate silver from ore
paulista a person from São Paulo; frontiersman and Indian slaver
pechero person in Spain required to pay ahead tax or tribute known as the *pecho*; commoner
pella amalgam of silver and mercury
pelota a game of handball
pena infame degrading judicial sentences from which nobles were exempt
pés de chumbo leaden feet; derogatory term for a person born in Portugal
peso weight; gold or silver coin of specified value
petit blanc artisan, working class, or small land-owning white on Saint Domingue
picota pillar of justice placed in a central plaza
pieza de Indias standard unit applied to slaves
piña conical form in which silver and mercury amalgam was placed for heating
porteño person from Buenos Aires
praça plaza in Portuguese world
principal Native American noble
procurador general municipal attorney; synonym is *síndico*
pruebas genealogical proofs of nobility and *limpieza de sangre*
quinto de couro tax on cattle hides in Brazil
raconero low-ranking member of a cathedral chapter
radicado man tied to his district of employment by length of service and local financial or family relationships
Ratio studiorum classical curriculum taught by Jesuits
real one-eighth of a silver peso if a silver *real*; one-twentieth of a peso if copper
real acuerdo a meeting of an executive with his *audiencia* in an advisory or cabinet capacity; the viceroy-in-council
real caja royal treasury office
Real Erário Royal Treasury in Portuguese world after reorganization in the 1760s
receptor de penas collector of fines
relator an officer of a court responsible for preparing a brief for the case at hand
renta an annuity
república de españoles Spaniards as a whole
república de indios Native Americans as a whole
rey intruso “intrusive king”; applied to Joseph I, whom Napoleon forced on Spain
saladero salted beef processing plant in the Río de la Plata region
sambo alternate spelling of *zambo*
san benito/sanbenito penitential garb worn by persons found guilty by the Inquisition

sarao soirée
segundón younger son of a Spanish grandee or titled noble
senado de câmara municipal council in Brazil
senhor Portuguese equivalent to *señor* in Spanish; mister
servicio personal term used in Yucatán for draft labor
sesmaria land grant in Brazil usually of one league square; about 17 square miles, or 43.5 square kilometers
sirvinacuy trial marriage in Andean Peru
situado a financial subsidy sent from the royal treasuries of Lima and Mexico City to outlying parts of the Spanish Empire
subsídio excise tax in Brazil
sumiller de corps grand chamberlain at the royal court
suplente substitute deputy, especially at the Cortes of Cádiz
tambo supply station maintained along major roads in Peru; *tambos* predated the arrival of the Spaniards
tamemes/tlamemes indigenous porters
telar suelto individual loom used in weaving
temporalidades revenue-producing properties of the Jesuits that the Spanish Crown sold or assigned after expelling the Society.
teniente lieutenant; associate or substitute for a provincial administrator
teniente y asesor lieutenant and legal adviser; commonly an assistant to an intendant
three-fer bread for the poor in Potosí
torta mixture of silver ore, salt, and mercury that was spread on a patio as part of refining process
trajín mule or llama train
trapiche animal-powered sugar mill; small shop used for weaving
traza checkerboard layout of surveyed and measured streets and lots in a municipality
ultramar/provincias de ultramar overseas; Spain’s colonies or overseas domains
vales reales large-denomination, interest-bearing paper bills
valido royal favorite
vaqueiro cowboy in Brazil
vecindad the condition of citizenship held by *vecinos*
vecino ciudadano non-*encomendero* who was a citizen with a lot and house in a municipality
vecino encomendero/vecino feudatorio *encomendero* who was a citizen in a municipality
veinti-cuatro an alderman of some cities in the Spanish world; synonym of *regidor*
vellón copper coinage
vía reservada minister of the Indies and other ministers that reported directly to the monarch
viñatería liquor store in Mexico
visitador official inspector appointed by the Crown
yungas low-altitude tropical lands on the eastern side of the Andes

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