

**COLONIAL
LATIN AMERICA**

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For Paula Crockett Mabry

Preface

The material in this book comes from my teaching Latin American history over many years. It does not pretend to be a textbook, although it could form the basis of one. It is more than an outline but much is omitted. This little book contains notes and commentary on important topics. It reflects my interpretation of Latin America in the colonial period. My focus is political and economic; I am more comfortable with such topics. Such topics as art, drama, and music are not mentioned. My expertise does not extend to these very worthwhile subjects. Some chapters are more complete than others because I taught more about them. In a number of instances, I have used lists to make it easier to spot important points. Readers should find that the book covers the essentials but that they might want to read articles and other books to find out more.

Colonial Latin America, which lasted for about 300 years for most of the region, was extraordinarily complex and rich in texture. There are enormous differences between Mexico, on the one hand, and Brazil, on the other. The term “Latin America” is not only shorthand but

also a bit of a misnomer, for much of it was not Latin. It was Indian or mestizo or African, often with little more than a veneer of Iberian culture. The degree to which it was any of these are Spanish, Portuguese, African, Indian, or some combination thereof varies according to place and time.

We have trouble deciding what to call other humans. Some terms are inaccurate; some are invented to satisfy the politics of the day. Some are acceptable in one era and unacceptable in another. In modern parlance, the earlier immigrants are often called "Native Americans," a term as inaccurate as the term "Indian" or *indio* as the Iberians called them. They immigrated just like everyone else but not all at the same time. Nor have we wanted to see the coming of the Europeans and Africans to the Western Hemisphere as just another episode in the many thousand years of its immigration history. One is at a loss to decide what terminology would be accurate and inoffensive. Equally serious, is that most people, even scholars, ignore the DNA evidence and the reasonable conclusions that are drawn from it. We do not want to think of all human beings as cousins, which they are, because it forces us to reconsider all kinds of cherished beliefs. We prefer to be inaccurate because it is easier and feels better. Similarly, we refer to some people as Spaniards when, in 1500, there was no Spain. Some Latin Americans today point out that it is politically incorrect for citizens of the United States to expropriate the name "American" for themselves. They see it as sheer arrogance, which it is. On the other hand, we see the Mexican people called Aztecs when, in fact, only a fraction were in 1519; that they are called thusly is imperialism on the part of those who rule Mexico. We do not have to look very hard in this part of the world to find other examples.

For convenience sake, I use conventional terminology, which is, of course, European. The European immigrants engaged in biological war against the earlier immigrants, the Indians, but not intentionally. What happened illustrates the devastating effects of biological warfare. That they did not understand the germ diseases and how they spread made the pandemics worse. Although we do understand such things, it remains to be seen how well we would be able to cope. After all, the movements of peoples in the modern world, crossing oceans in a matter of hours, bodes ill for the containment of infectious disease.

This little book should inform the reader of the basic story of colonial Latin America; it is my hope that it will incite interest in Latin America and cause people to read more thoroughly on the subject. The bibliography gives a starting point into the excellent historical writings on the subject.

Because the late Robert J. Shafer, a consummate professional and friend, taught me so well, I was able to put this book together. Much of what I have written I learned from him. Mississippi State University afforded me a sabbatical in the Fall of 2001 during which period I was able to devote time to this project. Because my wife, Paula Crockett Mabry, is so supportive of me, I have been able to devote time to this project.

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1.

The Early Immigrants

The history of the Western Hemisphere is a history of immigration. Everyone, as far as we can know, came from somewhere else. There are no native Americans. Among the American Indians (Amerinds), different groups went from Asia to the Western Hemisphere at different times, often centuries apart. And they continued to migrate, for few stayed on the eastern end of the Bering Straits. Throughout the centuries, they migrated and then migrated again. We know that because there are variations in physical types. Height, color, and hair, among other factors, varied a great deal. Blood type evidence supports the theory that they crossed a Bering Straits land bridge and supports their common origins. But there is also abundant evidence that people

were in different places at different times. The Apache eventually invaded the territory occupied by the Zuni, for example; the Zuni resented this and used pejorative terms for these immigrant marauders. Iroquois-speaking nations were found in present-day New York and Canada but also in North Carolina, many hundreds of miles distant. Amerinds acted much like the Africans, Asians, and Europeans did; they conquered each other.

Humans appear to be migratory creatures. First appearing in Africa, according to the best scientific evidence, different groups left Africa and settled in Europe and Asia and, eventually, in the New World. Science and some religions tell us that all human beings are cousins, that they all have at least one common grandparent. It is only egotism or ignorance or both that causes humans and their progeny to see themselves as unique or different. But they did and do.

This belief in separateness, in difference, explains much of human behavior such as Africans enslaving Africans, most wars, Chinese arrogance towards Europeans in the 15th century, nationalism, the European treatment of Amerinds, and so forth. Amerinds were beastly to each other, contrary to the Rousseau myth of the noble savage. They were people and they acted the way other people did.

This book is concerned, however, with a limited group of immigrants, the Amerinds and the Iberian Europeans. That is not to say that the small numbers of others who settled in the geographical region we call Latin America were not important. African Spaniards and African Portuguese played a role, albeit small. Other Europeans came to Latin America. It is not possible to discuss them all.

The Clash of Cultures

For 30,000 years before the Europeans came, people had been coming to the Western Hemisphere, taking what they wanted and having it taken from them in return. They negotiated to get what they wanted and fought for it or both. They were kind and cruel to each other. Some of them raped and pillaged and murdered. They moved around spreading from the eastern shores of the Bering Straits southwards to Tierra del Fuego at the tip of South America. They bore children and their children bore children who bore children. Eventually some of these children left the ancestral area and became "different people," forgetting or not knowing that they were cousins to their rivals. For unknown reasons, some remained migratory, some farmed to supplement the food supply, and some built significant civilizations which had large buildings, complex social systems, and the pattern of imposing their will on their neighbors. In short, they were people acting as people act.

A new wave of migrants, Europeans, started coming in the late 15th century; in many ways, this migration was part and partial of Western Hemisphere history. They did what the earlier immigrants had done. They took things. Fought. Fornicated. Settled. They imposed their food, ideas, clothing, political practices, and such on others. That's what the Toltec and the Aztec and Inca civilizations had done.

The Europeans did have the advantage of having millions of allies to help them in their conquest. People tend to ignore these allies, microbes, even though they were the major force in the conquest. Disease is not heroic.

The European conquest, however, changed the world. New ideas and new things came about. Wealth was transported from colonial Latin America to finance all kinds of things. Europe entered into a commercial revolution and, eventually, into an industrial revolution. In

the Western Hemisphere, almost all the people were brought under control of central authorities. The process went quickly in some areas and slowly in others but it occurred. European (or Western) ways prevailed.

The Amerinds

The first immigrants were probably big game hunters in search of food. From archeological evidence it is clear that they were in Southern Chile by 7,000 BC. After they started entering the New World, small game hunters and seed gatherers began going to the New World between 15,000 and 2,500 BC. Around 7,000 BC, environmental conditions began to favor small game hunters. These changes in the climate meant the demise of much of the big game. Some grasslands started to become deserts.

Plant food is the strategic element in the chain of animal life. Around 6,000 BC, one begins to see the domestication of plants. First full-fledged farmers appeared around 1,500 BC. This meant that it was possible to develop more permanent structures because they did not move. It also meant a more complex social stratification in societies.

New World agriculture developed independently of the Old World. By 1,400 BC, cultivation was an integral part of Mesoamerican existence. Cultivators were completely sedentary. They used the stone ax and the wooden digging stick (coa). Slash and burn farming was used as a means of clearing land. They traded textiles and pottery. By 900 BC, the Mesoamerican diet probably achieved standardization, consisting of corn, beans, squash, chili pepper, small dog, salt, and pulque (3-5% alcohol).

Around 900 BC egalitarian life of the of the simple farming community began to become more complex. Farmers produced enough food to allow for specialization of function.

They produced pottery for export. There was a lively trade in the import and export of shells, jade, and turquoise. Burial remains indicate differentiation into social classes. Priests begin to play the dominate role in society. One sign of this was the beginning of large-scale construction for religious purposes.

Humans began to harness nature creating irrigation works, dams, dikes, and canals. Temple centers come into being. Some were mere cathedral towns. There were some real cities, such as Teotihuacán, which contained somewhere between 50,000 and 100,00 people. To sustain a city of that size, they had to rely upon something besides slash and burn agriculture and the two-field system so they used terracing, humid bottom lands, irrigation, and chinampas (floating gardens).

There were many Amerinds in Latin America and they had an effect on the Europeans and Africans who came. The ways in which they lived helped define Latin American culture. How many Amerinds were there? We do not know. Scholars such as Cooke and Borah estimated that there might have been as many as 30 million in Mexico and Guatemala. Maybe there were 7 million in the Andes and a few million scattered elsewhere. There were about one million in the present-day United States and Canada.

For the higher cultures, there were oligarchic societies and rigidity in their social structures. Few people owned much. They believed in complex theologies about which we know too little. The higher cultures engaged in warfare, as did some of the other cultures.

Human egotism, the fundamental cause of war, existed in all groups. The Aztec and Inca liked to fight.

They had ability. The ability of the Amerinds played a role in the way the Spanish thought of them. Ability was often what they were allowed to do. The Spanish argued for 300 years about the Amerinds. To us, it is clear that the intellectual life of the higher cultures was complex and sophisticated. They knew quite a bit about mathematics and astronomy. Astronomical cycles were used as the basis for ceremonies in Mexico. They had no writing but they were getting close (especially among the Maya who used ideograms, pictures). We do not why they did not have writing. There was quite a lot of intellectual development. The Incas had no writing by used a memory device, the quipu. Nevertheless, there was very little in the higher cultures of the Amerinds that could compete with the Europeans.

Their technology as not as good as that of the Europeans. Although they constructed rather large edifices, such as pyramids, canals in some places, and terraced lands, they did not have the wheel. The terrain of Mexico, Guatemala, Bolivia, and Peru were not favorable to its development. They also did not have draft animals. The llama and its cousins would only carry loads of about 100 pounds, not much use for hauling freight. Amerinds built massive structures in some places. There were very energetic, well-organized groups in some areas. There was lots of artisanry in the homes. There were specialists in towns. Some worked to sell their products retail; some worked for the state, both the civil and religious authorities.

One difference was between those who depended upon corn and those who depended upon casava (Brazil) but in the Andean highlands, they grew and ate the white potato. Mexicans were corn eaters but they used beans as well. In America, there was not the

variety of domesticated animals such as the Europeans had. Mexico did have turkeys and small dogs to eat. Other Amerind cultures did not have dogs to eat. These cultures had food production and preparation well organized and had sufficient nutrients. The Indians had vegetables such as corn, potatoes, chocolate, chiles, beans, and pineapple. In the post-Conquest period, the common people could not afford stock so they did not eat them although the Europeans had brought them into the New World.

Amerinds had some illnesses but none of the common European ones such as typhus and smallpox or the African ones such as mumps. European diseases killed much of the population.

There was lots of discrimination as well as lots of miscegenation before the Europeans came; there was lots afterwards.

The Spanish sought sedentary Indians accustomed to working under direction. There were many more people living in Latin America than in what became the United States. The sheer number of people in some places was consequential. The high culture areas occupied only one half of the land the Spanish and Portuguese conquered. Most places one might go, one would not encounter Indians, especially settled Indians. It is obvious that the Maya, Aztec, and Inca had lived in a settled area for quite a long time.

There were hundreds and hundreds of different Amerind groups. One only has to glance at the *Handbook of North American Indians* and the *Handbook of South American Indians* to understand how many and how different they are and were. In the Conquest period, some were like the Arawaks, a peaceful people in the Caribbean region who lived a simple, pleasurable life or like the Caribs who were very warlike and cannibalistic. The Caribs were immigrating into the Caribbean and were already in Puerto Rico by 1492. Highly

complex, sedentary societies, like the Maya, Toltec, Aztec, and Inca warrant a detailed examination.

Theocratic Period in Mesoamerica

Perhaps the theocratic period in Mesoamerica was ushered in by technological changes but we can be sure that organization of society had undergone a major change. The dominant figure of the new order was the religious specialist. The center of power was the ceremonial center. The center was a sacred precinct. Within it, the special apparatus was housed through which supernatural energy was concentrated, stored, and distributed to the common man. Access to this power was in the hands of uncommon men, the priest-ruler, whose special training and esoteric knowledge allowed him to approach the deity and transmit its will. He wore the symbols of divinity. Priests were devotees of the supernatural and of power. They were not only full-time religious practitioners but also specialists in bureaucratic organization.

Murals and pottery of this period show priests not warriors. There was not much warfare but there was some. The power of the priest was primarily ideological. Priests also performed economic functions; they controlled the calendar and religious ceremonies so people would know when to plant, irrigate, and cultivate and have the blessings of the gods when they did so. Temples were also depositories of goods. They administered offerings to the deities. They launched trade expeditions. Markets were also religious centers; the two functions were intermingled.

The temple precinct was the center of this new order. The temples were built in tiers to represent the tiers of the universe or the temple was the navel of the universe.

Most Mesoamerican religions had multiple gods or multiple images of their gods or both. Thus, Tlaloc was sometimes represented as a jaguar, sometimes as a serpent with feathers, sometimes as an owl or a combination such as jaguar-serpent or serpent-butterfly. To the Western mind, this is confusing even though Westerners have long embraced the concept of the Holy Trinity.

Maya

The Maya did not call themselves Maya. We do not know what they called themselves. Their civilization has been the subject of intense study; considerable progress has been made in the last twenty years because scholars, using high-speed computers, have been deciphering Maya pictographs. Still, much of what we know of them is through inference. The principal source of late Maya history is Father Diego de Landa, *Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán*, written before 1556. He was a Maya-speaking Franciscan.

Maya civilization begins about 2000 BC, a hypothetical date. During the long formative period, 1000-3000 BC, the population centers were small, compact and self-contained. They were springing up all over the area of Yucatán. There was a common trade, common language and similar cultural traits, i.e. a cultural union but not a political one. The cities they built endured between 500 BC and 1000 AD.

The Maya were a feudal theocracy. Maya society was a society where priests ruled the roost. The priestly class was at the apex of a pyramid with commoners at the base. The common man was a maize farmer. Like all men of the Americas, he was bound to the soil. Each member of society was part of a clan. Everything for the common man came from soil; he fed himself and his family as well as the

bureaucracy. They had a soil and climate that gave them maize in such awesome quantities that it allowed them leisure. They ate better than did the classical Greeks. The common man paid taxes.

Water was the one element the Maya could not command. There were no rivers on Yucatán peninsula. The Maya constructed reservoirs and cisterns and used the sink holes, cenotes, that naturally occurred on the limestone shelf of the Yucatán. They also were seafarers, setting out in large canoes that held as many as forty people. They cruised for thousands of miles along the Gulf Coast around the Caribbean, one of the most dangerous of seas. They regularly used the sea for maritime traffic. In fact, Columbus met a Maya canoe off coast of Honduras in 1502.

Around AD 800, there were about 3 million people in the Maya area living in city-states with elaborate public buildings. These city-states, like those of Greece, had wars, roads, and the other accouterments of civilization. Their pyramids strove for height and the roofs of temples on them were combs whereas their artistic style involved elaborate, even flamboyant, carvings and paintings. They had numerous religious sites, such as Tikal and Chichen Itzá, and scientific centers such as Copán. Religion and science were intermingled. By the end of the 7th century, astronomers had worked out a calendar and eclipse tables, crucial to their religious practices. They also had the concept of zero, which Europeans did not have.

Militarists entered the Maya area between 750-900 AD. The period following the theocratic period was the militaristic. We do not know why but, after about 1000 AD, the bulk of population was concentrated in Guatemala and northeastern Yucatán. After 900 AD, the Maya in northern Yucatán brought into contact with the Toltecs. There is evidence that Quetzalcoatl was there, that the Toltecs were

influencing the development of Maya culture. By the time the Spanish arrived, Maya civilization had collapsed.

The Militarist Period

In central Mexico, there were very many Indian cultures which existed at a high level not just Mexica. Many spoke Nahuatl but there were others.

One of the great ceremonial cities was Teotihuacán some 35 miles northeast of Mexico City. Teotihuacán predates the Nahuatl speakers like the Aztec. The site contains the impressive Pyramid of the Sun and the Pyramid of the Moon as well as numerous other buildings. It was clearly an important religious city but it was burned and its political structure destroyed about 890 AD. Between 750-900 AD, the old world order (in central Mexico) was shaken to its foundations but we do not know why. Eric Wolfe in *Sons of the Shaking Earth* advances the following possibilities:

1. ecological reasons, that is, they fouled their environment sufficiently to make it difficult to sustain the societies as they knew them;
2. the exhaustion of theological power, which means that people quit believing the priests as much as they had;
3. revolt of the repressed, for there was repression in Maya society as well;
4. old gods could not stop revolt; and
5. the hinterlands revolted against the wealth and power of the center.

Regardless, Maya civilization began a decline and was moribund by the time the Spanish immigrants arrived. Instead, militarists were becoming the dominant influence in Mesoamerica by the 8th century.

Warfare began on the frontier as groups of fierce people migrated from the north, taking what they could. The settled peoples withdrew into fortified regions. New military states developed along old trade routes. Fortified sites were built along the periphery. One can see this changes in decorative art, for the soldier replaces the priest.

Tula

The largest militarist site was Tula in the present state of Hidalgo. It is just one example. There were others. In 1168 AD, its location was significant on the periphery of the Valley of Mexico, on the outskirts of Teotihuacán. North of Tula was the Gran Chichimeca (the home of nomadic tribes, often fierce and from whence came the Aztecs/Mexica). In their role as soldiers, they dominated the area. The Aztec/Mexica worked under the Tula state and learned to be mercenaries and to cultivate crops. They took over the Tula site when the Tula state collapsed and then moved south.

The new militarists moving into the central highlands were called Toltecs, chichimeca, and Tolteca-chichimeca. In a sense, Toltec meant civilized and Chichimec meant uncivilized.

There was a sacred and a secular ruler, each with two assistants. The sacred ruler could not pass his office to members of his own family. A sacred ruler tried to impose his son, Quetzalcoatl. Opposition drove Quetzalcoatl into exile, splitting loyalties of the state. What this legend probably means is that the militarists overthrew the

priests. That is the view of Eric Wolfe, *Sons of the Shaking Earth*. Wholesale human sacrifice was introduced.

Toltecs

It is important to realize that the myth of the Toltecs is as great as the actual history. Peoples, like the Aztecs, who came later, liked to claim that they descended from the Toltecs. In addition, there has been a tendency for others to refer to many early civilizations as Toltec.

The Toltec state included much of central Mexico and adjacent areas to the north. The state expanded to get tribute. Tula was the regional capital of many small villages with rapid growth throughout period from 750-950. Droughts and fighting between the various groups resulted in the destruction of Tula about 1150 AD. Some had left before that date. Quetzalcoatl or Kukulcán in Maya, reportedly arrived in Maya area in 986-987 AD as a Mexican conqueror. He was said to have ruled Chichen Itzá until his death

The destruction of Toltec political system was followed by political fragmentation and chaos. Soldiers bands moved out to grab what they could of the empire. They all claimed to be Toltecs. The Tlaxcala and the Tarascan were two important chichimeca nations which entered central Mexico and claimed the Toltec mantle. Five Toltec groups rose in the Valley of Mexico: Atzacapotzalco (Tepanec), Xaltocan, Acolhua, Colhuacan, who had a real claim to Toltec name as descendants. It is to them that the Mexica went to ask for a legitimate "Toltec" ruler, and Xicco-Toltec. Thus, the Aztecs sought to claim the mystique of the Toltecs but their rule was actually based on violence.

Aztec

One group of chichimecas who brought militarism to its fruition were the Aztecs who entered the Valley of Mexico at the end of the 13th century with the collapse of Tula. They had begun wandering in the 12th century and finally settled in central Mexico in the 13th century. In their legends, they came from a place called Aztlán, somewhere in north or northwest Mexico or even the southwestern United States. Eventually, they found refuge on a muddy promontory in Lake Texcoco in the 14th century. Their legend said that Hummingbird-on-the Left told them to seek an eagle with a snake in its mouth sitting on a rock by a cactus and settle there.

These Tenocha or Colhua Mexica (Aztec is the well-known name and will be used) founded the town of Tenochtitlán (ca. 1344-1345), building it in the shadow of the city of Tlatelolco. The two cities were uneasy allies with Tlatelolco using the Aztecs as mercenary soldiers .

For many years, they survived by hiring themselves out to the city-states in the valley as mercenaries. They emerged as a major power in the Anáhuac valley with the defeat of Atzacotalco, the major power in the valley. Joining with Texcoco and Tlacopan, they led this triple alliance on a path of conquest which led them to the Gulf of Mexico and as far south as Guatemala.

In 1473, the Mexica took Tlatelolco by force and replaced the king with their own. The three stages of the Mexica/Azteca rise to power were:

1. They fought under the Tepanecs of Atzacotalco.

2. In 1427, the Aztecs allied with the Acolhua of Texcoco against the Tepanecs. In 1430, led the Triple Alliance of Tlacopan (Tacuba), Mexica and Acolhua against Texcoco. By 1468, the Aztecs had a total of 489 cities paying tribute, but its military conquests were not completed when Hernán Cortez and his band of soldiers arrived.

3. Beginning in 1500, the third stage, the Aztecs reduced Tlacopan to a satellite state and, in 1515, put their puppet on the throne of Texcoco. They were still in the process of consolidating their power when the Spanish arrived in Mexico in 1519.

The king of Texcoco was Netzahualcoyotl (Hungry Coyote). He was responsible for the construction of the great system of dams and canals against the lagoon of Texcoco. He gave both the nobles and the commoners equal representation on the governing council. Merchants had a say in the economic administration of the state. He favored professional bureaucrats over soldiers from the nobility. At the time, Texcoco conquered most of the eastern part of the central highlands. His reign saw the development of a legal code, the growth of monotheism, and the disavowal of human sacrifice. Texcoco Nahuatl became classic Nahuatl. A poem by Hungry Coyote illustrates the high culture of Texcoco:

All the earth is a grave and nothing escapes it,
nothing is so perfect that it does not descend to its
tomb. Rivers, rivulets, fountains and waters flow,
but never return to their joyful beginnings; anxiously

they hasten on the vast realms of the rain god. As they widen their banks, they also fashion the sad urn of their burial.

Filled are the bowels of the earth with pestilential dust once flesh and bone, once animate bodies of man who sat upon thrones, decided cases, presided in council, commanded armies, conquered provinces, possessed treasure, destroyed temples, exulted in their pride, majesty, fortune, praise and power.

Vanished are these glories, just as the fearful smoke vanishes that belches forth from the infernal fires of Popocatepetl. Nothing recalls them but the written page.

The Aztecs never allowed these tendencies to reach full development.

As the Aztecs became an independent power, their social organization changed from a simple military band to a complex, hierarchical conquest state. We do not know very much about their history because King Obsidian Snake (1428-40) destroyed the records and had their history rewritten. We do know something of their structure when the Spanish arrived.

The Aztec state was divided into calpulli (big houses). Before 1472, the nobility were probably the heads of the calpulli but after that date there was the development of a hereditary nobility which claimed Toltec descent. This gave them social advantages but they did not have economic power which would make them independent of the calpulli.

The calpulli owned the land. This changed with the defeat of Tepanec, for the nobility took their land and the peasants who worked the land. Now, they had advantages over the commoners. Much like their European counterparts, the nobles created economic bonds over the people who came to them for work. Other ways to become a knight besides soldiering, was through trade, for the Aztecs expanded trade. Through Tlatelolco, they had trading specialists (pochtecas) who engaged in local and long distance trade. The pochtecas were semi-autonomous and protected by Aztec armies.

Of course the nobility had special privileges such as the exclusive right to wear certain clothing and insignia. They had their own courts. Only they could practice polygamy. Their children could go to special schools to learn to be bureaucrats.

The commoners had a life centered around the calpulli. Land was held in common and individuals applied for the right to work it. The calpulli paid tribute and supplied males for the armies. Males trained for war in a bachelor house. The calpulli had an armory and served as a unit in battle. Each calpulli had its own god, temples, and ceremonies in addition to the gods of the larger society. Although some of this slavery was temporary, slavery is slavery and differed only in degree from what has existed in the rest of the world.

In Aztec society, there also were slaves, war (including women and children), and workers who were in temporary bondage because they were criminals or had fallen on hard times.

Religion was very important to the Aztecs for they believed that they had to fight the forces of evil (Satan in Christian parlance) and insure that the sun, bravery, sobriety, sexual control, truth, beauty, and decency would continue. They believed that each world was created and then consumed in recurrent cataclysms and that each world was

governed by its own sun. They saw themselves as obligated to defend the fifth sun, the sun to end in earthquakes. It was only through continuous human sacrifice (the highest possible sacrifice, especially the heart) and, therefore, constant warfare to capture sufficient victims, that they could keep the sun in heaven and the world from ending. They were trying to postpone the end. They had to kill thousands of people as they fought holy wars for the sun. They were polytheistic. They worshiped a variety of gods including earth mother goddesses. Their practices of human sacrifice and cannibalism horrified the Spanish who believed they had to stop it.

They controlled through war, terror, and tribute. They did not control everyone in their area. The Tlaxcalan and Tarascan nations were not controlled by the Aztec nation, for example. The Aztec never penetrated Yucatán. They were not an empire like the Inca or the Roman empires.

Inca

In the Andes, there were many other groups besides the Inca. In Colombia, for example, there were the Chibcha. Their achievements were less than the Maya, Aztec, and Inca but greater than a lot of others. In Bolivia, there were the Aymara. The Inca, however, were the power of the Andes.

The Inca Empire was the result of well-planned conquest. They had begun migrating from Cuzco in the 14th century. They incorporated new areas into the empire very carefully, more so than the Romans. They removed populations and leaders. Their military system was keyed to the problems of the various areas. Their roads and bridges

they built were designed so they could send an army into any part of the Empire when necessary. Their system of internal control and discipline was very well thought out. They were better organized than any other group in the hemisphere. It was only under the leadership of Pachacuti (1438-71) that they acquired much territory, perhaps two-thirds of what they controlled when the Spanish arrived. It was the arrival of Francisco Pizarro and his soldiers amidst a civil war in 1532 that halted their expansion. At the time, they controlled some 12 million people.

Although Quechua was the official language, many other languages were spoken. The Inca were not the first civilization in Peru. Many preceded them and they adopted ideas and artifacts they liked. Imperial policy was to rewrite history to make people believe that they had always been powerful and were destined to be obeyed.

Andean civilizations had become quite sophisticated in many ways. The road system was very extensive. Trained runners, stationed every few miles, could relay messages rapidly from one end of the empire to the other. Important people could traverse these same roads and stay at the "motels" that were maintained. The Incas terraced the land to increase farming acreage. They practiced brain surgery, doing trepanning to relieve pressure. In dentistry, they made crowns for teeth. Although they had no writing, they did have the quipu, a knotted cord used as a memory device.

The death of Huayna Capac (1493-1527) in Quito marked the beginning of a very serious civil war between the brothers Huascar and Atahualpa. In part, the war was the northern part of the empire, Quito, against the southern part, Cuzco. The empire was not prepared for a constitutional crisis. The system had worked in the past because there was one ruler who was considered a god. The fraternal dispute, however, raised questions about the system and allowed all kinds of

rebellion to occur. Atahualpa, who had won the five-year war, faced the necessity of reincorporating the defeated into the fold and rebuilding physically what had been destroyed. No doubt he assumed he was up to the task. Then Pizarro entered the picture.

2.

European Backgrounds

The Age of Discovery and of Conquest took place during the European and Spain and Portugal were very much part of this general trend. Renaissance was a term given to the intellectual activity of 15th century (and later) by contemporaries. It was based on rediscovery of the works of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Renaissance men found the

works of the ancients, such as Cicero and Plato, exciting because they seemed to confirm Renaissance tendencies. They were illuminating. They were secular, as Renaissance men were becoming, rational, scientific, experimental, instead of being based on religion with its emphasis on revealed authority and emotions.

To Renaissance men, the ancients were people who thought and acted with reason and beauty. Thus the Renaissance men thought of the period from the fall of Rome to their own time as the Dark Ages (their term) or the Middle Ages (middle between the ancients and their own time). The Renaissance, in general, rejected the feudal, collectivist past and focused, instead, on individualism, inquiry, and diversity. The highest goal, the highest calling, was not to be a monk, thus serving the Christian God, but to be a man of *virtú* a man capable of doing everything well. This spirit of change was directly related to the spirit of inquiry and discovery. It was the time of the founding of new universities, including in Spain.

The Renaissance perhaps was the most important and certainly most secular in Italy but the Northern Renaissance, primarily in the area now thought of as Germanic (but Latin-speaking at the time), was important. In the north, the Renaissance was more religious. The Christian Humanism of Erasmus of Rotterdam was the most important. Emphasis on faith with the use of reason to understand faith. Reformed Christianity more saintly, more pious. This influence was felt in Spain, especially via Bishop Jiménez de Cisneros.

The period of the Renaissance was also the time of the rise of national monarchy, which eventually led to the modern state. It may be difficult for twenty-first century people to realize that, for most of Western history, individualism was seen as bad, as anti-Christian, as a threat to society. Prior to the modern age, loyalties were to a collective,

a group such as the family, class, the church, the village, to the feudal system. Territory was ruled by a feudal lord whose duty it was to protect and, thus, govern his vassals. He maintained his own courts, army, etc. He was able to demand material support from those under him. By the time of the Renaissance, he was also lord of the manor the great estate. He was virtually sovereign in his own territory, limited by his will, wealth, and willingness to obey the contractual requirements of his oath to his lord, if he had one.

The king, generally, had been only one of many lords, often weaker than some of his vassals. The goal of kings over the centuries was to rule as well as reign. To do so, a king had to build an army capable of vanquishing his foes, a task which required money. Since taxes were fixed by tradition and thus unchangeable or levied only with the consent of the important people in the society through a consultative or legislative body (Cortés, Parliament, Estates-General, as example) which was dominated by rivals to the monarchy, the nobility), kings had great difficulty in finding new sources of income. If they could find enough money, they could assert their authority over the subjects, over the kingdom, thus welding it into a single unit.

They also had to gain power over the other powerful institutions of medieval society. The most powerful was the Church. It permeated every aspect of medieval life. Its teachings were the standards people followed or, at least, paid lip service.

Since the Papacy needed and wanted support in the Pope's political rivalries, and, after the beginning of the Protestant revolt in 1517, religious rivalries, it was willing to yield control to monarchs for a price. This was gradually done.

Thus, the gain control of his kingdom, the monarch had to control the Church and tame the nobility the elite of society.

Because of the economic revival of Europe (perhaps as early as the 11th century), there was the rise of a new class in society. Unlike the peasant who earned her/his livelihood from laboring on the land or the upper class (nobility and clergy) who received its wealth from rents, taxes, and such, this new group earned its keep by trade or by making and selling things. They tended to live in towns because (1) title to land was unavailable (2) protection, and (3) convenience (being near markets and money lenders, for example). They resented the nobility's predatory habits and constant warfare. They needed peace, uniform laws over large areas, a common currency, and freedom from arbitrarily imposed taxes or financial levies. The king could provide these if he had money and this rising middle class had money. Thus, two needs were met. Town-dwelling merchants and artisans paid taxes to the Crown in order to subjugate the nobility.

On this basis, the new monarchs slowly crushed their opposition and began to govern large areas, unifying the people in the area through an allegiance to a common crown. Royal control of the courts, armies, and the Church characterized the new monarchies. The nobleman retained some power, however, until the late 18th century. In Central and Eastern Europe, the nobility retained power longer.

Iberia

The Iberian peninsula contains the present-day nations of Spain, Portugal, and Andorra. The region has been a melting pot of many people for centuries. Celts, black Africans, Romans, Moors, Goths, Arabs, and many others came and interbred. It was a Roman province. The Arab conquest began in 711 as they crossed to attack the

Visigoths. The Arabs conquered much of Spain and held it for centuries.

It was a long reconquest for “Spaniards” mainly defined as Christians. The Reconquista in Spanish history was very important in shaping Spanish attitudes. Most of the Reconquista had been done by the mid-13th century and Spaniards slowly continued to take back the land. The fall of Granada in 1492 was not terribly important in the scheme of things. Perhaps it had psychological repercussions because it meant that Spain was whole again, except that Portugal was still a separate kingdom but might not have been.

Spain and Portugal, especially the latter, were centers of great learning during the middle ages while the rest of Europe was relatively unprogressive. Islam made Spain a great cultural center. Moslems were tolerant of people of the Book, that is, Jews and Christians. It was through learned Moslems that the West rediscovered the writings of ancient time and through Moslem culture that the idea of romance was promulgated. Regardless of their accomplishments, the Moslems or Moors were not Christian, so the Spanish people would never accept them. Instead, the either tried to convert them or drive them out.

The question sometimes arises as to whether Spain, because of its Islamic history, was different from the rest of Europe, whether it was more oriental and fatalistic. National character studies are very difficult to make and fraught with danger. Suffice it to say that the Spanish and Portuguese were European. Their monarchies were much more like other European monarchies than not. There was little, if anything, that they did that would have been done differently by others. Spain was characteristic of Renaissance Europe, even in its religious fervor.

It was important that Spain and Portugal had national dynastic monarchies. Nationalism meant escaping from the feudal system of personal allegiance and widespread fragmentation. National dynastic monarchies had a larger organized unit as a source of power and had more control. England was the first national state and Spain and Portugal were early as well.

Spain had been conquered and occupied by Moslems and the Reconquest gave a crusading spirit to Spanish Christianity and a strong military cast to the Spanish upper class. Spain reconquered Granada but this event is not that important in explaining how and why Spain conquered the New World. By the mid-13th century, nearly all of Spain had been reconquered, long before Spain discovered America 150 years later. Spain was not really a single kingdom but we use the term "Spain" for convenience. The Iberian peninsula still had separate kingdoms with lots of differences including language, provincial loyalties, and regional jealousies. The fruition of the movement to create a Spanish national monarchy was coming to past at time of discovery. Portugal was a dynastic state well before the Conquest.

For expansion, these monarchies had to have the following. Geographical position was important; it is hard to conceive of Germans or Russians making the voyages of discovery and conquest. It took economic resources to mount these expeditions; principalities generally could not afford such enterprises. Without sufficient political organization, it would not have happened. Feudal lords did not have the leadership nor the bureaucracy necessary to do these things. England did, of course, but it was engaged in the War of the Roses, a civil war, and the necessary process of consolidation by the victor. It and other monarchies did not have the will to participate in a conquest. Spain and Portugal did.

The unification of Spain under Ferdinand and Isabela was not as systematic and easy as the creation of the Portuguese national monarchy for it took longer, but that fact was not the chief source of difficulty in "Spain" launching voyages of exploration and conquest.

Both Spain and Portugal were closer to America, but it is not clear how important geographical position was. The economies, technologies, political organization, and will were such that Europe was about to discover America. The Portuguese were working off Africa. Because of this, America was bound to be discovered, bound to have someone blow across the Atlantic to America. Factors which made it possible included technological change in sea-going vessels, the astrolabe, better maps, compasses, sail patterns, and timber. One advantage of the Spanish and Portuguese in the 16th century was that their most likely rivals were busy.

The dynastic system was a new thing. It was an improvement over feudalism in that the centralization of power signaled who was going to lead the "nation." It, thus, made it clear who had the right to rule. System worked. Succession is always the big problem in politics and the dynastic monarchy largely solved that problem.

In the history of 16th century Spanish monarchy, Spain was blessed by good rulers. Ferdinand and Isabela were highly competent people. They ruled their respective kingdoms independently, but cooperated for many purposes. Ferdinand tended to do the foreign policy for both kingdoms. Charles I (1516-1556), their grandson, effectively represented the merger of the two crowns. Was the fact that he was also Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire a help or hindrance? That is a source of debate among historians. Charles was the greatest monarch in Europe. He was a man of considerable ability, fine character, and sense of responsibility. He gave it all up in 1556 and

went into monastery. Philip II (1556-1598) has had a very bad press, some justified but a lot exaggerated. He was even more governed by his religious beliefs than his father. Christians who did not believe the things that he did consider him a fanatic. He was a little pig-headed but he provided stability. He had a tremendous sense of responsibility.

Some historians argue that he could not delegate responsibility. In fact, there was a lot of delegation of authority because he could not do it all. He tried to do more than was possible. The system was snowed under by paperwork but he made his situation worse by wasting time in reading too much of the correspondence instead of having more of it read by others. When reading a letter from his ambassador to England, who was stuck in London writing a report to the king while the other important people had left the city, he made a notation on the margin of the letter. Next to where the ambassador had described some insects buzzing around the window, Phillip II had written "probably flies."

Spain, 1492-1598

Castile and Isabela I (1474-1504)

Castile was the stronger of the two as well as the largest and strongest of the states on the Iberian peninsula. Each monarch ruled in his or her area but Ferdinand could not leave Castile without Isabela's permission. The king was less powerful in Aragón. They divided the duties with Isabela doing domestic affairs and Ferdinand doing foreign

policy. Castile was the key kingdom on the peninsula, managing to impose many of its ways on everyone else. So Castile is the key.

The area ruled by Castile had to be pacified. The nobility were a threat because each nobleman wanted autonomy and quite a few were rich and powerful. The Crown has greatly strengthened itself by alliance with the towns against the nobles who, with their wealth and landed estates, were a threat to both. The *grandees* were called "cousin" by the monarch; they did not have to remove their hats in the royal presence, a reflection of their almost equal status with the monarch. Isabela tore down their castles, limited private jurisdictions, and ended their more pretentious imitations of royal customs. She deprived the nobility of almost all influence in royal councils in favor of *letrados* or ecclesiastics. The *letrados* were university-educated men with no titles of nobility; thus, they were totally dependent upon the Crown for income and status. The nobility were also attracted to court, thus reducing their attention to their own estates. They lost power in the Cortés in favor of the Crown. She used *corregidores* on the town councils as an offset to the nobility.

Aragón and Ferdinand II (1479-1516)

The Cortés was composed of four estates instead of the customary three. The greater and the lesser nobility sat separately. Passing laws in the Cortés required unanimous consent, which was hard for the Crown to get. The coronation oath by the nobility indicated the limitations on the monarch, for they said:

We who are as good as you swear to you who are no better than we, to accept as our king and sovereign lord, provided you accept all our liberties and laws; if not, not.

Aragón headed a Mediterranean empire. It controlled the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, Sicily, and the southern half of Italy. It had a quite different focus from Castile because it was oriented towards the Mediterranean. The conquest of much of the New World would change that.

The Spanish church was a unifying factor. The Spanish were very devout Christians, who believed that they had the duty to convert others to the faith, by persuasion or force. The Spanish Christian church had been reformed by Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, incorporated ideas from Erasmus and other Christian humanists. The church did not have to pay attention to the boundaries of the various kingdoms on the peninsula. However, it was almost completely subordinated to the Crown of Castile, which enjoyed the patronado real. This royal patronage gave the Crown to decide which papal bulls would be published in Spain and to appoint high ecclesiastical officials.

The Inquisition

The Inquisition was a chief instrument of the Crown and the Church. It was an instrument to strengthen monarchy and to unify the two kingdoms. Medieval Spain was one of the most tolerant lands in medieval Europe, a place where Christians, Jews, and Moslems lived in harmony. That had been the policy of the Moslems when they ruled

Spain; the Christians continued it. By the 15th century, however, intolerance grew, evidenced by mob violence and persecution laws. In 1492, Castile passed a law requiring Jews to become Christians or go into exile. Spaniards increasingly saw Moslems as a problem. The Moslems rebelled against religious intolerance and were ordered to convert to Christianity or leave. Too many Spaniards were beginning to believe that loyalty to the monarch and to Spain required that everyone believe the same.

The Inquisition stood for social justice. It ignored class distinctions, economic status, and other such differences. It tended to reduce all men to a common level before the law (which was a very leftist posture). Judged by the standards of the times, the Spanish Inquisition was neither cruel nor unjust in its procedure and penalties. In many ways, it was more just and humane than almost any other tribunal in Europe. Conviction, for example, required seven witnesses. The accused was allowed the assistance of trained lawyers and an advocate. An accused could challenge a judge because of prejudice and make a list of all his enemies, thus excluding them from testifying. False accusations carried severe penalties. The Inquisition took good care of its prisoners. Unlike other European justice systems, it was very sparing in the use of torture and, when it did, used the more humane forms. What was terrifying about it was its secrecy. People could be arrested and held for years by the Inquisition.

Spain

In the 16th century, Spain contained about 10 million people of whom about 7 million were in Castile. As a unified kingdom, it was large enough to have weight in world affairs.

It supported itself by the production of raw material. Castile, in particular, sold wool. Migratory sheep, usually merino sheep, were a very important part of the economy.. Spanish wool was the best in the world. By the beginning of the 16th century, there were millions of sheep. The Mesta, which had royal support, controlled 3.5 million sheep but not all the sheep in the kingdom. Mesta taxes and gifts were a principal source of revenue for the Crown before the Conquest. It used the Consulado of Burgos to market the wool.

One common assertion has been that the Mesta destroyed Castilian agriculture because the herds had the freedom to cross fields and destroy crops. The decline, however, was largely due to the traditions of the country which despised the tilling of the soil as a menial occupation fit only for serfs and Moriscos. These attitudes were formed during the centuries-long Reconquista (the reconquering of Spain from the Moslems) during which armies, led by the nobility, regularly trod down crops.

Spain was leading the commercial revolution, especially in the Mediterranean, and was the home of early capitalism. However, the discovery of American gold and silver elsewhere and caused such inflation in Spain that it destroyed enterprise.

The Spanish military was formidable. It was invested with a halo or romance and chivalry. The horseman or caballero, in other words, a knight, was exalted. He was considered a gentlemen, far above those lowly people on foot, the peones. El Cid was a hero. Spanish soldiers, regardless of rank, possessed religious zeal; they saw themselves as soldiers of God. If asked why they fought, their first answer would be for God, and they would mean it. Religious zealotry can be difficult for the modern person to understand even though plenty of it exists. Spanish military had a tradition of victory. For 150 years, no Spanish

army was defeated in a pitched battle. Spain was the great power of Europe for a long time.

Part of the infantry's success was its organization and weaponry. The Spanish infantry wore defensive armor. It was organized with the coronelías, 6,000 men, until 1634 when it started using the tercio, 3,000 men. An army typically had half the men armed with long pikes, one-third with short sword and javelin, and one-sixth with an arquebus. This army could cut its way through armies larger in size. The conquistadores knew the Spanish military system.

Spanish politics, 1504-1598

Isabela died in 1504 and her daughter, Juana la Loca (Crazy Joanie), became queen with Ferdinand as regent. She married Philip I of the Hapsburg dynasty who pushed Ferdinand aside to assume the throne. He died within a year and Ferdinand returned as regent until his death in 1516. Charles of Ghent, Juana's oldest son, inherited the throne but he was Flemish and alien to Spain. Many Spaniards did not want this "foreigner" to assume the throne. Castile was on the verge of rebellion. Spanish xenophobia had grown over the last century.

Charles was sixteen years old with a stupid-looking face and the enormous Hapsburg jaw. He was a very quiet person with a coldness of manner. He had gluttonous habits. He aged prematurely. He suffered from gout, which the ignorant thought meant that he overindulged in food and drink. He had an apparent contempt for Spain and did not bother to learn the language in his first years as king. In 1519, he got the crown of the Holy Roman Empire, borrowing substantial sums from the Fugger banking interests. This annoyed the

Spanish nobility, for it meant that Spain was not his top priority. In sum, he was king but unpopular.

Some of this dislike manifested itself in the comunero revolt. When these townsmen started turning to social revolution, the nobility began to back the Crown. After the revolt was crushed, Castile enjoyed a period of peace and rising prosperity. The failure of the comuneros strengthened the Crown.

Reasons for the increase in royal power:

- ! The lesser nobility (hidalgos) took the Crown's side in the comunero revolt. They took control of the towns. Hidalgos (barely noblemen) looked to the Crown for appointments and favors.
- ! The king devoted himself to Spain and learned Spanish, having realized that it was in his self-interest to do so.
- ! At first, Spanish prosperity was based on American bullion plus increased demands for manufactured goods from America. Profit rate was 166%. Spanish wool and silk industries grew.

Sometime after 1556, Castile industry declined because:

- ! The influx of the bullion raised Spanish prices making it a bad market to buy from but a good seller's market. This ruined the Spanish export trade to Europe.

- ! Unsound economic policy of the government was a factor. The hidalgos were interested in lower prices and used laws to lower prices and put prohibitions on the colonials.
- ! The hidalgos sacrificed agriculture to the Mesta, the sheep herding guild.
- ! The upper-class (and therefore, Spanish) attitudes looked down on industry and commerce.
- ! The American colonies increasingly turned to domestic production.
- ! The Crown taxed too much.

Charles I and Wars

Spain was constantly embroiled in wars because Charles I was also Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire. Charles ruled, directly or indirectly, the Spanish New World, the Philippines, half of Italy, part of North Africa, parts of the Germanies and Austria, and the Netherlands. He fought the Turks and Protestants in the wars of the Counter-Reformation. He was involved in English and French affairs as well as the rest of the Holy Roman Empire.

In 1556, Charles, tired of the enormous burdens of ruling such a vast empire and of the constant warfare, retired to a monastery, where

he could devote his life to Christianity. He yielded the Spanish throne to his son, Philip, and the Holy Roman Empire to his brother Ferdinand.

Philip II (1556-98)

Philip became Spain's greatest king, arriving in 1559 and never leaving it again. He was fair-haired, growing prematurely bald, fresh complexioned, blue-eyed, shorter than average, and had the Hapsburg jaw. His health was poor.

Philip II has been given bad press by non-Spanish historians and publicists. He was an exceptionally dutiful son, devoted husband, and understanding and affectionate father. He led a sexually moral life except briefly after the death of his first wife, María of Portugal. He was kind to the poor and interested in the welfare of his servants. He had a zeal for social justice. He was truthful, devout, and frugal while being generous to others. He had a comparatively high education and culture. He read and wrote Latin extremely well. He also wrote Spanish, French, and Italian. His library contained 4,000 volumes. He liked paintings and music and played the guitar.

Philip believed that divine right meant that he had to look after the welfare of every subject. He worked tirelessly on their behalf, rising early and going to bed late. Self-abnegation and self control were hallmarks of his character.

To help him rule, he used a councilor form of government. There were twelve councils with the Consejo de Estado being the lead. For America, there was the Real y Supremo Consejo de las Indias. Although these councils were large bureaucracies and worked hard, they were entirely dependent on the king. Philip trusted no one but himself. He read everything; nothing escaped his attention. He did not

prioritize what he read; he did not distinguish between the important and the trivial. The Spanish government fell further and further behind. His viceroy in Naples remarked "if death came from Spain, we should live to a very great age."

Philip was a devout Christian who heard Mass every day. In his view, not to be a Catholic was to be a traitor. His foreign policy was also motivated by his Christianity, but he modified it at times for reasons of state. He favored Elizabeth I of England over Mary, Queen of Scots, because Mary, through the Guise family, had ties to France, a chief rival. He also followed an anti-papal policy, for the Pope was a secular prince as well as a religious ruler. Besides, he was not convinced that the Pope was as Christian as he was.

His aims were to strengthen royal power, acquire Portugal, and dominate the British Isles and France by intervening in their religious struggles. Most of all, he wanted to make Spain great.

Portugal

Portugal began as a small principality on the west coast of the Iberian peninsula. The rulers worked to achieve recognition as a sovereign kingdom. They achieved the goal in 1143 AD.

In 1385, the House of Avis established a new dynasty. The next year, the kingdom signed an alliance with the English monarchy. Portugal thereafter was dependent upon the English monarchy.

The Avis dynasty was imperialistic. In 1415, the monarchy captured Ceuta on the African coast. Prince Henry (the Navigator) personified Portuguese imperialistic until his death in 1460. He created sailing schools with oceanographers and cartographers. By 1424, Portuguese sailors were in the Canary Islands; by 1445, they took the

Azores. They were bumping down the coast of Africa, looking for trade and people to convert to Christianity. They were trying to find a route to Asia. Vasco da Gama in a 1497-99 voyage reached India, opening the route to Asia. On one of these voyages along the coast of Africa, Pedro Alvares Cabral's fleet touched Brazil in April, 1500. Although Portugal had received "title" to Brazil with the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, most of its efforts were directed towards Asia. The Portuguese settled Brazil but it was a backwater of the empire for a generation.

The Portuguese crown, like the Spanish, French, and English crowns, worked to centralize authority in its own hands and destroy the power of the nobility. All succeeded eventually but the Portuguese case was somewhat easier because the kingdom was so small.

Manoel I, "the Fortunate," (1495-1521) married the daughter of Ferdinand of Aragón and Isabela of Castile. He expelled or converted Jews; most were converted by force. These "New Christians" played an important role in Portugal and Brazil.

João III (1521-1557) continued the expansion and consolidation but, after 1557, Portugal found itself overextended. The kingdom only had between one and one and one-half million people in the 16th century. When one factors out women, children, and old men, there were not enough people to run an empire with territories in South America, Africa, and Asia. Sebastião (1557-1578) was a boy king. He was mentally unbalanced and disappeared in battle in Morocco in 1578. There was great confusion over his death. An old great uncle took the throne until 1580. Phillip II "inherited, bought, and conquered" the Portuguese throne. He claimed that he had inherited it from the progeny of Manoel I.

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The Conquest

Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, made four epochal voyages in small ships; his flagship, the Santa Maria, was only 75 feet by 25 feet with a draft of 6 feet. In 1492, he and his crews sailed to the Canary Islands, the Bahamas, the coast of Cuba, the coast of Española, the Azores, and back to Lisbon. In 1493, they went to the Canaries, the Windward Islands, the Leeward Islands, Española, Cuba, and back in 21 days. In 1498, they went to the Canaries, the Cape Verde Islands, and Trinidad. Finally, in 1502, they sailed to the Canaries, Dominica, Cuba, Honduras, Panama, Cuba, and then home. Although the Spanish Crown and others were mildly interested in the voyages, it took the Magellan voyage to be absolutely sure of what they had found. Columbus never knew what he had found. The Spanish world was not overturned by discovery; there was no "mad rush" to go to the New World. For 20 years people became a little more disillusioned. The islands in the Caribbean were used as a center of exploration for years. The things they found in the West Indies not that important or valuable enough to bring reinforcements from Europe. Columbus' first settlement was in Española but the Spanish did not have anyone to do the work (which they were not going to do). The Indians died off in large numbers. This led Bartolomé de Las Casas to become a Dominican monk and fight to preserve the Amerinds.

Balboa

Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, born the son of a poor nobleman in 1475, went to the New World in 1500 as part of an expedition to the coast of Colombia. He settled on Española (or Hispaniola) but left in 1510, one step ahead of his creditors, and went to Panama, where he founded the town of Darién. In 1513, Balboa headed west and sighted the Pacific Ocean. However, the Crown had appointed a court favorite, Pedrarias Dávila, as governor of Darién, and made Balboa serve under Pedrarias as governor of an area on the Pacific coast.

The Pedrarias Expedition

Pedro Arias Dávila (1447-1531) or Pedrarias Dávila, was 72 years old and well-connected at court. His large expedition of more than 20 ships and 1,200 men and women was outfitted at Sevilla in 1514. He was made governor of an indeterminate territory. With him were Francisco de Coronado, Hernando de Soto, and Diego de Almagro. He went to the settlement at Darién where Balboa was. Balboa had heard the story of the golden man, a man who covered himself with gold dust and jumped to his death in a lake. Balboa and friends took off looking for gold, but found none. The Balboa settlement was not doing very well when Pedrarias arrived to take command. They were not finding anything the Crown or anyone else wanted; they were living in mud huts (bohíos) which were surrounded by a wooden palisade; and there was not enough food. The rustic settlement could barely support the Balboa party much less the Pedrarias influx. They had to have enough Spanish die so they could the abandon settlement, to disobey the Crown's orders. So, they sat and watched each other die until enough had died to justify moving. These

men (and the few women brought by Pedrarias) were tough-minded and callous. They had to be to survive in this unknown and hostile land.

We know something about how they amused themselves during this dying time because they left notarial records. A group got into a debate as to whether or not their war dogs could tell the difference between a friendly Indian and an unfriendly one. Eventually, they decided to put the question to the test and bet on the outcome. They had a notary create a document (which survives) outlining the terms of the wager and how much each bet. They called an old Indian woman to them, gave her an errand, and sent her on her way. Then they unleashed a dog, who ran after her. She fell to her knees, begging the dog not to kill her. The dog stopped and sniffed. No doubt the betters were going nuts by this time. Then the dog lifted his leg, urinated on her, and walked away. The record does not show which side won the bet but no doubt they argued over the meaning of the dog's action.

The *Requerimiento* was brought out by Pedrarias. The *requerimiento* was the long document, written in Spanish, that explained the Christian faith, that the Spanish Crown had God-given dominion over unbelievers and how the people who heard this had to accept it or be conquered and punished. Thus, the Spanish justified their conquest. After all, even though the natives could not understand what was being said (especially when the document was read miles off shore), the Spanish had given them a chance to accept the truth faith. That it was Pedrarias, one of the most cynical of the Spanish, who brought it to the New World was fitting.

Pedrarias decided to eliminate his rival Balboa. He trumped-up charges and had him executed in 1519. What was left of the two groups, now combined, finally left Darién. Many went to Cuba. Pedrarias moved the settlement to the Pacific side of Panama (1519),

which became the center of exploration towards the south. It took years, until 1529, before the high culture of Peru was reached. They did not penetrate much into northern South America for years. Pedrarias was a partner with Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro to mount expeditions southward but never went himself. Instead, his partners bought him out for a small sum in 1526. He returned to Spain, where he died in 1530.

Principal Problems Involved in the Conquest and Initial Colonization

1. The exploration and identification of territory and what was in it. They were remarkably good at this, for they found everything important on two continents within seventy-five years.
2. They had to conquer and control the Amerinds. They did not do things to sustain Indian population, and there was a 90% reduction in Indian population by 1650. The pandemics of deadly diseases made both conquest and control easier.
3. They had to create institutions that would provide an orderly life in America for Spaniards and permit *effective* metropolitan control over the colonies.
4. In places where there were large Amerind populations, they had to change Indian behavior. They made the Indians adopt

European ways of doing things. This involved which crops were grown, the husbandry of domestic animals, clothing, architectural styles, and much more. In essence, they had to change the Amerind population into quasi-Europeans, but they were often frustrated by the persistence of Amerind ways.

How battles were won

1. The Amerind military's disciplinary structure was inferior to that of the Spanish.
2. This was partly related to the Aztec and other Amerind social structure which was very hierarchical. When the leader was killed, the others tended to give up.
3. The Aztecs and other Amerinds were superstitious and believed in bad portents or omens. The Spanish used this factor.
4. The Amerinds did not have Spanish individualism. The Amerind (Indians) were not as egotistical as the Spanish, who were most reluctant to give up the ghost.
5. The Spanish had physical advantages such as war dogs, horses, firearms, steel swords, and armor. Being charged by a horse or a mastiff was frightening. Steel cut efficiently and quickly.

6. The Spanish had better war tactics and technology. They knew how to win battles, in Europe and America.

7. The Spanish had psychological advantages. If the Amerinds had realized how little difference Spanish arms meant, they would have done better. The Spanish engaged in psychological warfare and, also, never showed weakness.

8. The Amerinds were vastly outnumbered. The invaders numbered in the millions, for millions and millions of microbes carrying diseases to which the Amerinds had no immunity attacked Amerind populations and weakened and killed them. Disease was decisive.

It is difficult to know how many people the Spanish killed. They exaggerated or boasted because they were trying to impress the Crown so they would be awarded more or because they wanted to assert how many they were or both. Bartolomé de las Casas' figures on the numbers killed were polemics; he was not trying to be objective. How many were killed in battle? Not many. Most of them gave up.

Some of the records of the Conquest period are misleading. The conquistadores did not think much of the Amerinds; their interest was in not believing good things about them. They had no reason, therefore, to pay much attention to casualties. They were too busy conquering and, after all, from their viewpoint, their opponents were just heathens who stood in the way of Spaniards. Many of the casualty records exist in letters written back to officials and others in Spain. The conquistadores were trying to make the case that they had suffered so much but had won against formidable odds and, therefore, they should

be amply rewarded by the Crown! For example, Bernal Díaz, in his *True History of the Conquest of New Spain*, wrote of how many Amerinds were killed but his figures do not bear close scrutiny. He was very old when he wrote the book and sought to convince his readers that the conquest of Mexico was very dangerous and that the conquistadores deserved great rewards. Further, he was defending Cortez. In short, he was biased. An Aztec view of the Conquest can be found in *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico*, edited by Miguel Leon-Portilla. While there is no doubt that the conquistadores faced mortal danger in fighting Amerinds, they claimed too much. In fact, they did not conquer the New World. Microbes did.

Epidemic Disease

The inhabitants of the New World had no serious infectious diseases which were transferable to Europeans or Africans except, perhaps syphilis, but they had no immunity to African and European diseases. Because of this, there was a demographic disaster in the Americas. Microbes, not humans, conquered the New World.

The scope of the disaster reflected the dense population of central Mexico and the highlands of the Andes. The two most important American food crops, maize (corn) and potatoes, were more productive of calories per acre than any Old World crops except rice. This allowed denser populations per square mile than anywhere except East Asia. The American population may have been 100 million persons with 25-30 million in central and southern Mexico and an equal amount in the Andean highlands. By 1568, however, the population of central Mexico had dropped to 3 million. By 1620, 1.6 million.

Disease spread silently and rapidly. For example, there were some 6,000-8,000 Cayapo in South America in 1903 when a single priest arrived. He wanted to safeguard them from the evils and dangers of civilization but he did not realize that he was introducing contagious disease into a population which had no immunity. By 1918, only Cayapo survived; by 1927, only 27. by 1950, there were only 2 or 3.

Faith in established institutions and beliefs cannot easily withstand such disaster. Skills and knowledge disappear. There was wholesale demoralization and simple surrender of will. Although Europeans and Africans did not do this intentionally, modern biological terrorists understand these effects.

In America, the rapid spread of these fatal diseases created labor shortages and economic regression. The population decline destroyed the *requerimiento*. Haciendas became more attractive to Spaniards and Amerinds alike. They provided a haven for the native population and made them easier to control and work.

Smallpox was in Hispaniola by 1518. Las Casas said that only one thousand survived the epidemic. It reached Mexico in 1520 when Pánfilo de Narváez arrived. Between the time of Moctezuma's death and La Noche Triste in 1520, smallpox raged in Tenochtitlán. Leaders died within hours of Cortez's retreat. The Aztecs were beaten by smallpox long before they were beaten by Cortez. By 1520, smallpox had also spread to Guatemala. By 1525 or 1526, it was killing people in the Inca empire. Pizarro and his men found a population devastated by this deadly disease. The Spanish were immune, giving credence to their claims of superiority. Both the Spanish and the Amerinds saw the smallpox pandemic as divine punishment for the Amerind way of life. Stunned acquiescence to Spanish "superiority" was seen as the only possible response.

Other diseases were also devastating. Measles were in Mexico and Peru by 1530-31. Typhus may have come to the New World by 1546. There was an influenza epidemic in 1558-59; the European epidemic lasted from 1556 to 1560 and killed 20% of England's population. The Amerinds also had to withstand diphtheria and mumps epidemics. A German missionary in 1699 observed "The Indians die so easily that the bare look and smell of a Spaniard causes them to give up the ghost." Breath instead of smell would have been more accurate! The Amerinds were also inflicted with the African diseases of yellow fever and malaria. Yellow fever came to the Caribbean from West Africa in 1648, hitting Havana and the Yucatán.

As one Amerind observed:

Great was the stench of death. After our fathers and grandfathers succumbed, half the people fled to the fields. The dogs and vultures devoured the bodies. The mortality was terrible. Your grandfathers died, and with them died the son of the king and his brothers and kinsmen. So it was that we became orphans, oh, my sons! So we became when we were young. All of us were thus. We were born to die!

The Conquest of Mexico

By 1517, Cuba had become the most important Spanish settlement in America. It was comparatively well-developed, cultivating European plants and livestock. It exported its food surplus.

Governor Diego de Velásquez, who had replaced the Columbus family as governor, sent expeditions to explore the western Caribbean and Gulf of Mexico. In 1517, Francisco Hernández de Córdoba skirted the Yucatán peninsular and then probed inland where the expedition saw the deserted Mayan cities of Chichén Itzá and Chichén Viejo. In 1518, Juan de Grijalva sailed from Cozumel to north of present-day Veracruz and heard rumors that there were lots of rich people in the interior. The Aztec emperor, Moctezuma, sent men to find out who the Spanish were and what they were doing there. Grijalva took gold back to Cuba. That got the Spanish excited! The Spanish decided to ascertain whether the rumors of this wealth were true. In 1519, Velásquez named Hernán Cortez to command a large expedition to Mexico.

Cortez was born in Estremadura, Castile in 1485 and went to Hispaniola in 1504 at the age of nineteen. His connections got him an encomienda, a grant of Amerinds. He served under Velásquez in 1511 when the latter conquered Cuba and was rewarded with a second encomienda. He lived the life of a gentlemen and became alcalde of Santiago de Cuba. The red-headed Cortez saw his chance to achieve fortune and fame.

Cortez organized the expedition but Velásquez decided that Cortez could not be trusted and canceled the expedition. Cortez, however, sneaked out of the harbor quickly on February 10, 1519. His orders were to explore and trade only; he was not to conquer. His expedition consisted of 11 ships, 553 soldiers, 110 sailors, 16 horses, and 14 small cannons. Only 44 of the soldiers had guns; the rest had pikes and swords. They carried large supplies of food, including pigs, and trinkets for trade.

In the Yucatán, they easily defeated some Mayas. They recruited Jerónimo de Aguilar, a shipwrecked Spaniard who had learned the Maya language. Cortez had sought him out. The expedition continued along the Tabasco coast. It fought some Tabascans and won. They found Marina, an Indian woman who spoke both the Maya language and Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs. She served as his translator and mistress. (In modern Mexican history, she became the symbol of collaborationism and betrayal of her own people). Aztec scouts, meanwhile, were reporting the progress of the expedition to Moctezuma. At Veracruz, Aztec emissaries appeared and asked Cortez to go away. They brought Cortez valuable gifts to bribe him to leave. that was a mistake, for now Cortez and his men could see that wealth existed in the interior. He politely refused to leave, saying that he represented the greatest king on earth and had come to pay a courtesy call. Cortez always meant to accomplish something spectacular, something which would give him power, wealth, and fame.

The Aztec emissaries, not understanding how greedy and sinful Europeans were, erred in giving them even a hint of how wealthy their society was. Cortez now decided to oust Velásquez from any role and become a free agent. He persuaded the men to unload all their supplies, strip their ships, and set fire to them. There would be no turning back. Cortez had himself elected governor by the town of Veracruz. Real justification in the enterprises was what you accomplished; if you gave the Crown something it wanted, it would forgive . Creating a town gave the Crown a legal out if it wanted one. Cortez was smart enough to understand this.

The march inland was quite an epic event. He discovered divisions among the Amerinds and the fear of Moctezuma. He learned their legends. When he could, he recruited Amerind groups as allies,

sometimes having to defeat them first. They did not have a sense of cultural self-consciousness. They did not see it as an Amerind-European conflict. The Spanish were just another group of people to them. Cortez and his soldiers had Amerind allies as some groups sought revenge on their enemies, especially the Aztecs.

Moctezuma was interested in accommodation with the Spanish. Moctezuma was frightened because of bad omens that had been happening for the last ten years of his reign: volcanic eruptions, pillars of fire, sudden conflagrations and floods, thunderbolts, waterspouts, two-headed men, and a bird with a mirror in his head! His priests found bad omens wherever they looked. Then there was the coincidental appearance of a comet. Perhaps he believed the legend of Quetzalcoatl, this half man-half God who was to return in 1519. Cortez heard the legend and encouraged the Aztecs to believe that he represented the return of Quetzalcoatl. Spanish were not interested in accommodation; they wanted everything and as quickly as possible. Moctezuma tried to appease Cortez with gifts as he marched to Tenochtitlán, trying to get him to reverse course.

Cortez defeated the Tlaxcalan people, who came close to beating him, and convinced 5,000 of them to join with him. The Tlaxcala had never been defeated by the Aztecs. They taught the Spanish the major political strengths and weaknesses of the Aztec. Cortez learned that Moctezuma's power was built on fear and that the Aztecs were mostly interested in capturing enemies so they could enslave them or eat them. The king of Texcoco warned Moctezuma that his empire would shortly be overthrown.

On the way to Tenochtitlán, the Spanish set up altars and held religious services for they were devout Christians who had religion as one of their primary motivations. They founded towns, usually on the

sites of Amerind towns. Before he reached Cholula, a holy Amerind market town, he learned that Moctezuma planned an ambush there. Cortez pulled off his own ambush, sacking the town on a crowded market day. The Spanish then built the city of Puebla nearby.

The Spanish, who appeared invincible, entered Tenochtitlán, the island city of some 300,000 people, as the guest of Moctezuma. His soldiers explored the city. The meeting of the Spanish and the Aztec was a very serious culture clash. The Spanish were horrified at the Aztec religion with its polytheism, ritual executions, and cannibalism. They captured Moctezuma and were safe as long as he was their captive.

Meanwhile, Pánfilo de Narváez expedition had been sent by Velásquez to arrest Cortez and assume control. Cortez went to the coast, leaving Pedro de Alvarado in charge in Tenochtitlán. Cortez convinced the 900 men in the Narváez expedition to join him and returned to Tenochtitlán with these reinforcements.

While he had been gone, Pedro de Alvarado, appalled by the human sacrifice, lost his nerve and attacked the populace. Both noblemen and religious men were killed. Cortés arrived in the midst of this and the Aztec allowed Cortez and the reinforcements to cross the causeways into the city. The Spanish conquistadores became prisoners in the palace, secure only because they had Moctezuma. Cortez got Moctezuma to appeal from the top of the roof but he was stoned to death. The Aztecs rallied around Cuauhtémoc, who began planning the destruction of the Spanish.

On June 30, 1520 (La Noche Triste), Cortez and his men began their retreat to Tlaxcala. They had to fight their way off Tenochtitlán, crossing the Tacuba causeway. They were carrying what gold and other loot they had acquired, which made the retreat even

more difficult. The Aztecs killed some 900 Spaniards and almost all of their Amerind allies. The survivors rushed to Tlaxcala, where, surprisingly, they were aided by the Tlaxcalans.

Perhaps a lesser man would have given up but not Cortez; he began planning a counterattack. He rested his men; received reinforcements, horses, and supplies from Cuba; and reorganized his army. He decided that he needed a navy to aid in the attack of the island city, so he sent ships' carpenters to the coast to retrieve the tackle he had saved. On the banks of the lake in which Tenochtitlán sat, they constructed brigantines.

In 1521, the fight began. The brigantines blockaded the city, creating starvation and problems of waste disposal, for the city was fed from the shore and sent its wastes ashore as well. The Aztecs were reduced to starvation. Worse, epidemic disease killed many of the defenders and weakened many of the rest before the Spanish launched their attack. Still, it took two months of hand-to-hand fighting and the block-by-block destruction of the city before the Spanish won. When they caught Cuauhtémoc, they strangled him. The city was leveled.

After the fall of Tenochtitlán, the Aztecs and their subject people no longer fought. Cortez was recognized as a god. He had defeated the greatest power in the world, at least from a central Mexican perspective. He did have to fight frontier wars against the chichimecas, the term given by the Aztec to the nomadic people north of central Mexico but the Aztecs did not know that.

Cortez promoted intermarriage between Spaniards and the Aztec mobility in an effort to mitigate differences. Of course, conquering soldiers were given "companionship" by Amerind women, for they had shown that they were more manly than the Aztec soldiers; after all, they had won. Some conquistadores raped as soldiers have always done.

Cortez gave Marina (or Malinche), the mother of his son, to Pedro de Alvarado. Cortez built the Ciudad de Mexico on the ruins of Tenochtitlán. He became one of the richest men in the world.

He reluctantly permitted the developing colonial system and royal authority to replace his personal control. He explored the Gulf of California and Honduras. He went to Spain to try to increase his rewards but was disappointed. He died in Seville in 1547. His sons did not do well because they foolishly talked of revolt.

This expedition and the others were "private enterprise." The Spanish Crown was always in financial difficulty. It gave legal rights to private individuals to explore and conquer. When the conquistador found something valuable, he was rewarded. Cortez was made Marquis of Oaxaca and granted extensive lands and Amerinds by the Crown. The Crown usually modified the contracts after the discoveries and conquests. Crown allowed the conquerors material benefits from their conquests but reduced their political power. Because Velásquez would not be there, he got nothing. Of those who were in the conquest of Mexico, they were rewarded depending upon how much they had contributed (or, at least, how much were able to convince people) and on social rank. Gentlemen received more than commoners, for example.

The conquest was rapid in central and southern Mexico. The conquest to the north of central Mexico was slower because the Amerinds there resisted and the terrain and climate was more difficult. However, they conquered and held those areas where they found precious metals. The initial conquest and pacification of the Amerinds in the north was through the mission and presidio (frontier fort) system. They did not have rivals, either other Spaniards or other Europeans, for a long time. Upper California to Texas were buffer areas. There was not much there. South of central Mexico they had competition for

jurisdiction from other Spaniards. Pedrarias and others tried to claim Mexico. The Yucatán conquest was in difficult territory against a very stubborn population. The peninsula tended to be peripheral so they did not put much effort there.

Guatemala City was founded in 1524 by Pedro de Alvarado (Cortez had encouraged him to leave central Mexico). Guatemala had settled Amerinds who were accustomed to working under direction. In other words, the Spanish found a labor force. Guatemala was made a captaincy-general. Although technically the officials there had to report to the viceroy in Mexico City, the captaincy-general was virtually independent.

Spanish America, where the Spaniards lived as opposed to the Amerinds, was a series of loose connections between urban centers. boundaries usually passed through thinly populated areas. There was tremendous concentration of all kinds of power in the capitals.

It was the success of the Cortez expedition that set off the excitement about the New World. Cortez had found what any 16th century European would have wanted: wealth and a docile labor force.

Some of Cortez' men sought their fortunes elsewhere. Juan Ponce de León and Pánfilo de Narváez explored Florida. Of the Narváez party, only four survived. These, led by Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, traveled for eight years along the gulf coast and then through the interior until they found other Spaniards in northern Mexico and finally reached Mexico City. They discovered nothing anyone at the time would consider valuable. Hernando de Soto with 600 men explored what is now the central United States and died in 1541; his party also discovered nothing Europeans would consider valuable. Alvarado went to Guatemala in the 1530s and joined Pizarro in Peru in 1534 but he was overshadowed by the Pizarro's and the Almagros.

Conquest of Peru

Francisco Pizarro first came to the New World with the Ojeda expedition and then joined Balboa in Panama in 1519. Pizarro was over 50 when he got to Peru. Born in Estremadura in the 1470s, he was the bastard child of a poor gentlemen. He spent time as an illiterate swineherd and then became a soldier. He went to Cuba as a soldier; made his way to Panama; and joined the Balboa expedition to the Pacific. He had persistence and courage.

He became one of the old Indies hands, many of whom were constantly forming and re-forming partnerships to explore and conquer. His partners were Hernando de Luque, a priest, who handed the finances, Diego de Almagro, who was illiterate, uncouth, energetic and extroverted, and Pedrarias. They made a pact in 1522 amidst rumors of a Peruvian empire. Pizarro and Almagro explored down the west coast of South America until Ecuador but found nothing they considered worth having.

On his second expedition to the south (1524-28), they found artifacts that showed evidence of higher cultures. At Guayaquil, Pizarro refused the order to return to Panama. He drew a line in the sand and asked for volunteers to continue. Only thirteen did. For eight months they explored until they were found by a ship sent to bring them home. Pizarro persuaded the captain to explore for a few more days. They found a small boat carrying four beautifully dressed Amerinds from Túmbez. With that, Pizarro was able to persuade the group to continue. They found even more evidence of wealth. They took some Amerinds on board and headed back to Panama. The governor would not listen

so Pizarro went to Spain to plea with the king to allow them to proceed. He was to represent all the partners, or so they thought.

Pizarro returned from Spain with a royal grant after presenting the king with treasure he had brought from northern Peru. He was given the titles of Captain-General, Adelantado, and Governor/Alguacil Mayor of Peru for life with his salary to be taken from his conquests. His partners got much less. Almagro, for example, was only made governor of Tumbes. They were angry, Almagro especially so. Almagro's anger played an important role in the early history of Spanish Peru.

With four brothers and a cousin, he returned to Panama in 1530 and assembled a small expedition. By 1531, the 166 men and about twenty-five horses headed south, stopping at Tumbes. After subduing the local population, he learned of the civil war for the title of Inca and that Atahualpa was defeating his brother Huascar. He also received reinforcements, led by Hernando de Soto, from Nicaragua. Pizarro founded a town, which then granted him more authority. In November 1532, Pizarro led his small band south to Cajamarca, where Atahualpa and his army of 40,000 were encamped.

The mighty Atahualpa did not realize how very dangerous the Spaniards were; his religion no doubt conditioned him to believe that everyone was inferior except his immediate family. Besides, Pizarro had been sending friendly messages saying how he and his men were coming to visit the great Atahualpa. He understood that his only hope was to capture Atahualpa. He stationed soldiers around the plaza and he invited Atahualpa to dine. A priest stepped forward with a Bible and asked the Inca to swear allegiance to the true faith, Christianity. Atahualpa drew back, accidentally knocking the book to the ground.

The Spanish soldiers then seized him. The royal guards were slaughtered.

Atahualpa tried to ransom himself with gold. The Amerinds had learned that the Spanish had the disease of gold lust. His people scoured the empire to find enough gold to fill a room. Meanwhile, the Spanish were looting as much as they could. When the Inca's followers had fulfilled Pizarro's ransom demands, Pizarro had him executed by strangulation. Faced with being burned at the stake, Atahualpa had converted to Christianity to avoid that fate.

Pizarro, reinforced by additional men, set out for Cuzco, the capital, in November, 1533. They fought, captured hostages, tortured when necessary to gain more information, had sex with women (by consent or by force), and took what they wanted. He founded Lima in 1535. In 1536-37, Manco Capac, a puppet Inca, tried to overthrow Pizarro but failed. This was the last serious threat to the Spaniards.

Why was the Pizarro expedition successful? Historians disagree, of course, but certainly the following factors were important:

1. The fierceness and determination of the Spaniards. They were very egotistical and much more individualistic than the Indians. They were most reluctant to "give up the ghost." As invaders in hostile country, the Spanish could not afford to lose or quit.
2. The Spaniards had better military tactics and weapons. The technology of Spanish weapons was vastly superior. The horse was an important weapon. In this instance, the horse was much like a tank, difficult for infantry to counter.

3. The Inca could not conceive that a relatively small band of inferior beings could be such a threat.
4. The Spanish had millions of allies in the form of deadly microbes to which the natives had little resistance. Long before Pizarro entered Peru, fatal contagious diseases, brought from Spain, had been killing the natives. It was a much weakened and somewhat confused population that the Spaniards conquered. Once Pizarro and his men arrived in Peru, disease spread even faster.
5. The civil war between Huascar and Atahualpa preoccupied the Indian elite. The Spaniards immediately exploited these divisions even before they reached Cajamarca.
6. The Indians were confused as to who and what the Spanish were.
7. Capturing Atahualpa was a brilliant move, for it not only gave the Spaniards safety but allowed them months to gather intelligence. Killing him threw the entire Indian command structure into chaos.

The Spanish founded Lima on the coast in order to have easy communication with Spain. If worse came to worse, they could flee the highlands and use Lima as a redoubt. Lima became the very Spanish city whose upper class lorded it over the highland population.

Quito was the most recently addition to the Inca empire and, therefore, was easier to conquer. Pedro de Alvarado came from Guatemala with an expedition but was bought off. Almagro, in 1535-37, mounted an expedition to Chile and found two things: it was hard to get to and the Araucanian Indians fiercely resisted. He came back to Peru, determined to get his fair share. Pedro de Valdivia, commissioned by Pizarro, began the conquest of Chile in 1540.

As they conquered, the Spanish created town governments to give themselves authority and tried to replicate Spanish life as much as they could. They used 16th century town planning with a central square and a rectilinear layout. Sited a church and a cemetery. Had a cabildo hall for town government. Granted town lands based on rank. The towns immediately began functions such as roads and Indian control.

Political Situation in Peru in Early Times

In 1541, Almagro seized Cuzco, the Inca capital, claiming that it was his and civil war ensued between the Almagrists and Pizarrists. Almagro's faction lost the final battle in 1538. The Indians must have loved seeing the Spanish fighting each other! The Pizarrists executed Almagro and Pizarro confiscated the loser's property and Indians and gave them to his own followers. Pizarro was assassinated in 1541 by Diego de Almagro the Younger and other "Men of Chile." Naturally, another civil was occurred in 1541-1542. The Crown had sent an envoy, Vaca de Castro, to investigate; when he reached south of Popayán, he was met by Sebastián de Belacázar, a lieutenant of Pizarro, who proclaimed loyalty to the Crown. The now royal force defeated Almagro's army in September 1542. Almagro the Younger was executed. Gonzalo Pizarro, brother of the conquistador, was

initially bought off but events prompted him to rise up against royal authority. Gonzalo wreaked havoc, even going to Panama and executing officials, before he was finally defeated and executed in 1549.

The Crown sent Antonio Mendoza from Mexico as a viceroy and, although he died within a year and the audiencia ruled, the Crown had established its authority. Viceroy Francisco de Toledo served in Peru from 1569-81. Toledo was one of the great administrators of human times. He found an almost impossible situation in Peru and made it possible. He spent whole five years on a visit and had a rough time of it. But he helped solidify royal rule. The Spanish Crown was clever in the way they handled colonists. They yielded to some demands in order to get obedience and, over time, took back what it had yielded.

The Early Empire

The Spanish explored North America (north to Kansas and Colorado, west to California, east to South Carolina, and south to Panama) and all of South America in less than 75 years. The exploration enabled the Spanish to identify the existing resources and concentrate what they wanted. They found little of interest in the Great Plains or Costa Rica so they put no energy and resources there. On the other hand, central Mexico and highland Peru were worth the effort. Like most 16th century Europeans, the Spanish wanted precious metals and people to work for them. Thus, the pattern of conquest also established the settlement patterns.

Conquest Patterns

The Caribbean:

- ! Spain took Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Hispaniola to control the entrances to the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico.
- ! It settled Darién and Panama City to control the Isthmus of Panama.
- ! It established Cartagena on the north coast of Colombia as a Caribbean fort.
- ! Took assorted Caribbean islands as needed.

Mexico:

- ! Established Veracruz as the chief port of New Spain.
- ! Established Puebla on the route to Mexico City.
- ! Built Mexico City on the ruins of Tenochtitlán.
- ! Spread into central Mexico and westward to found Guadalajara.
- ! The conquest of northern Mexico (San Luis Potosí northwards) was slower because of the fierce nomadic

Amerinds, except for important mining areas such as Zacatecas.

- ! Moved into California and Texas in the 18th century after LaSalle's explorations in 1683.
- ! Movement into Oaxaca and the Yucatán was slow.

Guatemala was settled by the Spanish quickly, for there were plenty of sedentary people to put to work. Most of Central America was sparsely populated and contained few precious metals, so Spain put little into it.

South America

- ! Peru settled by Pizarro, Almagro, and company. The civil war slowed the process for a generation. Peru had valuable mines and a very large sedentary population. It was the most important Spanish South American colony.
- ! Ecuador, Bolivia, and Chile were sparsely settled by the Spanish.
- ! Colombia and Venezuela were important because they bordered the Caribbean and pearls were obtained in Venezuela. There was also some cattle raised and sold in Venezuela.

! Argentina was a backwater until the later 18th century.

The rationale of the settlement pattern:

! They took the areas where they found precious metals such as gold and silver.

! They took control of sedentary Amerinds who were accustomed to working under direction.

! Spaniards established tropical plantations to grow sugar, tobacco, and cotton.

! Spaniards established places from which they could supply towns, routes, and mines with food, mules, donkeys, and other supplies.

! They expanded into areas as a defensive measure, particularly in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

The Spanish were town dwellers. They established towns immediately and laid them out with the latest avant garde town planning and architecture., using town squares. They segregated the Amerinds into neighborhoods different from their own except, of course, for the live-in servants. Some towns were both Indian and Spanish, such as Mexico City and Cuzco, whereas others, such as Puebla and Lima, were overwhelmingly Spanish. Whenever possible, they sought access to the sea.

The settlement patterns of the conquest period established the pattern for the colonial period. After that, it was a matter of "filling in" to meet needs.

Early Attempts to Organize an Empire

The Crown first used adelantados (military officials) and some gobernadores (governors). The Spanish formed cabildos (town councils) which had jurisdiction not only over urban areas but the surrounding countryside. The cabildo could appoint gobernadores and corregidores.

The high court or audiencia was introduced into the New World at Santo Domingo in 1511. Used successfully in Spain, the Crown hoped its use in the New World would bring needed law and order to the region.

The Crown faced the problem of dealing with ambitious men. Conquistadores believed that the Crown owed them titles and property for the sacrifices they had made. If there was any way a man could claim to be a conquistador, he did, for therein lay fortune. There was tremendous rivalry among them and between them and later officials. Greed existed then, too.

In New Spain (Mexico), the first audiencia (1528-30) with Gonzalo Nuño de Guzmán as president ruled with such cruelty and high-handedness (confiscating some of the encomiendas that Cortez had distributed) that it aroused the wrath of honest citizens and stirred the clergy led by Bishop Zumárraga. The bishop excommunicated him and the audiencia in 1529. Not fazed by this, he explored Michoacán, Jalisco, and Sinaloa. Although he ruled as a governor in western Mexico, the Crown finally learned of his crimes, had him tried in

Mexico City, and then shipped him to Spain. The second audiencia (1530-35) was run by clergymen but they were unable to control Cortez other than to forbid him from entering Mexico City. The conquistadores continued to engage in disputes with royal authorities and each other. The Crown sent Antonio de Mendoza to New Spain as the first viceroy. For the next fifteen years, Mendoza, a member of one of the great Spanish families, brought peace, order, and regularity to the viceroyalty.

In Peru, the early days of the empire were much more problematic for the conquistadores engaged in civil war. Throughout the 1530s and 1540s, the Pizarro and Almagro factions cut each other up. The Crown sent Mendoza to Peru in 1551 but he died with a year. Although the audiencia made progress in establishing royal authority, it was Viceroy Francisco de Toledo who served from 1569-1581 who consolidated royal authority and Spanish dominance in the viceroyalty. He was the author of the colonial system in Peru, much of which was used elsewhere in the Spanish colonies.

The Crown faced other fractious vassals as this celebrated letter from the rebel Lope de Aguirre show:

Letter from Lope de Aguirre, rebel, to King Philip of Spain, 1561.

To King Philip, the Spaniard, son of Charles the Invincible: From Lope de Aguirre, your lesser vassal, old Christian, of middling parents but fortunately of noble blood, native of the Basque country of the kingdom of Spain, citizen of the town of Onate.

In my youth I crossed the sea to the land of Peru to gain fame, lance in hand, and to fulfill the obligation of all good men. In 24 years I have done you great service in Peru, in conquests of the Indians, in founding towns, and especially in battles and encounters fought in your name, always to the best of my power and ability, without requesting of your officials pay nor assistance, as can be seen in your royal records.

I firmly believe, most excellent King and lord, that to me and my companions you have been nothing but cruel and ungrateful. I also believe that those who write to you from this land deceive you, because of the great distance.

I demand of you, King, that you do justice and right by the good vassals you have in this land, even though I and my companions (whose names I will give later), unable to suffer further the cruelties of your judges, viceroy, and governors, have resolved to obey you no longer. Denaturalizing ourselves from our land, Spain, we make the most cruel war against you that our power can sustain and endure. Believe, King and lord, we have done this because we can no longer tolerate the great oppression and unjust punishments of your ministers who, to make places for their sons and dependents have usurped and robbed our fame, life, and honor. It is a pity, King, the bad treatment you have given us.

I am lame in the right leg from the arquebus wounds I received in the battle of Chuquina, fighting with Marshall Alonzo de Alvarado, answering your call against Francisco Hernández Giron, rebel from your service as I and my companions are presently and will be until death, because we in this land now know how cruel you are, how you break your faith and your word, and thus we in this land give your promises less credence than to the books of Martin Luther.

Your viceroy the marquis of Canete hanged Martín de Robles, a man distinguished in your service; and the brave Tomás Vásquez, conquistador of Peru; and the ill fated Alonso Días, who worked more in the discoveries of this kingdom than the scouts of Moses in the desert; and Piedrahita, a good captain who fought many battles in your service. In Pucara they gave you victory, and if they had not, Francisco Hernández would now be the king of Peru. Do not give much credence to the claims your judges make of services performed, because it is a great myth, unless they call having spent 800,000 pesos of your royal treasury for their vices and evil deeds, a service. Punish them as evildoers, as such they certainly are.

Look here, King of Spain! Do not be cruel and ungrateful to your vassals, because while your father and you stayed in Spain without the slightest

bother, your vassals, at the price of their blood and fortune, have given you all the kingdoms and holding you have in these parts. Beware, King and lord, that you cannot take, under the title of legitimate king, any benefit from this land where you risked nothing, without first giving due gratification to those who have labored and sweated in it.

I am certain there are few kings in hell because there are few kings, but if there were many none would go to heaven. Even in hell you would be worse than Lucifer, because you all thirst after human blood. But I do not marvel nor make much of you. For certain, I and my 200 arquebus-bearing maranones, conquistadores and noble, swear solemnly to God that we will not leave a minister of yours alive, because I already know how far your clemency reaches. Today we consider ourselves the luckiest men alive, because we are in these parts of the Indies, with faith in God's commandments full and uncorrupted as Christians, maintaining all that is preached by the holy mother church of Rome, and we intend, though sinners in life, to achieve martyrdom through God's commandments.

Upon leaving the Amazon river, called the Marañón, on an island inhabited by Christians called Margarita, I saw some reports from Spain regarding the great schism of Lutherans there,

which caused us to be frightened and surprised. In our company there was a German named Monteverde, and I ordered him cut to pieces. Destiny rewards the prudent. Believe this, excellent Prince: Wherever we are we ensure that all live perfectly in the Christian faith.

The dissolution of the priests is so great in these parts that I think it would be well that they feel your wrath and punishment, because there is now none among them who sees himself as less than governor. Look here, King, do not believe what they might tell you, because the tears that they shed before your royal person is so that they can come here to command. If you want to know the life they lead here, it is to deal in merchandise, seek and acquire temporal goods, and sell the Sacraments of the Church for a price. They are enemies of the poor, uncharitable, ambitious, gluttonous, and arrogant, so that even the lowest of the priests tries to command and govern all these lands. Correct this, King and lord, because from these things and bad examples faith is not impressed upon the natives. Furthermore, if this dissolution of the priests is not stopped, there will be no shortage of scandal.

If I and my companions, by the correct position we have taken, are determined to die, for this and for other things that have happened, singular King, you are to blame, for not duly considering the labor

of your vassals and for not thinking of what you owe them. If you do not look out for your vassals, and your judges do not take care of this, you certainly will fail in government. Certainly there is no need to present witnesses, but simply to point out that each of your judges has 4,000 pesos of salary, 8,000 pesos in expenses, and after three years in office each has 60,000 pesos saved, along with properties and possessions! Despite all this we would be willing to serve them as we do, except that for our sins they want us to drop to our knees wherever we are and worship them like Nebuchadnezzar. This is insufferable. Just because I am an unfortunate man made lame in your service (and my companions long and weary in the same) I should not fail to advise you never to trust your conscience to these learned persons. It is in your royal interest to watch out for them, as they spend all their time planning the marriages of their children, and care for nothing else. The common refrain among them is: "To the left and to the right, I possess all in my sight."

The friars do not want to bury poor Indians, and they are lodged in the best estates in Peru. The life they lead is bitter and burdensome, as each one has as a penance a dozen young women in his kitchen, and as many boys engaged in fishing, hunting partridges, and bringing fruit! They get a share of everything. In Christian faith I swear, King

and lord, that if you do not remedy the evils of this land, divine punishment will come upon you. I tell you this to let you know the truth, even though I and mine neither expect nor want mercy from you.

Oh, how sad that a great Caesar and Emperor, your father, should conquer with the power of Spain the great Germany, and should spend so much money from these Indies discovered by us, and that you should not concern yourself with our old age and weariness enough to provide for our daily bread.

You know that we know in these parts, excellent King and lord, that you conquered Germany with arms, and Germany has conquered Spain with vices. We over here are happier with just corn and water, to be removed from such a bad irony, Let those who suffer such an irony keep their reward. Let wars spread where they may, and where men take them. Never, no matter what adversity might come upon us, will we cease to be subject to the teachings of the Holy Mother Church of Rome.

We cannot believe, excellent King and lord, that you would be so cruel to such good vassals as you have in these parts. Your judges must be acting this way without your consent. I say this, excellent King, because two leagues from the city of Kings [Lima], there was discovered near the sea a lake where there were some fish God permitted to exist

there. Your evil judges and officials, to profit from the fish for their pleasures and vices, leased them in your name, giving us to understand, as though we were fools, that this was done by your will. If this is so, master, let us catch some of the fish, because we worked to discover it, and because the King of Castile has no need for the 400 pesos they leased it for. Illustrious King, we do not ask for grants in Cordoba or Valladolid, nor in any part of Spain, which is your patrimony. Deign to feed the weary and poor with the fruits and proceeds from this land. Remember, King and lord, that God is the same for all, and the same justice, reward, heaven, and hell.

In the year 1559 the marquis of Canete entrusted the expedition of the river of the Amazons to Pedro de Ursua, Navarrese, or rather, a Frenchman. He delayed the building of the boats until the year 1560 in the province of the Motilones, in Peru. The Indians are called Motilones because they wear their head shaved. These boats were made in the wet country, and upon launching most of them came to pieces. We made rafts, left the horses and supplies, and took off down the river at great risk to our persons. We then encountered the most powerful rivers of Peru, and it seemed to us to be a fresh water sea. We traveled 300 leagues from the point of launching.

This bad governor was so perverse and vicious and miserable that we could not tolerate it, and it was impossible to put up with his evil ways. Since I have a stake in the matter, excellent King and lord, I will say only that we killed him; certainly a very serious thing. We then raised a young gentleman of Seville named Don Fernando de Gúzman to be our king, and we made an oath to him as such, as your royal person will see from the signatures of all those who were in this, who remain in the island of Margarita, in these Indies. They appointed me their field commander, and because I did not consent to their insults and evil deeds they tried to kill me, and I killed the new king, the captain of his guard, the lieutenant-general, his majordomo, his chaplain, a woman in league against me, a knight of Rhodes, an admiral, two ensigns, and six other of his allies. It was my intention to carry this war through and die in it, for the cruelties your ministers practice on us, and I again appointed captains and a sergeant major. They tried to kill me, and I hung them all.

We went along our route down the Marañón river while all these killings and bad events were taking place. It took us ten and a half months to reach the mouth of the river, where it enters the sea. We traveled a good hundred days, and traveled 1,500 leagues. It is a large and fearsome river, with 80 leagues of fresh water at the mouth. It is very deep, and for 800 leagues along its banks

it is deserted, with no towns, as your majesty will see from the true report we have made. Along the route we took there are more than 6,000 islands. God only knows how we escaped from such a fearsome lake! I advise you, King and lord, not to attempt nor allow a fleet to be sent to this ill-fated river, because in Christian faith I swear, King and lord, that if a hundred thousand men come none will escape, because the stories are false and in this river there is nothing but despair, especially for those newly arrive from Spain.

The captains and officers with me at present, and who promise to die in this demand like pitiful men are: Juan Jerónimo de Espinola Ginoves, admiral; Juan Gómez, Cristobal García, captain of infantry, both Andaluz; mounted captain Diego Tirado, Andaluz, from whom your judges, King and lord, with great injury, took Indians he had earned with his lance; captain of my guard Roberto de Sosaya and his ensign Nuflo Hernández, Valencian; Juan López de Ayala, from Cuenca, our paymaster; general ensign Blas Gutiérrez, conquistador for 27 years; Juan Ponce, ensign, native of Seville; Custodio Hernández, ensign, Portuguese; Diego de Torres, ensign, Navarre; sergeant Pedro Gutierrez Viso and Diego de Figueroa; Cristobal de Rivas, conquistador, Pedro de Rojas, Andaluz; Juan de Saucedo, mounted ensign; Bartolome Sanchez Paniagua, our lawyer;

Diego Sanchez Bilbao, supply; García Navarro, inspector general, and many other hidalgos of this league. We pray to God our Lord that your fortune ever be increased against the Turk and the Frenchman, and all others who wish to make war on you in those parts. In these, God grant that we might obtain with our arms the reward by right due us, but which you have denied.

Son of your loyal Basque vassals, and I, rebel until death against you for your ingratitude.

Lope de Aguirre, the Wanderer

Translation by Tom Holloway from the version published in A. Arellano Moreno (org.), *Documentos para la historia económica de Venezuela* (Caracas, Universidad Central, 1961).

Another source of controversy was caused by Bartolomé de Las Casas. He was a conquistador and a Dominican monk. He did well in the New World, growing wealthy. But in 1514, at the age of forty, he became upset at the treatment of the Indians and their death rate. He gave up his repartimiento of Indians and went to Spain in 1515. He campaigned against the bad treatment of Indians until his death in 1566, when he was more than ninety years old. He became a Dominican in 1522.

Las Casas was sent from Spain to Española with Hieronymite friars who were to govern the colony. Las Casas soon began protesting the fact that the friars listened to the colonists regarding the Indians, the very people who were abusing them. He had to take refuge in the

Dominican monastery. He went back to Spain in 1517 where he continued his lobbying campaign for three years. As a result, the Crown did accept principle of Las Casas that Indians were human and could be Christianized and that it was improper to enslave them or hurt them. The decision that Indians could not be enslaved important. There had been arguments back and forth. The actual conditions of the Indians varied a great deal. As a result of the slave decision, they had some legal recourse. It meant something in slowing down the abuse of the Indians. It meant that the Church had some legal basis with which to protect the Indians. However, the Indians did not enjoy actual freedom.

The upper class did not listen to Las Casas. They hated what he was trying to do. They were trying to establish status and families, exploiting the Indians to do it. They believed that what they were doing was right, proper, and necessary. The Spanish used the Church to control the Indians, using it as an adjunct to other powers and bodies. Las Casas was a thorn in the sides of both the Crown and the church.

He argued that the Spanish should attempt to pacify the Indians without killing them. He tried this policy in central America in the late 1530s but the upper class was not interested. He became bishop of Chiapas (now in Mexico) in 1543, countered the wishes of the Spanish, and was back in Spain by 1547.

Las Casas wrote *A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, a polemical and not entirely truthful work, trying to prove that the reason the Indians were dying in such extraordinary numbers was because of Spanish mistreatment. He argued that Spanish peasants should be imported to do the work but he could not keep the ones he imported on the land. They, too, wanted to raise their status. The older upper class wanted these people to be part of the upper minority elite

that ran the colonies. The whole enterprise in Venezuela in 1520-1521 with Spanish peasants who were supposed to Christianize the Indians peacefully failed.

Las Casas put pressure on the Crown and the New Laws (1542) were partly the result of his work. The purpose of the New Laws was to extinguish the encomienda system. However, it could not be applied. Royal officials in the colonies said "obezco pero no cumplo" (I obey your order but I am not going to carry it out).

Las Casas' efforts helped give rise to the Black Legend about Spain, that the Spanish were unusually cruel. The term was invented in 1900 by a Spaniard to describe foreign, especially Anglo and American, attitudes toward Spain. Hispanic people felt threatened by non-Hispanic people. In part, this was caused by the Spanish American War of 1898, but it was more the result of the intrusion of modern economy and politics into Spain.

4.

The Spanish Colonial System

The governing system always faced the following problems. The distance between Spain and the New World encouraged the evasion of

orders. The ordinary problems of human ambition came into play; the colonists often thwarted the Crown. The wealth of some parts of the empire meant that many people were trying to get wealth and cared little for the empire.

Generalizations

1. There were differences among colonies as to wealth. New Spain was wealthy whereas Paraguay was poor, for example.
2. The Crown enterprise in Spanish America was huge and spent a lot of money.
3. There were restrictions in terms of office; the Crown did not like to keep people in office too long. It wanted to keep officials from getting too embedded in local areas.
4. The Spanish mixed legislative, judicial, and executive functions. There was no thought of the separation of power.
5. The Crown tried to keep the ultimate authority in Spain, e.g. the use of the *residencia*. Spain was the court of last appeal. The Crown encouraged direct communication from colonists, making a great virtue out of this. It encouraged American officials to spy on each other. Some did.
6. The Crown gave a very large degree of independence to revenue officials such as the assayer, accountant, and

treasurer. The Viceroy could not really control *the* royal officials.

7. The system had numerous guarantees against "Americanism." It used *peninsulares* (Spaniards born in Spain) as opposed to *criollos* (Spaniards born in a colony) in the great offices. *Peninsulares* were in the majority in inferior offices too. The Crown assumed that the *peninsulares* were intrinsically more loyal.

8. Spain had the alliance of ecclesiastical and civil administrations which was characteristic of the modern national dynastic state. The monarchs got control of the church through the *patronado*, which gave them control of major appointments of church officials and control over Church revenues. The Crown used this power to bolster its own authority. The Church did tremendous amount to help civil administration control this vast area. It demanded obedience to authority. It pacified the Indians.

9. The system practiced thought control, asserting homogeneity in religious and civil matters.

10. Spain used mercantilism for its economic policy. Mercantilism was based on the belief that only precious metals (principally gold and silver) were wealth and, thus, the way to increase wealth was to acquire more precious metals through warfare, theft, and trade. In trade, the ideal was to supply one's

own needs and wants from within a one's own closed system while selling goods to others outside that system.

11. It was policy to control the conquistadores. The Crown took take most of their political power while leaving them economic power. The claim of being a conquistador was recognized by the king as reason for favors but the Crown would not allow rivals to its power.

12. The whole system of control was held together by paperwork, documentary cement, a veritable flood of documents. There was too much to keep track of and a tremendous amount of lying.

Ways to Categorize the System

1. The political-military system. This included administration, courts, officialdom, the tax system, and the militia.

2. The economic system. It was part of the whole system of control. It was part of the way to hold the empire together, to favor Spain and the upper classes. The economic system enormously reduced the ability of the lower classes to attack the system.

3. The ecclesiastical system.

4. The social system. This was part of the others. It included the system of noble titles, legal class divisions, censorship, and the educational system.

Political institutions

The role of criollos was very restricted. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this was not as important an issue for criollos as it would become after the middle of the eighteenth century.

All of the European settled areas were governed by these institutions. There are examples of illegal institutions such as the King of the Mosquitoes and Palmares in Brazil but these are unusual. Castas (non-European people, either mixed or non-mixed) were excluded from government service except for a few town councils or cabildos. Caciques (Indian leaders) did serve on occasion.

The great changes in European philosophy of the 17th and the 18th centuries did not affect the Spanish world much. The eighteenth century Enlightenment heard a little bit more lightly in America but not until after 1750. Colonial ideas were conservative except, where, they met unknown situations such as the how to deal with Indians.

Casa de Contratación (House of Trade), 1503-1790

Its purpose was the foster and regulate trade and navigation. It operated in Sevilla until 1717 when it was moved to the coastal city of Cádiz.

The Casa created the consulado (merchants' guild) in Sevilla which had the exclusive right to trade with the New World. The consulado had extensive economic and judicial duties concerning overseas trade. Consulados were created in Mexico and Peru as the other end of the system. The Spanish believed in the efficacy of monopoly, a belief stemming from their desire to control.

The Casa's duties included:

1. licensing and regulating shipping and emigration,
2. providing training in geography, pilotage, and navigation,
3. creating and maintaining records and research,
4. collecting some taxes and tariffs,
5. handling royal revenues shipped from America,
6. making judgments on matters arising from trade and navigation issues,
7. assisting with overseas communication, and
8. supervising the convoy system (flota) that was operated for 200 years.

It gradually lost its powers in the 18th century. Some of its powers were transferred to the new Ministry of Marine and the Indies. The restriction on which ports could be used was ended beginning in 1763. The Casa was abolished in 1790.

Council of the Indies (Real y Supremo Consejo de las Indias)

Founded in 1524, the Consejo had all kinds of functions. It was subdivided into chambers to deal with specialized problems. For 200 years, the Casa and the Consejo were the chief Spanish governmental institutions for the colonies. Others had some power in the 18th century. Its duties included:

1. proposing top officials,
2. confirming minor officials appointed by colonials,
3. corresponding with (1) officials (2) important people, which it did quite a lot,
4. sending investigating officers,
5. verifying the accounts of royal officials,
6. debating ways to increase Crown revenue,
7. serving as the final board of appeal,

8. exercising original jurisdiction in cases of large encomiendas,
9. sending and reviewing residencias, and
10. passing legislation.

It lasted approximately 200 years and had a fluctuating membership of six to ten councilors plus numerous lower officials. In 1714, it was reorganized and then replaced by a minister in the latter part of the 18th century.

Both the Casa and the Consejo were in Spain. Together with the king, they made sure that the colonies existed to serve Spain.

In Spanish America, there were many government officials. Some, such as the *adelantado* (a military official), were important only during the Conquest. Others were more enduring. All followed the principle of "Obedezco pero no cumplo," or I obey but I do not carry out, for everyone understood how very far it was between Spain and the New World and circumstances could have changed since the Crown had been given the information upon which it based an order. It was imperative that royal authority always be acknowledged, especially since the Crown only sent powerful men to represent it in the New World, men who might develop ambitions of their own.

Viceroy

The Viceroy was very important, for he stood for the king in the New World. He was always a man of great consequence in Spain, holding a socio-economic position fit for a king. When he arrived at his

post, he was given an almost royal welcome with great ceremony at his entrance to the capital. When he was invested in office, the public ceremony was akin to a coronation. These ceremonies were very important as sources of amusement for the populace as well as a means to impress them and curry favor. The viceroy received a tremendous salary. The viceroyalty was one of the principal institutions on which the Crown relied. Once in a while a very good viceroy would serve elsewhere in America. The first was created for New Spain in 1529 followed by the one for Peru in 1542. In 1717, the Viceroyalty of New Granada (northern South America) was created in response to other Europeans trying to take Spanish territory in the Caribbean region. In 1776, the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata, centered in Buenos Aires, was created to bolster Spanish influence in southern South America. They served three to eight years.

Within a viceroyalty was the captaincy-general. The captain-general operated much like a junior viceroy, usually governing a region distant from the viceregal capital, such as Chile and Guatemala.

Audiencia

The oidores (judges) were the most important officials. They were important and distinguished people in Spain with legal training and were people of great consequence and with high salaries in the colonies. In their powers, there was some overlapping with the viceroy's power, done by the Crown to create rivalry between the two institutions, a rivalry it would have to adjudicate.

The audiencia sat as a court of justice, which was its chief function. As time went by and population grew, it divided into special courts and added a number of oidores. It could question the actions of

other officials and discipline them. It sent visitas (inspections). It had legislative authority through the *actas acuerdas*. It could execute laws. When it was in a viceregal city, the viceroy was automatically its president but there was always tension between the *audiencia* and the viceroy no matter where the *audiencia* sat.

Corregidor

He was a lesser royal official within the jurisdictional area of an *audiencia*. Some dealt only with Indians, making sure that the Crown got its share of the tribute. Sometimes the office was called a *gobernador* or *alcalde mayor*. The terms tended to be interchangeable except that, on occasion, a *gobernador* ruled a larger territory than did the *corregidor* or *alcalde mayor*, usually more than one town.

Intendant

Created in the 18th century, he was a high royal official who was given military and economic power over a large area in order to increase Crown revenue and defend his jurisdiction against enemies. The system was a French invention. The *Intendant* system was started about 1760, but was not established every place. It constituted tinkering with system and did not represent fundamental changes. The creation of the system did indicate recognition of the need for change.

Presidio-mission system

Spain established a presidio or fort in a frontier area either because the native inhabitants or Europeans were threatening the region. Presidios did not always have a mission attached. When there were both, they reinforced each other. They were moved or were extinguished when the job was done. They played an important role in protecting the empire.

Spanish Towns

There were both ecclesiastical and civil cabildos. The ecclesiastical cabildos were called a chapter. Town life has a long history in Spain and Portugal. The middle class in medieval times had gotten concessions, but had lost most power by 1492. The cabildos did have important functions. The Spanish were townsmen or wanted to be. When they came to the New World, they laid out towns. A citizen of a town was a vecino. The class system so well defined that they knew who deserved to be a vecino, usually all Spaniards. The term did not mean Indians or Negroes. A person had to be a vecino for the town council to heed what he said. The alcalde was on the town council but he is different in having judicial functions.

The cabildo jurisdiction was quite broad and encompassed a large territory. In geographical scope, it resembled a county in the United States. The cabildo controlled town lands, common pastures, and the common woodlock. There was a tremendous amount of charcoal making in the colonial period so control of the woodlocks was important. So much wood was cut that the land was denuded, causing erosion. Cabildos did quite a lot on a local scale. They did not have many revenue sources, but received quite a bit from animal slaughtering, taxation, income from town lands, and luxury taxes.

In the very beginning, the conquistador appointed and then there were elections and then selling of offices and hereditary. Members of the cabildos were primarily criollos.

Functions of the cabildo included:

1. The erection of public buildings, including cemeteries. Most of the buildings were situated in a town square, an innovation in town planning, and were built at a considerable expense.
2. The control of municipal processions and ceremonies. These provided public entertainment and were more important than they would be today.,
3. Operating a mail service and regulating weights and measures. The latter was very important for the opportunity to cheat customers was ever present.
4. Performing police functions.
5. Regulating bullfights and wood cutting, and trying to deal with rustling. Wood was the basic fuel so that controlling access to wood lots was very important. Rustling was a problem which the cabildo could not prevent but it could try to catch the crooks.
6. The cabildo controlled who owned and who could carry of guns. In general, only the upper classes had the

right to have guns; they usually were the only people who could afford them. However, arrieros and other engaged in transporting freight could carry guns but had to check them in with the city government when they came into town.

7. The Spanish used sumptuary laws as a means of control and ensuring status. Only the upper class could wear capes, for example. The dress of the lower classes was regulated to prevent them “putting on airs.”
8. In the late colonial period, the cabildo had to regulate the cafes which were being created much like the English coffee houses.
9. Vagrants got to be a terrible burden on the town budget. The cabildo often dealt with the problem by encouraging vagrants to go elsewhere, thus shifting the burden.
10. Sometimes cabildo established schools but not often.
11. The towns fought each other with law suits and, on occasion with force. Each sought to gain some perceived advantage. Since boundaries were other often vague, who owned what was a constant question
12. The cabildos sent officials (such as the procurador or solicitor) to Spain to lobby. Besides trying to get the Crown to

side with them against another cabildo, there were all manner of favors sought by the cabildos.

The result of their existence was their critical importance in developing a sense of Americanism and feelings of discrimination. The cabildo abierto was similar to a town meeting of vecinos and was called in a variety of ways. It was quite important in the independence period because it was a means of political action but it was not important enough to be concerned about before that period.

Visita

A visita was the sending of inspectors to check on events and people. Some were scheduled; some were an unannounced audit. The result of its work led to change.

Residencia

When a high official left office, his actions were reviewed by a residencia, often taking months. The system was designed to prevent corruption and abuse. However, some of these officials simply stole more money so they could afford to bribe the residencia.

Generalizations Regarding the Governmental System

1. It lacked provincial assemblies.
2. It did not have federalism experience.

3. It was a highly oligarchic system of government, one for the upper classes and one for the others.
4. Most people were governed by encomenderos or hacendados.
5. There was a tremendous amount of unpredictability; one could not be sure how the system was going to work in terms of how it was set up. There was a tremendous amount of personalism, which was an invitation to corruption. In fact, there was enough corruption that it had its own rules.
6. It practiced discrimination against criollos.
7. The sheer size and vast distances made governance difficult.
8. Spain used Amerind institutions when they did not conflict with Spanish ones.
9. The alliance between the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities was important.
10. When laws were created, old laws not repealed.
11. It had goal ambiguity and conflicting standards. In the Spanish world, what you were really doing was giving

power to the lower echelons in government. They had to decide which rules applied.

The upper class outside of government did a lot more of the decision making that one might realize. Most people obeyed their encomendero or hacendado and had little contact with a government official.

Financial administration

The royal officials (oficiales reales) were treasury officials. They did not have multiple functions because the Crown wanted them to focus on getting money. The treasurer lived in the regional capital and had a treasury box. The treasury included the treasurer, comptroller, factor (business manager), and other officials. In the 16th century, sometimes there was an overseer. The treasurer and comptroller had deputies in other places. Sometimes very important places had separate treasury officials.

Collection of Taxes

Some were directly collected by royal officials. They took out the quinto at the mines. The Crown used tax farming to collect the alcabala (sales tax). Tax farmers paid direct to royal treasury for the franchise. There were customs duties on imports (almajarifazo) and the crusada (the tax which had been instituted to pay for crusades).

Indian tribute was one of the major sources of revenue. Indians paid in kind and factors the sold goods and sent the proceeds, minus

their cut, to the royal treasury. The *corregidor de los indios* was charged with extracting as much as possible from the Indians.

Treasury officials were supervised by accounting officials. At first, accounting was a department of the Consejo. Treasury officials dispersed funds for salaries and expenses and then shipped surplus back to Spain. The treasury system was understaffed, and the accounting system even more so. Auditing fell way behind. The more it fell behind, the more corruption occurred. Audits in the 16th century led to the creation of *audiencias*. One could appeal rulings to the Consejo. The Tribunal of Accounts was created about 1603 in Mexico City, Lima, and Bogotá.

Crown appointments

The Crown steadily increased surveillance of the local governments. It replaced *encomenderos* with *corregidores* in Indian areas to reduce their power and to insure that income would go to the Crown. Towns saw the strengthening of appointment to *cabildos*. The Crown was leery of *cabildos* because of the 1520 revolt of *comuneros* there. The Crown prohibited the gathering of officials without Crown permission in order to discourage conspiracies. It wanted to keep people atomized.

In 1606, Crown made an important effort to make colonial office more attractive by making offices renounceable. An officeholder could resign in favor of someone else. The Crown got a fee out of the process, providing a revenue source. This made offices more valuable, more expensive to get. Buyers could mortgage the offices they were trying to acquire. This resulted in the creation of brokers which made it easy for the ambitious to borrow money from one of these brokers to

buy an office. One could work one's way up as one made money from a lower office to finance buying a higher one. The selling of offices was never really extended to the major offices. They started to extend to the major offices under Charles II.

The worse thing about all this was the multiplication of offices. All those involved, including the Crown, wanted more offices created but doing so made the bureaucracy even more cumbersome. It is doubtful if income from offices was worth it.

There were advantages to the sale of offices. The selling of offices lasted a long time, thereby yielding revenue to the Crown. It discouraged nepotism among high officials, for one had to pay to take care of one's first cousin or other relatives. similar. The practice encouraged people to settle in America, for one could go to America, buy an office, and "be someone," unlike Spain where the system was more petrified. It gave colonists income for economic development, for much of the sale price stayed in the colonies.

The bureaucracy's work showed remarkable uniformity; you could depend upon it. It turned up a lot of information, and, with tremendous effort could get policy executed.

Judicial system

The Spanish legal tradition was rich and complex. It used Roman law with other elements. It is hard to trace older influences; we do not know how much Germanic or Arabic influence there was. There was a lot of Roman law in the system which was imported in the 13th century. This coincides with the strengthening of the Spanish kingdoms. Spanish law shows the great influence of canon law. In 300 years before 1492, changes in the law included:

1. conversion of servile holdings into leases, reflecting the movement towards individualism.
2. continuation of upper class privileges. Growth of grazing privileges as more important than agricultural rights because the upper class owned herds and flocks.
3. corporations were recognized. Confradías and gremios were particularly important corporations. Confradías provided a burial function as well as a fraternal function for their members. Sometimes confradías were related to gremios.

Codifications of the law

Each was merely an addition or earlier codes. The *Recopilación de las leyes de las Indias* is an example.

Which Spanish law was transferred America? Public land law primarily. Generally, private law of America was the private law of the kingdom of Castile. New World changes in the private law caused by changes in status, primarily. Some changes touched on church jurisdiction because of the different circumstances in the New World.

The divergence of law of Spain and America grew as time passed. The differences in regions necessitated modification. As it touched such issues as family, property, and succession, Spanish American law was like that of Castile. The differences were several.

Spain had to create laws regulating marriage among Indians. There was quite a body of law since Indians differed as to condition and circumstance.

Encomienda law was extensive, for it mattered a great deal both to those who wanted to acquire and keep encomiendas and to the Crown. Encomenderos began arguing that their widows should be allowed to be the custodians when there was a minor male heir and, eventually, that their widows should be allowed to own them outright. Family values outweighed sexism in this instance.

The question immediately arose as to whether and under which circumstances Indians could give testaments. Could they testify against Spaniards? Yes and against others as well. In much of Latin America, Indians sued and won in court over land titles. They could dictate wills as well.

Canonical marriage was the same as Spain's with some modifications, but there were numerous laws concerning mixed marriage. It was not just the case of whether a Spaniard could marry an Indian or a black, but when a black and Indian could marry or a mulatto and a mestizo or a mestizo and a Spaniard and so forth.

The Crown was particularly concerned about royal officials and when they could marry locals. In general, the Crown preferred that they did not, fearing that the officials would then become more loyal to the local people than to the Crown and Spain. Except in the case of the very highest royal officials, however, the Crown recognized that marriage would occur; so, it tried to regulate it.

The juridical condition of women occupied a fair amount of concern. The emigration of women to the New World was slight. Those who made the journey had to be protected from men and, as most early modern people believed, against themselves. Because there were so few, European women in the Spanish colonies enjoyed slightly more privileges than did women in Spain. All women were discriminated against, of course, and Spanish women discriminated non-Spanish

women. And there were rules to do so. Women were seldom allowed to hold public office. Moreover, female behavior was carefully prescribed; they were not allowed to act like men. Nevertheless, convent women (many of whom were secular) used the protection of the Church to manage property.

The Crown tried to protect the Indians against everyone else. The *juzgado de los indios* was the special court created for the Indians. They used it. Amerinds were not subject to the Inquisition. They were not to be enslaved but the Crown had difficulty enforcing that prohibition. Amerinds were wards of the state, so to speak, but their guardians did not always have their best interests at heart..

Spanish law had all kinds of restrictions on foreigners. Some of them reflected Spanish xenophobia, a sentiment created by the long Moorish occupation. Some was egotism, the belief that Spaniards were special. This was reinforced by the Reconquest and then by the fact that Spain led the Counter-Reformation. Much resulted from the policy of mercantilism, the attempt to control trade. Foreigners were a threat to Crown hegemony.

There was abundant legislation regarding trade. There were laws for trade in certain provinces. The Seville trade monopoly occasioned numerous decrees and regulations.

There was the absence of precedent law. Instead, they followed codes and judicial principles. There were no juries. No evidence that proves that the jury system is any better than Roman-based laws.

The *Recopilación de las leyes de las Indias* was a compendium of laws. Tons of other records as well. The most common piece of legislation sent out was called a *cédula*. *Cedularios* were a collection of *cédulas*. The *Recopilación* was supposed to take care of all laws on imperial basis. It did not; it did not repeal earlier laws. It

made very little difference as far as the empire was concerned. This is of interest to us because it pointed up the difficulty of change in the Spanish world. It has been described as a fraction of the exceptions to Spanish common law.

The Crown wanted its legislation to be enforced, especially with regard to the Indians. The machinery to enforce the laws was elaborate.

Judiciary

Magistrates and judges were highly honored in Spain. The Crown of Castile engaged in a great deal of legislative activity, especially decree legislation. Degree legislation is still a very prominent kind of Latin American legislation today. The king was thought of more as a judicial figure than legislative. He was the head of the courts. The "principle task of government in America was judging between conflicting interests instead of planning " and "the most serious obligation that your majesty owes in the governing of Spanish America is justice" were statements of the king's proper role.

The most trusted institution was the court, especially the *audiencia*. The judge was the most trusted individual. Under the Hapsburgs, the king himself was seen more as an adjudicator among competing interests than a ruler. Justices did not have large vested interests and great expectations in the colonies, presumably discouraging them from caring what the locals thought. Judges were dependent upon the Crown. They were trained in law schools and believed in absolute monarchs and centralized government. These *letrados* usually, they had no great military ambition or political ambition. They had respect for all forms of law. They were good bureaucrats. Judges were respected by the semi-military upper classes.

Audiencias

The audiencia was usually thought to be the most important and characteristic of colonial institutions. There were ten in the 16th century. These courts had administrative duties and some political power. They had extensive influence. They were over all other courts. They reviewed *residencias*. They could send special commissions to investigate. They had original jurisdiction in the case of royal patronage and large encomiendas. Audiencia decided when question of encroachment of jurisdiction arose. An audiencia could assess legal fees; set ecclesiastical fees for sacraments; set and publish Indian tributes and see to enforcement thereof. As a committee it sat as an *acuerdo* out of which came *actas acuerdas*. An *acuerdo hacienda* dealt with treasury matters. In certain cases, it had jurisdiction over Indians affairs. It was tremendously important.

There were attempts to regulate daily life of the oidores. A *fiscal* was a prosecuting attorney. Oidores and fiscales were supposed to live together in one building. The Crown tried to keep them from building up local interests. Their duties were prescribed. Oidores were given higher salaries than anyone but viceroys. Did not make them enormously rich but they were very well off. Most were peninsulares. Some did in fact become interested in colonial affairs.

Other administrative officials

The administrative system involved a lot of officials other than the ones mentioned above. There were clerks (*escribanos* or scribblers), and town clerks. The clerical officials were the ones who knew what was going on. They often guided affairs unobtrusively. They

provided permanency and continuity. They stayed for life. They were non-salaried employees who earned fees. There so many of these low-level administrative officials that the Crown could not pay all of them. There were fixed fees for services performed and special fees (bribes?) to speed things up. These fees in the major places amounted to quite a lot. There was great competition to get the major posts, evidence that they were highly valued. The Crown had trouble filling these positions in little towns, for there was little money in them. Sometimes, the Crown could not. This partly explains why people moved to cities. They could not get anything done in small towns.

There was a huge number of applicants for the good positions, bureaucratic office mania. To live outside the public budget is to live in error would have been their motto. Even non-paying offices brought a modicum of prestige and, possibly, the chance to get a paying job. Doing a job was not as important as having it. Conquistadores and relatives, especially sons, demanded jobs; they were the most numerous class applying for these jobs in the early days. They made poor scribblers. Charles I let most of these inferior positions go to private patronage. There were two kinds of appointment: (1) honorific (2) income-earning. Humans seek recognition, prestige, or some kind of distinction to separate them from the herd. Honorific jobs provided that. Jobs that paid were especially important to the lower echelons of Spanish society, for these people did not want to do manual labor. They were "too good" for that. Even several low-paying jobs was better than a loss of status. Demand for jobs was so create that jobs were leased.

Philip II saw some of the evils of this system. He kept appointments much more in his own hands. He did not end the sale of minor offices, however; the Crown sold them as a "reform." This made sale more effective in terms of Crown control.

There came to be the public sale in the American provinces where offices were auctioned to the highest bidder. It was a provisional sale, for the person had to prove that there were no obstacles, such as race, to his holding the job. One exception to the highest bidder rule was being a viceroy's son. Applicants had to send receipts and notarized proof that they were honest, of "pure blood," and met the other conditions.

Proof of the system? It brought in revenue and prevented colonials from building up local support. The system was accepted by the public, who thought of jobs as property. The Crown would not accept sale of judicial offices. The empire used this system and lasted 300 years.

Spanish Imperial Defense

In theory, Spain claimed all of the New World. In practice, the Crown concentrated on where it found sedentary American Indians and/or gold and silver and routes to get the gold and silver to Spain. It used buffer zones to protect these vital areas.

Aspects of Control

Aristocratic dispensation was reflected in the class system, in which there was a tiny upper class to whom all others owed obedience and respect.

Spain destroyed all regional Amerind organizations. It moved tribes. The goal was to *control* the Indians and prevent uprisings.

The Roman Catholic Church taught obedience to constituted authority and the natural existence of a social hierarchy. Its missions

were means of bringing the indigenous population under control. The missions often were tied to frontier forts.

The lack of any consistent or sustained European adversaries until late in the colonial period made control easier. Spain was helped by European conflicts because other European nations were too busy fighting each other to attempt to attack the Spanish possessions.

Problems of Control

1. The distance from Spain. Fast time across the Atlantic was four weeks; at best, round trip was eight weeks. Humans go to the moon and back faster than that today. It was difficult to gather information, transmit it, make a decision, and get the decision implemented before the situation had changed.
2. The bureaucracy; it was hard to get it to do what you wanted.
3. The lack of large or proficient army or navy. The Crown did not and could not impose its will by violence except on rare occasions.
4. The harassment by foreigners was a major concern for Spain. They raided, stole, and settled in the Spanish New World.

Hapsburg Period

The Spanish established its basic defensive pattern. It did not have power to throw out its adversaries so it fortified areas she wanted. It practiced defensive expansion. It moved into territory when it perceived to be a threat. This was particularly true in New Spain. Spain moved into California after Sir Francis Drake raided the area. It expanded towards the Mississippi River after LaSalle had explored the area.

The major place of European intrusion was the Caribbean area through which bullion passed. The defensive measure was the creation of the flota (fleet) system, which lasted from 1537 to 1750). Spain only lost two to adversaries: one to Drake, one to Dutch (1628). The principal opponent of Spain after the 1570s was Drake, the Dragon; he was well known and feared. In 1578-79, he raided the northwest coast of South America and Mexico and then sailed to the Philippines.

The loss of the Armada in 1588 greatly weakened the Spanish Navy but did not destroy Spanish naval power. Latin American settlements expanded in 17th century.

Other European monarchies established settlements in the Caribbean: the English on Barbados and Jamaica; the French in Martinique and Guadaloupe; and the Dutch on Curaçao. These were smuggling bases. Smuggling was a big 17th century enterprise. The French also established sugar plantations. Under Spanish mercantilism, all trade was to be within the Empire. That policy encouraged smuggling. Spanish officials tended to cooperate with smugglers for a price.

Under the Hapsburgs, Spanish America was not the major area of concern.

Brazil, 1580-1640, was under Spanish domination. The major problem was the Dutch sugar interests in Northeast Brazil. In 1624, the Spanish Fleet was beaten trying to dislodge them. A silver fleet was captured a few years later. In 1654, Brazilians, not the Portuguese, threw the Dutch out. During the period of Spanish control of Brazil, settlers moved into interior Brazil. There were called Paulistas because most were from São Paulo, these famous frontiersmen who were also called Bandeirantes. They expanded into Spanish territory. Brazil kept it.

The La Plata Estuary, especially the Banda Oriental, was an area of major conflict between Spain and Portugal. In 1680, Brazil established the colony of Colonia do Sacramento. It was an attempt to cut into trade of Buenos Aires. In 1705, the area given to Portugal but Buenos Aires citizens captured it, not knowing it had been given away.

In Paraguay, the Jesuits established *reducciones* (controlled villages) of the Guaraní people. Doing so was a means of keeping the area and Indians under control.

Viceroy and captains-general were responsible to the king for defense. Colonial forces were few. Soldiers usually attached to viceroy as his personal guard. The militia in theory comprised of all male Spaniards; in practice, the militia was virtually non-existent. Why? There was no outside threat. Internally, the Crown has strict rules on armaments. Mestizos, Indians, and Negroes had no arms (in theory). There was no navy.

Bourbon Period (1700-1828)

The Spanish were involved in the European wars with direct repercussions in New World. The Bourbons were organizers, famous for administrative organization. They tightened the system. They introduced new administrative organizations such as the intendancies. There were some uprisings, which were not common during Hapsburgs, and some were caused by resentment of the new system. The Bourbon kings favored peninsular Spaniards (peninsulares) over Spaniards born in the colonies (criollos or creoles).

Effects of 18th century European wars on Spanish America

Spain had to grant the asiento to Great Britain. The asiento was a trading privilege. The British South Sea Company got it in 1713 by a provision in the Treaty of Utrecht. It allowed the company to sell thousands of slaves each year to Spanish America for 30 years but it lost money. It also was allowed to send one ship each year to engage in general trade. The British used this ship as an excuse to extend their control in Caribbean and Central America.

The War of Jenkins' Ear (1739-40) (which melded into the War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-48) was the first major attempt of England to conquer parts of colonies. Cartagena was attacked by Admiral Vernon. Other attacks along Peru and Caribbean coasts failed. The English lost the asiento.

The renewed Spanish-Portuguese conflict over Colonia do Sacramento, 1773-78, meant the establishment of the Spanish position in southern South America, for the Spanish won.

Seven Years' War (1756-1763)

Spain joined the Family Compact (1761) between Bourbon Spain and Bourbon France (which was fighting Great Britain). British began attacking Spanish territory. In 1762, the British took Havana. The Spanish lost the Floridas until 1783. Spain got Louisiana from France.

The Spanish government began a program to build militia in New Spain. There were 20,000 militia men in the late 18th century. They never fought a foreign power. Spanish offered the creoles commissions in the militia. This put them outside civilian authority because they were military officers. As it turned out, it heightened the creoles' sense of comparative deprivation vis-a-vis the peninsulares. The leaders of the independence movements were creole officers. The unanticipated result for Spain was bad.

Napoleonic Wars

The Napoleonic Wars were bad for Spain. The British were active in fomenting plans of upheaval. They helped Francisco Miranda and others. Their goal was to disrupt the operation of the Spanish Empire. In 1795, Spain lost Santo Domingo to France. In 1806, the British attacked Buenos Aires but were defeated by porteños, not Spaniards. At the Battle of Trafalgar (1805), the Spanish fleet was beaten, ending its offensive capabilities. In 1808, the French invaded Spain. The colonies refused to recognize Joseph Bonaparte as king. Spaniards began small wars (guerrillas) to drive the French out.

Territorial Reforms of the Bourbons

In response to the difficulties created by these wars as well as population growth, the Bourbons reorganized the empire. The Viceroyalty of New Granada was created in 1718 as a countermeasure to encroachments, particularly the British in the Caribbean. The Viceroyalty of La Plata was created in 1776 to strengthen Spanish control of southern South America. In New Spain, as foreigners moved towards the border, Spain expanded its outposts there, creating the *comandancia general*. It also tried to bring indigenous populations under control.

Tumults:

- \$ Paraguay, 1720-40. The cabildo of Asunción got into a dispute with the governor of Paraguay. Spain sent men sent in who took over. He was executed in 1726 but outbreaks of his followers continued until 1740.
- \$ Creoles revolted in Socorro, near Bogota, in 1781 over higher taxes. This Comunero Revolt was not far removed from a fight for independence.
- \$ Tupac Amaru II revolt. He (José Gabriel Condorcanqui) was a mestizo of Inca descent. He was a Spanish colonial official and Jesuit-educated. He became very concerned over Spanish mistreatment of

the indigenous population and led an uprising in 1780. This rebellion was the major 18th rebellion. Tupac wanted it to be general involving all classes and genetic groups; became an Indian rebellion instead as Spanish creole and peninsulares as well as mestizos opposed it, fearing an Indian takeover. In 1781, he was captured and executed. This was the last major rebellion against Spanish before the independence movements and probably the one which shook them the most. They feared that the dominated classes would rise up.

Conclusions about the governmental system

From 1492 until between 1810 and 1822, the Spanish were successful in defending the Empire. They lost very little. Spain kept it wanted through a defensive strategy. The success and profitability of the contraband trade probably kept Europeans from trying to conquer the colonies as did the European balance of power. The 18th century reforms increased Spanish and Spanish American strength but both lost ground to Great Britain and France in absolute terms.

The key factor was the loyalty of all the Spanish officials, peninsulares and creoles.

Economy

The Spanish ideal was to regulate everything but trying to do so made trade, manufacturing, and other activity more difficult. In essence, Spain was trying to do something even twentieth century totalitarian states could not do.

There was enormous amount of land use. One had be able to work it, to make some use of it, and use of its products. Agricultural activities were the most important of all the economic activities that took place. All kinds of crops could be grown in various places.

The labor supply was not very efficient. Subsistence farming about as good as subsistence farming anywhere. Forced or slave labor is inefficient and irresponsible and Spain and Portugal used a lot of both. It results in the irresponsibility of employers. The technological level of America was low, and they carried this low productivity into the republican period.

The purchasing power of populace was very low. Most of the population was almost completely outside the money economy.

In theory, the economy was heavily affected by the mercantilist combination of ideas, but subjected to substantial modification in practice. There was less real restriction in practice but one had to pay to escape it. This is essential to understanding economic life.

There are poor or no records for most of the period which presents a problem in trying to do research. In the value of economic activity, agriculture was the most valuable. Alexander von Humboldt asserted that it was 25% higher than mineral production. The bulk of the population was in agriculture, maybe 90%.

Landholding System

The single most important type of land holding was the great estate or hacienda or latifundia or estancia. Some great estates produced export crops. Agriculture meant a lot to the oligarchy. The great estate was typically badly worked. Tremendous amount of land was idle. Owners had very little incentive to maximize production. They did not have much or enough personal interest to improve profits. They could live very well on what they earned. Hacendados lived in towns and employed mayordomos to run things on the hacienda.

Indian villages owned land. The conquerors left village land in the hands of the villagers, but villagers were often depopulated by the spread of fatal diseases. Crown policy was to congregate Indians to facilitate control, which, unbeknownst to the Crown, meant more depopulation. There was conflict between Spanish and Indians over land.

Spanish towns granted land titles, which was one of the reasons the conquistadores founded towns. These towns also controlled common pastures and woodlands. Conquistadores gave rural lands to cavalry (caballerías) and foot soldiers (peonías, about 20% of the amount given to cavalry). After the Conquest, Spanish towns got land by royal warrant, which sometimes meant that they took it from Indians and had the Crown ratify their action.

There were other types of land tenure. The baldío was vacant public land whereas the realongo was vacant royal land. In New Spain, a rancho was a small holding. A merced was a grant, sometimes for use and sometimes for ownership. Had to pay to pass a mercedes on to one's heirs. They were not entailed. Governor Velásquez divided Cuba into seven towns and handed out mercedes. Sometimes did not mention boundaries at all. There were some circular grants. In 1573, the Audiencia of Santo Domingo sent someone to do something about

the mess. It issued rules in 1574. Did not accomplish anything. A *hato* was a cattle ranch. It was an upper class thing to have cattle. For private estates, one had to leave to all the real property to one's heirs. Some heirs squatted and then claimed squatters' rights.

Composición was the way the Crown cleaned up land titles. In 1571, there was a great big *composición*. Too much land to survey so granted general titles in return for contribution to treasury.

System of Indian community property was good for Indians because they were better able to keep it. Did not have many draft animals and few wheeled vehicles because of the terrain. Even after the Spanish brought draft animals, there were not many because they were expensive to buy and maintain. Indians had the tradition of preparing land by hand with digging sticks or hoes. How much plowing was done when the Spanish came? We do not know.

Agricultural production by areas

The provinces or realms were not alike. Therefore, there was specialization to some extent. In New Spain, maize was the chief crop. Suffered endemic trouble with maize prices because of the poor distribution system and production problems. This created difficulties and people might riot if maize prices were too high. Labor must have cost something; the cost of muleteers, wages, and such must have added up. New Spain was the single most important wheat growing area but not actually big.

Timber products were important in Cuba in the late colonial period. Cuba imported barrels from the United States so it started a campaign to cut Cuban timber and make lumber. The problems of

tools, inefficiency, insufficient capital, and low labor productivity caused the effort to collapse.

Maguey was used by pre-Columbian Indians for paper, pulque, and tequila. Spanish created big maguey plantations. Church and, sometimes, civil government tried to stop the consumption of pulque. This failed because the Indians liked to drink, plantation owners liked revenue, and the Crown liked money for the treasury.

Sugar was produced and consumed in tremendous amounts. There were lots of products. The production and export of sugar in the colonial period highly specialized. Ortiz Fernando, *Cuban Counterpoint* (1947) argues that tobacco and coffee are grown on little estates. They are grown by small farmers on vegas but sugar requires large estates and a huge labor force, which people used slaves to supply. Fantastic increase in the number of slaves in Cuba. Blames a lot of Cuba's ills on slavery

Cotton production was fairly large; in 1790, New Spain exported six times as much as that of United States. Cacao was cultivated in pre-colonial times in some areas, such as Mexico. The Europeans developed a taste for it, for chocolate.

Coffee was non-native and not important until the end of the colonial period.

Vanilla was grown and produced. Vanilla production used a credit system with merchants functioning as bankers. They lent money to growers, who were Indians.

Tobacco was a late colonial Crown monopoly. The monopoly became one of the most hated fiscal devices of the Crown and contributed to the coming of Independence.

Livestock was very important. Not blooded cattle. People were not demanding what we consider good meat—tender and marbled with

fat. Meat was difficult to ship. They tried various preservative techniques. They used meat salting plants, particularly in the Río de la Plata viceroyalty. The worst of it was sold to feed slaves. They sold cattle hides, tallow, and grease. The cattle business was a tremendous business. A subculture revolving around cowboys (vaqueros) was created in many parts of Latin America. Cowboys tended to be quite different from peasants in being more independent, ambitious, and having wider horizons. They played an important role in the Independence period and in the republican period of some countries.

Spanish raised other livestock and crops. Mules were used a lot in Panama, and were raised in the highlands of Costa Rica and Nicaragua. They were raised in northwest Argentina to supply the mines in Bolivia and Peru. The Spanish grew grapes, principally for wine. There was a lot of legislation preventing grape growing and making wine outside of designated areas, but a lot of wine made. Olive trees and olive oil were important but the inferior production generally was the result of local conditions, not legislation. The removal of restrictions on grapes and olives did not seem to change production.

Mining

There were three stages of exploitation. The first was accumulation or simply stealing it or picking it up. The second was placer prospecting. Panning for gold is an example. The third, vein mining, was expensive and required a lot of capital.

Vein mining involved shafts. It began in the 1530s, mostly in silver mines. At first, the value produced from gold was greater than silver. By 1560s, the value of silver shipments greater than gold. In 1540, 60% of the value was gold but, by the 1560s, silver was greater.

Mountains of silver that made up the bulk of the bullion shipments. The great Potosí mine in Peru was discovered about 1545 and the great Zacatecas mines in the 1550s.

Vein mining was localized. There were not many mines and only in a few places. There was placer mining and panning on the northern frontier of New Spain. The technology of silver mining were quite poor by today's standards. The Spanish were not innovators in silver mining. Vein mining creates the problem of dealing with water; flooding kept shafts shallow. Vein mining requires a concentrated labor force. Mine owners had a lot of people in Charcas in Peru but not in north central Mexico. The chichimecas were fierce and nomadic. Chichimecas around San Luis Potosí kept mines from being worked for a long time.

Mining towns were disorganized, isolated and rough. Mining was quite a stimulus to other activities such as agriculture, meat production, and carpentry. Mining produced a great demand for leather for buckets, mercury flasks, straps, and similar leather goods. Mine owners and managers brought in luxury goods, at least in Potosí, but the average work lived poorly.

In the smelting processes, cost and efficiency important. By 1560's the patio process was used. They learned it from Germans. They used mercury in amalgamating ore. They did it in New Spain, and the process was carried by Viceroy Toledo to Peru. Spain, Austria, and Peru had mercury. New Spain imported its mercury from Spain. Other colonies imported it from Peru. It was a state-owned monopoly, which was one way the Crown could determine how much silver mined.

Mines required various kinds of labor, much of it unskilled. Had to use force to get labor. Used the mita in Peru; this was the Peruvian term for repartimiento. Also required skilled workers and had to pay them reasonably well to hire them. Could not use encomienda Indians

and eventually these people began dying out because of the spread of disease that the Spanish had introduced into the New World.

Silver production declined some in the 17th century decline. Had some effects on Spanish and America. Then silver production increased by latter part of 17th and boomed in 18th century. In late colonial period, Spain produced more silver than Peru. New Spain was more important because of new mines, new population, and territorial expansion. There was also improved technology and better organization.

Bourbon changes/reforms in mining:

A mining guild was created in 1777 in New Spain to settle disputes. Crown set up investment bank for mines. In 1783, new mining ordinance served as a basis for all mining legislation until late 19th century. Experts were sent from Germany. Students were sent to study in Germany and Sweden. The School of Mines established in Mexico City in 1792. Hindrances to mining reform included conservatism among the mine owners, the financial straits of the Crown, the lack of investment, and the disposition of mining property when the owner died. Mining property was divided among too many heirs which made it difficult to have unified management.

The exception was in Guanajuato. The Valenciano mine was first tapped in 1769. It had a single management, which was ruthless. It produced 25% of all silver exported from New Spain. Tremendous wealth from the mine. A lot of investment came from individual investors (rich people), merchants for example, especially in the late colonial in New Spain. In late colonial period in New Spain, there were three silver banks. Made loans to miners on the basis of partnership or

mortgages. Mining guild of Mexico had banking as one of its functions. Supposed to raise two million pesos. It did not and went into bankruptcy. It did not have great effect.

By the late colonial period, there were economists in Spanish and America who thought the legislated privileges for mining were detrimental but mining stimulated other enterprises.

Other Extractive Industries

Fishing. There was a piddling amount of it and it was not well-organized. They were not fish eaters. They fed fish to Cuban slaves. Off the coast of Chile, fishing was done by Catalans, an energetic people from in and about Barcelona. In the 1770s, commercial fishing began at Chiloe. They fished the Humboldt Current, which was very cold and in which fish thrived, as well as birds which fed on the fish. Today, Peru has a very large fishing industry which fishes the Current.

Whaling. The Catalan Royal Maritime Fishing Company of Barcelona did whaling. It processed the catch in Patagonia. It had a Crown monopoly.

cochineal. From this beetle, they extracted a blood-red dye. It was a valuable commodity. It was the second most valuable export from New Spain.

Logging and lumbering. Quite a lot as done. The Spanish were great builders and liked heavy furniture.

Pearling. Important in Venezuela and Colombia.

Salt gathering/mining. Evaporative techniques. This was a sizable activity. Growth of salt meat industry in late colonial period in Río de la Plata was related to the discovery of salt deposits.

Manufacturing

Spain, as all authors point out, was unable to supply enough manufactured goods to supply America, which caused problems. Spanish industries did grow in the 16th century but the growth did not last. In the 17th century there was a catastrophic decline. The Crown expelled the Moriscos, perhaps 400,000, who were an important economic factor, especially in Valencia. Meant that the colonies could not expect to get aid and technology from Spain. There was some cotton manufacturing in Catalonia which benefited from tax advantages.

Manufacturing in America was limited; it was more the growth of craftsmanship and artisanry. There were saddlers (saddle makers), weavers of fine cloth (Peru), silversmiths, goldsmiths, sugar making, distilling, and tobacco processing (which was hurt by the Crown tobacco monopoly in the late colonial period. Craftsman were generally organized into gremios (guilds).

Inhibitions upon manufacturing production in America were not caused so much by Spanish prohibitions but the lack of the ability to compete. The colonies lacked capital, skilled workmen, and distribution networks. Transportation within colonies was expensive and difficult; among the various colonies it was virtually non-existent. The chief manufacture was textiles, for there were local markets for such things as

clothing. The work was done in obrajes, workshops, which existed all over the Spanish New World. There were looms in homes.

Obrajes were tough places to work. In 1609, legislation was passed to stop the abuses. Other laws were passed later. The viceroys would not enforce these laws, however. Upper-class people did not care what happened to the workers, who were lower class; besides, the output was needed.

Gremios

Gremio records provide historians with some of the best knowledge of economic activity. There were one hundred gremios in Mexico City alone. Gremios frequently wrote and published elaborate ordinances governing their activity. The ordinances covered such matters as the conditions of labor, the interests of the consumer, of the masters, and of the Crown, and control of apprentices (who hoped to become masters). Most of the people below the masters were castas, the "other" of colonial life. The gremios passed laws regulating their hours of work and the conditions of work. Many of these laws were never enforced, however, and the workers were exploited terribly. Gremios were monopolies and their monopolistic character proved to be a barrier to innovation.

Workers belonged to *confradías*, religious brotherhoods, of crafts. Sometimes these were established before the gremio. They were important to the workers because they provided hospitals, processions, and burials. And, of course, they provided for group worship.

Silversmiths are a good example of a gremio. By 1537, they were working in New Spain even though a 1526 order forbade them in Spanish America. The order had to be revoked, first for all the colonies

except New Spain but then for New Spain in 1559. By 1685, there were over seventy silver shops in Mexico City. By 1600, there were eighty in Lima. Why so many? Spaniards enjoyed the ostentatious display of wealth; creoles did especially.

Trading Activity

Trading was regulated in theory. There was a system of tight channels in Spain. It was the Consulado de Sevilla through which all trade to the Americas had to pass. When the Guadaquivir River silted up, the consulado was moved to Cádiz. The system was used mostly from the mid-16th century to mid-18th century. There were three ports in the New World to which ships could go. The small ships that split off from the convoy in the Caribbean were not important. There were three consulados: Sevilla, Mexico City, and Lima. Merchants who belonged to a consulado were interested in monopoly. They wanted the highest possible profit with the least amount of effort. They concentrated on luxury goods. They wanted to supply those who had money, which was a very few number. Fairs were the typical means of disclosing of the goods. They was a big fair at Porto Bello, Panama, when the fleet arrived. There was a fair at Veracruz but the Spanish moved it to the highland town of Jalapa to escape the vagaries of a tropical port.

Holes in the System

- ! Holes of contrivance. Some mercantile houses in Sevilla became dummies for foreign mercantile houses.

- ! Smuggling proper. Done in a variety of ways including the infamous *asiento* that Britain acquired from Spain. Spain could not supply enough goods even with foreign help.

The bulk of the trade between Spain and its colonies went in fleets; the rest in *registros* (registered ships). The use of *registros* indicated faults in the fleet system. The number of fleets is known but not the more important issue of how much tonnage. Fleets from Spain in the 17th century seemed to average ten thousand tons, two-third of which went to New Spain. There was more demand in the Circum-Caribbean area. *Registros* tended to go more to Buenos Aires. The fleets suffered numerous interruptions. Spain was almost constantly in international wars from 1689 to 1815. Only two fleets were lost to an enemy, however. Storms were a more serious threat.

Contraband

One of the most important aspects of the economic history of the colonial period. Hard to investigate, however, because the people who engaged in it tried to hide what they were doing. Figures on contraband are dubious. The chief contrabandists were the Dutch, French, and English. There were lots of privateers and buccaneers; some settled in the New World. A lot of contraband trade flowed through Portuguese America or Portuguese trading houses. In the late colonial period, began to get trade from English America, mostly from the United States after 1783.

Contraband trade represented more of European trade with America than Spanish trade with America. The trading system was not successful; in fact, it was not really a system.

Consulados

These merchant guilds had judicial functions. Settled fast before goods rotted. Set rates; decided on bankruptcy; and regulated transportation. Had deputies in every town within its jurisdiction. Administered various kinds of public funds. Had endowments to manipulate. Built roads, custom houses, and other infrastructure. Contributed money to various things. Was a source of conservatism.

Eight consulados were created in a great hurry in the colonial period. It is a measure of the inflexibility of Spanish economic policy that it took so long to make the change.

Ocean transportation

The Spanish used a convoy system for 200 years. There was the fleet (flota) system was between Seville, Spain and Veracruz, Mexico. The galleons ran from Seville to the north coast of South America. Both touched at the Canary Islands. There also was a galleon that did the Acapulco-Manila route. These convoys were headed by the admirals ship and trailed by the vice-admiral's ship. Legally, the tonnage ranged from 80 to 550 tons but the ships were invariably overloaded. To cross the Atlantic took 40 days; the Manila-Acapulco run took seven months. It was necessary to protect the treasure ships going to Spain and the merchant ships going both ways from privateers, pirates, and other marauders. The Spanish only lost two fleets to enemies during the 200-year history of the system. More were lost to storms. In the late colonial period, the Crown allowed individual ships to sail.

Portage

Most portage was done by humans. This was particularly true in areas with large numbers of Amerinds. This cheap labor could carry a surprising amount of cargo.

Draft Animals

Mules and oxen were very expensive so their use was more specialized. In old Panama in the 17th century, there were 33 owners of pack trains with a total of 850 mules. Using mules and hiring arrieros (muleteers) was profitable because they were used to transport goods across the Isthmus of Panama so they could be transshipped to Peru and points south. Similarly, mule trains were used between Veracruz and Mexico City and between Mexico City and outlying mines.

In Argentina, goods were transported from the northwest across the pampas to Buenos Aires in oxen-drawn carretas. These carts had two solid, spokeless wheels. They were called chirriones because of the shrill, rasping squeal of the tortured axles. The axles were only greased by the occasional application of animal fat. The Tucumán carretas had two wheels which were seven feet in diameter. The wheel hub was seven tenths of a foot across and the axle was ten and half feet long. The axle did not turn, only the wheels. Four oxen pulled 3750 pounds of cargo plus supplies for a total of 5,000 pounds. The car was made entirely of wood. A cart could average about 15 miles a day.

Communications

The postal system did not mean much until the 1765 improvements. Mail distribution was fairly efficient in Peru.

Service and Professional Occupations

There were hordes of servants of all kinds. Lots of women were in domestic service. Servant families usually lived on the premises. Most were non-white. Some teachers but the school system was very small. There were estate managers, entertainers, physicians, lawyers, pharmacists, and similar occupations. It is hard to know the economic contributions of these people.

Economic Reforms of the 18th Century

Spanish economists were in no doubt about what was wrong. Bourbons brought more talented and energetic kings and French ideas. It took half a century to get this cranked up because of Spanish conservatism. Charles II was the best. In the period of reform there were economic improvements but it is not clear why. Were they the result of the reforms or just a natural outcome? Were the reforms tinkering with the system or were they substantial? Why did royal revenues increase?

Free trade meant permission to trade within the empire. Probably increased trade but did it increase production? Between 1778c and 1788, trade increased from 78 million reales to 300 million reales. Revenue jumped from 4 million pesos in the 1760s to 70 million later.

Prices

In 1556, an unskilled field laborer earned 5 granos a day. There were 14 granos per real. Took the worker 2.5 days to get a real, 20 days to get a peso. This peso was the minimum Amerind tribute. A chicken cost three days labor or one real and two granos.

How well were people living in America? Colonials did not live worse than people in Spain. The urban upper class, especially in the big towns, lived luxuriously.

By the end of the colonial period, the realization that colonials were living better than the people on the Iberian Peninsula would be a cause of independence movements. They realized that they did not need Spain.

5.

Society and Culture

Generalizations

Spain transferred its customs and attitudes to America. It was extraordinarily successful at doing that. Upper class customs and attitudes were relatively unchanged in America but lower-class customs changed since lower-class Spaniards who went to the New World were able to raise their status. The colonial lower class was Indian, Africa, mestizo, mulatto, or some other DNA mixture. .

Differences with today? Colonial Spaniards had more control. The father had the legal authority; he ruled the roost in the colonial

period. A wife had few legal rights. Children kept physically under father's thumb; the family was a very strong unit and included more than the nuclear family. Large amounts of wealth in Spanish America but only the upper classes had it. Over time, there was a reduction of restraints. The existence of Indians and Negroes caused a demoralization of upper classes.

Maybe 300,000 Spaniards went to all of Spanish America over 300 years. Not many were women. Humboldt said that there were 10 times as many men as women in New Spain. That there were so few Spaniards had enormous demographic consequences.

Population

In 1492, there were between 30 and 50 million Indians in what would become Spanish America. New Spain had the most population with about 25. In the Inca area, there were 5 million people. The Spanish unknowingly introduced diseases virulent to the New World populations, causing a demographic disaster. Whereas central Mexico had 19 million people in 1519, it only had 1 million in 1605. The Incas declined from 15 million by 1561 and 800,00 by 1800.

The Spanish always represented a small minority in the New World. The Spanish population, by 1570, consisted of only 150,000 people. By 1810, there were 1.1 million whites out of 13.5 million (8.1% but these figures are only approximate). There were 700,000 Negroes, most of whom were slaves. The rest were Indians or castas (people of varying genetic mixtures). The total population had declined

since the Spanish had first arrived although it had begun to increase by the late colonial period.

Caste and Class

In reality, there was a two class system; there was an upper class and everybody else. Women could be raised by marriage but men could not. There were lots of divisions in the lower classes but the system did not acknowledge them. Was it class or caste? Scholars quarrel. Caste is a social condition into which one is born into and cannot escape. One did get some discrimination on racial lines: laws against Negroes mounting horses, having firearms, and staying out after dark. There was occupational and matrimonial discrimination. There were law suits over caste status. Alexander von Humboldt, *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain* said that, around 1800, color was the exposed nerve of Venezuela. Racial tension was common.

Indians were a special social category. They were not a single group. All of the cacique class were the upper class, i.e. enjoyed certain privileges and exemptions. Indians were in several conditions. In the first decades after the conquest, many were in repartimiento (allotments for gang labor; in Peru, it was also called mita). At one time, about half of the indios were in encomienda (commended to the care of Spaniards in return for which they either worked for the Spaniard or paid tribute). Some were slaves. Some were branded. Some were in tutelage to the Crown. Eventually, many were in debt peonage.

The Laws of the Indies were full of protection for Indians, but they were often ignored. In 1573, a special court to protect Indians, the Juzgado de los Indios, was created. Indian villages won lawsuits against corregidores. Work was supposed to be fixed, i.e. wages, hours,

having to move. Even quite late in the colonial period, there were Indian slaves. Caciques and Indian overseers were willing to beat Indians. Peruvian Indians were often enormously exploited having to work for Spaniards 300 days a year.

Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, *A Voyage to South America*, noticed this on an inspection voyage and reported on abuses. The mines were very, dangerous. Obrajes (workshops) had terrible conditions. Clergy often had Indian slaves. Monks sometimes had Indian mistresses. Indios were kidnapped and enslaved.

Crown went to legislative trouble to protect Indian women First tried to prohibit marriage; failed. Then allowed licit unions because Spanish men wanted legal heirs and because marriage aided conversions to Christianity. Legalization of miscegenation. Encomienda could be inherited by women. 1539 decree that encomienda could only be given to married men or had to get married retain encomienda others. For others, marriage was necessary to hold office. Spanish men married Indios for money, land, titles, and dowries. Dowry from royal treasury for mestiza orphan girls. But the 1540's Indian rebellion in Yucatán as much a revolt against the way their women were treated by Spanish as anything else.

Mestizaje, the mixture of indios and Spanish, began immediately as conquerors began fornicating with Indian women. It was not until the mid-16th century that the Crown saw the ever-larger mestizo population as a problem and began to restrict what mestizos could do. They were the favorite mixture in law and practice. Mestizo also became a class designation as Indians adopted Spanish ways and became mestizos.

Illustrative is the development of the mestizo population in New Spain. In 1803, Humboldt estimated that there were 41% pure Indians,

20 % whites, and 38% mixed. This process of miscegenation continued. By 1930, the absolute number of pure Indios greater but their percentage of the population was less, falling to (28%). The white population was less than 15% whereas the mixed almost 57%. Estimates since emphasize the prevalence of the mestizo.

In the colonial period there were two hundred terms to describe genetic lines. It is doubtful that these people used these terms. The way the upper class looked at different groups varied. Indios were seen as higher than Negroes. Certain mixtures considered worst of all, zambos (Indios and Africans) in the Circum-Caribbean region.

Black Africans were generally slaves. Was not easy to get freedom and not many did. How well were they treated? We don' t know. We do know that black slaves not treated better in Brazil than in United States enough bother about. In Chile in 1767, there was a total about 10,000-20,000 blacks and mulattos, fewer than half of whom were slaves. Chile was an exception. However, at least 20% were owned by Jesuits as slaves. Humboldt said Spanish legislation on slaves was milder than most other nations (that he knew about). However, blacks were so dispersed that legislation was worthless. No more than 10% of blacks were free.

Marriage of Spanish and Negroes was not encouraged but frequent. Marriage of Negro men and Indian women was not encouraged but common. A zambo child was free if Indian was. The Crown became concerned because it was thought that the offspring picked up the worst of two races. Spanish were just as family conscious as Pilgrims and Puritans but, like them, tended to be self-absorbed and not be concerned with the domestic arrangements within the lower classes.

Free Labor

Free labor existed in towns. It was non-European, for there was very little free white labor. Poor Spanish immigrants avoided it because they were trying to work their way up. There was a prejudice towards members of the master race doing servile labor. There was a free Indian labor market. There were squatter settlements in towns as indios left the countryside to seek better lives in urban areas.

Gremios

Gremios or guilds were of medieval origin. They were very exclusive and stood in the way of the improvement of production, for they had no reason to innovate. They were protected by legal privilege with numerous lines defining and guaranteeing their rights. The masters were Spanish. There was racial discrimination inside the guilds, for Indios, blacks, and other castas were never able to rise in status. No reason to believe that they were treated better or worse than European labor.

Upper Classes

They were very conscious of the fact that they were a tiny minority. Feared slave revolts; They knew slavery was dangerous. They were very much interested in status within own group. In the 18th century, there was growing resentment of the Crown favoring peninsulares, Spaniards born on the Iberian peninsular. Under the

Bourbon kings of Spain, criollos (Spaniards born in the colonies) received fewer high governmental positions. For the entire colonial period, there were only four criollo viceroys, fourteen criollo captains-general; and 105 of 706 bishops. Criollos clearly discriminated against. At the end of the 17th century, there were eleven Marquis, 11 counts, one marshal in New Spain, an increase. Titled nobility could entail land, thus ensuring that it would pass intact to the oldest son. Helped in the creation of large estates. Others could get entail besides being titled nobility through mayorazgo, the system whereby the elder son inherited the titles and properties of the family. In the late 18th century, efforts were made to get rid of mayorazgo. Church had mortmain (mano morta), which meant that its landed estates, often donated by the wealthy pious, grew larger and larger. The upper class controlled the church. Almost everything was heavily affected by class and caste in the colonial period

Was there a middle class? The term probably was not used by colonials and royal officials. In 1824, in Guatemala, there is mention of the middle class (la clase media) but does this usage equate with what we mean by the term today? Some *might* have used this term late in the colonial period. Use of term in using *our* terms not theirs. It's ahistorical.

Social Conditions

Not enough research has been done, but a significant amount has been done in the last three decades of the 20th century. They are frequently difficult to investigate. We need to know more about such things as population, caste and class economic and social opportunity; urban and rural life and relations between the two; living conditions;

voluntary associationalism, crime; amusements, religion as relates to social life; family and family life; alcoholism; and prostitution.

Thomas Gage in his *The English-American* (1648), describes Guatemalan Indians:

Their ordinary clothing is a pair of linen or woollen drawers broad and open at the knees, without shoes (though in their journeys some will put on leathern sandals to keep the soles of their feet) or stockings, without any doublet, a short coarse shirt, which reacheth a little below their waist, and serves more for a doublet than for a shirt, and for a cloak a woollen or linen mantle (called *aiate*) tied with a knot over one shoulder, hanging down on the other side almost to the ground, with a twelve penny or two shilling hat, which after one good shower of rain like paper falls about their necks and eyes; their bed they carry sometime about them, which is that woollen, mantle wherewith they wrap themselves about at night, taking off their shirt and drawers, which they lay under their head for a pillow; some will carry with them a short, slight, and light mat to lie, but those that carry it not with them, if they cannot borrow one of a neighbour, lie as willingly in their mantle upon the bare ground as a gentleman in England upon a soft down-bed, and thus do they soundly sleep, and loudly snort after a day's work, or after a day's journey with a hundred-weight upon their backs.

Those that are of the better sort, and richer, and who are not employed as *tamemez* to carry burdens, or as labourers to work for Spaniards, but keep at home following their own farms, or following their own mules about the country, or following their trades and callings in their shops, or governing

the towns, as *alcaldes*, or *alguaziles*, officers of justice, may go a little better appalled, but after the same manner. For some will have their drawers with a lace at the bottom, or wrought with some coloured silk or crewel, so likewise the mantle about them shall have either a lace, or some work of birds on it; some will wear a cut linen doublet, others shoes, but very few stockings or bands about their necks; and for their beds, the best Indian Governor or the richest, who may be worth four or five thousand ducats, will have little more than the poor *tamemez*; for they lie upon boards, or canes bound together, and raised from the ground, whereon they lay a board and handsome mat, and at their heads for man and wife two little stumps of wood for bolsters, whereon they lay their shirts and mantles and other clothes for pillows, covering themselves with a broader blanket than is their mantle, and thus hardly would Don Bernabé de Guzman the Governor of Petapa lie, and so do all the best of them.

The women's attire is cheap and soon put on; for most of them also go barefoot, the richer and better sort wear shoes, with broad ribbons for shoe-strings, and for a petticoat, they tie about their waist a woollen mantle, which in the better sort is wrought with divers colors, but not sewed at all, pleated, or gathered in, but as they tie it with a list about them; they wear no shift next their body, but cover their nakedness with a kind of surplice (which they call *guaipil*) which hangs loose from their shoulders down a little below their waist, with

open short sleeves, which cover half their arms; this *guaipil* is curiously wrought, especially in the bosom, with cotton, or feathers. The richer sort of them wear bracelets and bobs about their waists and necks; their hair is gathered up with fillets, without any coif or covering, except it be the better sort. When they go to church or abroad, they put upon their heads a veil of linen, which hangeth almost to the ground, and this is that which costs them most of all their attire, for that commonly it is of Holland or some good linen brought from Spain, or fine linen brought from China, which the better sort wear with a lace about. When they are at home at work they commonly take off their *guaipil*, or surplice, discovering the nakedness of their breasts and body. They lie also in their beds as do their husbands, wrapped up only with a mantle, or with a blanket. Their houses are but poor thatched cottages, without any upper rooms, but commonly one or two only rooms below, in the one they dress their meat in the middle of it, making a compass for fire, with two or three stones, without any other chimney to convey the smoke away, which spreading itself about the room filleth the thatch and the rafters so with soot that all the room seemeth to be a chimney. The next unto it is not free from smoke and blackness, where sometimes are four or five beds according to the family. The poorer sort have but one room, where

they eat, dress their meat, and sleep. Few there are that set any locks upon their doors, for they fear no robbing nor stealing, neither have they in their houses much to lose, earthen pots, and pans, and dishes, and cups to drink their chocolate being the chief commodities in their house. There is scarce any house which hath not also in the yard a stew, wherein they bathe themselves with hot water, which is their chief physic when they feel themselves distempered.

Among themselves they are in every town divided into tribes, which have one chief head, to whom all that belong unto that tribe do resort in any difficult matters, who is bound to aid, protect, defend, counsel, and appear for the rest of his tribe before the officers of justice in any wrong that is like to be done unto them. When any is to be married, the father of the son that is to take a wife out of another tribe goeth unto the head of his tribe to give him warning of his son's marriage with such a maid. Then that head meets with the head of the maid's tribe, and they confer about it. The business commonly is in debate a quarter of a year; all which time the parents of the youth or man are with gifts to buy the maid; they are to be at the charges of all that is spent in eating and drinking when the heads of the two tribes do meet with the rest of the kindred of each side, who sometimes sit in conference a whole day, or most part of a night.

After many days and nights thus spent, and a full trial being made of the one and other side's affection, if they chance to disagree about the marriage, then is the tribe and parents of the maid to restore back all that the other side hath spent and given. They give no portions with their daughters, but when they die their goods and lands are equally divided among their sons. If anyone want a house to live in or will repair and thatch his house anew, notice is given to the heads of the tribes, who warn all the town to come to help in the work, and everyone is to bring a bundle of straw, and other materials, so that in one day with the help of many they finish a house, without any charges more than of chocolate, which they minister in great cups as big as will hold above a pint, not putting in any costly materials, as do the Spaniards, but only a little aniseed, and chilli, or Indian pepper; or else they half fill the cup with *atole*, and pour upon it as much chocolate as will fill the cup and colour it.

In their diet the poorer sort are limited many times to a dish of *frijoles*, or Turkey beans, either black or white (which are there in very great abundance, and are kept dry for all the year) boiled with chilli; and if they can have this, they hold themselves well satisfied; with these beans, they make also dumplings, first boiling the bean a little, and then mingling it with a mass of maize, as we do mingle currents in our cakes, and so boil

again the *frijoles* with the dumpling of maize mass, and so eat it hot, or keep it cold; but this and all whatsoever else they eat, they either eat it with green biting chilli, or else they dip it in water and salt, wherein is bruised some of that chilli. But if their means will not reach to *frijoles*, their ordinary fare and diet is their tortillas (so they call thin round cakes made of the dough and mass of maize) which they eat hot from an earthen pan, whereon they are soon baked with one turning over the fire; and these they eat alone either with chilli and salt, and dipping them in water and salt with a little bruised chilli. When their maize is green and tender, they boil some of those whole stalks or clusters, whereon the maize groweth with the leaf about, and so casting a little salt about it, they eat it. I have often eat of this, and found it as dainty as our young green peas, and very nourishing, but it much increaseth the blood. Also of this green and tender maize they make a furmety, boding the maize in some of the milk which they have first taken out of it by bruising it. The poorest Indian never wants this diet, and is well satisfied as long as his belly is thoroughly filled.

But the poorest that live in such towns where flesh meat is sold will make a hard shift but that when they come from work on Saturday night they will buy one half real, or a real worth of fresh meat to eat on the Lord's day. Some will buy a good

deal at once and keep it long by dressing it into *tasajos*, which are bundles of flesh, rolled up and tied fast, which they do when, for example's sake, they have from a leg of beef sliced off from the bone all the flesh with the knife, after the length, form, and thinness of a line, or rope. Then they take the flesh and salt it (which being sliced and thinly cut, soon takes salt) and hang it up in their yards like a line from post to post, or from tree to tree, to the wind for a whole week, and then they hang it in the smoke another week, and after roll it up in small bundles, which become as hard as a stone, and so as they need it they wash it, boil it and eat it. This is America's powdered beef, which they call *tasajo*....

As for drinking, the Indians generally are much given unto it; and drink if they have nothing else of their poor and simple chocolate, without sugar or many compounds, or of *atole*, until their bellies be ready to burst. But if they can get any drink that will make them mad drunk, they will not give it over as long as a drop is left, or a penny remains in their purse to purchase it. Among themselves they use to make such drinks as are in operation far stronger than wine; and these they confection in such great jars as come from Spain, wherein they put some little quantity of water, and fill up the jar with some molasses or juice of the sugar-cane, or some honey for to sweeten it; then for the

strengthening of it, they put roots and leaves of tobacco, with other kind of roots which grow there, and they know to be strong in operation, and in some places I have known where they have put in a live toad, and so closed up the jar for a fortnight, or month's space, till all that they have put in him be thoroughly steeped and the toad consumed, and the drink well strengthened, then they open it and call their friends to the drinking of it (which commonly they do in the night time, lest their priest in the town should have notice of them in the day), which they never leave off until they be mad and raging drunk. This drink they call *chicha*, which stinketh most filthily, and certainly is the cause of many Indians' death, especially where they use the toad's poison with it....

And thus having spoken of apparel, houses, eating and drinking, it remains that I say somewhat of their civility, and religion of those who lived under the government of the Spaniards. From the Spaniards they have borrowed their civil government, and in all towns they have one, or two, *alcaldes*, with more or less *regidores* (who are as aldermen or jurats amongst us) and some *alguaziles*, more or less, who are as constables, to execute the orders of the *alcalde* (who is a mayor) with his brethren. In towns of three or four hundred families, or upwards, there are commonly two *alcaldes*, six *regidores*, two *alguaziles mayores*,

and six under, or petty, *alguaziles*. And some towns are privileged with an Indian Governor, who is above the *alcaldes* and all the rest of the officers. These are changed every year by new election, and are chosen by the Indians themselves, who take their turns by the tribes or kindreds, whereby they are divided. Their offices begin on New Year's Day, and after that day their election is carried to the city of Guatemala (if in that district it be made) or else to the heads of justice, or Spanish governors of the several provinces, who confirm the new election, and take account of the last year's expenses made by the other officers, who carry with them their townbook of accounts; and therefore for this purpose every town hath a clerk, or scrivener, called *escribano* who commonly continueth many years in his office, by reason of the paucity and unfitness of Indian scriveners who are able to bear such a charge. This clerk hath many fees for his writings and informations, and accounts, as have the Spaniards, though not so much money or bribes, but a small matter, according to the poverty of the Indians. The Governor is also commonly continued many years, being some chief man among the Indians, except for his misdemeanours he be complained of, for the Indians in general do all stomach him.

Thus they being settled in a civil way of government they may execute justice upon all such

Indians of their town as do notoriously and scandalously offend. They may imprison, fine, whip, and banish, but hang and quarter they may not; but must remit such cases to the Spanish governor. So likewise if a Spaniard passing by the town, or living in it, do trouble the peace, and misdemean himself, they may lay hold on him, and send him to the next Spanish justice, with a full information of his offence, but fine him, or keep him about one night in prison they may not. This order they have against Spaniards, but they dare not execute it, for a whole town standeth in awe of one Spaniard, and though he never so heinously offend, and be unruly, with oaths, threatenings, and drawing of his sword, he maketh them quake and tremble, and not presume to touch him; for they know if they do they shall have the worst, either by blows, or by some misinformation which he will give against them....

Amongst themselves, if any complaint be made against any Indian, they dare not meddle with him until they call all his kindred, and especially the head of that tribe to which he belongeth; who if heard the rest together find him to deserve imprisonment, or whipping, or any other punishment, then the officers of justices, the alcaldes or mayors, and their brethren the jurats inflict upon him that punishment which all shall agree upon. But yet after judgment and sentence

given, they have another, which is their last appeal, if they please, and that is to their priest and friar, who liveth in their town, by whom they will sometimes be judged, and undergo what punishment he shall think fittest.

In contrast, Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, in *A Voyage to South America* (1748), provide this description of colonial Lima, which includes non-Indians:

The inhabitants of Lima are composed of whites, or Spaniards, Negroes, Indians, Mestizos, and other casts, proceeding from the mixture of all three. The Spanish families are very numerous; Lima according to the lowest computation, containing sixteen or eighteen thousand whites, Among these are reckoned a third or fourth part of the most distinguished nobility of Peru; and many of these dignified with the stile of ancient or modern Castilians, among which are no less than 45 counts and marquises. The number of knights belonging to the several military orders is also very considerable. Besides these are many families no less respectable and living in equal splendor; particularly 24 gentlemen of large estates, but without titles, tho' most of them have ancient seats, a proof of the antiquity of their families. One of these traces, with undeniable certainty, his descent from the Incas. The name of this family is Ampuero, so called from one of the Spanish commanders at the conquest of this country, who

married a Coya, or daughter of the Inca. To this family the kings of Spain have been pleased to grant several distinguishing honours and privileges, as marks of its great quality: and many of the most eminent families in the city have desired intermarriages with it. All those families live in a manner becoming their rank, having estates equal to their generous dispositions, keeping a great number of slaves and other domestics, and those who affect making the greatest figure, have coaches, while others content themselves with calashes or chaises, which are here so common, that no family of any substance is without one. It must be owned that these carriages are more necessary here than in other cities, on account of the numberless droves of mules which continually pass thro' Lima, and cover the streets with their dung, which being soon dried by the sun and the wind, turns to a nauseous dust, scarce supportable to those who walk on foot. These chaises, which are drawn by a mule, and guided by a driver, have only two wheels, with two seats opposite to each other, so that on occasion they will hold four persons. They are very slight and airy; but on account of the gildings and other decorations, sometimes cost eight hundred or a thousand crowns. The number of them is said to amount to 5 or 6000; and that of coaches is also very considerable, tho' not equal to the former. The funds to support these expenses, which in other parts would ruin families, are their large estates and plantations, civil and military employments or commerce, which is here

accounted no derogation to families of the greatest distinction; but by this commerce is not to be understood the buying and selling by retail or in shops, every one trading proportional to his character and substance. Hence families are preserved from those disasters too common in Spain, where titles are frequently found without a fortune capable of supporting their dignity. Commerce is so far from being considered as a disgrace at Lima, that the greatest fortunes have been raised by it; those on the contrary, being rather despised, who not being blessed with a sufficient estate, through indolence, neglect to have recourse to it for improving their fortunes. This custom, or resource, which was established there without any determinate end, being introduced by a vain desire of the first Spaniards to acquire wealth, is now the real support of that splendor in which those families live; and whatever repugnance these military gentlemen might originally have to commerce. it was immediately removed by a royal proclamation, by which it was declared that commerce in the Indies should not exclude from nobility or the military orders; a very wise measure, and of which Spain would be still more sensible, were it extended to all its dependencies. At Lima, as at Quito, and all Spanish America, some of the eminent families have been long since settled there, whilst the prosperity of others is of a later date; for being the center of the whole commerce of Peru, a greater number of Europeans resort to it, than to any other city;

some for trade, and others, from being invested in Spain with considerable employments: among both are persons of the greatest merit; and tho' many after they have finished their respective affairs, return home, yet the major part induced by the fertility of the soil, and goodness of the climate, remain at Lima, and marry young ladies remarkable equally for the gifts of fortune as those of nature and thus new families are continually settled. The Negroes, Mulattoes, and their descendants, form the greater number of the inhabitants; and of these are the greatest part of the mechanics; tho' here the Europeans also follow the same occupations, which are not at Lima reckoned disgraceful to them, as they are at Quito; for gain being here the universal passion, the inhabitants pursue it by means of any trade, without regard to its being followed by Mulattoes, interest here preponderating against any other consideration. The third, and last class of inhabitants are the Indians and Mestizos, but these are very small in proportion to the largeness of the city, and the multitudes of the second class. They are employed in agriculture, in making earthen ware, and bringing all kinds of provisions to market, domestic services being performed by Negroes and Mulattoes, either slaves or free, though generally by the former. The usual dress of the men differs very little from that worn in Spain, nor is the distinction between the several classes very great; for the use of all sorts of cloth being allowed, every one wears what he can purchase. So that it is not

uncommon to see a Mulatto, or any other mechanic dressed in a tissue, equal to any thing that can be worn by a more opulent person. They all greatly affect fine cloaths, and it may be said without exaggeration, that the finest stuffs made in countries, where industry is always inventing something new, are more generally seen at Lima than in any other place; vanity and ostentation not being restrained by custom or law. Thus the great quantities brought in the galleons and register ships notwithstanding they sell here prodigiously above their prime cost in Europe, the richest of them are used as cloaths, and worn with a carelessness little suitable to their extravagant price; but in this article the men are greatly exceeded by the women, whose passion for dress is such as to deserve a more particular account. In the choice of laces, the women carry their taste to a prodigious excess; nor is this an emulation confined to persons of quality, but has spread thro' all ranks, except the lowest class of Negroes. The laces are sewed to their linen, which is of the finest sort, though very little of it is seen, the greatest part of it, especially in some dresses, being always covered with lace; so that the little which appears seems rather for ornament than use. These laces too must be all of Flanders manufacture, no woman of rank condescending to look on any other. Their dress is very different from the European, which the custom of the country alone can render excusable; indeed to Spaniards at their first coming over it appears extremely indecent. Their dress consists of a pair of

shoes, a shift, a petticoat of dimity, an open petticoat, and a jacket, which in summer, is of linen, in winter of stuff. To this some add a mantellette, that the former may hang loose. The difference between this dress and that worn at Quito, though consisting of the same pieces is, that at Lima it is much shorter, the petticoat which is usually tied below the waist, not reaching lower than the calf of the leg, from whence, nearly to the ankle, hangs a border of very fine lace, sewed to the bottom of the under petticoat; through which the ends of their garters are discovered, embroidered with gold or silver, and sometimes set with pearls; but the latter is not common. The upper petticoat, which is of velvet, or some rich stuff, is fringed all round, and not less crowded with ornaments, than those described in the first volume of this work. But be the ornaments what they will, whether of fringe, lace, or ribbands, they are always exquisitely fine. The shift's sleeves, which are a yard and a half in length, and two yards in width, when worn for ornament, are covered with rolls of laces, variegated in such a manner as to render the whole truly elegant. Over the shift is worn the jacket, the sleeves of which are excessively large, of a circular figure, and consist of rows of lace, or slips of cambrick or lawn, with lace disposed betwixt each, as are also the shift sleeves, even of those who do not affect extraordinary ornament. The body of the jacket is tied on the shoulders with ribbands fastened to the back of their stays; and the round sleeves of it being tucked up to the

shoulders, are so disposed together with those of the shift, as to form what may be term'd four wings. If the jacket be not buttoned or clasped before, it is agreeably fastened on the shoulders; and indeed the whole dress makes a most elegant figure. They who use a close vest, fasten it with clasps, but wear over it the loose jacket, already described. In the summer they have a kind of veil, the stuff and fashion of which is like that of the shift and body of the vest, of the finest cambrick or lawn, richly laced: But in winter the veil worn in their houses is of baize; when they go abroad full dressed, it is adorned like the sleeves. They also use brown baize, finely laced and fringed, and bordered with slips of black velvet. Over the petticoat is an apron of the same stuff as the sleeves of the jacket, hanging down to the bottom of it. From hence some idea may be formed of the expense of a dress, where the much greater part of the stuff is merely for ornament; nor will it appear strange that the marriage shift should cost a thousand crowns, and sometimes more. One particular on which the women here extremely value themselves, is the size of their feet, a small foot being esteemed one of the chief beauties; and this is the principal fault they find with the Spanish ladies, who have much larger feet than those of Lima. From their infancy they are accustomed to wear straight shoes, that their feet may not grow beyond the size of which they esteem beautiful; some of them do not exceed five inches and a half, or six inches in length, and in women of a small stature they are still less. Their

shoes have little or no sole, one piece of Cordovan serving both for that and the upper leather, and of an equal breadth and roundness at the toe and heel, so as to form a sort of long figure of eight; but the foot not complying with this figure, brings it to a greater regularity. These shoes are always fastened with diamond buckles, or something very brilliant in proportion to the ability of the wearer, being worn less for use than ornament; for the shoes are made in such a manner that they never loosen of themselves, nor do the buckles hinder their being taken off. It is unusual to set these buckles with pearls, a particular to be accounted for, only from their being so lavish of them in the other ornaments of dress, as to consider them as of too little value. The shoemakers, who are no strangers to the foible of the sex take great care to make them in a manner very little calculated for service. The usual price is three half crowns a pair, those embroidered with gold or silver cost from eight to ten crowns. The latter, however, are but little worn, the encumbrance of embroidery being suited rather to enlarge than diminish the appearance of a small foot. They are fond of white silk stockings, made extremely thin, that the leg may appear the more shapely; the greatest part of which is exposed to view. These trifles often afford very sprightly sallies of wit in their animadversions on the dress of others. Hitherto we have considered only the more common dress of these ladies; the reader will conceive a still higher idea of their magnificence, when

he is informed of the ornaments with which they are decorated in their visits, and upon public occasions. We shall begin with their manner of dressing the hair, which being naturally black, and capable of reaching below their waists, they dispose in such a manner as to appear perfectly graceful. They tie it up behind in six braided locks, through which a golden bodkin a little bent is inserted, and having a cluster of diamonds at each end. On this the locks are suspended so as to touch the shoulder. On the front and upper part of the head they wear diamond egrets, and the hair is formed into little curls, hanging from the forehead to the middle of the ear, with a large black patch of velvet on each temple. Their earrings are of brilliants, intermixed with tufts of black silk, covered with pearls, resembling those already described in the first volume. These are so common an ornament, that besides their necklaces, they also wear about their necks rosaries, the beads of which are of pearls, either separate or set in clusters to the size of a large filbert; and those which form the cross are still larger. Besides diamond rings, necklaces, girdles, and bracelets, all very curious both with regard to water and size, many ladies wear other jewels set in gold, or for singularity sake, in tombac [an alloy consisting essentially of copper and zinc]. Lastly, from their girdle before is suspended a large round jewel enriched with diamonds; much more superb than their bracelets, or other ornaments. A lady covered with the most expensive lace instead of linen, and glittering

from head to foot with jewels, is supposed to be dressed at the expense of not less than thirty or forty thousand crowns. A splendor still the more astonishing, as it is so very common. A fondness for expense in these people, does not confine itself to rich apparel; it appears no less in the strange neglect, and the small value they seem to set upon them, by wearing them in a manner the most careless, and by that means bringing upon themselves fresh expenses in repairing the old or purchasing new jewels; especially pearls on account of their fragility. The most common of the two kinds of dresses worn when they go abroad, is the veil and long petticoat; the other is a round petticoat and mantelet. The former for church, the latter for taking the air, and diversions; but both in the prevailing taste for expense, being richly embroidered with silver or gold. The long petticoat is particularly worn on holy Thursday; as on that day they visit the churches, attended by two or three female Negro or mulatto slaves, dressed in an uniform like pages.

Colonial society had a variety of people as this story of Doña Catalina de Erazu illustrates! Leslie Byrd Simpson, *Many Mexicos*, tells the story. Catalina escaped from her convent in male attire and swashbuckled her way from Spain to Peru and Chile. She became famous as a swordswoman. Sometimes she worked as an arriero (muleteer), sometimes a soldier. Her dueling and killing kept her in constant hot water with the authorities. At one point, she escaped execution only by revealing that she was a woman, a nun, and a virgin.

Her case baffled the legal minds of Peru; she was sent back to Spain for disposal. Spanish authorities gave up and turned her over to Pope who was so intrigued by her story that he gave her dispensation to wear male clothing the rest of her life. King Philip IV granted her a pension of 500 pesos. Catalina landed in New Spain about 1640, took up the trade of arriero and became the terror of the Mexico City-Veracruz road. Her career reached a fitting climax when she fell madly in love with the wife of a young hidalgo. When he showed her the door, she challenged him to mortal combat. The duel was prevented, however. She died as an arriero in 1650.

Spirit and Letters of the Colonial Period

The spirit of the colonial period was incarcerated in the Church. It was the unifying force everywhere. Inquisition was used to enforce membership in Catholicism. Most public buildings were churches. Church controlled education. Spanish Christianity was reformed in the 16th century by Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros. It was vibrant and idealistic.

The Church was more under Crown control in Spain than any other European monarchy. The Crown controlled appointments to Church officers and papal bulls coming into the kingdom as well as other means of control. This was the Patronato Real. The Church had to give a "free gift" to the Crown. Spaniards, as are most people, were very concerned with status, with who had precedence. Being appointed to a high church office or having a relative who was gave status. Royal officials always enforced their position, however.

The deterioration of the Church occurred over time. The Spanish church peaked in strength in the late 16th and early 17th

centuries. By the 18th century, it had serious problems with corruption and marriages by the clergy.

The Church was also an economic institution. In New Spain, it controlled about half of the land. In Peru it controlled about one third. Because of mortmain, it accumulated wealth during the colonial period. Piety, shrewd bishops, and mortmain consistently increased the amount of land the Church held. The Church, particularly the Jesuits, served as bankers through loans to secular people. The Church collected taxes such as the tithe and the crusade tax (paid for not going). The clergy had to pay annates to the Crown at the rate of one-half of the first year's revenue of the clerical offices held.

The clergy were split between the hierarchy and the parish clergy. The parish clergy were poorly paid. They were often uneducated. Some parish priests found non-Church revenue in order to support themselves. This created conflicting goals. Among the higher clergy, there were legal fights over bishops' personal estates. Class structure played an important role in Church politics and organization. Peninsulares (Spaniards born in Spain as opposed to Spaniards born in the colonies who were called criollos) held the high offices. In criollo families, at least one member of the family went to the clergy, that is, became clergy.

The Church was also riven by the secular-regular controversy. Regular clergy lived by rules or reglas, groups such as the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits. Secular clergy focused on the lay public, serving as parish priests. The status was with the regular clergy because their lives were more devoted to serving God. They were the missionaries "Christianizing" the Indians. The rule, though not always enforced, was that regular clergy would yield their missions to the secular clergy once the mission was accomplished. The Church was

concentrated in the cities. Even regular clergy preferred the amenities of urban life.

Holy Office of the Inquisition

The Inquisition was under state control. Its goal was to root out heretics and heresy. Brought by a bishop to Santa Domingo in 1517 and remained under the control of bishops until 1569 when the king established tribunals of the Holy Office of the Inquisition at Mexico City and Lima. Later put one in New Granada in 1610. Bishop Juan de Zumárraga of Mexico City became the Inquisitor of New Spain in 1535. It was ended but reestablished in the 1570s. In theory, it had jurisdiction over Christians. Since 1478, it tried to convert Jews and Muslims. Indians were exempt from its activities. The health of their souls were the responsibility of the ordinary clergy. Later, the Church expanded its authority to include morals. It was powerful. Censored books and sought to control thoughts.

Originally, the Spanish recruited Indians into the clergy. That made conversion and control easier. By the late 16th century, when the imperatives of the conquest were gone, Indians excluded from the clergy in the late 16th century.

Education

Education was for the upper-class males but there were schools for Indian males. Jesuits specialized in education and had many institutions. When the Jesuits were expelled from Spain in 1767, it was impossible to replace their educational efforts. Almost all schools were

for upper-class Spaniards although there was the occasional effort to educate upper-class mestizo and cacique (an Indian leaders) sons.

The curriculum was medieval. They taught a curriculum of Aristotle and Scholasticism. There were a few women in monastery schools. The ideal was to have convent-trained women and monastery-trained men marry and carry out Christian ideals and ideas.

Spain enjoyed great success in transplanting its institutions and culture. In 1538, the Crown founded a university in Santo Domingo; in 1551, the University of Mexico; and in 1551, the University of San Marcos in Peru. These universities had state support but money was always a problem. The entering fees were small but rose the longer one stayed. This favored the rich, the upper class. It cost a fortune to get a doctorate.

Curriculum

It was scholastic, a product of the Catholic Counter Reformation. It stressed reliance on authority, e.g. Scriptures and Aristotle. It sought philosophical not scientific truths. Spanish institutions were the last stand of scholasticism. Enlightenment authors only read in the late 18th and early 19th centuries after battle with the scholastics. It produced very few scientists. Graduate degrees above the bachelors were the Doctor of Theology, the highest degree [replaced today by the Doctor of Philosophy or Ph.D.], then the Doctor of Laws which was Church and Roman Law, and, finally, the Doctor of Medicine. These

were about as good as contemporaries in England, France in the 18th century.

The purpose of higher education was to train church officials and government officials. Had small libraries but these were important repositories of knowledge.

Initially, the Spanish exercised considerable control over thought and press through the Inquisition and the state. Control weakened over time. Permission was granted to more upper class people to read. Book smuggling increased. On the whole, there was considerable freedom of thought within limits. You could not attack the Crown but could attack government officials and their behavior. Same was true of the Church.

Printing came to Mexico City in 1535 and to Lima in the 1550s.

One had to have permission of the Council of the Indies to print a book. Very little was printed in the colonial period because it was too expensive. Most that was printed was of a religious nature. There were no newspapers until the 18th century. Newspapers were printed in Guatemala, Mexico City, Lima, and Buenos Aires. Usually, they were weeklies loaded with announcements and religious notices. Some of the papers played an important role in the Independence period.

How much literacy? About 25% of the urban whites.

Chronicles are an excellent source of what was going on. The writing style was baroque. It got more baroque as time went on.

In architecture, the Church was important. Most churches were in the baroque style. They used a lot of gold in churches.

There were changes in the mining curriculum; there were mining reforms in the 1770s. Mining had stayed the same for 200 years. It was a conservative society which refused to change methods and workability of old techniques. The mining guilds and schools also

resisted change. Had to inculcate new ideas into colonists in order to get more productivity.

Conclusions

Spain was very successful in passing her culture from Spain to America. It was baroque and scholastic and meant for the upper classes. Spanish culture and letters were infinitely better developed than British America.

6.

Colonial Brazil

Brazil and Spanish America were similar in regards to the class system, having an oligarchic government, Roman Catholicism, slavery, anti-Indian sentiments, dependence on European goods and imports, the great estate (fazenda), and the lack of economic incentives for the vast majority of the population. Brazilians found few precious metals

until the 1690s, unlike Spanish America where precious metals almost immediately played the major in Spanish exploitation of the people and the land.

Urban life was much more common and important in Spanish America. In Brazil, the elites tended to stay on their great estates.

Because there may have been no more than one million Indians in what is now Brazil and most of them were not sedentary as were the Inca or the Aztec, Africans and people of African descent quickly outnumbered the Indians. The Indian people died in large numbers because the European diseases or the imposition of European cultural norms. Whereas Spaniards sired a huge mestizo population, the Portuguese sired a huge mulatto population. The purely Portuguese DNA pool was very small, for few Portuguese women emigrated to Brazil. Nor were there large numbers of other Europeans. By independence, at least, Brazil became a "black" nation, depending upon how one defines "black."

Periods

1. Discovery and first settlements

Pedro Alvares Cabral's fleet touched Brazil in April, 1500. Soon afterward Cabral returned to Portugal, Fernando do Noronha began shipping brazilwood, used as a textile dye. Others followed suit and the territory came to be called Brazil. The first settlements were feitorias (factories, the name for trading posts in those days). The Crown paid little attention to Brazil; its limited resources were focused

on its more lucrative colonies in Africa and Asia. Other Europeans began to enter the dyewood trade.

The size of the Portuguese settlement in Brazil would be determined by what they found to exploit and by climate and terrain. Besides dyewood, they found that the land of northeast Brazil was suitable to sugar cultivation. They tended to hug the coast but overcame geographical barriers (such as the coastal escarpment) when it was to their economic advantage.

2. The captaincies

By 1530, Crown sent out a fleet to attack French settlements, strengthen feitorias, and explore inland. In 1532, the expedition founded São Vicente about 200 miles southwest of Guanabara Bay. This expedition brought European animals and seeds, erected forts, set up town governments, and issued private land grants (sesmarias).

In 1534-1536, the Crown granted 15 hereditary captaincies (capitanías) to 12 persons (donátorios) . The captaincies extended, on average, 250 miles along the coast and into the interior for an indefinite distance. The donátorios were relatively important for some time. They set up ways of exploiting Brazil that more or less worked. However, only Pernambuco and São Vicente succeeded economically. By 1548, Brazil had sixteen settlements but they were far apart.

3. Governor-general

In 1549, the Crown created the governor-general system (in Spanish America it was the viceroy system). This was the beginning of the centralized administration system with a treasurer, chief justice, and

other bureaucrats. Formal Crown government was created in part as a defense against foreign intruders, who had begun to come. The governor-general drove the French and other foreigners out.

The Crown gave away sesmarias, fostered the growth of Christianity and the Church, imported workers, and provided some government. By 1572, the Crown split Brazil into two jurisdictions, the northern one had Bahía as its capital, the south had Río de Janeiro. Portugal fiddled off and on with this arrangement and eventually allowed a chief justice in the south.

4. Indians

Most of the early workers were Indians, who taught the Portuguese to live in the tropics. There were never enough Portuguese to exploit the land and they were disinclined to do manual labor when there was an alternative Indian labor. Indian slaves became commonplace. From the Indians, the Portuguese learned to eat such foods as casava, use hammocks, and dress more appropriately.

As in Spanish America, European men took Indian women, free persons or slaves, as lovers, mixing their DNA with that of the existing population. Many mamelucos were born. Few women came to Brazil from Portugal. Given the dominance of these men, however, Indian women probably would have become lovers to Portuguese men regardless.

The regular clergy and the Crown, to some extent, opposed slavery and the mistreatment of Indians but to little effect. Greed could not be overcome by such weak institutions. Even the Jesuits were unable to protect their charges whom they had gathered together into settlements for that purpose.

5. Africans

Africans and their offspring became the predominant DNA strain in Brazil's population. Black Africans had captured and traded other black Africans long before the Europeans explored the continent. When the Europeans did come, Africans continued to control the slave trade. The Portuguese learned the trade from Africans and from Europeans and had traded slaves from their African feitorias. By 1585, black slaves represented about 25% of the settled population of 57,000 persons in Brazil. By 1700, they represented more than 30% of the settled population. In the 18th century, some 1.3 million arrived in Brazil and another 1.6 million in the nineteenth. Although slaves were short-lived because of working conditions, abuse, the effects of dislocation, and such, their offspring soon were more numerous than that of the Indians and the Portuguese. Brazil became a black colony and then a black nation, depending upon how one counts blackness.

6. Class

Brazil was much like the rest of the European world in being both class conscious and caste conscious. Blacks were considered inferior and there were many racial discrimination laws. However, one could change status more easily in Brazil than in the rest of the Western Hemisphere. Mulattos (European and African) could become white in Brazil if they could find a high status occupation or marry up. Class, after all, is very important to humans and class consciousness, in varying degrees, seems to exist in all human societies. People in Brazil knew

their social class (or "place") and deferred to the wishes of their "betters.

7. Sugar

The growth of sugar culture in northeast Brazil led to creation of fazendas (large plantations) and the importation of Africans as slaves. Sugar planters enjoyed much autonomy from the Crown because they enjoyed wealth, power, and retainers and because they were geographically distant from the authorities.

8. The Spanish Period

Philip II of Spain managed to get himself recognized as the king of Portugal in 1560 and the Spanish crown retained control of the throne until 1640. This was important in Brazilian history, for it allowed for unfettered Brazilian expansion into lands claimed by Spaniards. When the monarchies separated, Brazil kept the territory. It also meant the better bureaucratic organization of Brazil as the Spanish Crown imported a number of its ideas and institutions although Brazil was always governed separately.

9. The Dutch Intrusion

The Dutch conquered and occupied part of northeast Brazil around Pernambuco in the 1624-54 period. Created very efficient sugar plantations and developed an export trade. Brazilians, not the Portuguese, expelled them. This expulsion had two important

consequences. (1) The Dutch went to the Caribbean to produce sugar and dislocated the Brazilian export trade. (2) That Brazilians ejected the intruders gave rise to a sense of Brazilianism.

10. Decline of Sugar

Sugar production declined in the late 17th century partly because of inefficient production, partly because attention came to be focused much farther south.

11. Precious Metals

The discovery and exploitation of gold, then diamonds, in Minas Gerais beginning in 1690s and continuing into the 18th century, shifted the locus of power to the south. Brazil became one of the world's largest sources of gold. Population shifts from the coast to the interior to supply the labor to produce gold. Brazil did not profit as much as it could have, however; gold was smuggled out of Brazil in large quantities.

12. The Paulistas

Much of interior Brazil was explored and settled by the bandeirantes, as the Paulistas from São Paulo were called. In the 17th and first half of the 18th centuries, bandeirantes made many epic

penetrations of the hinterlands. Although they sought gold and Indian slaves, they were also laying the Brazilian claim to this territory.

13. Disputes with Spanish America

Portugal disputed with Spain over the southern boundaries of Brazil. At stake were trade in the Río de la Plata region and the rich grasslands in what is now Uruguay. In the 17th century, substantial trade occurred between Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires, the very important Spanish outpost on the Rio de la Plata estuary. In 1680, Portugal established Colônia do Sacramento in present-day Uruguay to horn in on this trade. Spain destroyed the colony that same year but then allowed it to be re-established in 1683. The Portuguese or Brazilian presence was a constant thorn in the side of the Spanish Empire. Because of the constant conflicts that occurred, the two powers finally agreed to the Treaty of San Ildefonso in 1777. That resolved the problem until independent Buenos Aires and independent Brazil started the fight again.

14. Crop exports

In the second half of the 18th century, there was a rise in non-mineral exports, such as cotton. Brazil had the potential to be a major cotton producer. Dyewood continued to play an important role in the crop exports. Sugar was, by far, the most important crop export but Brazil also exported some cacao.

15. Tightening the System

In the late colonial period, Portugal tightened the governmental and mercantilist systems. The Jesuits were expelled and the Crown took control of the Indians. Military organizations were strengthened. In 1763, the seat of the viceroy was moved from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. Trade regulations were strengthened in an effort to keep wealth in Portuguese hands.

16. Beginning of Dissatisfaction

In the late, late 18th century, one begins to see some colonial disaffection with Portugal in the upper class. Part of this was the growth of nativism, which, of course, is bigotry based on the accident of place of birth but which is often a strong motivator among humans. Part of it was growing self-confidence among the colonial elite who saw the Portuguese as no better than them. This attitude increased after the arrival of the Portuguese court in 1808. Familiarity bred contempt among some colonials.

17. The Braganzas in Brazil

Between 1808 and 1815, the royal family, the Braganzas lived in Brazil, having been brought there at British insistence in order to escape being captured by Napoleon's armies. Brazil became the capital of the Portuguese empire. Although the king moved the capital back to Lisbon in 1815, Brazilians never forgot their importance or how much they had come to dislike the haughty Portuguese. This experience affected the coming of independence

Some items cannot be periodized for they were constant throughout the colonial period. These include slavery, latifundia, miscegenation, and the importance of the aristocracy.

General Comments about the Economy

1. It was agriculture chiefly. Most crops were food for domestic consumption or animal feed. Sugar was the important export crop.
2. It was dependent upon European markets for its agricultural, pastoral, and mineral produce.
3. It used largely domestic manufactures. There was insufficient money to buy many foreign manufactures and those which were purchased tended to be for the tiny elite.
4. It was non-innovative. Colonial Brazil was successful in its conservatism.
5. The organization of capital was almost nonexistent. The lack of banks persisted until the mid-19th century.
6. It suffered the same kind of competitive lag as in Spanish America.

7. The marketing structure was poor. Markets tended to be localized in this vast territory. Only major port cities had many wholesalers and retailers.
8. Transportation was dreadful. There were virtually no roads and the rivers either ran to wrong way to serve as transportation arteries or were, like the Amazon River, in unpopulated areas. Colonial Brazil hugged the coast.
9. There was low purchasing power. Slaves were paid in kind by being given food, shelter, clothing, and very little else. They rarely had cash. The other poor were very poor. The money went to those who ruled.
10. Brazil meant more to Portugal than Spanish America did to Spain. By 1730, Brazil paid 30% of taxes of the entire empire.

Some students of Brazilian history assert that its economic history was characterized by a period of boom followed by a bust and then a boom again. This boom-bust theory of Brazilian economic history is overstated. The Brazil economy in the colonial period generally increased in size; there were some periods of more rapid growth, as there are in many economies, but there were not periods of collapse. This will hold true for the national period.

There was no reason to predict that Brazil would remain anything but a colony. In spite of a few rumblings, the colony was placid.

It could have had a history like the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique or Goa, remaining a colony until well into the twentieth century.

7.
Late Colonial Change

Introduction

There were attempts at directed change instituted by the government in Spain and non-intentional change because of outside influences.

After Philip II, the monarchs were progressively worse until Philip V, the first of the Bourbon kings of Spain. Philip was the grandson of Louis XIV of France and had to win the War of the Spanish Succession (1700-1713) to consolidate his position. The war cost the Bourbons. They brought new vigor and sanity to executive office. Philip V (1700-46) and Ferdinand VI (1746-1759) were pretty good but Charles III (1759-1788) was very good, an enlightened despot. There was a lot of modernization in the economic and intellectual fields. Charles IV (1788-1808) was a poor king whose wife's paramour, Manuel Godoy, had too much influence. Ferdinand VII (1808-1833) was no idiot but he was a poor king.

There was a stream of intelligent and systematic examination of the system in the 18th century. This was the influence of the Enlightenment, the growth of belief in rationalism as the means of solving problems. There were two periods of reform: (1700-59) and Charles III. The first two monarchs had hard time getting people to think about

problems. Thus, the first two kings were preparatory. Most of the drastic reforms came quite late, which is one of the reasons why they did not get much done. Toward the end of the period, impulse from "Age of Revolution." Both had some influence on liberal intellectuals in America but frightened moderate reformers in Spain. The international wars were a hindrance to reform. They cost money and drove the Spanish government into and near bankruptcy many times. The war costs forced Spain to do things that she did not want to do, such as openly allowing foreign trade with America.

The reforms may also help cause the independence movement movements of the 19th century. Historical causation is very hard to determine with accuracy.

Administrative

Spain introduced ministerial responsibility as against the councillor form of government. Spain used a Minister of Indies instead of the Council of Indies. This was a French idea and a partial change.

Most the administrative changes came in reign of Charles II. Centralization, simplification and effort at efficiency were the hallmarks of the new regime. They were the result of (1) discussions of intellectuals in Spain (2) inspections sent for that purpose. Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, *A Voyage to South America* (1749), noted creole dissatisfaction with Spanish government. Bernardo de Gálvez, a visitador, noted problems

The Council of the Indies, in 1715, was changed to the Minister of Indies but it was not until Charles III that there was an independent, strong ministry. It was stripped of almost all functions except judicial.

The Casa de Contratación was moved to Cadiz from Sevilla. Cadiz had been in fact a partner in the system. Its functions were reduced. Some transferred to the Ministry of the Indies. Crown interested in centralization.

The intendancy system was adopted. It took a long time to extend it to America. Took place of administrative subdivisions of the audiencia. Given most of the functions of the oficiales reales. The aims were to improve (1) defense (2) revenue, including economic production. Intendant echelons consisted of the intendant, partidos (subdelegados), and superintendent in big places such as Lima and Mexico City. Intendants were rivals to the viceroys. Made standard for America. The Crown never solved the problem of conflict of authority.

After the British captured Havana in 1762 during the Seven Years War, the Crown installed an intendant there in 1764 as a defensive measure. It tried them in various places in the America, placing them all over. In Peru in 1784, there were eight intendancies and about fifty-two partidos. The Ordenances de Intendantes are sources of information on conditions and the thinking of the Crown. The intendant reduced the powers of the cabildo. We do not know the effects of this move. We do know that the system did not work a great revolution in America. Some criollos felt threatened by intendant system.

Military districts or comandancias generales (general commands) were created. An example was along the northern borders of New Spain where the Crown created the provincias internas. In 1751, in Panama, the Crown abolished the audiencia and the created a comandancia general of the mainland (Tierra Firme). Panama was critically important from the military viewpoint. This event was

prompted, in part, by Admiral Vernon's attack on Cartagena in 1740. Comandancia generales were military governments.

There were the additions of new districts because of growing population, shifting population, and new problems. New viceroyalties were created in 1717 in New Granada (northern South America) and 1776 in La Plata (present-day Uruguay, Argentina, Paraguay, and Bolivia). The move helped. In the mid-18th century, the La Plata region was growing rapidly and faced threats from Portuguese America. New captaincies-general were created in Venezuela (1761), Cuba (1777), and Chile.

Trading System

There was a thorough discussion of the contraband problem. The system was porous as a sponge. The Bourbons gave up the flota system and increased the number of individual ships allowed to sail. They used monopoly companies but they did not work very well. The single most important change was comercio libre (free trade). It has a long history. Comercio libre was instituted in a series of steps. It began under Charles III in 1765. It allowed the major Spanish ports to trade with the majority of Antillean ports with minimum regulations and formalities. Gradually, it was extended until existed within the Empire. In 1789, this policy was extended to New Spain. It took the Crown so long to make up its mind!

Comercio libre was the clearest success of all the reforms. An increase of trade within the Empire occurred at the same time as the institution of comercio libre. Was there a causal relationship? What about smuggling? We only know that there was an increase in trade.

The Bourbons made taxation changes. We do not know the effect on economic activity.

Other administrative changes included the abolition of the Casa de Contratación in 1790 and an increased number of consulados in the late 18th century.

Defense Changes

The militia system was created under Charles III. When it was first organized, anybody could be in the ranks but officers were criollos. The criollos liked it. It gave them some prestige. Criollos being privileged officers played an undoubted role in stimulating a sense of Americanism. The Spanish never liked doing anything which would stimulate Americanism. The militias were, at first, very ineffective.

Expulsion of the Jesuits

The Jesuits were expelled for political reasons. They were seen as a threat to the state. Rationalists did not like the Jesuits, accusing them of obscurantism, but this was not the reason they were expelled. The government thought they blocked what Crown wanted to do. It was a startling administrative change.

Charles III: Expulsion of the Jesuits (1767)

HAVING accepted the opinion of the members of my Royal Council in Extraordinary, which met on the 29th of last January for consultation concerning

past occurrences and concerning matters which persons of the highest character have reported to me; moved by very grave causes relative to the obligation under which I find myself placed of maintaining my people in subordination, tranquility, and justice, and other urgent, just, and necessary reasons, which I reserve in my royal mind; making use of the supreme economical authority, which the Almighty has placed in my hands for the protection of my vassals, and the respect of my crown; I have ordered that the Jesuits be expelled from all my dominions of Spain, the Indies, and Philippine Islands, and other adjacent regions, priests as well as coadjutors or lay-brothers, who may have made the first profession, and the novices, who may wish to follow them; and that all the properties of the Society in my dominions be taken; and for the uniform execution of this decree throughout these dominions I give you full and exclusive authority; and that you may form the necessary instructions and orders, according to your best judgment, and what you may think the most effective, expeditious, and peaceful method for carrying out these instructions and orders. And I wish that not only the magistrates and superior tribunals of these kingdoms may execute your mandates punctually, but that the same understanding may be entertained concerning those which you may direct to the viceroys, presidents, audiencias, governors,

corregidores, alcaldes mayores, and any other magistrates of those kingdoms and provinces; and that in response to their respective requests, all troops, militia or civilian, shall render the necessary assistance, without any delay or evasion, under pain of the delinquent's falling under my royal indignation; and I charge the provincials, presidents, rectors, and other superiors of the Society of Jesus to accept these provisions punctually, and in carrying them out the Jesuits shall be treated with the greatest regard, attention, honesty, and assistance, so that in every respect the action taken may be in conformity with my sovereign intentions. You will keep this in mind for its exact fulfillment, as I very confidently expect from your zeal, activity, and love of my royal service; and to this end you will give the necessary orders and instructions, accompanying them with copies of my royal decree, which being signed by you shall be given the same faith and credit as the original.

Translation by Bernard Moses, from Bernard Moses, *Spain's Declining Power in South America, 1730-1806* (Berkeley, Calif., 1919), pp. 104-106.

There are two general views on character and effect of those changes: (1) they were real reforms, innovative, and given decent opportunity, they might have worked in that they would have helped to

continue empire longer. (2) They were nothing more than tinkering. This is the prevalent view of scholars for the past 100 years.

Economic change in the late colonial period

There was not much technological innovation in production. This was a small source of criollo dissatisfaction. Trade in 1768 was 4 million pesos per annum. By 1800, it was 6-8 million so it had grown only 3% or less per year.

The population was increasing because, to a large degree, of economic improvement. Wartime activity seemed to help Spanish America. Sugar in Cuba and cattle in Argentina were late developments with important political implications.

Intellectual changes

The Enlightenment involved the belief that reason could be used to achieve progress. The influence of Benjamin Franklin was great. Jerónimo Feijóo did a lot of his work in the first half of the 18th. He climatized some of the Enlightenment ideas to the Spanish environment to make them acceptable to Spain. People such as Feijóo hid the foreign origins of the ideas, couching them in Spanish terms. He was a vehicle of the Enlightenment into Spain and Spanish America.

José María Campomanes and Gaspar de Jovellanos were examples of Enlightenment men in office. José Celestino Mutis was a Spanish botanist who worked in New Granada, leading the Royal Botanical Expedition to America. He taught a group of Colombians to observe the natural environment closely.

The Spanish Crown was interested in the scientific and technological work of the Enlightenment and thought it could keep out

new political and social ideas. The French Revolution the turning point; it so scared the Crown that the acquisition of new ideas was discouraged as being un-Spanish.

Some sixty *Sociedades Económicas del Amigos del País* were formed in Spain between 1775 and independence and fourteen in Spanish America in 1783-1819. They were apolitical but their focus on local conditions and how to improve the economy inevitably led to some dissatisfaction with the status quo. In America, the work of the Societies encouraged Americanism as their studies made criollos realize that they did not need Spain.

The Inquisition after 1789 especially became more and more political. There were anachronistic institutions which were recognized as such.

Spain was more dubious about the Societies in America than Spain. John Tate Lanning, in writing about the introduction of new ideas, said that these ideas were taken in under all sorts of disguises. They did not state the sources—that they were from Voltaire, Franklin, and Rousseau, and so forth. By the end of the colonial period, the ideas were transferred immediately. However, there were still barriers. The Crown was displeased with the Societies' examination of local problems, especially since they did it without supervision. The very fact that the Societies examined local problems and made recommendations made them a subversive force.

Newspapers

Colonial newspapers contributed to a sense of Americanism. They were a focus for a discussion of the problems of isolation. They did not have people comparable to Campomanes and Jovellanos They did not

have printed materials dealing with America. A few little ephemeral news sheets were printed in the early 18th century such as the *Gaceta de Guatemala*. But in late 1780s, in the 1790s and in the first two decades of the 19th century, there were more. They were creole and Enlightenment oriented and printed for a considerable period of time. Some became controversial. One example was the *Mercurio Peruano* which was published for four years in the 1790. It was a creole publication sponsored by the local Society members and Enlightenment members. A friar, just arrived from the Philippines, criticized Peru and criollos. The *Mercurio Peruano* replied and engaged in debate with the pro-Spanish paper.

During the French Revolution, the Crown suspended publication because of a "paper shortage." The printer replied that it was another attempt to shut up consideration of new ideas. The majority of the literate population was indifferent or opposed to new ideas. It is possible, however, that a lot just said nothing. The Crown did not like the aggregation of power in private groups, especially if they engaged in criticism.

The *Gaceta de Guatemala* held an essay contest on the question of whether Indians should wear Spanish clothing. Articles were written by Sociedad members. They were concerned that encouraging the Indians to dress like Spaniards might encourage integration, which "white" society opposed.

In the latter part of the 18th century, colonials got pretty excited about the argument that men could not live in the tropics, that the American climate and diet caused America to be a cultural desert. This was not an uncommon attitude among metropolitan countries towards their colonies; after all, what self-respecting person would want to leave the mother country and all its refinements to live in a "primitive" colony.

This is pure egotism. Criollos resented that assertion, rightfully, since it is scientifically wrong. This became an issue in Peru.

Political Events

Tumults

Lots of work has been done on this subject and there are plenty of records. It is difficult hard to find records that show why or how people thought. How many tumults? A lot. What does it mean? Focusing on tumults creates a biased understanding of life. People tend to report excitement or upheavals not things that are calm. The control of the upper class was very firm. Do not get attempted revolutions, for the tumults were riots. There was no pattern but in late colonial period one does begin to see something more closely approaching a pattern. There were more, bigger, and with a high frequency. Why? Precursors acted on the basis of these.

Some of these late colonial tumults were:

- \$ Yucatán Indians created a kingship as a result of complaints, trying to get away from the tribute system, the system of justice, and the Christian church.

- \$ In Paraguay there was the revolt of the comuneros, townsmen revolting against the centralization of authority.

- \$ In the Colombian province of Socorro in 1781, there was a protest against new taxes and the collection practices of the *visitador*. The criollo leaders, aided by mestizos, threw out the Spanish officials and elected a junta. They then marched to Bogotá to oust the governor but they dispersed after the archbishop persuaded them that reforms would be made. Then the Crown jailed some of the leaders and sought out other radicals.

- \$ Tupac Amará II, born José Gabriel Condorcanqui, was an educated Indian and direct descendant of the Inca. He opposed the suppression of the Indians. When new taxes were imposed, he seized a *corregidor* and executed him. He adopted the name Tupac Amará and called upon Indians, mestizos, zambos, criollos, and slaves to join him in driving the Spanish out. The rebellion lasted from 1780 to 1783. The upper class (Spanish and Indian) closed ranks as well as most mestizos. The Spaniards feared a race war. He was caught, mutilated, and executed in 1781; his body parts were displayed in various towns to discourage possible rebellion. His Indian followers continued the bloody rebellion until finally defeated.

Societies like these must breed extreme cruelty among ruling class. They ordered the destruction of the Indian past. They discouraged the wearing of Indian dress, for example. They tried to destroy a sense of Indian consciousness. Indians tended to associate the

suppression of their revolts with the peninsulares, not the criollos, and thus tended to support the criollos during the wars of independence.

Precursors

There is lots written, especially in Spanish, on the subject. They helped to bring about independence but they did not play much of a role themselves. Antonio Nariño in Bogotá, Colombia, influenced by the Enlightenment, printed a copy of *The Rights of Man* in Spanish in 1794. He started giving them away, and was caught. He was convicted. He escaped and distributed them again. He was caught and escaped again. His work is known in many places.

Francisco Javier Eugenio de Santa Cruz y Espejo deserves to be better known. He was a casta from a poor family but he managed to go to a university in Quito. In the late colonial period, he wrote things about his objections to the way things were done. He laughed at the clergy and civil authority. He got mixed up with the local Economic Society and published a periodical. It was the springtime of Quito. He was arrested and imprisoned for his actions.

Francisco de Miranda, a Venezuelan born of a Spanish father, went to Spain at the age of 21 and became an army officer. He soon was reading the works of the philosophes of the Enlightenment and became a radical. He went to the West Indies in 1780. Perhaps the fact that he was falsely accused of smuggling and treasonable behavior, he fled to the United States in 1783. Although subsequently exonerated by the Consejo de los Indias, he sought the political independence of

Spanish America. He consulted with Americans, British, Frenchmen, exiles, in fact anyone who would listen and might be interested in helping. Leaving Europe in 1805 after more than twenty years in exile, he went back to the United States. In February 1806, he sailed on the *Leander*, picking up two more ships in Santo Domingo, and arrived in Venezuela where his small fleet was met by the Spanish, who captured two of his ships. He escaped to Barbados and got the help of Lord Cochrane (who became deeply involved in various New World independence movements. He went back to Venezuela, captured a fort and town, and found the population indifferent. He went to Trinidad and then England late in 1807. There he conferred with Simón Bolívar, a fellow Venezuelan who would go on to liberate northern South America. The two traveled home late in 1810 and, once there, pushed for independence. The congress that they had called declared independence and wrote a constitution. The Spanish fought back, however. After the loss of Battle of Puerto Bello, Miranda signed a capitulation. Bolívar, believing he had betrayed the movement, caught him and turned him over to the Spanish. He died in a Spanish prison.

Independence would come with the Napoleonic Wars and the Spanish constitutional crisis of 1808. It would be led by criollos, many of whom had been militia officers, supported by mestizos, blacks, and Indians. Probably more people wanted to keep the Spanish Crown than wanted to run it out of the New World. The independence movements were minority affairs. Most people knew nothing about the causes or the rationale or the actions of the precursors. The key to Spain keeping its vast empire for 300 years, longer than any other modern empire, was the loyalty of its upper class.

Period of the Imperial Crisis

The affairs of the Spanish Empire were tremendously complicated by international wars and revolutions. The French Revolutionary-Napoleonic wars lasted from 1792 until 1815, an extremely long time. Spain foolishly joined these wars on different sides at different times but primarily as an ally of the French. The wars were costly and destroyed communications. Spain had a difficult time paying for them and lost territory because of its participation. The French Revolution and its wars turned things topsy turvy. One consequence was the Haitian revolt, which scared the hell out of other slave owners. During the Napoleonic phase of these wars, Spain suffered badly.

Even before the Imperial Crisis, Spain was in trouble in the colonies. The British conquered South Africa. Admiral Homes Popham and Colonel William Carr Beresford sailed from South Africa and attacked the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata (Montevideo and Buenos Aires) in 1806. After initial victories in Buenos Aires, they were driven out by porteños, as the inhabitants of the city were called. The next year Lieutenant-General John Whitelocke invaded but withdrew after fierce resistance by the porteños. That the viceregal government did little to defend the city of Buenos Aires created dissension among the porteños, for they, not the Spanish, had protected the city from the British. Effectively, Buenos Aires was independent from this time onwards. In fact, the cabildo deposed Viceroy Sobremonte and chose Santiago Liniers, a Frenchman, to take his place. It was Liniers who persuaded Whitelocke to surrender before his troops were slaughtered.

In spite of these difficulties, the colonies were still loyal to the Spanish Crown. That was soon to change.

Imperial Crisis, 1808-1814

Napoleonic troops passed through Spain in 1807 during their invasion of Portugal, Britain's ally, and narrowly missed capturing the Portuguese royal family. It and its retainers had escaped on British ships to Brazil. Charles IV and Godoy considered fleeing but did not.

By a secret convention reached at Fontainebleau in October 1807, Spain agreed to support France against Portugal. A palace revolution on March 19th deposed King Charles IV and his favorite, Godoy, and placed his son, Ferdinand VII, the instigator, on the throne. Taking advantage of the ensuing machinations and bitterness between the two factions, Napoleon got the two kings to come to Bayonne, France, and had them agree that Joseph Bonaparte, his brother, would be king. This produced a constitutional crisis. Who should the Spanish obey? Meanwhile, the Spanish common people refused to accept Napoleon's puppet and fought guerrillas (little wars) to drive the French imperial army out of Spain. These guerrilleros tied down hundreds of thousands of French troops and were soon supported by British troops.

The constitutional crisis interrupted communications and connections between Spain and America. Some colonials began using the independent realms argument, that they had a common king with Spain but were not colonies, per se. They said they were reynos, kingdoms, just as Castile and Aragón were. For example, in 1810, the Buenos Aires junta voted that the Rio de la Plata "kingdom" was equal to the other kingdoms. A few accepted Joseph Bonaparte but there was not much sympathy for the French and their advanced ways in Spanish territories. Most argued that the government had to be preserved for the legitimate king, Ferdinand but some of those really wanted more autonomy and, even, independence.

In Spain, 1808-10 were the most important years. The constitutional connection was interrupted and the Americans had not yet begun to act on independence. The period of crisis was over at different times in different places. We do not know what would have happened if the Spanish Crown had been more liberal. Charles IV was stupid and stolid; Ferdinand VII was stupid and active. Manuel de Godoy, Charles IV's chief minister, ran the government under Charles. Godoy was the lover of the queen. His running of the government caused some dissatisfaction in both Spain and Spanish America. It created some contempt for the government and was one of the reasons Ferdinand garnered support for the overthrow of his father.

Napoleon created the Statute of Bayonne on 8 July 1808. It equalized taxation, abolished torture, reduced church and feudal rights; and instituted other liberal measures. It gave representation to America and the Philippines. Napoleon was a great believer in constitutions. The Bonaparte constitution had over one hundred Spanish collaborators but essentially was the work of Napoleon. It contained moderate liberal ideas of law and equality of taxation. The privileged did not like it, of course. The people of Spain were uninterested in the Bayonne document, for it was an imposed French document.

In Spain, juntas were formed, the most important of which was the Junta Suprema Centraliva Gubernativa de España e Indias (Central and Governing Junta of Spain and the Indies) in Sevilla. An 1809 decree granted 9 members of the Ultramarine (the colonials) the right to be members of the Central Junta. Spain had 39. This created some dissatisfaction on the part of the colonials because, in an earlier decree, the Americans had equal representation with Spain. Its consistency was questioned. Other juntas were created around the monarchy.

The Spanish juntas asked the colonies to join them but the New World colonies argued for criollo equality. The Spanish did not mean that! The colonies created their own juntas which then assumed governing authority in the name of Ferdinand VII. When the Junta Central tried to assert authority over the colonials, the latter refused. In 1810, the central junta was replaced by the Cortés, the Spanish parliament, which it had called. The Cortés began meeting in September in Cádiz. The Cortés, unrepresentative of all political opinions in Spain, was radical and called for equal treatment for the Americans, the end of Indian tribute, a free press, and such. The central Junta was pushed by the French to Cádiz on the coast. It created the Council of Regency and dissolved itself. The Council was conservative.

Elite Spaniards disagreed as to what the government should do and who could participate. The Junta, Cortés, and the Council of Regency all three had American representatives. Who they should be and how much power they should have was never solved to satisfaction of the Americans, for the Spanish always wanted control. Floridablanca, a man of Enlightenment as far as economics, was scared silly of the French Revolution and led the conservatives in the Central Junta. The liberals were led by Jovellanos, who was an upper class partisan of monarchic government. The liberal faction was a small minority but became more influential as time went on. Got more and more radical and, therefore, out of touch with Spanish reality. There was real fear of undercutting the monarchy. They permitted the Jesuits to return, stopped the change in church land ownership, and restricted the press. The Central Junta was more conservative than the Regency.

Cortés and Constitution

A number of places in America drew up instructions for their delegates. Socorro, Colombia issued decrees to emancipate slaves and to allow unrestricted commerce (indicative). One of the clear results of independence was the liberation of slaves. This indicates that somebody had been reading the writings of the Enlightenment. They advocated the extension of education (conservatives opposed this). They spoke of the "ideas of humanity." Some colonies sent no representatives. The big problem was that America only had 9 representatives. The Central Junta was the most recognized in America, then the Council of Regency, and then the Cortés.

The Council of Regency had only five American members. It freed labor more than the other institutions but it sent out warnings against Frenchmen. Historically, the Spanish upper class and many other Spaniards were xenophobic.

Cortés (1810-1814)

In May, 1809, the Junta Central approved the meeting of the Cortés but the Council of Regency delayed calling it. There was lots of discussions within the Council. What was the legality of calling one and its possible powers were important topics. It called by estates (roughly, social classes) which were going to meet separately (the clergy and the nobility saw themselves as superior to everyone else), but, after an argument, the upper classes decided to meet with the others. The meeting of the Cortés stirred up beliefs that created a lot of debate and the passage of many laws. There was an election by each town council of partidos. The American delegates were selected from residents in Spain. Americans wanted equal representation with Spain. Three hundred deputies in all. It began meeting in September, 1810. Eleven

propositions were made. End of restrictions; equality of the colonials, abolition of the Inquisition were among those passed. This was radical legislation for Spain.

Constitution of 1812

The Constitutional Committee met in December, 1810. It consisted of 6 liberals, 1 independent, and 7 absolutists. In August, 1811 made its first proposal. Constitution was published in March, 1812. It was signed by 134 peninsular members and 51 Americans and Filipinos. It created a unicameral legislative (Cortés) body which would meet annually. Indirect elections were held to become a member. It had broad powers. It gave the king a suspensive veto instead of an absolute veto. The King's orders had to be counter-signed by a Spanish minister. It declared that sovereignty essentially resided in the nation. The Constitution was abortive, however.

Napoleon lost and Ferdinand VII came back to rule. Although he promised to be bound by it, he soon repudiated the Constitution of 1812. He began to backtrack in an effort to restore the absolute monarchy. Repudiation came with a dull thud in America.

Because of the 1820 revolt in Spain, Ferdinand agreed to restore the Constitution but sought French help to quash the rebellion. The conservative Concert of Europe agreed to French military intervention to restore Ferdinand's full powers. Restored, Ferdinand adopted absolutism again. He made a concerted effort to regain the American colonies but it was too late. Too many were too accustomed to running their own affairs by 1823. Even Mexico, a conservative nation, had successfully revolted in 1821 rather than be part of a liberal Spain. Had they waited, Spain would have been conservative again in a few years

but that was not the point. Neither conservatives nor liberals wanted to take orders from Spain. Moreover, Spain could not have done much. The British used their control of the high seas to prevent other European nations from interfering.

8.

Independence

For the sake of convenience, independence will be treated in four parts. The military part will be treated first because it is applicable too all of Latin America. Then this chapter will examine South American independence, followed my Mexican independence. Because New Spain was the most important of Spain's colonies and because the early problems of the Mexican nation are illustrative of many of the problems of these newly-emerging nations, special attention is given to Mexico.

Military Aspects of Latin American Independence

There is a lot we do not know about the military aspects. One has to understand the military aspects to understand the independence movements as well as the early national histories of the Spanish American republics. The wars on the whole and in comparison to the United States independence movement (1) lasted longer and (2) were more brutal. The military side affected social conditions more than in the United States.

The fighting fell into two periods: (1) 1810-1816. In some places it appeared that the Spanish were winning at the end, and (2) 1817-1824 when the Americans were winning.

General Pablo Morillo headed the Spanish army sent to New Granada (Venezuela-Colombia-Panama-Ecuador). He defeated patriot armies in the first period.

The military struggle to become independent of Spain was not important in Río de la Plata, Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean islands. There was not prolonged fighting against royal forces. There were fights among the criollos in these non-military areas, Patriots versus Royalists.

Northern South America was Bolívar's area of operations. Southern South America was San Martín's area of operations. The outcome of these struggles important to other areas. José de San Martín was aware that the fighting outside the La Plata region would save the La Plata from fighting. This was true elsewhere.

Bolívar Area

Bolívar fought in more areas than San Martín. He also had a political career, which San Martín did not. He is the most revered of all Latin American independence leaders.

The situation in north South America begins in 1810 with the ousting of the Captain General and the organization of a junta in Caracas. The junta made a declaration of loyalty to Ferdinand VII. This was a creole action. They centralized power in the capital. Political affairs moved to the left as time passed. They issued a Declaration of Independence in 1811. In 1810, Bolívar went to England; met

Francisco de Miranda in the United Kingdom. Bolívar and Miranda returned to Venezuela together. Bolívar was commander in chief.

The influence of the March, 1812 Caracas earthquake, which the royalists declared was the wrath of God because of the rebellion, was important. Venezuela was one of the places where the common man could be persuaded to fight on either side.

Miranda capitulated, causing a dispute within patriot forces. Bolívar handed over Miranda as one of the conditions of his escape.

Bolívar was an upper-class criollo (creole). He became interested in the ideas of the Enlightenment. The Imperial Crisis in Spain was seen as an opportunity for these young men. They desired to run their own affairs. They recognized the difficulties involved in military career.

Bolívar was in and out of Curaçao and New Granada a number of times. He found Antonio Nariño in Colombia. In 1813, his army invaded Venezuela. The fighting got worse and worse and became a war to the death. Bolívar finally decided to proclaim the "Guerra al muerte" to get people off the fence. There were atrocities on both sides in the wars. The social developments from the military sides of the Wars of Independence more revolutionary in the American Revolution. He had to escape to the Caribbean. Bolívar had a tendency towards dictatorship. The *Prophetic Letter* contains a lot of his political ideas; written in Jamaica when he was in exile.

The Haitian president supplied him with money and supplies. He returned to Venezuela and declared the slaves free. This did not rally anyone, so he left. In 1817, he returned and went into the interior to Angostura. He joined forces with the llanero, José Antonio Páez. Bolívar's forces and this cowboy's forces hit from the rear. They spent

time in the organization of their forces and planning. It took at least two years to plan and organize.

In 1819, they scaled the Colombian Andes in a surprise move and beat a Spanish army at Boyacá. In 1820, the Spanish revolt at Cádiz caused a division within the royal forces. The liberal government in Spain ordered an armistice. In 1821, Bolívar broke the armistice and beat the Spanish army at Carabobo.

Bolívar now switched his attention westward. He stopped when he had to. He sent an army under Antonio José de Sucre by sea from the west coast of New Granada to Guayaquil [Ecuador]. In the meantime, Bolívar marched south by land. It took a long time. Sucre took care of the problem of Cuzco. Sucre and Bolívar won the Battle of Pichinchi (May 1822), thus securing Ecuador. In 1822, Bolívar and San Martín (who was proceeding from the south) met in Guayaquil. No one knows what transpired during this interview for they were alone and kept no notes. [There have been a lot of forged documents of this meeting.] San Martín withdrew his forces and eventually went to Europe. Peru went to Bolívar but he had to persuade the Bogotá government to allow him to take the army to Peru. He was convinced that he was needed there. At the battle of Ayacucho, December 1824, he defeated a royalist army, thus breaking the power of the royalists in the highlands.

San Martín

The first military action of the porteños (people who lived in the city of Buenos Aires) was driving British armies out of the city in 1806 and 1807. By May, 1810, they were actually independent. The porteños then tried to incorporate Paraguay into their orbit but the

Paraguayans successfully resisted. Belgrano's army, sent by Buenos Aires, was defeated in 1810 by Paraguayan and peninsular forces. Under the leadership of Dr. Gaspar Rodríguez Francia, the criollos of Paraguay beat Spanish armies, Portuguese-Brazilian armies, and Buenos Aires armies. The Paraguayans were fiercely independent and would remain so. For decades, Francia would govern the new nation.

The criollos of the Banda Oriental (Uruguay) wanted to run their own affairs. The independence movement was led by José Artigas. They managed to stay out of both Brazil and the newly emerging Argentine nation. However, it took the British intervention years later in 1828 before it was truly independent.

José de San Martín, born in 1778 in Argentina, spent time in Spain where he served in the Spanish army from 1791 until 1811. He returned to Buenos Aires in 1812 and joined the independence movement. He defeated the Spaniards in 1813, and then succeeded Belgrano as commander in chief the next year. He moved to Cuyo province to organize an army to invade Chile and defeat the Spanish. San Martín believed that Spanish armies had to be driven off the continent if the former colonies were to remain independent. He did not get much help from Buenos Aires, however; The porteños underestimated the threat from Spain. Chilean exiles joined his army.

In 1817, San Martín led his army across the Andes, scaling the incredible heights, and defeated the Spanish at Chacabuco and captured Santiago. He defeated another Spanish army at Maipú in 1818, thus guaranteeing Chilean independence.

Spanish armies were still in Peru, so he took the fight there. He hired the British ex-naval commander Lord Thomas Cochrane to fight the Spanish off the Chilean and Peruvian coast in 1819. Then, in 1820,

Cochrane ferried San Martín's army to Peru. By 1821, he was able to declare Peru independent of Spain. He declared himself "Protector of Peru," a dictator, but he resigned in 1822 to give control to Bolívar. He went back to Buenos Aires, then sailed for Europe in 1824. When he returned in 1829, he met such a cold reception that he went back to Europe, having never left the ship. He died in France in 1850. It was only after Bartolomé Mitre did his biography that his contributions were recognized.

Very little work has been done on the fighting in general. There is a tremendous amount of individual work on individual battles. Things that need to be known include: casualties, financing, strength and distribution of forces, personnel and recruitment system, organization and administration of commands, training, strategy, tactics, fortifications, intelligence, procurement of materials, uniforms, the logistical systems such as mail, the control of thievery and the effect of thievery on operations, pillaging, rape, communications, and the caring for the sick and wounded. In short, a lot of good military histories are needed.

Generalizations

Latin America did not get as much help as United States forebears did. Many European nations had supported the American revolt against Great Britain because they wanted to reduce British power. This was very true of the French. The Latin American independence movements began during the Napoleonic Wars, which preoccupied Europe, and ended at a time when European nations were exhausted from those wars and not so inclined to get involved. Besides Britain, which controlled the seas, would not allow another European nation intervene in the America.

The wars of independence were more of a civil war than the American Revolution was. Although conservatives (Tories) fought for the Crown during the American war, there were not as many, proportionately, as there were royalists fighting for the Spanish Crown.

The Spanish had an impossible problem. The sheer size of the territories they were trying to hold was against them, for they had to face rebellion on two continents. The Spanish American patriots were favored by the technology of the times. Even a very modern, highly technological army like that of the United States could not win in Vietnam, a small place, against determined local resistance. The Spanish simply could not put enough troops on the ground or use enough firepower to overcome their foes.

The casualties were higher than in the American Revolution. At the Battle of Maipú, Chile, there were 5,000 on each side with about 2,500 killed. Royalists were drastically defeated and pursued. At the Battle of Carabobo about 6,000 patriots and 5,000 royalists fought; two hundred patriots killed. Among the royalists, 40% were killed, wounded or captured. Casualty rates of 20% were common but often were higher.

Financing was a problem. Bolívar's problems were greater than George Washington's. Bolívar had to chase money and resort to expropriation. Bolívar corresponded a lot about the desperate money situation. Although Washington had money problems, the Continental Congress represented all the colonies in revolt and could supply him with funds.

Military command

They had to learn from experience. Only some officers had militia experience but that experience did not include much fighting and, when it did, not against a European army. Some of the most effective officers rose from the lower ranks of society. They knew how to kill and get others to do it as well, not skills inherited from one's parents

The rebel effort lacked staff officers. Good staff officers anticipate the needs of the leader and the unit.

Jealousy among top officers were serious. Some were personal jealousies. Others were regional jealousies. These were complicated by the presence of foreign officers. The class structure problem was not great because there were not many lower-class officers.

Pay and Recruitment

José Antonio Páez, leader of llaneros, had a bodyguard, El Negro Primo, who had fought with the royalists first, was asked why; he answered "greed." He had nothing when he joined the first army he saw. Most soldiers never got paid in money. Páez and many other commanders let them loot. There were a fair number of blacks serving in the armed forces as well as mestizos and Indians. There were probably 5,000 foreign soldiers altogether but never more than 1,200 at any one time. Foreign troops were better disciplined than militia.

Tactics

In connection with brutality, it was settled policy a good part of time to slaughter the defeated and even non-combatants at times. In

regards intelligence, it was amazing the effect of not knowing what was going on. It made the execution of tactics more difficult.

Is the present military role a product of the independence period? No. Latin America would have had military interference in politics today without the wars of independence because of the nature of Spanish society. The Spanish American colonies inherited from the colonial period the sort of society in which force was used or threatened and accepted by all parts of the population. The temptation to use force was irresistible because it was so obvious that it might (or probably would) succeed. All of this was exaggerated by what happened during the wars of independence.

The wars did give some opportunities to lower-class people who had the right glandular balance or drive and ambition. The upper class leaders had to make promises to get support from the lower classes for the war effort. They had to recruit them to the cause. Some of those recruited were able to rise in status because of their role in the wars. They were given or took command positions. Once they rose to positions of power, they forgot their humble origins and adopted upper class views. That, of course, is a main reason for their behavior in the first place.

Effect of experience on ideas:

Many military men came to despise civilians. They were fed up with fence-sitting, fickleness, and few amounts of money for the cause. Civilians wanted to debate; military men wanted to act.

Some people became excited about running things through a military command system or the desire to organize society on military

lines. Bolívar was not the only soldier who decided that dictatorship was the only solution to what he considered anarchy..

Plunder, power, respect, and excitement were desires or tastes developed among the military. Soldiers seemed to be favored by women more so than civilians.

The brutality of the wars caused the brutality of the period afterwards. Too many people developed a taste for brutality or, because the fighting lasted so long in some places, became accustomed to it.

Haiti

The revolt in Haiti was different in some respects from those in Spanish America. It was a very rich French colony. Its wealth based on sugar and slavery. In 1789, it had 41,000 whites, mostly Frenchmen, 26,000 free blacks and mulattos, and 440,000 black slaves. In March, 1790, the French National Convention declared Haiti an integral part of the French empire and authorized it to create a provincial assembly. In 1790, people of color (gens de couleur) provoked a slave rebellion. Many whites were killed. In 1793, the French revolutionary government abolished the slave trade, followed by the 1794 abolition of slavery. Whites in the southern part of the country got the British and Spanish to invade. They fought from 1793 to 1796. Nearly all the whites died. Also, the blacks and mulattos began disagreeing. Toussaint L'Ouverture, a rich, propertied, and educated ex-slave and Jean Jacques Dessalines, an ex-slave from Africa, fought the mulattos and won.

In 1801, they adopted a constitution adopted and independence was declared. Toussaint L'Ouverture declared himself

president for life. Napoleon sent his brother-in-law, LeClerc, with an army to put down the revolt. LeClerc tricked Toussaint and shipped him to France. Dessalines, who ran the northern part of the independence movement, continued the battle against the French. Dessalines, a black, was monarchical. He made people work. The southern part was mulatto and controlled by André Rigaud. It was freer. He permitted the division of estates, which resulted in the extreme division into tiny plots. This destroyed the sugar economy there. The peasants wanted their own land. LeClerc was beaten by the Haitians and disease. In November, 1803 he surrendered. The next year, Dessalines declared independence, now confined to the western part of the island because the French (and later, the Spanish) controlled the rest. Dessalines proclaimed himself emperor for life in 1806 but was soon killed trying to put down a rebellion. Henri Christophe now became the ruler of north Haiti.

South American Independence

Generalizations:

1. There was a contest between monarchialism and republicanism. Most conservatives wanted to stay with what they knew, monarchy, but some wanted a republic just as some liberals desired monarchy. The issue was complicated by the fact that no European royal family wanted to replace the Bourbons.

2. In almost every country but especially the larger ones, there was the issue of whether there should be a strong central government or whether sovereignty should be split among the national government and the various states. Centralism versus federalism was not a simple issue. In Mexico, it was a liberal-conservative split but in Argentina it was a split between the port of Buenos Aires, which was internationally-minded, and the hinterland. In addition, federalists tended to be centralizers when they reached power.
3. There were arguments as to how oligarchical government and society should be. This was true even for the “democratic” forces because they did not believe the majority should rule.
4. Regionalism and nationalism on had a profound effect on politics. The distinction between a region and a nation can be artificial. For example, Gran Colombia was a “nation” but this region became three different nations.

Gran Colombia

What was once New Granada is usually spoken of as Gran Colombia. It consisted of three parts: Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador.

The 1810 *cabildo abierto* in Caracas ousted the captain-general and created a junta to rule for Ferdinand VII. This junta encouraged the formation of other juntas in Venezuela. In March, 1811, a recently-elected congress declared independence. Spain sent troops to put down the rebellion, an effort aided by the March, 1812 Caracas earthquake which the royalists declared was the wrath of God. Bolívar brought an army back into Venezuela in late 1812 and fought to bloody victories. He declared a "war to the death" and ordered his troops to shoot all Spanish prisoners. He moved his battle into neighboring Colombia. By 1814, he was dictator of the second Venezuelan republic. Spanish troops under Pablo Morillo appeared to have broken the back of creole resistance by 1816. Bolívar fled to the Caribbean but returned late that year. The fighting continued. He tried to find a political instrument that would gain support for the independence movement and he modified it through necessity and from experience.

In 1819, from the Angostura Conference came the pronouncement of Bolívar's Gran Colombia system. This system was promoted again at Cúcuta in 1821. The Conference presented a constitution which centralized power in Bogotá. It established a bicameral congress. Bolívar, a Venezuelan, was named president and a Colombian, Francisco Santander was named Vice President in an attempt to reduce or eliminate regional rivalry. There was a contest for several years between Santander and Bolívar. The government was established in Bogotá.

Bolívar went to Ecuador and was also working in Peru and Bolivia. For a while, he tried to unify on Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia but this union covered too much territory and communication was very poor. The élites of the respective countries did not think they had anything in common. Bolívar's absence from Bogotá

a was a problem since he could not head off problems. In 1826, he went back to Bogotá.

There was a tremendous amount of fighting about taxes. Governments were terribly inefficient and corrupt, which made the issue of taxes even more difficult to resolve.

Venezuela began to pull out of this loose federation under Páez. Bolívar tried to stop it but failed. Bolívar set up a dictatorship at Ocaña (1828). There were too many objections to this kind of system, this giant confederation.

Bolívar progressively became more conservative and disillusioned. He commented that he had been trying to "plow the sea." Although he was very pessimistic, he tried to accomplish things that no one could have accomplished. He was a man of tremendous vision.

He came to believe that Spanish America had to be governed on an oligarchic basis because of the nature of society. Bolívar's experience in some way was typical of what happened to young creoles who went into the independence movement idealistic about government and came out disillusioned. Bolívar thought that monarchy would not work given the social and political conditions and ideas of the early 19th century. He believed in natural aristocracy although he would include more people than the aristocracy of the colonial period.

Bolívar wrote the Constitución Vitálícia for Bolivia and became its life president, a dictator. His subordinate, General Antonio Sucre, had named the country for Bolívar after conquering from the Spanish. Bolivians did not like this constitution or Bolívar or Sucre and forced Sucre's resignation.

The position of Church in relation to government was interesting. The clergy lost some of their political power from the independence movements but retained enough for the Church-State

conflicts of the 19th century. Bolívar was a Deist. He thought the Church would lose more power than it did. Anarchy was one of the things that Bolívar came to hate the most.

The United States constitution was Bolívar's greatest political enemy. Before he finished, he disliked federalism. In his 1812 pamphlet "To the Citizens of New Granada from a Citizen of Caracas," he argued that what weakened the Venezuela government the most was federalism. He said it reduced the nation to anarchy.

Río de La Plata

As we have seen, in 1806, a British army from South Africa invaded Buenos Aires. In 1810, the vecinos of Buenos Aires created a junta. They governed their own affairs from that time onwards. This was really the start of independence in the Viceroyalty of La Plata. In 1816, independence was declared.

The first source on controversy was the rivalry between the port of Buenos Aires and the surrounding countryside. There was forty years of rivalry before it was brought under control. At the heart of this rivalry was, first, the normal human interest in desire to run one's own affairs and, second, disagreements about economic policy. The port of Buenos Aires wanted free trade in international commerce whereas the provinces did not. The provinces sold some manufactured goods (such as textiles and wine) Buenos Aires. Free trade would destroy this trade because they could not compete against imported goods from Europe.

The second was between the oligarchy and those who wanted a broader base in government. This caused civil war but a considerable amount of oligarchic opinion tended to predominate. The upper classes

did lose titles of nobility, slavery, and entail but they retained a great deal.

Mariano Moreno, a creole, was an important figure. He argued that sovereignty resides essentially in the people and had returned to the people because of inadequate representation in resistance governments. Moreno gave intellectual justification to the independence movement.

The history of nationalism was important for it tells us about the colonial period. There was nationalism when people began calling themselves Americans. Many would say "Spain is lost; let us save ourselves."

Not many people were involved in the independence movement. In 1810, the whole viceroyalty may have had fewer than a million people. Buenos Aires had about 45,000 people of whom one third were blacks. By the census of 1869, Argentina still only had 1.8 million people. This limited what one could do. For the first forty years, Buenos Aires was the nation.

Creoles had a tremendous amount of information about what was going on in the Western world. There were lots of copies of the United States constitution of 1787 in Buenos Aires in the independence period.

There were a great many different governments between 1810 and the 1820s. None worked very well in the sense that they were able to maintain public order and stimulate the economy. The government of Juan Manuel Rosas (1829-1852) did these things. The differences in opinions and interests and the communication difficulties meant problems could not be solved.

Buenos Aires wanted to include Paraguay but Buenos Aires armies were defeated by royalists and later by Paraguayans. Paraguay

was a backwater and had been throughout the colonial period. It contained between 100,000 and 200,000 people. Only two natives of the area had been educated outside of the province. The intellectual changes of life in the colonial period had not touched Paraguay.

Dr. José Gaspar Rodríguez Francia (El Supremo) ruled the country until 1841; he was followed by Carlos A. López (1841-1862). Francisco Solano López (son of Carlos) ruled from 1862 until 1870. These dictators benefited from Paraguayans preferred isolation, having an intense love of their own area and a distaste for everything outside. Francia, an intelligent, educated, and tough man understood that, to protect Paraguay was to isolate it. If Paraguay dealt with the outside world, it would have to make concessions. Francia had the urge to run things and he was not willing to make any concessions. What kind of control does one need in a place like this? Francia had an army of 6,000 men. He was not using force, primarily, to maintain control.

Banda Oriental

It could not have had much experience in government until 1828 because before that it was an area contested by Argentina, Brazil, foreigners, and dissident Uruguayans. It suffered a tremendous amount of military activity.

Chile

It knew a great deal of internecine warfare. Chileans were the first to clearly come out of the initial period of troubles and to establish a

viable republic. What Chilenos did could have been done elsewhere. Because of achieving political stability early, it managed a great leap forward in economic development and improvements in social conditions.

From 1808 to 1811, there were various juntas. Chilean creoles objected to the American representation in the Cortés. In 1810-1811, a radical faction demanded all kinds of changes such as secular cemeteries, a constitution, and the extension of public education. José Miguel de Carrera called in 1811 for representative government with no class basis. This was radical. Carrera was the dictator between 1811 and 1813. His family were rivals of the Bernardo O'Higgins family for political power. In 1813, radical Chileans offered a new plan for public primary education. Immediately, there were people advocating measures which conservatives considered radical. These way out measures (such a free public education) encouraged factionalism. The radicals were usually the minority. Bernardo O'Higgins, who was the great Chilean leader of independence, was driven out of politics for trying to push radical measures too hard.

A royalist army from Lima defeated the initial government and O'Higgins and Carrera fled to San Martín across the Andes. The combined Chilean-Argentine army came back across the Andes in 1818 and defeated the Spanish at the Battle of Maipú. Chile was free and O'Higgins was a hero.

O'Higgins became the dictatorial president. When he issued decrees attacking the Church and the property, he was thrown out. Chile continued having governmental instability until Diego Portales in 1830-31.

Independence of Brazil

Joaquim José da Silva Xavier (also known as Tiradentes because he was a dentist at times), a military officer, led a revolt (the Inconfidência Mineira) in 1789 which failed. He was representing discontented prominent people in Minas Gerais. They went to jail or left the country but he was executed in 1793. Nevertheless, he was eventually seen as a martyr to Brazilian independence. Insurrections broke out in Rio de Janeiro in 1794, in Bahia in 1798, and in Pernambuco in 1801, but all of these rebellions were repressed before they could seriously threaten the monarchy.

Besides revolts, there were other signs of dissatisfaction. Azeredo Coutinho published *The Economy of Brazil* in 1794; the English edition appeared in 1807. In it he described the colony's resources but expressed discontent with the existing system. He complained about the salt monopolies and about the price structure, which, of course, was related to the productive system. The town council of Bahia heard numerous complaints and believed it necessary to pass them upwards. There was dissatisfaction with economic policy. And, of course, there was tension between Portuguese and Brazilians, especially between Portuguese and Brazilians of Portuguese descent. This ethnic tension would be exacerbated after the influx of Portuguese in 1808. The turning point came when the prince regent and future king João VI and 15,000 Portuguese arrived in Brazil in 1808, fleeing from Napoleon's armies. Their British allies escorted the Braganças, from Portugal to Brazil in November 1807. Now that the seat of the Portuguese government was in Brazil, many of the old restrictions on trade and commerce disappeared. Brazil's ports were opened to British trade and merchants. In 1808, only 90 foreign ships entered Brazilian harbors but 217 did in 1815 and 324 in 1820.

Moreover, manufacturing was encouraged, schools and institutions of higher education were constructed, and a new army was formed. In sum, the Crown created many of the kinds of institutions that existed in Portugal. Inevitably, most of the top posts went to native-born Portuguese.

The British loaned millions to the Crown in 1809. In 1810 Dom João gave the British trade preferences and allowed them privileges of extraterritoriality. He also promised to abolish the slave trade, for the British were now trying to end the trade in Africans. The Braganzas and the Portuguese immigrants obviously liked Brazil and its major city R o de Janeiro, for, when the British liberated Portugal in 1811, they stayed in Brazil. One reason may have been the desire to stay far away from the European conflicts and easy British meddling. Another was that they had been making it their home, building expensive houses, investing money, and enjoying the easy life afforded by the colony. Even before 1815, when regent Jo o raised Brazil to the status of an equal kingdom, it was, in effect, the Kingdom of Portugal and Brazil. Crazy Queen Maria I died in 1816 and her son became Jo o VI. Almost immediately, in 1817, he faced republican challenges, for Pernambuco in the northeast led a revolt which included Cear a, Para ba do Norte, and Rio Grande do Norte. These northeastern territories deeply resented the shift of power from themselves to R o and the favoritism shown to the Portuguese. The Crown crushed the rebellion and brought loyal troops from Portugal as a countermeasure. Jo o VI fought against Jos  Artigas of Uruguay in 1816-20 and incorporated that territory into the empire as the Cisalpine Republic. Jo o VI also faced trouble in Portugal. In 1820, the Portuguese army revolted against the British regent, Marshal William Carr Beresford, demanding a constitutional monarchy.

The Portuguese C ortes was determined to rule the Empire from Lisbon and reduce Brazil to the status of a colony again. In January 1821, Portuguese officers and Brazilian liberals overthrew the governments in Bah a and Bel m followed by the support of R o troops in late February. Jo o was forced to agree that he would accept any constitution the C ortes might write. The C ortes demanded that Jo o return to Portugal, which he did in April, 1821. Jo o and his court left for Lisbon where he would fight liberalism. He left his son Pedro as the prince regent and told him to break with Portugal if necessary to keep Brazil under the family's control.

In 1820-22, there were two camps in Brazil: (1) those who favored Portugal, including those hurt by the effects of the Crown moving to R o and the subsequent changes in the rules of the "game," and (2) those who wanted independence. The latter included those who wanted an absolute monarchy, an independent Braganza prince. These included the Brazilian titled nobility, displaced officeholders, ultraconservatives, some merchants, republicans, and some army officers. The majority of native Brazilians wanted a constitutional monarchy. These factions would fight each other until 1831. Pedro effected independence. Told in January, 1822 to return to Lisbon, he replied "Fico!" (I am staying!). When it was clear that independence was the only alternative if Brazil was to retain its authority, he declared independence with the Grito do Ypiranga in September, 1822. He became, Pedro I, Emperor of Brazil.

A lot of Brazilian stability in the nineteenth century stemmed from having an emperor and its accouterments. Royalty enjoyed a special place in people's thinking, a mystique. The monarchy also had the support of the aristocracy, who tended the run things. There was almost no fighting in the Brazilian independence movement. However,

for twenty-five years afterwards, there was terrible regionalistic fighting, especially in the south.

Mexican Independence

Mexican independence is an interesting history in its own right, but the problems it faced at independence give us insight into the general problems faced by Latin American countries when they became free of Europe. Thus, this chapter ends with an analysis of Mexico at independence.

Mexico: Stages of Independence, 1808-21

New Spain was ruled by the viceroy in Mexico City with the help of audiencias in Mexico City, Guadalajara, and Guatemala. The viceroyalty was vast, stretching from the borders of Panama north to Oregon and including the Floridas, the Philippines and Caribbean territories.

When Napoleon invaded Spain and put his brother Joseph on the throne, this raised the question of who was the legitimate ruler. Who should be obeyed when the divine-right monarch is not sitting in his throne? Who was the rightful leader of the colonies? Should the colonies obey the agents that Joseph Bonaparte sent to them? Should New Spain in 1808 renew its loyalty and submission by an oath of vassalage and obedience to the junta of Seville? The political causes of the Mexican independence depended upon the acceptance or rejection of this question.

The audiencia in Mexico City was the unrelenting watchdog of royal authority and was determined to maintain obedience to the

Regency and the junta of Seville. Viceroy José de Iturrigaray was cautious and careful, practicing watchful waiting. The audiencia became suspicious of him when he accepted suggestions from the Mexico City cabildo and other individuals to call a junta in the viceroyalty. The cabildo was composed of wealthy creole Spaniards who had no love for the dominant peninsular Spaniards. The request of the cabildo to summon a junta was the first step towards independence even though it was too soon.

Great care had to be taken to make sure that the junta's powers were limited. There was a real fear that it might become a congress, which even most creoles feared. Neither junta proponents nor its detractors wanted it to be representative of the population. After all, they believed that only Spaniards should rule.

From the viewpoint of the audiencia and those who supported the Seville junta, the cabildo had overstepped its bounds and endangered authority by going over their heads to seek such a junta. To them, Iturrigaray had clearly violated his trust by authorizing the meeting of the junta.

The cabildo pushed the junta idea, for it was trying to establish itself as equal in importance to the audiencia and as spokesman for New Spain. Veracruz and Guadalajara were not happy at this attempt by Mexico City to dominate the viceroyalty. This regionalism would be a constant problem in Mexican history.

The junta met beginning August 9, 1808 under the presidency of Iturrigaray but it was short-lived. There was considerable opposition to it for it was a radical departure from established procedures. Two commissioners arrived from Spain to observe it. On September 16th, several hundred Spanish conservatives and their men armed themselves to end the junta and take Iturrigaray prisoner. Spanish conservatives

were determined to prevent the creoles from achieving self-government or independence. To do so, they had to lead a revolt against law and order.

The audiencia installed Pedro Garibay as viceroy, a man who was old, senile, and easily manipulated. It seemed that they were in control again. But, on September 16, 1810, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, a priest, led the second independence movement, this time from the provinces.

The independence movement had been kept alive in several ways. Liberals in Spain had invited colonials to a meeting in Cádiz in 1811 and Mexican creoles went, led by Miguel Ramos Arizpe of northern Coahuila. These people tended to be moderates. Radicals discussed ideas about freedom, rights, and independence in literary societies, salons, and other places.

The Literary and Social Club of Querétaro, which included Hidalgo, was more radical than most such groups and it became the spark of the independence movement. It had begun to talk of declaring independence. Its membership included Hidalgo, Ignacio Allende, Juan Aldama, and Miguel Domínguez, all leaders of independence. Within its orbit were other leaders such as José María Morelos, Vicente Guerrero, and Andrés Quintana Ro.

News leaked about the conspiracy and date of the group and Father Hidalgo quickly went to the little town of Dolores, rang the church bells, and called for rebellion with the cry: "Death to the gachupines! Long live Independence! Long live Our Lady of Guadalupe!" With his Indian hoard, he headed north, west, and south, sweeping all before him. By the end of September, he had captured the city of Guanajuato, slaughtering the Spaniards who had taken refuge in

the granary. The rebels got millions in peso plus other loot. More joined the movement. He took Toluca but did not attack Mexico City.

Although Hidalgo got some creole and mestizo support, most creoles sided with the peninsular Spaniards for they feared a race war. Viceregal armies swung into action and began winning. Guadalajara was taken; Guanajuato recaptured, and Hidalgo drive into northern Mexico, where he was captured by the winter of 1810. The Church defrocked him and the civil authorities tried and executed him. He died in Chihuahua in July, 1811.

Morelos took over. He was the independence movement from October, 1810 to October, 1815. He operated primarily in the south. He had a clear political program and more specific objectives than Hidalgo. In October, 1811, he entered into a Supreme Junta which included Vicente Guerrero and Juan Alvarez. The movement, however, only survived in the hills and mountains.

Sectionalism was a factor in how people looked at independence. Those in port cities, like Veracruz, favored it because it would bring more trade. Those concerned with the Mexico City-Veracruz dominance did not favor independence.

By 1812, the possibility of success looked slim. In October, the viceroy swore allegiance to the new and liberal constitution of 1812 in Spain. Constitution promised amnesty to certain political prisoners, allowed Spaniards liberty of opinion, provided political equality between peninsular and creole Spaniards, and made the monarch more representative and limited by sharing theoretical sovereignty with the people. Moderate Mexicans had come back with written achievements.

Ferdinand VII repudiated the constitution in 1814 and the Mexican moderates living in Spain were jailed. he made it clear that the decisions would be made in Spain not the colonies.

Morelos in 1814 was offering something different. His group declared independence in November, 1813. He was offering nationalism.

In 1814, the first Mexican constitutional congress was called at Apatzingán, Morelos. The delegates included Andrés Quintana Roo and Carlos Bustamante. This document called for popular sovereignty, republican government, abolition of slavery, equality before the law, representative government, the Roman Catholic Church as the state religion but no longer state supported, and the abolition of privilege. It had little effect because Morelos was in flight as the royalist armies pursued him.

Morelos was captured, defrocked, tried and executed but the fight continued, on a lesser level, because Vicente Guerrero, Juan Alvarez, Quintana Roo continued to fight. But the conservative (royalist) forces had retaken the major regions of Mexico by 1815. It looked as if the independence movement in Mexico (and elsewhere in Latin America) was over. From 1815 to 1820, the royalists were winning.

In 1820, a creole officer, Agustín de Iturbide, was given the command to root out Guerrero in the south but he would bring about independence instead. Spanish soldiers, about to be sent to the New World to put down rebellion, revolted and forced the king to adopt the liberal constitution of 1812. Mexican conservatives were appalled (but loyal) and swore allegiance to the constitution, even to popular sovereignty! For Mexican liberals, the decision was to support the Spanish liberal constitution or the Mexican one. Iturbide figured out how to bridge the gap.

When Guerrero decided that independence was the better option and threw in with Iturbide, the latter declared the Plan de Iguala on February 24, 1821. This plan of Three Guarantees was the basis of conservatism for much of the 19th century just as the constitution of Apatzingán was the basis of liberalism. The three guarantees were that New Spain would be free, sovereign, and independent. The Roman Catholic Church's supremacy was guaranteed. Mexico would be a monarchy with a dynasty separate from Spain. Iturbide managed to unify the older, republican, liberal independence movement with the newer conservative movement. The clerical and aristocratic elements now feared liberal Spain than independence.

Iturbide intercepted the viceroy, Juan O'Donohu, sent out from Spain in 1821 and got him to sign a treaty recognizing Mexican independence. On September 27, 1821, Iturbide entered the capital as the man who got independence.

He began the process of creating a new government. He would remain in charge, for he was ambitious. He had a committee of notables named as a regency which was to call a constitutional congress. It met in 1822. Before too much time passed, Iturbide used soldiers to force the naming of himself as Agustín I, Emperor of Mexico.

The colony's government was *legitimate*. Many people believed that God had given the king the right to tell other people what to do. In addition, it derived its authority from the confidence it engendered in all classes and races. There was general agreement that royal government served the public interest. Violent disputes were rare. Once this legitimacy disappeared, it was difficult to find a substitute. Iturbide was not legitimate; neither were the first liberal governments.

This new era in Mexican history was started by a military man making a military pronouncement and forcing his will on the country.

Mexico would be plagued by such men for over a hundred years. All Iturbide had accomplished was independence. Not resolved were the issue of what the territorial limits would be, who would rule, whether it would be a monarchy or a republic, and creation of a sense of mexicanidad. Those issues were the source of turmoil throughout the century.

Southern Mexico, that is, Central America, simply fell away. Once it escaped Mexican imperialistic clutches, it was independent. Spain was not going to put forth the effort to retake what was, to Europeans, very valuable property. There were not revolutionary movements.

Wealth of New Spain

New Spain provided two-thirds of the revenue of the Spanish Empire. In 1799, this was 20 million pesos. Millions were spent for local administration and defense. Four million went to subsidize other areas of the viceroyalty in Central and North America, the Caribbean, and the Philippines. Six million went to Spain. In 1800-10, New Spain produced 24 million a year. In 1806, it sent 19 million to Spain to help finance wars in Europe.

The economy was healthy, balanced, and, for the most part, functionally independent of the mother country. Precious metals represented 84% of all exports but mining was only a small part of the economy. In 1800, mining represented 13% of the economy whereas manufacturing represented 25% and agriculture 62%. The internal market used 86% of all the production.

Silver mines were engines of economic growth, encouraging the expansion of agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing. Mexico was

the world's principal supplier of silver in 1780-1819. Mexican silver miners raised capital locally. For example, Antonio de Obregón of Guanajuato borrowed two million pesos from merchants in the 1780s to invest in his mining venture. His mines produced 30.9 million pesos of silver from 1788 to 1809. In 1791, his mine yielded as much silver as the entire Viceroyalty of Peru. To understand how much this was, one has to understand that the per capita income of England, the most advanced nation in the world, was 196 pesos.

Independent Mexico

Observers would have thought in 1800 that Mexico would be the dominant power on the continent instead of the United States. Their per capita incomes were not so far apart. Mexico was \$116, United States was \$165. Mexico had a larger industrial base. The United States population was 6 million; Mexico was 4 million.

Mexico had some of the largest cities on the continent with Mexico City having 150,000, Guanajuato 60,000, Querétaro 50,000, Puebla 40,000 and Zacatecas 30,000. By comparison the largest cities in the United States were New York with 60,000, Philadelphia with 41,000, and Boston with 25,000. Mexico was more racially mixed and integrated. Social status was determined more by economic than DNA factors. Mexico was the older, more educated society with enormous mineral wealth.

However, Mexico faced numerous problems. Government revenue, the independence depression, geographical difficulties, and economic problems plagued the new nation. The United States did not suffer comparable problems.

Government Revenue

In 1806, the government received 39 million pesos; in 1827, 5.4 million. In the first decade of independence government revenue averaged 12.2 million pesos. Of the 1.33 million collected in 1821, forty percent came from extraordinary revenues such as loans and eighty percent went to the military. For the British loan of 1822-23, Mexico assumed an indebtedness of 16 million pesos at 5% interest, but the treasury only received 5.5 million pesos in disposable money. Then it validated internal debts totaling 45 million and authorized a new foreign loan of 16 million. It set aside 4 million to reduce the first debt. One estimate is that in the first seven months of 1825, the government could expect a revenue of 9 million pesos but an expenditure of 21 million, of which 16 million would go to the army and 3 million to the navy. For fifty years after independence, customs duties were the principal source of income, producing 80-90% of normal revenues. The upper class was avoiding taxation. Governments survived by borrowing. In 1850, the foreign debt was 56 million pesos and the domestic debt was 61 million. By 1867, the foreign debt had reached 375 million pesos and the domestic debt 79 million.

Post-Independence Economic Depression

Mineral production fell from an average of 25 million pesos to a low of 6.5 million in 1819 and averaged 11 million for the next four decades. Production in 1801-1810 was 5.5 million pesos whereas it was 2.6 million pesos in 1821. Exports fell from 20 million pesos in 1800 to 5 million in 1825. Per capita income fell from 116 pesos in

1800 to 56 pesos in 1845. Guanajuato mines had 2,000 miners working from daylight to dusk, six days a week, pulverizing ore in 1810 but only 168 in 1821. The Valenciana mine employed 22,000 people in 1810 but only 4,000 after independence.

Geography played a role for the new United States was blessed whereas Mexico was not. The land is poor and harsh in most of the country. It has limited natural resources. There are considerable natural obstacles to national development and integration. Climate variations pose a serious threat to people and crops. The northern one-third of the country is a desert while rain forest cover large areas of the south. Fifty percent of Mexico suffers from a perpetual scarcity of water. Only 13% enjoys sufficient rainfall to sustain crops without irrigation. Less than 10% of the land is arable without extensive irrigation. Even today, only about 15% of the land is arable, an amount equal to the arable land of the state of Kansas. The topography is formidable as well. Two-thirds of the country is mountainous and there are lots of gorges. Volcanoes and earthquakes occur in some parts.

The wars brought the destruction of farms, livestock, mining equipment, mines, and buildings. The destruction of the mines affected the ancillary enterprises. Mine owners had difficulty obtaining the necessary mercury from Spain and Austria in order to process silver. There was a massive loss of capital because it was destroyed, fled the country, and withdrawn from circulation. The nation lacked banking institutions, relying, instead on personal loans or the Church. Europe flooded the country with textiles in the 1920s, thus undercutting the Mexican textile industry.

Mexico entered a period of turmoil without an effective national government until Porfirio Díaz established one in the 1880s and 1890s

by force and guile. Even so, it would not be until after the Mexican Revolution that the people could enjoy governmental predictability.

Epilogue

Government in General

Independence leaders had to promise things to people to get things done, to fight the wars and gain support. Independence leaders promised free press, the removal of economic restrictions, the emancipation of the slaves, changes in the status of Indians, and a free assembly. Leaders began making them. in 1810. They had to do some of these things because they could not just make promises for twenty years.

In the constitutions they created there clearly was foreign influence such as the constitution of the United States but influences came from many sources.

Government finance and economic policy in the Independence period is a subject that needs more study. The policies varied from place to place, not surprisingly, but there was not much policy aimed at economic development.

In finance, there was the shift from the very complex colonial system to dependence upon taxes from foreign commerce. Most commonly there were customs duties or tariffs on imports. The many sources. The upper class has avoided taxes which would hurt its position. The effects of such a policy has been the inability of a

government to count on the amount of income it would have because trade activity fluctuates according to many different factors. Governments resorted to special levies, which were always unpopular. They borrowed monies from abroad, making loans on very poor terms which got poorer as country after country defaulted. Sometimes they did not understand the loan obligations. Many wasted much of the money when they got it into their countries.

International Relations

These countries faced the problem of diplomatic recognition. Without it, it was difficult to get commercial treaties. Recognition also helped discourage Spain from reconquest attempts. Some recognized each other. Outside of Latin America, the United States led off in 1822, followed by the United Kingdom.

Bolívar's Pan-American conference in 1826 was an important diplomatic event because it created an interest in mutual affairs.

Boundaries were handled quite well because the new nations accepted *Usi Possidetis* (right to keep because of use), for the most part. The boundaries were roughed out in general and tended to pass through uninhabited territory.

Economy

Improvement in economic conditions had occurred in many places but prosperity was smashed by the wars of independence. The ill effects were worse where the fighting took place. Venezuela, for example, suffered a fifty percent decline in cattle between 1810-1830. The wars caused some interruptions in trade patterns, trade routes, and

communications. There was a serious problem with inflation. Nevertheless, there was some expansion of markets. There was some penetration by European entrepreneurs. Independence saw the beginning of the great influence of Great Britain in Latin American economic life.

One of the most striking changes was the opening of the area to international trade. The British had interfered with the Spanish empire, aiding people such as Miranda, because it wanted markets for its citizens. Britain was the dominant economic power in the Latin America throughout the nineteenth century. With trade came non-Spanish ideas and practices, mostly affecting ports.

Social Change

The independence movements brought reforms from 1810 to 1830. The Inquisition was abolished but little else was done to hurt ecclesiastical power. The Jesuits were allowed to return.

Independence worsened the condition of the Indians. Debt peonage and the company store were not abolished, leaving these people as almost slaves. The imperial protective system was destroyed and the Indians delivered into the hands of their exploiters. Mestizos and other Indians exploited the Amerinds as much as the creoles. The Indian missions were destroyed. Indian tribute was abolished, however, removing one burden.

Remarkably, the period saw the abolition or serious undermining of slavery. Part of this emanated from the influence of Enlightenment thought on the liberators. Part of it was the result of having to make promises of freedom to get slaves to fight. Slavery persisted in some former colonies after this period but not for long.

The legal system changed some. Gone were all the laws pertaining to titled aristocracy. The judicial system was restricted to justice. Most places saw the extinction or reduction of guild rights and, quite often, guilds. There was the withdrawal of legal support for social stratification in some places.

The new countries encouraged immigration. There was never the great influx of people as seen in Argentina in the latter nineteenth century but some people did go. That the new nations would overcome Spanish xenophobia at all and allow immigrants was noteworthy.

The new nations abandoned many of the administrative practices such as spying and overlapping jurisdictions which were characteristic of the colonial period. The role of cabildo changed for the centralizing tendencies of the new rulers meant it was allowed to do less or it lacked revenue as the new governments tried to scoff up everything they could find.

Anti-clericalism began in earnest. The break with Spain should mean the separation of Church and State to many, for they wanted to reject the colonial past when the Church was virtually an arm of the state. Conservatives, however, wanted to keep the colonial arrangement, believing that it fostered social stability. So the battle was joined.

One of the most significant and foreboding changes was the emergence of new armies emerged with enlarged powers. They would dominate their respective countries, demanding an inordinate amount of resources and taking what they wanted. They provided social mobility for men with intelligence and the right glandular balance but they became a scourge on society.

The rift between the city and the country worsened. Usually, it was the capital city versus everything place else. The new leaders

concentrated power into the hands of urbanites. City dwellers were the ones who had contact with foreigners and displayed lots of European habits.

All the promises to the lower classes caused trouble later because the new elites had no desire to fulfill them.

The Colonial Legacy

The class system persisted well into the twentieth century; some would say the twenty-first century. One way to understand the social system is to call it the aristocratic dispensation, that is, the belief and practice that the elites could do anything they desired. Everyone else was to defer to their wishes. Those who managed to get into the upper class from even lowly origins immediately aped the other elites.

There was social immobility. One almost always stayed in the class to which one was born and did not expect to change. Life was what it was. There was apathy and indifference among almost all people because they were excluded from making decision-making.

The tax and educational systems favored the elites. Taxes tended to be on transactions not property or income. In the twentieth century, this changed in many countries but the bias was still there.

Conservatives objected to innovation, for it threatened the social and political order. Although people who do not know the region often think it revolutionary, Latin America is one of the most conservative regions of the world.

The use of violence in public affairs persisted. It worked. And there were few or no countervailing forces.

Men and women continued to have sexual intercourse and have babies regardless of ethnicity, DNA patterns, or "race." Mestizos became the predominant element in those countries where large numbers of Amerinds had been living at the time of the Conquest. In Argentina, the African population was genetically absorbed by the European population. There is some basis to the argument that Latin American were less racist than some other peoples in the world.

The great estate system persisted. It existed in most countries well into the twentieth century. In Mexico, it was diminished some by the Reforma, recovered between 1876 and 1910, and then was slowly ended thereafter.

Economic underdevelopment continued to be a problem. Argentina in 1900 appeared to have escaped it but fell behind in 1950s. Brazil and Mexico developed very large economies by world standards but population increases and economic growth elsewhere kept them undeveloped in relative terms.

Graft and inefficiency in bureaucracies was endemic and remained so. Paying bribes was routine if one wanted to accomplish anything. Public employees were paid little, giving them ample incentive to accept "tips" for doing work. Under such circumstances, recruitment of efficient workers was almost luck. The bureaucracy remained a means of paying political and familial debts, so it was increased in size.

Latin America is a stronghold of family ties, of true "family values." Family members, even cousins, can expect help when they call upon relatives for help. Much of social life is organized around the family.

The Roman Catholic church continues to be dominant even though there are pockets of Protestantism. Its beliefs and values

permeate the various national cultures. It was one of the few colonial institutions to survive.

The hold of European culture on the area was strengthened and consolidated. Indian culture continued to diminish over time or became intermixed with European modalities. African culture, important in Brazil and Cuba, likewise was diluted by European culture.

Events in the 19th and 20th centuries changed some of these effects, naturally, but much of the colonial past remains. Some scholars argue that Latin America is still “colonial” in the 21st century but that is going too far. No society is ever free of its past and parts of Latin America are more bound to the past than others but Latin America today is a vibrant, fascinating region.

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