Paper #2 (History 206/354)

Introduction

The history of colonial Latin America is well-documented, and scholars have spent lifetimes exploring important elements of Latin American society, including such things as commerce and trade; race, gender, and class; the state; the church; and so forth. And yet, the vibrancy and vitality of this earlier era can feel very distant from our own day and time, as the lives of those who lived long ago can often be exceedingly difficult to reconstruct. As one scholar explains, "Historians are left forever chasing shadows, painfully aware of their inability to ever reconstruct a dead world in its completeness however thorough or revealing their documentation."

For your assignment, please choose an important foundational element of Latin American society that we have treated in class (e.g., the state; the church; commerce and trade; race, gender, or class; etc.). Then, drawing upon primary source documentation provided by Dr. Myrup as well as your own research into relevant secondary scholarship, craft a paper that explores your chosen topic and illustrates how this element of Latin American society played out in the hearts, minds, and actions of individual people during the colonial era.

How to Approach the Assignment

Appended to the assignment are transcriptions of numerous primary source documents that have been translated and published in various works, including Lockhart and Otte's *Letters and Peoples of the Spanish Indies* (1976), Socolow's *Women of Colonial Latin America* (2000), McKnight and Garofalo's *Afro-Latino Voices* (2009), Schwartz's *Early Brazil* (2010), Mills, Taylor, and Graham's *Colonial Latin America* (2002), and Conrad's *Children of God's Fire* (1983). Begin by searching through this primary source material and finding a document or documents that especially pique your interest and that can serve as a focal point for your paper. In terms of possibilities, the appended primary sources include all sorts of options—from letters between husbands and wives to inquisitional confessions to last wills and testaments. Which of these documents is interesting to you? (Please note that the appended material in this PDF is organized with bookmarks, enabling students to easily navigate these sources. Please be sure to open this PDF with an app that will give you access to these bookmarks: Adobe Acrobat, Chrome, and Edge are all examples that should work.)

From there, you'll need to conduct your own research into relevant secondary source material that can be used to contextualize and bring to life the primary sources that you have found. (This would ideally include relevant monographs and books from the library, academic articles from university databases like JSTOR, etc.) If you have questions about how this is done or about secondary sources that especially could be helpful for your topic and/or primary source(s), please don't hesitate to reach out to Dr. Myrup.

Finally, you'll combine this primary and secondary material together to craft a paper about a major aspect of Latin American history that illustrates its points with examples from the lives of individual men and women from this era.

Feel free to be creative and innovative with your approach and writing. History is not only about facts, figures, and theses; it also involves character development, plotting, climax, and resolution. Don't be afraid to have fun with the paper. Make it interesting. At the same time, don't try to do too much. (You can't fit an entire monograph into seven pages—though certainly some history

books would be better for the effort!) Above all, the paper should be well written. Have a clear point of departure, use topic sentences, and make every word count.

Logistics, Length, and Citations

If you are registered for HIS 206, the paper should be approximately 6 pages in length (ca. 1800 words), and if you are registered for HIS 354 it should be approximately 7-8 pages in length (ca. 2400 words).

All references should be cited with footnotes, and you should include a bibliography at the end of the paper. As was the case with your first paper, the "Humanities Style" of The Chicago Manual of Style should be used for citations (see http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html). Random web sources MAY NOT be used unless you have prior approval from the professor (though you should feel free in this regard to draw upon any of the library's online databases as noted above).

In terms of citing the appended primary source material, the bibliographic information needed for footnotes is included with each set of sources. For example, if you intend to use a primary source from Lockhart and Otte's *Letters and Peoples of the Spanish Indies*, simply click on the bookmark for Lockhart and Otte's work as a whole. This takes you to a page with the following bibliographic information: James Lockhart and Enrique Otte, eds., *Letters and Peoples of the Spanish Indies* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976). From there, if you need to cite a document on pp. 14-17 of this work in your first footnote, it will look like this:

1. James Lockhart and Enrique Otte, eds., *Letters and Peoples of the Spanish Indies* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 14-17.

And thereafter, any subsequent citations to documents contained in this already-cited work can be abbreviated. For example, a subsequent citation to a document on pp. 39-43 would look like this:

2. Lockhart and Schwartz*, Letters and Peoples*, 39-43.

Similar bibliographic information for the other published works included here can be found by clicking on the bookmark for any given work as a whole.

Policy on Plagiarism and the Use of AI

The purpose of this assignment is for students to develop skills in writing, argumentation, creativity, and critical thinking. Accordingly, students may not plagiarize someone else's work and turn it in as their own. Beyond plagiarism, students may not use generative AI technologies for any stage of the assignment (e.g. ChatGPT or other GenAI software). It is expected that this paper will be generated entirely by the student submitting the assignment. PLAGIARISM AS WELL AS THE USE OF GENERATIVE AI TECHNOLOGIES WILL BE CONSIDERED ACADEMIC MISCONDUCT AND WILL RESULT IN AN "E" IN THE CLASS. If you have questions about this policy, please contact Dr. Myrup.

Due Date: Wednesday, November 26 (via Canvas)

James Lockhart and Enrique Otte, eds., *Letters and Peoples of the Spanish Indies: Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

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PREFACE

> I have written you so many times and sent so many letters by whoever has left here . . .
>
> Melchor Verdugo, in Trujillo, Peru, to his mother in Spain, 1536

Letters abound in the records of early Spanish America. Or at least, public correspondence does. Members of all of the different official hierarchies were constantly writing to higher authority, and especially to the Spanish crown, petitioning, proposing, polemicizing. All corporations and interest groups did the same, and so did individuals when aggrieved or desirous of favors. The strident texts produced by this activity were long the main corpus with which historians of the Spanish Indies worked, first taking them at face value, then learning to appreciate their conventions, their propagandistic nature, their systematic distortions when compared with other types of evidence. New evidence emerged in many forms, from tax lists to notarial records, but rarely indeed, until recently, in the true counterpart of official correspondence, that is, private correspondence.

Were there no private letters? Scholars were long inclined to think so, and they even incorporated the supposed lack of intimate written expression into theories of the Spanish character. But in fact there were, and today's scarcity is only the result of the vulnerability of private correspondence to loss. From the examples that have been coming to light one can deduce that letter-writing among private individuals was a well-established custom in both Spain and the Indies (as the Spaniards persisted in calling America). Correspondents acknowledge previous

letters, complain of lack of mail, speak of the cheapness of paper and ink, and in other ways betray that it was customary to write letters to absent relatives and friends. The genre was mature, with a complete set of salutations and courtesy endings, and certain conventions of vocabulary and structure, such as for example the frequent use of the word *razón* ('right,' 'reason') somewhere in the beginning sentences.

Letters must have originated in all areas and gone in all directions, but in general only those which found a place in some official repository have been preserved. Most to appear so far were written from the Indies to relatives and associates in Spain. Of letters directed from Spain to the Indies we know little more than what we can deduce from the replies of the settlers, namely that they contained frequent appeals for money. As to the settlers' letters, they are often written with an eye to recruitment; they praise the opportunities and plenteousness of the new land in terms that would do justice to a Pole or Italian in the United States of 1910. Stereotypes and bias are no less evident in letters like these than in official reports, and must be equally discounted, or rather taken as such. Even so, there is much immediacy, reality, sobriety and simple informativeness in them. They are very human documents, in which the Spaniard of the Indies appears in roles intuitively familiar to us, as son, brother, immigrant, tradesman, European, anything but some exotic 'conquistador' 'thirsty for gold.'

The greatest cache of such letters is in the records of the Casa de la Contratación, the clearing house in Seville for departures to the Indies, where emigrants brought the correspondence as proof that they had connections at their declared destinations.[1] Other letters are incorporated as evidence in litigation, as when there was a dispute over inheritance, or the investigation of an official's conduct. Among such papers one often comes upon a somewhat different kind of private correspondence, the letters that merchants wrote back and forth across the Atlantic. These appear going in both directions, for the headquarters of the exporting firms was in Seville, which in some senses was almost a part of the Indies and was drawn into the latter's judicial-

documentary web. Merchants' letters lack some of the biases of other settler correspondence, but have their own predispositions; though quite technical in vocabulary, in the end the commercial letters are as fresh, personal and informative as the others, covering somewhat different ground.

In this volume we bring together a structured selection of these three types of letters, with unabashed emphasis on the more personal ones, trying to give as nearly complete a panorama of sixteenth-century Spanish American settler society and its genres of correspondence as we can achieve. The wide spread of social types and functions will speak directly to the reader. The humanity and the familiar sentiments of the writers will also readily make themselves felt. But these people were deeply embedded in a complex and rapidly evolving society, at a specific point in time; now removed from us by some centuries, that society calls for a certain amount of explanation. With an understanding of the context, the regularity and universality of the processes come home to us even more (a universality not at all inconsistent with the unique flavor of the individuals, the time and the culture). Rather than supply this context in disembodied form in a long introduction, we have adapted it more specifically to the letters themselves, arranged in three large sections – Conquest, The Variety of Life in the Indies, and Officials and Clerics – which we imagine as best read consecutively, in the same order as presented, since the comments are cumulative, and there is structure in the arrangement of the letters as well.

In this preface, then, we will make only a few very general remarks on early Spanish America. The letters in this book throw light on many trades, functions, offices and social mechanisms, but one might not get from them a sufficient sense of the overriding importance of cities, unless perhaps by noting that most are written *from* cities. Spanish America was built on an Indian base, and without fail more Spaniards went where there were more Indians, but the great majority of Spaniards themselves resided in widely dispersed cities that they would found almost as soon as they set foot in a country. In these all the

elements of Spanish life soon took root, and there all Spanish organizations, whether commercial, governmental, or ecclesiastic, had their center. Even the estate structure centered on the cities. There all Spanish people of rank, wealth and influence were to be found, only subordinates and recent arrivals being stationed in the country, and they principally to channel things towards the cities.

Cities were also the units into which entire regions were divided. Each city included a vast district stretching all the way to where the jurisdiction of the next began. Where Indian provincial organization would allow it, and in all the more densely populated areas it did, the district was subdivided into encomiendas, ideally one encomienda per Indian provincial unit, the labor and tribute of which was assigned for a lifetime to one Spaniard, the encomendero. Though the encomienda was in the countryside, the encomendero, following the general principles of the organization of the society, was a citizen of the city and maintained his principal establishment there. The encomenderos indeed long dominated Spanish city society, as heads of retinues, members of town councils, and the chief patrons of merchants, artisans and clerics. During the sixteenth century and long after, most parts of the Indies could be described as consisting of Spanish cities and Indian towns which formed their hinterlands.

The first area of Spanish impact was the Caribbean, where many lasting patterns were set, but that area itself soon faded to relative insignificance with the exhaustion of precious metals and catastrophic demographic loss among the Indian population. The Spaniards proceeded from Hispaniola and Santo Domingo, the main Caribbean center, towards the mainland in two roughly simultaneous streams, one to Cuba and then Mexico, the other to the area of the Isthmus of Panama, then called Tierra Firme, and from there on to Peru. Peru and Mexico, with their large Indian populations, rich agriculture, strong provincial structures, and vast silver deposits, constituted the real substance of sixteenth-century Spanish America. The rest of the mainland was a fringe and dependency, conquered and to some

extent ruled from these two truly central regions, with their capitals of Lima and Mexico City, which quickly became the seats of the only two viceroys of Spanish America. Our letters, mainly from Mexico, Peru, and the approaches thereto, reflect this situation.

As the central regions became consolidated, with substantial Spanish immigration and continuing productivity in silver, there grew up a fleet system which figures in some of the correspondence here. With a regularity which was something less than mechanical, a fleet would leave Seville carrying merchandise and people. Following the precedent of the original conquest, it split in the Caribbean, one part going to Mexico's port of Veracruz, and the other to the Isthmus. Here things were a bit more complicated. From the Caribbean port of Nombre de Dios (and later Portobello), a mere shell most of the time, goods were carried to the more developed center of Panamá on the Pacific side, and thence to Peru. Essentially Tierra Firme was Peru's port as Veracruz was Mexico's. The fleets then returned to Seville carrying silver, some Spaniards on their way home to a wealthy retirement, and letters like the ones which make up our book.

The reader will encounter quite a few unfamiliar terms in succeeding pages. In almost every letter appear the denominations of the money of the time. In the Indies, the primary unit was the peso, containing eight silver reales or gold tomines. In Spain, one spoke more often in terms of ducats. Both were reducible to the pure denomination of account, the maravedí, used especially by merchants and treasury officials in keeping records. The usual 'peso of good gold' of the sixteenth century was worth 450 maravedís, the ducat 375; thus the ratio was 6 : 5. In fact, in view of inflation in the Indies, there was some tendency to think that a peso there was equivalent to a ducat in Spain, a view in which one of our correspondents (Letter 17) concurs.

[1] A much more detailed statement on the nature and origin of the letters is in Otte, 'Die europäischen Siedler und die Probleme der Neuen Welt,' *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas,* VI (1969), 1-40.

Map: The Spanish Indies, Sixteenth Century

PART I: CONQUEST

> Having few prospects in Nicaragua, we came to this district, where there's more gold and silver than iron in Biscay, and more sheep than in Soria, and great supplies of all kinds of provisions, and fine clothing and the best people that have been seen in the whole Indies.
>
> Gaspar de Marquina, Cajamarca, Peru, 1533

Since conquest and settlement were one single ongoing process in Spanish America, we are a little reluctant to emphasize the distinction between them by devoting a separate section to conquest alone. Yet only in this way can we illustrate to what an extent the conquerors were acting like immigrants, businessmen and settlers. Then too, the creation of Spanish cities, governmental jurisdictions and encomiendas took place at the time of the conquests, as a direct reflection and integral part of them. Spaniards tended to take their new cities – the framework of their world – for granted, but the encomiendas and governorships, being the great rewards of the enterprise, engendered strife and comment; whole genres of conquest correspondence grew up to brag, complain or petition about these matters.

We also wish to give some notion of the often down-to-earth first reports on new areas, whether private (Letters 1, 6), official (Letter 2), or mercantile (Letters 4, 5). It is enlightening to compare these with texts written some years after the occupation, such as Letter 3, or the last pages of Letter 36, both good examples of incipient legend formation. Finally, in the accounts of the conquest one gets an impression of the vast geographical spread of the movement, the differences between regions, and the varying success of the conquerors, who achieved quick victory and large rewards in the most densely settled areas of the Andes and Mexico, but experienced long struggles and relative poverty elsewhere.

1. Conquest in the personal view

Gaspar de Marquina, in Cajamarca, Peru, to his father Martín de Gárate in Mendaro, Biscay, 1533[1]

> . . . When he arrived where we were, the Governor rushed out with all his men and we attacked them and seized the lord and killed many of his people . . .

To match the hundreds of extant reports to the crown that governors and captains wrote about their conquests, there remain very few of the many letters the conquerors sent from the scene to family and friends. Most of these – and it is a characteristic worth noting – stick close to personal matters (the writer's fortunes, his prospects of coming home, his plans for relatives and for himself), hardly mentioning the progress of the conquest or the nature of the country. So the present letter is doubly rare, since the impressionable young man who wrote it did devote some space to the land of the Inca empire and the climactic event of the capture of its emperor, Atahuallpa, in which he took part. What he says is as fresh and direct as conversation, and with the complete honesty of a person who has no need to extol or excuse. Most accounts of the episode at Cajamarca give prominence to the dramatic parley in which a Dominican friar told Atahuallpa of Christianity and the Spanish king, with the fighting beginning only when the emperor broke off the talk. Gaspar skips over this as though it had never happened – not that it did not, but in his eyes it was an unimportant detail. What really happened was a great display of Indian wealth and numbers, followed by a sudden, total reversal when the Spaniards attacked. Gaspar bears the Indians no ill will and appreciates their accomplishments, indeed more than many other Spaniards of his time, but no need to justify the conquest ever occurs to him, nor is he concerned about the Indians' conversion (though he takes permanent Spanish government for granted).

An aspect that Gaspar lays bare more fully than do many

reports by leaders, who enlarge on their own bravery and skill, or keep silent, is the overwhelming Spanish military superiority. When fighting nomads, the Spaniards faced military near-equals. Even in the more settled areas, confined situations could cause them difficulty (like Mexico City, with its island situation, its maze of canals and stone buildings); but on flat land and against sedentary peoples, European steel and horses regularly produced results like those seen here. 'We killed 8,000 men in about two hours and a half.' Gaspar tends to attribute it to a miracle, while we may prefer the advantages of Eurasian weaponry and animals as an explanation. In any case it is a fact of capital importance, allowing the Spaniards to forget about the Indians much of the time and devote themselves to their own internal affairs and rivalries to a degree that never ceases to surprise.

Even in this letter, after all, the Indians and the fighting are mentioned almost in passing. They are relevant because they were instrumental in Gaspar's attaining wealth. That is what the letter is about: how Gaspar has gained wealth and success and can start doing something for his family, both past and future generations.

Note that Gaspar does not use the word 'soldier' for himself and his fellows; nor does it appear in our Letter 2, an official conquest report, nor in any of the other contemporary letters in this section. Only in the posterior, already myth-creating account of a lady in Paraguay (Letter 3) is the word to be found. The conquerors were free agents, emigrants, settlers, unsalaried and ununiformed earners of encomiendas and shares of treasure, and a great many other things that do not fit well with today's concept 'soldier.'

We will present a few details about Gaspar beyond those he gives in the letter. The use of a different surname in the Indies – in this case Marquina rather than Gaspar's father's name, Gárate – was a quite common phenomenon, particularly with the Basques, who were happy enough to let themselves be called anything the other Spaniards could pronounce. Gaspar was born out of wedlock, but recognized by his father and brought up

carefully, so that he had strong family roots, as indeed the letter itself shows. In his early twenties at the time of the letter, apparently acting as Governor Pizarro's page, he was still one of the expedition's least influential members. After this, he soon bought a horse and began to acquire some business connections, but later in 1533 the Spanish vanguard imprudently went single file up a long steep slope not far from Cuzco, losing more men than in all the fighting up to that time, and Gaspar de Marquina among them.

Dear Sir:

It must be about three years ago that I got a letter from you, in which you asked me to send some money. God knows how sorry I was not to have anything to send you then, because if I had anything then there wouldn't have been any need for you to write; I've always tried to do the right thing, but there wasn't any possibility till now. You also told me to remember my homeland; God knows if I remember my homeland or not, but as I said, till now there hasn't been time to think of it. I give you my word that I never had a penny the whole time since I came to these parts until six months ago, when God was pleased to give me more than I deserved, and now I have over 3,000 ducats; please God that it will be for his holy service.

Sir, I'm sending you 213 pesos of good gold in a bar with an honorable man from San Sebastián; in Seville he'll have it turned into coin and then bring it to you. I'd send you more except he's taking money for other people too and couldn't take more. His name is Pedro de Anadel, I know him, and he's the kind of person who will get the money to you, so that's why I asked him to do me a favor and take you the money.

Sir, I would like to be the messenger myself, but it couldn't be, because we're in new country and haven't been here long, and they aren't giving license to leave except to married men who have been in these parts for a long time. I expect to be there with you in two years with the aid of our Lord; I swear to God that I have a greater desire to be there than you have to see me, so that I can give you a good old age.

Sir, I'll tell you something of my life since I came to these parts; you must know how I went to Nicaragua with Governor Pedrarias as his page, and I was with him till God was pleased to take him from this world. He died very poor and so all of his servants were left poor too, as the carrier of this letter can very well tell you when he sees you. Then a few days after he died we got news of how Governor Francisco Pizarro was coming to be governor of this kingdom of New Castile and so, hearing this news and having few prospects in Nicaragua, we came to this district, where there's more gold and silver than iron in Biscay, and more sheep than in Soria, and great supplies of all kinds of provisions, and fine clothing and the best people that have been seen in the whole Indies, and many great lords among them; one of them rules over 500 leagues. We have him prisoner in our power, and with him prisoner, a man can go by himself 500 leagues without getting killed, instead they give you whatever you need and carry you on their shoulders in a litter.

We took this lord by a miracle of God, because our forces wouldn't be enough to take him nor to do what we did, but God gave us the victory miraculously over him and his forces. You must know that we came here with Governor Francisco Pizarro to the land of this lord where he had 60,000 warriors, and there were 160 Spaniards with the governor, and we thought our lives were finished because there was such a horde of them, and even the women were making fun of us and saying they were sorry for us because we were going to get killed; but afterwards their bad thoughts turned out the opposite. The lord came with all his armed men within two shots of a crossbow from where we were camped and pitched his camp there, and then from there he came to see the governor and what kind of people we were, with about 5,000 men all dressed in his livery, and him in a litter covered with gold, with a hundred nobles carrying him and sweeping the ground in front of his litter, and all of them singing in unison, and when he arrived where we were, the governor rushed out with all his men and we attacked them and seized the lord and killed many of his people, most of the ones that came with him, and then we went out where all

the rest of the warriors were, all armed with lances 15 feet long, and we routed them all. In the rout we killed 8,000 men in about two hours and a half, and we took much gold and clothing and many people. It would be too long to tell if it all were told; the bearer of the present letter can inform you, and I won't say more because as I say, it would be too long to tell.

Give my greetings to Catalina and my brothers and sisters and my uncle Martín de Altamira and his daughters, especially the older one, because I am much in her debt, and also to my cousins Martín de Altamira and Marina de Gárate and my uncle San Juan de Gárate and my uncle Pedro Sánchez de Arizmendi and all the rest of my relatives, because I've already forgotten many of their names. I really want you to greet them all from me and tell them that I greatly desire to see them, and pleasing God I'll be there soon. Sir, the only thing I want to ask you is to do good for the souls of my mother and all my relatives, and if God lets me get there, I'll do it very thoroughly myself. There is nothing more to write at present except that I'm praying to our Lord Jesus Christ to let me see you before I die. From Cajamarca, in the kingdom of New Castile, 20th of July, 1533.

Your son who would rather see than write you,

Gaspar de Gárate

[On the outside is a memorandum to Anadel, bearer of the letter:]

Sir, I implore you to write me with the first people who come, and if by chance God our Lord has been pleased to take my father from this world, give the 213 pesos to my uncle Martín de Altamira and to San Juan de Gárate, jointly to both, and if one of them is dead, to either of them, so that with 100 pesos they can do good for the souls of my parents Martín de Gárate and María Ramírez de Altamira, and divide the other 113 pesos among my brother and sisters, and in case both my uncles are dead, to my brother Jorge de Gárate with a guardian, who as I say should do good for my parents with the hundred

and divide all the rest between himself and his and my brothers and sisters, all equally.

Gaspar de Marquina

[1] Published in Spanish and English in Appendix I of Lockhart, *The Men of Cajamarca*, which also includes further biographical material on Gaspar.

2. A standard conqueror's report

Pedrarias de Avila, governor of Tierra Firme, in Panamá, to the emperor, 1525[1]

We hear news of great wealth.

It is a shame, in a way, that the best-known early official reports from the Indies are Columbus' hand-waving Italianate pictures of an island paradise, and Cortés' university prose, elegantly magnifying himself and his conquest. As fine and informative as these writings are, they are not representative of the scores of reports that Spanish leaders sent the crown every year from new areas rich and poor, important and unimportant. There, sobriety and woodenness ruled. Yes, there were bows to the king, and some talk of spreading Christianity, far more than in private letters, and even some mention of marvels of nature and divine intervention, but all in few words, one item after the next, in matter-of-fact, unexcited language corresponding well to the conquerors' generally Spartan temperament. The message usually went to the basics of whether or not the climate was tolerable for Europeans; whether the Indians were settled and agricultural, capable of sustaining encomiendas and Spanish cities; and whether there was gold, silver or some other product that could subsidize imports from Europe and pay the crown the revenues it desired.

We have chosen the present letter because it has a little of everything; it illustrates the points above, and more. In the second and third decades of the sixteenth century, Tierra Firme and its capital Panamá were the clearing house for exploration and conquest in both directions along the South Sea (the Pacific, with the North Sea in this context being the Caribbean). Thus two major conquests appear underway in this letter, that

of Nicaragua led by Francisco Hernández de Córdoba and others, and that of the 'east' or Peru led by Pizarro and Almagro. The relay system of conquest, with each new area conquered by people and resources from the immediately preceding one, is seen very clearly here, as well as the tensions that grew out of it. The governor would aid some important citizens in outfitting expeditions which he sent out in his name to add new territories to his own jurisdiction. But the subordinates, who usually took much of the initiative and bore most of the expense, invariably sought independence, and often attained it. In this letter Gil González de Avila, a former quasi-subordinate of Pedrarias, is causing trouble in Nicaragua, but that was only the beginning, for Pedrarias would later have to come there in person to quell a rebellion; before many years both Nicaragua and Peru would be independent of Tierra Firme. Thus it is by no means atypical that this report speaks more of conflicts among Spaniards than of fighting with Indians, or that notaries should be spilling ink, taking and authenticating evidence against fellow Spaniards, at the ends of the earth.

Famous names abound in the letter. Two, Benalcázar and Soto, evoke careers which illustrate the continuity of personnel and the repeating cycle of tension in the Spanish conquests. Both men came to prominence under Pedrarias in Tierra Firme, then moved to Nicaragua, as the most important new area then being opened up. From Nicaragua they later went as quite major leaders to the far wealthier Peru, where their very influence made them unacceptable to the Pizarros, so with riches gained in Peru they undertook further conquests, Benalcázar in Quito and New Granada, Soto in North America. The person referred to as 'an Oviedo' is Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, the voluble and sharp-tongued chronicler. Fray Francisco de Bobadilla, who is here being gently nominated for bishop (conquerors would try to have the most prominent of their ecclesiastical companions named bishop of their area), did not attain that dignity, but did later appear in Peru. He figures again in Letter 25.

We have left geographical names as they are in the original

text and will not attempt to identify them further, since the important thing here is the generic aspect, the sheer variety of strange new names written down with as little explanation as if they were Seville and Toledo.

Sacred Catholic Caesarean Majesty:

On the tenth of this month of April of '25 there arrived here in this city of Panamá a messenger from the west, named Sebastián de Benalcázar, who has taken part in everything that has been done there, and was sent by my lieutenant Francisco Hernández with a letter in which he reports the following things:

At the Doubtful Strait a town called Bruselas was founded, at the site of Urutina, which has plains on one hand, and the sea on the other, and good fisheries. The land is fertile, with good orchards, and the Indians are peaceful. The town is in the midst of all the people of those provinces. It is a very good region with good waters and air and hunting and fishing in quantity and rich land with good orchards, well suited for the native grain, which it bears in abundance.

From this settlement to the province of Nequecheri is thirty-five leagues. The land up to there is very populated and abundant. In this province there is a populated area of more than three leagues, and in the middle of it they founded and settled the new city of Granada. In the surrounding region are up to 8,000 native households; it has good rivers, gardens, fishing and hunting. The city is on the banks of the fresh-water sea. In this city they made a very sumptuous church, which is well served and adorned. No town was founded in the province of Nicaragua because though it is very large in itself, it is only the beginning of the land, and there was no necessity to settle there.

From this New Granada they went down to the province of Ymabite, in the midst of the great and very populated province of Masaya; and in the province of Endevi and Managua next to this province of Masaya there is a great fiery crater that never ceases to burn; at night the great fire seems to touch the skies and lights up everything as clear as daytime for fifteen leagues around. In this province of Ymabite, in the middle of it, the

new city of León was founded; in the surroundings are 15,000 native families. They built the best church there that has been erected in these parts. Near this city of León is another high mountain, with fire coming out above its peak from five mouths, clearly visible day and night; around the mountain there is a great quantity of sulfur. All this land is very level, and there are very large rivers in it, though in some parts there is a lack of water. Some of the rivers are very hot, so that they can hardly be crossed for the heat of the water; there is a fountain so constantly boiling that if they put in a fowl or something else raw it is immediately cooked, and if they want to roast something it can be roasted quickly by the heat of the water. This city is also not far from the fresh-water sea, and has many large orchards and groves.

The fresh-water sea has two arms, one of them thirty leagues wide; going from one to the other is a strait through which the water flows, and between the two arms is a small lake in which there are many populated islands. On this sea they launched for my lieutenant a brigantine that can be carried in pieces, and using it they explored and circumnavigated the entire sea. They found an outlet or river through which it is drained, but the brigantine was not able to navigate it because it is very rocky and has a strong current besides two very large rapids, so they explored it in a canoe, but could not find its mouth. It is thought to flow into the North Sea.

In the interior of this land another captain went with some men eighty leagues farther and found the country very populated, with large groves of sandalwood, citrine, cedar and pine, oaks of different kinds, and cork trees in great quantities; they have been making a great deal of pitch from the pines.

From this city of León they went ahead discovering and pacifying as far as the great city of Nequepio, which they said was the same as Melaca where Alvarado had arrived with Cortés' men; they saw where he had had his camp, and they saw some of the things he left there, especially a cannon and some footwear. From there the men turned back, and while they were quartered in a city called Toreva, Gil González arrived with

some horsemen, musketeers and crossbowmen in the middle of the night, shouting 'St Gil, death, death to traitors,' and at the noise the captain ran out with the men he had and fought without knowing against whom, and some cavaliers and horses were killed, and then Gil González, after the men and horses were dead, called out loudly saying 'Peace, sir Captain, peace in the name of the king,' and Captain Soto answered 'peace, in the name of the emperor.' Believing the peace was real and not feigned, Captain Soto withdrew his men; although his companions told him that Gil González was acting deceitfully in the expectation of more men, he still turned aside with his men. Then when Gil González was stronger, more of his men having arrived, and the other side trusting in peace, seeing his advantage he started the fighting again and took from them 130,000 pesos of local low-carat gold and some other spoils, as though they were his enemies. When Gil González saw the error he had made, and that he could not maintain his position, he abandoned his men, leaving behind the banner and some halberds and a folding chair and some other stores, and went away with ten horsemen and twenty foot. My lieutenant sent me sealed and authenticated evidence of all this; I am sending your majesty a signed copy and keeping the original, thinking that because of the bad ink with which it is written, after such a long journey it might be illegible when it arrives there.

He also says that more than 400,000 souls have been converted to our holy Catholic faith of their own free will, and more continually come to request baptism, because the Indians in one town where a wooden cross had been set up tried to burn it and never succeeded, and then all the people of the town died of pestilence without an Indian remaining, and seeing this miracle and other miracles that have occurred, the Indians of the region around came to be baptized and request crosses, which are given to them with the greatest ceremony possible. Also certain mosques that had not yet received images of Our Lady were struck by lightning and burned, and seeing this the people of those towns come to request images and crosses and baptism, and as there are few priests, the Indians themselves, seeing the

acts the priests perform, cross themselves and sprinkle water on each other.

He also says that he has sent people in the direction of the North Sea to look for gold mines, feeling sure they exist; and they have written asking for permission to melt down and distribute the gold they have taken and what they should take or get from the mines in the future; I will write granting it as soon as possible.

Royal treasurer Alonso de la Puente will leave, with the aid of God, at the end of May, or by the end of June at latest, with all the gold he has and whatever more should come or could be obtained; he is not going now because this ship goes unescorted. When he goes he will take everything that should be here, as well as a full accounting of the royal treasury which has been and is under his care.

This then is what has been done toward the west along the South Sea by the expedition that went under my lieutenant Francisco Hernández. It was done without touching your majesty's royal treasury; some individuals in this your majesty's kingdom gave me their aid, because my own estate is not sufficient for the great expenses that present themselves every day.

Toward the east along the South Sea, as I have written your majesty, I sent another expedition under Captain Pizarro, my lieutenant in the east, with very good people and good equipment. We daily expect good news from them which will please God and your majesty and ennoble these kingdoms, because we hear news of great wealth. May our Lord guide it all so that it can in some way serve your majesty. For this expedition to the east the reverend father Maestrescuela don Fernando de Luque and Captain Pizarro and Diego de Almagro have aided me with their own means, showing the good will that true vassals of your majesty should.

I am busying myself with building ships and doing what is necessary to bring back spices from the islands, as pilots assure me can be done. I implore your majesty, since expenses here are so great and for this enterprise of the spice islands your majesty's aid is necessary, that you order me given favor and aid for

it, and also that you have friars and learned persons sent to instruct the Indians in the things of our holy Catholic faith, because they are much needed here. The reverend father fray Francisco de Bobadilla, provincial superior of the order of St Mary of Mercy in this kingdom, is going to inform your majesty of this matter, and I humbly beg you to give him audience, because he is a person whose example and teaching have borne much fruit in the conversion of the Indians, and he has given much consolation to the Christians with his preaching; he has founded some houses of his holy order here, and knows of matters here as an eyewitness. Order him to return forthwith, because his teaching is greatly needed by both Indians and Christians, and order him favored so that he can bring back friars with whom to augment the holy faith of Jesus Christ, since that is the principal thing your majesty has charged me with in your service.

I have been informed that Captain Gil González, forgetting the benefits he received from me in this kingdom and how much I, trying to serve your majesty, helped him with the expedition under his command, has departed from the truth and told falsehoods to your majesty and those of your very high council. And also they say that an Oviedo who was here filling certain offices for Secretary Lope Conchillos and fled secretly in fear of the punishment his crimes merited has presented certain charges against me, and since any guilt on my part should be punished more severely than in another, I humbly beg your sacred majesty, in remuneration for the services I have performed since my childhood and that I did for the blessed Catholic Monarchs of glorious memory, for your grandfather and your father and for your majesty, that you appoint a judge above suspicion to come and review my performance, because I feel sure that then your majesty will be informed of my services, and I will be freed from the iniquitous accusations the above two have made against me. Also I beg your majesty to give me license to come and kiss your royal hands and feet, because in respect to your majesty no one should dare tell you an untruth, and whoever does not do right by his own good

name will not do right in the service of God and your majesty.[2]

[1]Published in Spanish in Raúl Porras Barrenechea, ed., *Las relaciones primitivas de la conquista del Perú*, pp. 59–62.

[2]The concluding formulas and signature are missing.

3. The woman as conqueror

Doña Isabel de Guevara, in Asunción, Paraguay, to Princess doña Juana, regent in Spain, 1556[1]

> . . . The men became so weak that all the tasks fell on the poor women . . .

The heroic woman in the style of early North American history is not really a central figure of the Spanish conquests. Mainly Indian servant women accompanied the conquerors. Most expeditions set out with no Spanish women at all; at most one or two camp followers or mistresses of leaders, like the well-known Inés Suárez in Chile. But in the relay system of conquest, at the more established base from which the expedition left there would always be wives and female relatives of the conquerors, who would begin to appear in the new country almost before the fighting was over. And legends formed around them. In the rich central regions the first women became known as grain goddesses and bearers of European civilization, each reputed to have introduced wheat and other European foods and amenities. On the periphery, tales were told of the hardships and battle prowess of the once humble women who came with the conquerors, Inés Suárez again being a good example.

The present letter pertains more to the second phenomenon, though with some differences. The Plata region was indeed the periphery of the periphery, one of the most difficult and, in sixteenth-century terms, economically hopeless regions into which Spaniards ventured. However, this was not known in Spain when don Pedro de Mendoza, expecting another Peru, bypassed the step-by-step series of conquests and brought a great expedition directly from Seville, including no small number of women who were not camp followers; some were ladies with the title of *doña* and noble surnames like Guevara. As to the rest, doña Isabel tells it, not untruly, but in legendary and heightened form, twenty years after the fact and with the urgency of a disappointed claimant.

Very high and powerful lady:

Several women came to this province of the Río de la Plata along with its first governor don Pedro de Mendoza, and it was my fortune to be one of them. On reaching the port of Buenos Aires, our expedition contained 1,500 men, but food was scarce, and the hunger was such that within three months 1,000 of them died; it was such a famine that the one of Jerusalem cannot equal it, nor any other be compared to it. The men became so weak that all the tasks fell on the poor women, washing the clothes as well as nursing the men, preparing them the little food there was, keeping them clean, standing guard, patrolling the fires, loading the crossbows when the Indians came sometimes to do battle, even firing the cannon, and arousing the soldiers who were capable of fighting, shouting the alarm through the camp, acting as sergeants and putting the soldiers in order, because at that time, as we women can make do with little nourishment, we had not fallen into such weakness as the men. Your highness will readily believe that our contributions were such that if it had not been for us, all would have perished; and were it not for the men's reputation, I could truthfully write you much more and give them as the witnesses. I believe others will write this story to your highness at greater length, so I will cease.

When this so perilous turbulence was over, the few who were still alive decided to ascend the river, weak as they were and with winter coming on, in two brigantines, and the weary women nursed them and looked after them and cooked their meals, carrying firewood on their backs from off the ship, and encouraging them with manly words not to let themselves die, that soon they would reach a fertile land, and carrying them on our shoulders to the brigantines with as much tenderness as if they were our own sons. And when we came upon a kind of Indians called Timbues who are great fishermen, again we served

the men in finding different sorts of dishes so that they wouldn't get sick from eating fish without bread when they were so weak.

Afterwards they decided to ascend the Paraná in search of provisions, in which voyage the unfortunate women underwent such hardships that God gave them life miraculously because he saw that the men's lives depended on them, for they took all the tasks of the ship so to heart that a woman who did less than another felt affronted; they worked the sail, steered the ship, sounded the depth, bailed out the water, took the oar when a soldier was unable to row, and exhorted the soldiers not to be discouraged, that men were meant for hardships. And the truth is, no one forced the women to do those things, nor did they do them out of obligation; only charity obliged them. Thus they arrived at this city of Asunción, which though today it is very rich in provisions, was then greatly in need of them, and the women had to turn to their tasks anew, making clearings with their own hands, clearing and hoeing and sowing and harvesting the crop with no one's aid until such time as the soldiers recovered from their weakness and began to rule the land, acquiring the service of Indian men and women, until the country at last attained its present state.

I wanted to write this and bring it to your highness' attention to let you know how ungratefully I have been treated in this land, because recently most of it was distributed among the Spaniards here, both the first-comers and the new arrivals, without any consideration of me and my hardships, and I was left out without being given the service of a single Indian. I greatly wish I were free to present myself before your highness and tell you the services I have done his majesty and the injustices they are now doing me, but that is not in my power, since I am married to a gentleman of Seville named Pedro de Esquivel, who, through serving his majesty, was the reason my hardships were forgotten and now are renewed, because three times I have taken the executioner's knife away from his throat, as your highness may know. So I beg you to order that my encomienda be granted to me in perpetuity, and that in gratification of my

services my husband be appointed to some office suiting the quality of his person, since for his own part, his services merit it. Our Lord prolong your royal life and estate for many years. From this city of Asunción, 2nd of July, 1556.

Your highness' servant who kisses your royal hands,
Doña Isabel de Guevara

[1] Published in Spanish in *Cartas de Indias*, pp. 619–21.

4. The merchant and the conquest of Peru

Martín de Zubizarreta, Basque merchant, in Nombre de Dios, Tierra Firme, to his employers Juan Sáez de Aramburu, Francisco de Churruca, Martín Pérez de Achotegui and company, in Seville, 1526[1]

. . . There was some breakage in the olive oil . . .

The conquests would have been impossible without the European equipment, metal and supplies that Spanish merchants delivered to America; nor, without the prospect of a European-style life that the merchandise held out, would the conquerors have had as strong a motivation for their campaigns. Thus merchants are woven into the fabric of the conquest as one of its characteristic phenomena, and their letters are most informative, throwing the process into quite a different light, with their talk of horseshoes and nails, casks of wine, or considerations of currency and credit. Sometimes a merchant would actually accompany an expedition, but his more usual station was at the base of operations, where he would receive shipments from Spain, sell them or send them on to the conquerors, and send remittances back. When the focus of conquest in Tierra Firme shifted to Panamá and the west coast, the merchants stayed for a while in Nombre de Dios on the Caribbean, where we find Martín de Zubizarreta, writer of the present letter. It may be viewed as a sequel to Letter 2, which is from the same region a year earlier. By now Governor Pedrarias has gone to assert his authority in Nicaragua, but the limitations of Nicaraguan wealth

are already becoming apparent, and attention is shifting towards Peru, Pizarro and Almagro. A little later, as Peru becomes dominant, the merchants will make Panamá their base, and subsequently Lima as well.

Import merchants in the Indies at this time were usually representatives of trans-Atlantic commercial networks with headquarters in Seville. Sometimes the merchants in America were partners, having made an investment; or sometimes, as here, they were factors who were paid a salary or commission. In either case they were junior men, quite dependent on the senior figures in Seville for their advancement. They could not make too many decisions independently, and they were under pressure to sell quickly and send a steady stream of money back. Their letters show this state of things in their often wavering tone and extraordinarily weak statements: 'I believe that pleasing God I will sell everything . . . as quickly as I can.' The general content of the messages is reporting on local demand and conditions, so that the people in Seville can decide what to invest in, and registering in great detail all remittances, with promise of more. The local man is always apologetic for the present, hopeful for the future. In such letters conditions are generally painted as bad at the moment, while untold riches are to be expected within a few days.

Mercantile companies were fluid, transitory arrangements; underlying continuity and security came from ties of blood, marriage and region. In this case, though the company headquarters was in Seville, all the members were from Biscay, indeed all from the single town of Azcoitia, and Francisco de Churruca was Martín de Zubizarreta's (doubtless older) brother. A personal note is characteristic of merchant letters, and often, as here, the local man asks favors for wife and children back in Spain. Senior partners were well aware of the loyalty this assured, and when ties were lacking they sometimes arranged marriages so that the departing factor would, so to speak, leave a hostage. Zubizarreta had already been representing his brother and other Basques in the Caribbean for some nine years, and continued to do so for another three before returning to Castile,

apparently for good.

This letter has some very technical passages describing gold remittances. To understand the conquest and settlement of Spanish America generally, it is necessary to have an adequate notion of the role of precious metals. The subject tends to be buried under myths and stereotypes of a 'thirst for gold.' One gains a bit better perspective by thinking of precious metals simply as money, and indeed the merchants often referred to gold or silver shipments in just those terms, as *dineros*. But the core of the matter is that precious metals were an export product, the only viable one, to trade for the equipment that fed the conquests and the clothing and accoutrements that would make life in the European manner possible. Neither conquerors nor merchants cared anything for the metal itself, which they traded immediately; they cared for the value and buying power in it. And so, with metal of varying quality in circulation, both merchants and settlers had to become experts in its evaluation; the character of a commercial transaction was altered completely if the value of the metal was miscalculated. In this game, the merchants stayed ahead, because they kept in touch with the money markets in Spain, as this letter shows, and they had greater experience with the very empirical methods of assaying. Observe Zubizarreta's statement: 'I received the 16-carat gold as being 12-carat, in exchange for merchandise.'

As to the technicalities, 'good gold,' pure or practically so, was worth 450 maravedís a peso, and *oro de minas* or gold as it came from the mines, what we have called 'mine-gold,' was accepted at this value. The peso and its subdivisions the tomín and the grain were not values but weights, properly speaking, and pesos of lower-carat gold had to be converted mentally into good gold to obtain the true value, an operation Zubizarreta carries out each time.

Noble sirs:

On the 30th of July of the present year of 1526 I received from shipmaster Alonso Buenaño your letter dated the 29th of May of the present year from the city of Seville, and I also

received the merchandise you gentlemen sent me with Buenaño.

All arrived, praise to God, in very good condition, the wines as well as the flour, and all the boxes and the rest contained in Alonso Buenaño's receipt, though there was some breakage in the olive oil and the jars of honey and the vinegar, as will appear in the bill of payment I made out to Buenaño. I paid the freight in good gold as the receipt stipulates, and the truth is that he deserved it, because he delivered the merchandise in good shape, though very little of it has been sold up to now on account of there being few people in the land. Aside from there being few already, Governor Pedrarias de Avila took with him to Nicaragua all the men he could remove from the country, because he went after Francisco Hernández, his captain, who they told him had rebelled. We think that, God willing, he will soon be back with the people he took. I believe that pleasing God I will sell everything, this shipment as well as what I had before, as quickly as I can. And I think that we will earn money with it, even if the sale is somewhat delayed, because until now we have been awaiting a captain called Diego de Almagro, who went exploring along the eastern shore of the South Sea. We thought he was going to bring back an infinite amount of gold, to judge by the richness of the land, but now it seems that the Indians have defended themselves against him, and leaving all his men there he has founded a town. He has arrived now, and brought about 10,000 pesos in gold, for which reason I am about to leave for Panamá, because the members of his company owe me more than 500 gold pesos, and I am going there to collect it. Because of that, and because they will quickly melt down what he brought back, and the ships are ready to leave again, I am not sending you gentlemen an account of what has been sold up to now, but pleasing God in the first ship that should leave this city of Nombre de Dios I will send an account of everything sold and what remains unsold. Also I will send you all the gold I can, and I believe we will earn a great deal of money on the goods. Although at present there is little money, the land is so disposed that there soon may be, because we are expecting Pedrarias de Avila with much gold. And we expect the people

Diego de Almagro left behind will send the same, since that was the agreement among them. He is coming for horsemen, because they have found the local people, I mean the Indians, to be very strong, and for that reason he has not brought much gold. May it please God to remedy it all as he knows is needed; certainly we expect much wealth from that land.

With Juanés de Astigarraga I sent you gentlemen 296 pesos and 2 grains in the following manner:

167 pesos and 4 tomines in mine-gold;
38 pesos, 2 tomines, in 14-carat gold, which is, in good gold, 23 pesos, 6 tomines, 5½ grains;
13 pesos, 4 tomines, 6 grains, in 16-carat gold, which makes 9 pesos, 5 tomines, 5 grains;
133 pesos, 4 tomines, in 16-carat gold, which makes 95 pesos, 5½ grains;

all of which gold pesos I trust you gentlemen will receive. Truly at present I could not send you more money, because the country is somewhat exhausted; but pleasing God I will supply money as soon as I can. I think we will make a profit on the gold I am sending you, because it is good. I received the 16-carat gold as being 12-carat, in exchange for merchandise.

I sent you gentlemen 600 pesos of good gold by Fernán Gómez, citizen of Palos. I am sure that, pleasing our Lord, you will have received it by now. May it please God that it has arrived safely in your city as I desire. Also I am sending you 71 pesos in the form of some mine-gold and some necklaces with designs. I beg you, when you receive the gold from Juanés de Astigarraga, to sell the mine-gold, and when converted into coin you send it with a person of confidence to milady wife in the town of Azcoitia. Also send her the necklaces; but should you gentlemen think best, sell it all and send it all in coin, as indeed I expect you will do. My wife has need of the money, as you know, to pay a certain debt.

Also I am sending you a receipt made out by shipmaster Juan Pérez de Menchola for the amount of 19 pesos of 20-carat gold in the form of a large medal. I gave it to him to take to Seville

and sell, and when converted into coin to send it to my wife. It appears that since he died on the way, he never sent it. I implore you gentlemen, since you have the power to act for me, to collect it from the estate of this Juan Pérez de Menchola, may God rest his soul. And when you have recovered it, send it to my wife with the rest. If you can't recover it there, send the receipt to my wife, so she can collect it in Azcoitia. Also I sent you by Francisco González, pilot, 269 pesos, 5 tomines, 8 grains of good gold:

221 pesos of 20-carat gold, which makes 196 pesos, 6 tomines, 7½ grains;
18 pesos, 4 tomines, 6 grains in 18-carat gold, which makes 15 pesos, 4 tomines;
86 pesos in 15-carat gold, which makes 57 pesos, 3½ tomines;

all of which makes as I say 269 pesos, 5 tomines, 8 grains. May you receive it together with the rest. The gold is good, and I think you will make a profit on it. When there are grains over and above the carats, each grain is worth 5 maravedís, because any gold with grains in addition to carats is assayed gold, and as I say is worth 5 maravedís per grain. Take care to look closely at the gold with grains. And if you think best, you can mix the gold assayed at 20 carats with the 16-carat gold, then have it assayed and see how it turns out. Send to tell me the result, so that I can know what to do here about the different kinds of gold, though I think that from now on there will be no bad gold at all.

The receipts made out by Juanés de Astigarraga, Francisco González, and Juan Pérez de Menchola go along with this letter. Don't neglect to send the goods I wrote to request of you through Fernán Gómez, because there is money to be earned with them, despite the country's being quite flooded with merchandise at the present. But with the arrival of Pedrarias de Avila and his people, and the arrival of the caravel of Diego de Almagro, all will be sold, and it might arrive at a time when everything is selling well. And Alonso Buenaño will inform you gentlemen of what goes on here. As I say, because of the departure of the ships I am about to leave in order to be at the melting down and distribution in Panamá, and am not sending you an account of everything. But with the first person who leaves here I will send you a complete account and write you at great length. I think that some people are going with the intention of shipping merchandise back here. If you gentlemen decide to send something, then let it be before any of the others do, and we will steal the fodder from the horse. Alonso de Buenaño will advise you of everything.

Also I send you a decree the governor has had made out to me, giving me as a citizen of this city permission to bring four blacks here without paying any duties in Spain. This is part of the grant his majesty made to this land to import five hundred blacks freely without paying any duties. And you gentlemen can buy these four blacks and send them to me for me to sell them here, and we will earn money with them. They must be from eighteen to twenty-five years old, and should be new from their homeland and strong, for those are the ones needed here, to get gold in the mines. And in the shipment, if you gentlemen send one, don't send me lances, because they have no price at all here, nor any more iron nor horseshoes, except perhaps some shoes fitted for mules with plain nails, which should have a good shaft even though it costs somewhat more. And send me four or five thousand loose nails, because here nails wear out quicker than shoes. And send me cinches with their hooks, for mules, since I greatly need them for my beasts, and also some fine serge, which should be from Carmona. And some common linen if it is very good, and some heavy carter's thread, and some long packing-needles with good-sized eyes, and two or three dozen cattle bells, and some things like that. And as to earthenware, don't send any at all, because it is a waste, except perhaps some stewpots and casseroles; and two or three dozen small hampers for carrying things, and two or three dozen bundles of cordage fiber, and let there be a good quantity of that.

Our Lord guard and increase the life and honor of your noble persons for a very long time as I desire. In Nombre de Dios, the

28th of September 1526.

Your very faithful servant,

Martín

And gentlemen, don't forget to send that money of mine to milady wife because, as you know, she has need of it. And I ask you as a favor always to take charge of supplying my household, since I am so far away and there is no one else who could do it for her.

[1]Published in Spanish, with comment, in Otte, 'Mercaderes vascos en Tierra Firme a raíz del descubrimiento del Perú,' *Mercurio Peruano*, nos. 443–4 (1964), 81–9.

5. The merchant and the conquest of Mexico

Hernando de Castro, in Santiago, Cuba, to his senior partner Alonso de Nebreda in Seville, 1520[1]

> . . . This Cortés is in that city, some sixty or seventy leagues from the sea . . .
>
> Until all are at peace, it is clearly no time to do business . . .

Having been introduced to some aspects of mercantile organization and correspondence in Letter 4, the reader will perhaps be prepared for this letter, written earlier but longer and more complex. Here, in addition to the characteristics seen before, we glimpse the operation of a large-scale commercial network with branches and representatives in several places at once. In the letter, names fly by bewilderingly. Without trying to be exhaustive, let us detail some of the most important figures. All were from Burgos, Old Castile, the town whose merchants, in the period before the discovery of America, long shared dominance of Spanish international trade with the Genoese.

(1) Alonso de Nebreda, recipient of the present letter, based in Seville, the head of interests trading towards both Flanders and the Caribbean.

(2) Juan de Ríos, Nebreda's brother-in-law as well as long-standing factor and partner, based in Santo Domingo.

(3) Hernando de Castro, writer of the present letter, from a prominent Burgos family, important investor along with Nebreda and Ríos in a new venture to sell goods in Cuba and 'Yucatán'; yet acting as factor and junior partner, based in Santiago, Cuba.

(4) The Herrera brothers: (a) Francisco, referred to here sometimes as 'Herrera' and 'young Francisco,' Castro's chief aide, who despite intentions to leave eventually succeeded Castro as the company's factor in Santiago. (b) Juan, working for Juan de Ríos, the Santo Domingo representative; in Ríos' name, he took merchandise to Mexico, selling it to:

(5) Pedro de Maluenda, Hernando de Castro's cousin, not part of the Nebreda-Castro enterprise at the moment, but in Mexico as a representative of Cuban governor Diego Velázquez.

(6) Fernando de Santa Cruz, nephew of Castro, killed in a shipwreck on his way to Mexico, taking merchandise for his father,

(7) Juan Fernández, in Seville, who was Castro's cousin, as well as his associate in selling black slaves.

All of these people maintained close personal and commercial connections, investing in joint enterprises or more individual ones, working for each other or for themselves as it best suited them at the moment, but still somehow within the framework of the larger group. Nebreda, Castro and Ríos also invested in a ship (in Cuba at the time of the letter), saving freight costs but earning themselves much worry and trouble, as the reader will see.

Perhaps two more names will bear a little explanation. 'Villalón' is a reference to the Fair of Villalón; Nebreda and Castro had bought a large part of the goods for the new venture on credit, and the debts fell due at the time of the fair. 'Baltasarejo' is the Spanish-speaking black slave Castro so praises and considers indispensable; nevertheless, he ran away shortly after the letter was written.

In this letter we see the importance for conquest-period commerce of the *fundición* or melting down of metals. The practice was that at the conquest of a new area, and for some time thereafter, all precious metals that accrued in any way were brought together into a common pile (or were supposed to be), then at irregular, widely-spaced intervals melted down, evaluated, and redistributed to the whole body of conquerors, following criteria that are too complex to go into here. This procedure did not last long, but while it did, it gave commerce a stop-and-go, highly speculative quality, with merchants constantly forced to extend credit, and not for a fixed term, but for the first melting down (which might come late or never), or even for the second one. If the amount melted down proved small, disaster ensued; if large, a time of great demand and high prices would follow immediately.

Another frequent practice illustrated in the letter is the seizing of goods to pay debts. The world worked on credit; with great distances and unsettled conditions so unfavorable to debt collection, the creditors demanded bondsmen, who as often as not were merchants. Despite the merchants' great skill in avoiding seizure and their great resentment when it happened, having a part of one's stocks confiscated for debts, one's own or someone else's, was a normal part of a merchant's life.

In this letter Hernando de Castro evinces not only a charmingly different perspective on the conquest of Mexico, but a very good grasp of the course of the conflict between Governor Diego Velázquez of Cuba and the subordinate he had helped outfit, Hernando Cortés, who was now declaring independence (another situation of the type discussed in relation to Letter 2). At this time Velázquez has already sent the second large contingent under Narváez to bring Cortés to submission, but Castro expects further trouble – 'all seems to be the passion, anger and vengeance that impoverish men.' He sees the potential of the Mexican market, feels it will still be there when the Spaniards have resolved their conflicts, and is inclined to wait.

In the present case, the times proved more propitious for the Burgos merchants' goods than for their lives. The melting down

in Cuba produced better results than those who had already left for Mexico would have imagined, and Castro sold his goods at a profit level approaching 200 percent, including even the flour that he is so pessimistic about in the letter. But within a very few years all the merchants of this group on the American side, except Castro, were dead in shipwrecks and other calamities. Castro himself went back to Spain after a year, then later returned to Cuba as royal factor and member of the town council of Santiago.

Jesus *Cuba, last day of August, 1520*

Very virtuous sir:

Francisco Vara left here on the 27th of last month, and I wrote by him of our arrival. After that Ambrosio Sánchez came and gave me a letter from you, and though he gave it to me when I was in bed being purged of some persistent fevers, I was very glad to receive it, and will now answer and tell what else is happening.

As to the shipment, I kept the ship loaded for twelve days, mainly to make arrangements with the sales tax collector; I said I wanted to go on to Tierra Firme, since I was registered for that destination, and I thought surely I would make him do the courteous thing. But then Mr Maestre Donato came, and because the deputy ordered him to present the decree the judges of the House of Trade issued, he brought it and it was read; then I had to unload, and I lost 100 pesos in duties because of it, but there was nothing else to do. And also there was no sign of Diego Velázquez coming, nor any news from Yucatán, and the men were all ailing, and the leaks in the ship were worrying me. And so I unloaded, and thank God, everything is in good condition, except the wines. If it weren't for the iron hoops I wouldn't have a drop left; I don't know what caused it, but I think bad hoops, and it has been a great worry. During unloading, one cask of the new white wine leaked out; and another half cask of red wine, not being fully matured, fermented in the cask and burst. But the rest, thank God, is in good shape,

though there will be wastage as always. And so I have it all unloaded and here with me, and do not much regret not having gone farther for now, because of what I will now tell you.

One of the eighteen ships Diego Velázquez sent in his expedition has arrived back here, the flagship itself, which left from San Juan de Uloa on the 4th of May, and from the many letters it brought from people there, and from the men on the ship themselves, we have heard about everything that is going on, with full particulars. First they say that Hernando Cortés, the person who was there, before he knew that a fleet was coming from this island, left the coast and went inland to a very great city that they now call Venice. They say it has 80,000 citizens, and they call it Venice because of its greatness and because it is all surrounded by water, with drawbridges. This Cortés is there with all his men, fortified and at peace with the Indians, while he awaits the reply from a message he has sent to the king, and refuses obedience to the captain whom Diego Velázquez just now sent there. As I say, this Cortés is in that city, some sixty or seventy leagues from the sea. They say he is extremely rich in gold and silver, and those with him the same, and in great peace with the Indians, and he awaits, as I say, a reply from Castile. And so there he is with all this wealth. The other expedition that left later under Captain Narváez arrived on the 19th of April, but found no place to make camp, because at the port they came to there was neither house, hut, water nor firewood: only sandy beaches. For this reason he thought he would return with the fleet to the river of Grijalva, twelve leagues away, and disembark and make camp there, since the place was well suited for it. So things there up till now are not so smooth and peaceful as would be best, either for them or for merchandise. Those who have the gold have retired with it to that city, and those who hold the port, that is, those who just went there, are without a penny and are now seeking a share for themselves and vengeance on this Cortés. As to the merchandise that went in the fleet, six ships were lost, with forty Christians, among them my nephew Fernando de Santa Cruz, as I am writing to Juan Fernández; some of the merchandise aboard was saved, but it

didn't fit on the other ships. So I give thanks to God for all, and am not sorry I did not go ahead from here myself, nor am I concerned about the decree from the gentlemen of the House of Trade. Until all are at peace, it is clearly no time to do business nor to put in an appearance there. It cannot last long thus; one person must command the country, not two. If, as they now write, Diego Velázquez should go there, all will turn out well; he is coming from Trinidad, 150 leagues from here, and some believe he is sure to go. I would like that, because I could either go with him or give him what I have left. I feel sure he will go, because if there was already much talk of that country before, now there is much more, about its great wealth and abundance in all things; and to be lord and rule in such a land would be a grand affair. Diego Velázquez will be here within twenty-five or thirty days to see to the melting down of the gold, which was not done for eighteen months, and to carry out the distribution of encomiendas; I hope to God this will help me in the sale of merchandise. And if the land of Yucatán is as they say, it will be just as good a time for me to take advantage of it after six months; then there will be more money than now, and they don't yet know even where they will be living. Whatever happens or should happen is by the will of God, and we must consider it good or even the best thing; content yourself with what God does, and that will be a great favor to me.

As to the sale of the merchandise, I can tell you, sir, that if they had set fire to this country on purpose it could not have been consumed so quickly, because 1,200 men have left this island for Yucatán and bought up the bulk of everything that had come from Castile. And though gold has been gathered in reasonable quantities, there are few people to sell to. So you must have double patience, first because I did not go on, and second because of the small sales. But I expect through God to do better than average in the end. And though I send you no money now, because there is none, one day you will receive more than you are expecting. May God give us good weather and health, amen. What troubles me most is that I and others have so much flour that the country is full of it. I have sold 5

casks at 7½ pesos on credit and have sold no more. It concerns me because, as you know, we could lose on it if time goes by and no demand for it develops. I am sending along a memorandum of what I have sold on credit; truly I have no need of instruments to test gold, since even if there were gold to test, they aren't in use here now. So I ask you many times, please have patience. With the arrival soon of Adelantado Velázquez and with the melting down, which will take place between now and Christmas, I expect to sell a great deal of it. And if not, we expect news from Yucatán any minute, and if it is as we believe, either everything will be sold here or we can reload. You can rest assured that there is no lack in me of diligence and desire to obtain good sales; instead my will to face what is coming only grows.

I wouldn't want to forget to write that at present you should not send me any merchandise whatever, even if they gave it to you gratis on the steps of the Exchange, because you cannot retrieve the money as quickly as you would think, no matter to what lengths you go. And so I beg you under no conditions send goods; indeed I will not receive them, to avoid giving a bad account of them.

When I got here I was told that Francisco de Garay, of Jamaica, had discovered another land sixty leagues beyond that of Diego Velázquez; they say it is all one, and one part as rich as the other. There chanced to be a brigantine here going to Jamaica, and I wrote Garay thinking that he would have money, and I might sell him the whole shipment. He answered me with a letter, a copy of which I'm sending along. You may well believe that if the goods were loaded now, I would go there with everything, but that could not be, because he was slow in replying, and the sailors pressed me to unload. Take a look at the letter, for two purposes. First, so you can tell Dr Matienzo the good news that there is gold in his abbacy, and at the melting down they expect to have 12,000 or 15,000 pesos of very fine gold, through which his income will be augmented. And the other thing is that I hope, God willing, to do business with Francisco de Garay as governor and captain, so that, as I have written, you

and I would supply all the merchandise from Castile necessary for that island. If this is done, I promise you it will be profitable. Please God that it be for his service, amen.

I am sending out a ship that will go to the savannas for meat, with an Alonso Lucas, citizen of Jamaica, as captain; on the strength of this letter I mentioned, and since he issued a written obligation, I gave him 373 pesos worth of merchandise for Garay, as described in the memorandum, to be paid at the time gold is melted down in Jamaica, or in any case by next feast of Ash Wednesday. I would have liked to sell it at different prices and with better security, but I did this to begin cleaning up such a large stock, and also to begin doing business with him, since he is the best and most truthful person in this land. Please be happy with this as I am; I'm as sure that he will pay as if it were you who owed it. Do write me your clear opinion on this.

I already wrote that Hernando Gallego was going with his ship, which God preserve, to Yucatán. In it Francisco de Herrera, as he is writing you, shipped twenty-six casks of flour, two casks of red wine, and olive oil and vinegar, as appears by the receipt, all of which cost him 300 gold pesos. The ship left this port on the 17th of August. May God take it safely, amen. If you want to insure some of this, you can do as you please on the basis of the receipt and what he is writing. (I have nothing to do with it, nor any say in it.)

I have sold two of the blacks for 135 pesos, to be paid when gold is next melted down; one of them is for Juan Fernández and the other for us. I think that although I will not get such a price, since these were the best specimens of all, I will be able to sell the others too when the time of melting down comes, God willing; I don't want to sell them on credit. The one I brought who speaks Spanish does everything for me, since Francisco fell ill; it seems this land doesn't agree with Francisco, and he is returning in the ship, God save it. The black woman fell ill too, but is well again now; may God guide all for his service, amen. I have sold all the velvet at 3 pesos, to be paid at the time of melting down. I have a yard and a half left. This was good business, it seems to me.

Herrera fell ill as soon as he arrived, but through God, with treatment he recovered. Now he has had a relapse of tertian ague, and is being treated again. May God give him health as I desire; his illness certainly troubles me.

As to the merchandise that Juan de Herrera took from Santo Domingo to Yucatán for Juan de Ríos in this ship I mentioned, Juan de Herrera has written at length about it to Juan de Ríos. If I can, I will send you a copy along with this. The paragraph he writes on the subject is in substance this:

> Sir, I have come to terms with Pedro de Maluenda on 90 percent profit for all undamaged goods, and for what is damaged irreparably, whatever it cost in Santo Domingo. I consider this a good arrangement, sir, and would rather give it to him in this way than have it continue as mine. I don't know where we'll go from here, and if you knew what difficult navigation we have, and might even have to turn back, you would consider it much better than one might think. The terms are payment within six months, and if Alonso García should send the caravel back with money, Maluenda will send neither more nor less than I am able to. I have done this, so approve it; I swear to God that if I had not made this arrangement, I would have had to sell for much less. Not a man in the camp would have dared buy any of it, if I hadn't given it to him. That was the reason he took it because, our Lord willing, however bad things go, he will not lose, as he is in charge of all of the Adelantado's business here, things having to do with the expedition as well as money going to Diego Velázquez as his share, and so he has opportunity. And since he supplies the whole expedition, sailors and landsmen, with goods, in this way he can find an outlet for everything, and can collect from the first money that accrues. For this reason he dared take what no one else would come within a hundred leagues of taking. I consider it a very good sale, sir, and I have begun to hand over the goods. I have had a good deal of trouble in the ships, because they say that this merchandise belongs to the Adelantado. If I don't seal this letter before settling with Maluenda, I will write about this in detail. As to wastage, of olive oil and of wine, it is impossible that there should not be much wastage. In everything I will try to do what is best for us. Since I know that Maluenda is a man who will not let gossip or troublemakers come between him and us, I would rather have 90 percent with him than 120 with someone else.

The letter is dated the first of May. The reason for this sale was that, as Captain Narváez seized Licentiate Ayllón and the notary and constable from Santo Domingo, and ordered them sent here as prisoners in the ship in which these goods were loaded, he had no choice but to unload. As six ships were lost, the others took on the goods that were salvaged, and so he had to do this, more from necessity than voluntarily. It will be all right; I am sure they will pay. I don't know what the profit will be, because freight is high, and there will be much damage to the merchandise and other costs. The best thing will be for him to remain there along with another employee of Juan de Ríos and then, when they get the first money, to bring it back. This is all I can tell you and that appears through his letter. I think you should approve it, sir, as I would, and though you don't see a penny now, someday it will come. I consider all that country extremely rich, though I am afraid the discord between this Hernando Cortés and Diego Velázquez will bring it to ruin. If no remedy comes from Castile, the country is no place for business; all seems to be the passion, anger and vengeance that impoverish men. May God send his mercy, or if not, then his justice; both are much needed. A mare or horse sells for 320 pesos, to be paid when there is money. It is an illustrious rich land, level and abundant, with peaceful people and many cities. May God direct all to his service, amen.

As to the flour I brought here, I'm afraid there will be little or no profit, because there is as much flour hereabouts as water,

selling at 5½ or 6 pesos. Let us hope to do well with the other things, because there will be little gain in this.

In the matter of the ship now returning to Seville (God save it, amen), if I could only find the means of selling it and a buyer with the money, I would be willing, because having it with no one aboard to take care of it is total ruin. For that reason I'm sending you powers to sell it, even though that might seem unnecessary, but since I was so empowered I did it. It seems to me that the best thing would be to try to sell half interest to someone in whom you have full confidence, and he would pay for half, because there is no point in selling a smaller share. And I would rather give him two thirds than one third, because then he will show greater concern. As long as I am here I can take care of my part, and also that of Juan de Ríos, it seems to me. And if you sell half interest, the price would be 250,000 maravedís at cost, more or less, if so it seems to you. Or if you don't care to do this and could find someone to buy all of it, that would also be very well, but by no means let it be or come back this way. Do as you think best, but I would greatly prefer selling half, because in two voyages there would be a profit, and besides, this country of Yucatán is so extremely rich that it will be of great advantage to us. Sir, do as you please, but by all means do one of these two things; I know you will find a way to do one or the other. The memorandum of what it originally cost in Spain is in the book, in my hand, and there is no other cost, except I think they bought four guns in Cádiz for 12 ducats, as they wrote me. And Herrera bought two for 39,740 maravedís, and in Sanlúcar he spent 6,409 on the topsail and other things, which cost 6,898 above what we wrote. On this voyage, which God willing will finish well, the ship has made 40,000 or 60,000 maravedís. If we were going to Yucatán, we would still do all right, since the freight is 6 pesos a ton from here to there. May God guard it and give it a good voyage; I would rather return with it than not. May God save it, amen.

The ship's crew all fell ill, as you already know, sir. There is a sailor among them called Domingo, and since I know him and he wants to continue to serve with the ship, I gave him 1,600

maravedís, as you will see by this acknowledgment, which he will pay forthwith and put on my account. I know you will say it is a fine bar of gold, this first one I'm sending, but one thing will come after another, God willing. Try to see that this Domingo serves in the ship, since he is a very fine sailor.

I already wrote you from Santo Domingo that I had finished up accounts with that young fellow, and that I collected 60 pesos in cash, while I refrained from collecting another 70 from Mr Juan de Ríos. I brought the 60 pesos along with me, not wanting to send it in case it should be necessary here for freight. I have decided to send it to you, 63 pesos, going in a bag saying '63 pesos for Mr Alonso de Nebreda.' With it I beg you to do me the favor of buying the goods mentioned in an accompanying memorandum and send them to me in a case in the first ship or in ours, God willing. Be sure the merchandise is what I ask for, and above all that it is very good. And if the money is not enough to pay for it, since you are there perhaps you will be so good as to make it up. You could send me some satin and damask that people have been asking for, and some hats, since I have none, and some leather footwear, all of which I believe will find good sale. So aid me, as I see you aided by God and the Virgin Mary. As to the insurance that I wrote you from Santo Domingo to take out for me at 25 ducats per ship, I entreat you to do it, and I say again it will be a favor to me, and I run the risk. Let the goods be very good, and let them come in good condition under the quarterdeck to avoid rain. And make sure the case has no holes; one before had a hole that the mice got into and destroyed thirty pairs of sandals on me.

Please send this letter I'm writing to Alonso Hernández in Córdoba with the first person going there, and please pay him the some 13,000 maravedís that the six riding saddles will cost him, or whatever is needed. And I beg you to do it quickly.

In the matter of the 162 ducats that Pablos Mejía was to pay with our ship as security, what has happened is that he was confident Diego Velázquez would pay that much for him and more, but he is not here, and there was nothing left for him to do but find someone who would lend him money, the royal treasurer

50 pesos and another local citizen 50 pesos, to be paid at the time of melting down, and he asked me to wait for the rest, 42 ducats, until he can pay. I considered it a bad arrangement, but took the two promises that I mentioned for 100 pesos, believing they will pay me duly, but I don't believe the 42 ducats will be paid until Yucatán. This is what comes of doing good deeds. I am so angry that I would rather be a friar than receive such annoyance for such little profit. What happened was that I was never able to convince the person who represents Mr Perona not to seize goods for the debt; yesterday he did it, and I indicated the goods he could take. What a reward for pleasing someone! Be sure you thank Mr Perona for it there, I just ask you that. So I consider the 100 pesos sure, the 42 ducats not till Yucatán, though I will do what I can to get him to pay. Since he appears not to have means, there is a limit to what I can do. No matter how much I offered Perona's representative security or guarantees, nothing I said could convince him not to have goods seized. Again I tell you to reward him for it, now and other times.

I'm not writing to Mr Diego Díaz; he should consider this letter his, and if you think best, you or he might send this letter to Mr Cristóbal de Haro.

They gave me a kind of little cat in Hispaniola that I sent to Juan Fernández' wife, since Mr Juan de Ríos sent you another one while I was there, and one is enough to torment the parrots. But I will try to send another. There are no yams on this island, as is only just, because where there is no health there should not be good things.

I paid the master and his associates the freight costs, as they will tell you. The master is a good man, but not cut out for this position, which he doesn't know how to handle and should not hold. We settled accounts, and his share for his work was 10,000 maravedís. He has already spent that much, and an additional 3,635 deficit he has incurred, on good eating and drinking. He is a good man, but you will never collect the deficit from him; put it on my account. Here is the written obligation. Take into account the ship and tackle, as will appear

in the book there and the memorandum they gave me when I bought it. May God save it, amen.

In the matter of what is owing for Villalón, don't think I've forgotten it. To this day I have sold 700 pesos worth of goods, 370 owed by Francisco Garay, and the rest here, 320 or 330 pesos, which we can count on when the gold is melted down. And some more will be sold between now and then, God willing. Don't think I will be without anxiety until I can send the money, much less that I would decline sales. I hope through God to be able to send it by Christmas. And if you should not believe it and want to sell the ship, I leave it up to you. But I do expect through God that things will turn out so I can send it to you in time.

It would be well if when the ship arrives, God willing, you would go straight to it and station some trustworthy person there to guard it so the sailors and others won't take whatever is on it, and this I beg of you.

While writing this I sold 3⅓ yards of crimson satin, at 3 pesos cash. Consider what a price! I wish it had all gone that way. I have sold 14 yards of the fine scarlet for breeches at 3 pesos on credit; I did it to sell it, since the cloth is perishable. I think the rest will have to be closed out in Yucatán, or more properly speaking San Juan de Uloa. May God give me good sales for this and for everything, amen.

Young Francisco is returning in the ship. May God bear him safely. He fell ill, as the land didn't seem to agree with him, and after that he didn't want to stay with me except on a monthly basis. Besides that, he was thinking of going to Yucatán, and might leave me when I need him. And also business is not what it might be, and I wanted to reduce costs. So I settled accounts with him and paid him; you help him there as much as you can. If we hadn't brought Baltasarejo, we would be in fine shape.

I already told you that when the ship is registered you should put a very trustworthy person on it so they won't rob it. They are all very cunning, and you will prevent them from taking a thousand trifles and filling up their houses for Christmas. I'm sending along a memorandum of what is on the ship, aside from

what is in the book. I do not yet know who the passengers will be, so you will have to find out there who they were in order to take your part. I think the ship will carry some from here to la Yaguana, and also from la Yaguana to Seville. Don't let them take more from us, it was enough with the thousand damages they have done; I am missing 13½ arrobas of olive oil, worth 13½ pesos, and 7 arrobas of vinegar. The master owes 3,635 maravedís, from which you should deduct, sir, 1,560 for the candles he bought for the ship.

Herrera here is also writing you about the ship of Hernando Gallego, and I refer you to what he is writing. May God give it a good voyage, amen. This is being sealed on the 15th of September.

At your service,

Hernando de Castro

The ship has been kept here more than twenty days because Diego Velázquez, who has been in Trinidad for ten months, has left to come here and wants to use it to send messages to Castile. And for the same reason they will not let Ambrosio go, because such is the custom in this land. They say that gold will be melted down by Christmas, and at the same time the Indians will be distributed and when that is done, Diego Velázquez will go to his Yucatán. If all this occurs, I think I will have a reasonable sale of the merchandise. May God grant it as I desire, amen. So far I thank God for having given us peace. The news could not be worse from Yucatán, with this discord; while here we have peace, but not a penny. May God aid us, amen.

[1]Published in Spanish, with comment, in Otte, 'Mercaderes burgaleses en los inicios del comercio con México,' *Historia Mexicana*, XVIII (1968), 120–9.

6. The non-hero

Maestre Baltasar, on Gallo Island off Ecuador, to his brother in Panamá, 1527[1]

> . . . Two years is long enough to go about begging without servants. . .

Readers of Prescott or the Spanish chroniclers get no inkling of what expeditions of discovery and conquest in the Indies were like. Hardships, high mortality, and sometimes fierce fighting were indeed involved. But what the chroniclers took for granted, and Prescott did not know, was that the expeditions were joint economic ventures shot through with capitalism and commercialism. The leaders were the largest investors, in ships and supplies, to which they gave their men access – practically always for a price; but all the men invested something, if only their person and clothing, and the shares the conquerors won were adjusted more than anything else to the size of their investments. Owning a horse doubled one's share. The ships may have left most of the import merchants behind, but commercialism and lively trading continued to be part of the picture. The wealthier expedition members took stocks to be sold to their fellows later, when supplies would be scarcer and higher priced. The expeditions contained blacksmiths, tailors, surgeons, notaries and others who charged for their services. And trading back and forth of horses, weapons, clothing and slaves went on constantly.

Another aspect not much spoken of, and which for lack of sources scholars still know too little about, is the large number of Indian and black helpers the Spaniards always took with them on expeditions, outnumbering themselves at least two to one. Their direct role in the fighting was not great, but they freed the conquerors by carrying the baggage, searching for provisions, bringing wood and water, and helping with other tasks; the women among them were also cooks, mistresses, companions. Blacks, as highly expensive slaves, were the minority. The bulk were Indians, who might either be informal permanent dependents, simply commandeered somewhere, or slaves like

the blacks, though much lower priced (Indian slavery, while short-lived in the central regions, was a standard phenomenon of the conquests); in either case, they originated in areas already conquered, usually close to the expedition's point of departure. Rather than operating as a corps, the helpers in most cases belonged to the individual conquerors; each Spaniard normally expected to have two or three, an expectation that did not vanish with the culmination of the conquest.

It is not at all strange, then, to find our Maestre Baltasar at a critical juncture of a major conquest, under extreme conditions of danger and hardship, speaking of debt collection and appealing for servants. He appears to have been a barber-surgeon, and would have had even more than the ordinary need for helpers. (*Maestre* is 'master,' that is, master at a craft, and since the Spaniards loved names of two elements, those who acquired that title often lost their surnames almost entirely.) Maestre Baltasar and his brother have been selling supplies to the conquerors; with the brother and main investor back in Panamá, and Maestre Baltasar as the man on the spot almost like a factor, their arrangement is much like that of a mercantile company. They sold on credit by written obligation, payable at the first melting down of gold, the same system explained in Letter 5. The 6,000 pesos of good gold that Almagro took back to Panamá is the same amount referred to in Letter 4 by the merchant Zubizarreta.

Gallo Island is famous in the conquest of Peru as the spot where a brave few decided to persevere while the pusillanimous many gave up. There was indeed a strong division; Pizarro with his close associates wanted to continue, while a large part of the men wanted the opposite. This letter is one of several that members sent back to Panamá trying to have the whole expedition recalled or to get license to return themselves. It would be better not to think in terms of bravery and cowardice. All these people were heroic, in the sense of being willing to face death to get what they wanted. None were, in the sense of being dashing, given to unnecessary risk, or unconcerned with self-interest. The opposing groups were not so different, despite personal and

regional antagonisms. Their situations were different. Pizarro and the others most closely identified with his venture stood to rule Peru if they could get to it; if they returned to Panamá they stood to be overwhelmed by their great indebtedness and see someone else rule it. The others, not enjoying Pizarro's favor, cared nothing about who ruled; they observed no immediate progress towards the source of the grand reports, but did observe that they continued to die off from disease as the majority of the expedition had done over the past months and years. Some of the very men who went back to Panamá at this time later joined the Peruvian conquest proper, once it was proved to them that there was a quick sea route, so that the venture was worth the risk for them.

Where we have put 'palisades' in the translation, the original has *barbacoas*. The Spaniards learned the word in the Caribbean, extending it from wooden grills used for smoking meat to just about anything Indians made of poles. Houses on stilts, tree houses, or something of that nature might be meant here.

Dear brother:

I wrote to you there by Captain Diego de Almagro; please, sir, if we are to remain here, finish getting what I asked for in the way of medicines, and as to the rest, you will do, sir, as you know is needed. You write, brother, that you want to go to Castile and that I should come there to render account to you; I wish to God, though it cost me a finger of each hand, that I could be there and settle accounts, since it would save my life and I would escape from great bad fortune, hunger and hardship. At present we are on an island where with much effort we go to the mainland to the palisades seeking maize among the bogs and carrying it on our backs, because I and most of the rest have no one to carry it for us, and so we live dying, not satisfied with only maize. Therefore, sir, I ask you, if you can find any way, please negotiate with the governor or the treasurer to give me license to come there, since I have done all I am obliged to, and am married, and they have held me by force for more than a year and a half. I'm very ill, and if you can't

negotiate it they will get little advantage from me.

And sir, if this cannot be done, and if, which God prevent, more people come and the voyage continues, send me the things I mentioned and which you know I will need for the practice of my trade, and also someone to serve me, that is, a black or a good Indian man and woman, because if I should buy them here it would cost a great deal. Two years is long enough to go about begging without servants; and if the voyage continues, there is all the more to be gained. Sir, in the other letter I already wrote replying to I don't know what complaints that you made; I don't know why you should give credence to someone who talks gratuitously, since I have told you that between you and me there are to be no differences, though I be left naked, and let that be enough. Write me, sir, at great length what your will is, and everything that is going on there, and how you came out with Diego de Almagro about our money. You sent, sir, to tell me to give you a memorandum of the men who were still alive here. What need do you have of that for the first obligations, since the first and second lots of gold were already taken there to Panamá, over 6,000 pesos of good gold, and Diego de Almagro is in possession of it, while the obligations speak of the first gold and of whatever should be taken and carried back there, and Captain Pizarro and all the members of the company are so obliged? Watch that they don't deceive you by saying that I have given my power to anyone, as you wrote; and if anyone says that I have given it to him, let him produce the document.

Furnish me a little clothing, some linen and woolens, which should include a couple of shirts and a corslet and a couple yards of linen; and as to provisions, sir, send me the same as you did last time, and if you were even more generous you would be doing me a great favor, because the greatest evil we have is hunger.

There is no more, sir, to write you. Our Lord guard your virtuous person as you might desire. From Gallo Island, 15th of August, 1527.

At your orders, sir, your brother,

Maestre Baltasar

[1]Published in Spanish in Raúl Porras Barrenechea, ed., *Cartas del Perú (1524–1543)*, p. 17, among other places.

7. The successful conqueror

Melchor Verdugo, encomendero and councilman of Trujillo, Peru, to Marina de Olivares, his mother, in Avila, 1536[1]

> . . . I live in a place called Trujillo and have my house there and a very good encomienda of Indians, with about eight or ten thousand vassals . . .

The shares of treasure that the conquerors received, where there was treasure to be had, were only the beginning of their remuneration. As a more basic and permanent reward, first conquerors received encomiendas, which led in turn to other advantages. The full complex consisted of an encomienda with numerous settled, tribute-paying Indians and a large revenue; a large house, establishment and following in the nearest Spanish city; a seat on that city's council; and farflung enterprises of various types from stockraising to silver mining. This was success; to top it off the lucky conqueror would write home the news, at the same time sending money and proof of his credentials, in return for which he hoped to receive from the royal court certain status symbols, the most frequent being a coat of arms and a royal title to his council seat. The present letter illustrates all these things quite fully, being a classic example of the 'Mother, I've made it' message for sixteenth-century Spanish America. The reader should not be too annoyed at Verdugo's transparent bragging; it was the manner of the time. As the young man says, 'I write you this so you'll be glad.' A more attractive side of him is seen in his longing for mail. And after saying he was not going to send his mother anything more, he in fact sent her 850 pesos (maybe meant for legal expenses), as well as some emeralds, a ring, a mirror, a comb, and some Indian textile things.

Except for those returning immediately to Spain, the vast

majority of first conquerors received encomiendas. But grants varied immensely. To support the kind of complex sketched above, there had to be sizable, stable Indian provincial entities with well-oiled tribute mechanisms, and even that availed little unless there was a steady supply of precious metals in the local economy so that the tribute could be turned into something of value to Europeans. Full success, then, was a rare thing indeed outside Peru and Mexico (one encomendero of Peru once said his grant was worth more than Chile). Even in the central areas encomiendas varied from some with princely incomes to others which barely produced a living for the recipient. The best grants went to the relatives and compatriots of the governors; beyond that, to the wealthiest, most senior and influential expedition members; beyond that, to those with good birth and education in Spain.

This last was Verdugo's advantage, for though young and little noticed at the time of the conquest, he was of an hidalgo family of Old Castile. Not the most illustrious, by any means. Note that his mother was not a *doña*; and his relatives and acquaintances tended to be in the urban professions. Still, the surnames on both sides of his family were well known, and he even had some relatives near the royal court. This was enough to earn Verdugo serious consideration in the distribution of grants, though his encomienda, good as it was, could not compare with the more centrally located holdings of some more senior figures. Verdugo was clearly set to become one of the potentates of the land in later years, as after some vicissitudes he in fact did, even eventually attaining the quite rare honor, at that time, of the membership in the Order of Santiago which he asks for here. (The Spaniards always spoke of it as being given the 'habit,' since to wear the habit and cross of the order was the essence of the thing.)

Lady:

I have written you so many times and sent so many letters by whoever has left here, without getting any reply, that I don't know what to tell myself except that you have forgotten me

more than you should. I sent you 1,000 pesos from Jauja with a gentleman of Segovia called Juan de Rojas. Olivares, a nephew of Canon Olivares, who was here and left, knows him well. I feel certain that you have received the money and for that reason I'm not sending more, since I feel sure that you don't need any more; if I thought any different I would provide for you. If you shouldn't have received it, then I sent it consigned to Vicente de Avila in Seville. It is in the possession of one or the other. You collect it and let me know what is happening.

I am still in the town where I have always been. I live in a place called Trujillo and have my house there and a very good encomienda of Indians, with about eight or ten thousand vassals; I think there's never a year that they don't give me 5,000 or 6,000 pesos in income. I write you all this so you'll be glad and know that I live without necessity, praise our Lord.

Always write me and let me know how my lady sisters are, and all those gentlemen my relatives, and give them my greetings. I haven't had a letter from any of them either, but since you don't write me I won't blame anyone. From now on act differently, and since paper and ink cost little, write me twenty letters a day so that if one gets lost another will find its way. A gentleman called Hernando de Zavallos is the bearer of this letter, and he is to return here immediately. You can write me by him, since he is a very certain messenger, and even if you do write by him, write forty other letters, because my only desire is to receive a letter from you after such a long time. I'm in very good health, praise our Lord, and have no other source of dissatisfaction than not having heard from you, as I said.

With the bearer of the present letter I am sending to ask certain favors of his majesty, among which I'm sending to request a perpetual grant of my Indians for me and my heirs. I'm also sending to request a commission as royal captain and a perpetual seat on the council here; I have one from the governor, and it's necessary to have his majesty confirm it. I'm also chief constable, but I'm not sending to request that because there's no need, since the governor likes me so well that he always tries to favor me, and as long as that's his pleasure he's

not going to take the office away from me.

Find out if you can arrange all these things that I mention, and if not, turn it over to Francisco de Soto so that when the emperor comes to Spain, if he's not there now, he should go and arrange all these things that I mention, because in that he would do me a great favor, and I implore him to do it; and if he doesn't want to occupy himself with this, then turn it over to someone who can do it very well and pay him, and send the documents to me with great precautions. If some relative of mine should want to come here and bring them, then let him come, and I will do what I can for him.

I would also like to send to request a habit of the order of Santiago from his majesty. They tell me that I have to be present, or at least send very convincing evidence of who I am. You try to take testimony, and let it be so complete and convincing that there will be no lack, but rather too much, and take very convincing witnesses, even though you have to go to the end of the earth to get them, and let the witnesses be solid and very honorable people. When the proof is complete, try to arrange with his majesty to have a habit of Santiago sent for me. And for all this get the advice of a lawyer on how to do it, or have the lawyer arrange it, and pay him very well. And so that everything can be done better, the bearer of this letter is carrying very convincing testimony that I had taken here of how much I have served his majesty in this country, and how I was in the capture of Atahuallpa and many other things, as will appear; anyone who wants to can see it.

I won't write more and I don't mean to write to you again until I receive a letter from you, except may our Lord care for your very noble person and let me see you as I desire. From Trujillo, 7th of December, 1536.

Your obedient son who kisses your hands,

Melchor Verdugo

[1]Published in Spanish in Porras, *Cartas del Perú*, pp. 231-3. A detailed biography of Verdugo is in Lockhart, *The Men of Cajamarca,* pp. 250-5.

8. The unsuccessful conqueror

Bartolomé García, citizen of Asunción, Paraguay, to the Council of the Indies, 1556[1]

> . . . And now, after twenty-one years, when I expected the reward for my efforts, you have left me without a share . . .

A companion piece to letter 7, this letter illustrates the case of a conqueror *not* granted a rich encomienda, an occurrence frequent enough that the volume of these complaints to governor, viceroy or king was great. Two types of attributes come into play here, personal and regional. Let us look first at the personal. Our Bartolomé García was not close to the governor (he was from Seville, while the governor was a Basque); he was no big man in the original expedition of don Pedro de Mendoza, no leader who would have to be respected over and above politics; and by all indications he was not well born. The plebeian-sounding name is ambiguous and tells us little, but the lack in this whole complaint and petition of the slightest claim to be an hidalgo or gentleman tells us much. Low on all three counts, Bartolomé García emphasizes his services. Even through the heightening, we can see that they were great. But they were not the right kind. There were several skills and pursuits most useful in the Spanish conquests which had a public image such that accomplishments in them could not be brought to bear on encomienda grants. Great runners, scouts and spies had just as well not apply. Nothing related to the maritime profession counted. The most egregious example of this was in Mexico, where Martín López, a ship's carpenter, supervised the building of the brigantines without which the siege of Tenochtitlan might have gone on indefinitely, and for his trouble received a quite minimal encomienda, shared with a colleague. As to Bartolomé García, he was a great huntsman and a fine crossbow shot, not the stuff encomenderos were made of, no matter how many deer he bagged and big cats he brought down.

In Mexico or Peru, even those first conquerors who were

slighted had a half-tolerable situation, because their 'small' encomiendas numbered some hundreds of Indians who sustained their households handily, produced some money revenue, and gave the encomenderos a base for their own entrepreneurial activity related to the strong local city markets. On the periphery, a small encomienda was fifteen or twenty Indians (García does not exaggerate), and not sedentary tribute-paying agriculturalists, either, nor equipped with a strong and cooperative chief. On handing out the grants, the governor might well have added 'catch them if you can.' Consider also the difference in the time element. In the central regions encomiendas were granted within a year or two of the conquest, sometimes much earlier. In Paraguay this was not done for *twenty years*. Looking at the situation more closely, the remarkable thing is that encomiendas were granted even then. In the absence of strong chiefs or kings as intermediaries, the Spaniards had to establish more direct contacts with the Indians; in the absence of valuable tribute products they had to emphasize exclusively services and supervised labor (not a new development, but going all the way back to the first region the Spaniards occupied, the Caribbean, which was the original 'peripheral area'). Even the best encomiendas of Asunción were small by the standards of Peru and Mexico; they were more like large households or collections of permanent servants. The late establishment of encomiendas on the far periphery did not work to the advantage of people like Bartolomé García. Peru and Mexico too saw the invasion of latecoming immigrants, far, far more of them in fact, as well as the changing of standards for granting encomiendas. But there, the mariners and shoemakers among the first conquerors received encomiendas while their claim of priority was still strong, and they never lost them afterwards. If they had had to wait as long for the grants to be made as Bartolomé García did, they would have received little or nothing.

Very powerful lords:

As a man who has been wronged I cannot refrain from complaining to your highness as my king. Your highness, I was born

in the town of Morón, nine leagues from Seville. I came to this province of the Río de la Plata twenty-one years ago, with the expedition of don Pedro de Mendoza, in which I suffered the hardships that your highness doubtless knows all those who came in that time have suffered, and I have striven to be first in the service of your highness in every way I could, of which I would send proof if I were so bold.

At the end of twenty years the governor of this province gave its natives in encomienda to those who are just newly arrived and to others who came after we did. Of those who conquered the land, some of them losing their sons and some their brothers, there remain, from the 1,700 men counted at the muster don Pedro de Mendoza held when he landed, about a hundred men, and to them the governor gave the worst grants and the most distant, from where one can get no service. And so, many have not wished to accept the grants, of whom I am one, since he gave me sixteen Indians eighty leagues from where we live, and he gave others fifteen, or twenty, or thirty, but for his sons-in-law, and sons-in-law of his sons-in-law, and the officials of your highness and for himself, he took the whole country, all the best part of it. And when I went to speak to him at the time when he was going to make the distribution, I gave him a memorandum of the hardships I had undergone, which goes along with this letter; he only answered, 'how many children do you have?' and said my petition had best be left unmade. Seeing how he had treated me, I asked his permission to go to the realms of Spain, and he refused me that too. I have said this so that your highness will know the treatment that has been given to don Pedro's men, and this letter is only to give an account of what is going on here and how those who strive are treated. From the city of Asunción, the day of St John, 1556.

Your vassal who kisses your royal feet,

Bartolomé García

This is a petition and memorandum of some of my hardships that I gave to Governor Domingo de Irala.

Very magnificent sir:

This is to remind you of my services and hardships

in this land because, to judge by what I see and have seen of how you have treated me up to now, I think you either do not know about them or do not want to remember them, as I have seen in your deeds. Yet you yourself are a good witness to all which I will now say, and also to other things of which, to avoid tediousness, I will not remind you, though you were a witness of all of them. You well know that after we arrived at Buenos Aires, I was one of sixteen men who went with Gonzalo de Acosta and discovered the Tembues, and on the way the Guaranís of the islands shot arrows at us, from which I was left wounded so that for five years part of a shaft stayed in my arm before it finally came out, and what I suffered from that you knew very well and saw with your own eyes, but in those five years I never failed to carry out my orders.

Our lord don Pedro, God rest his soul, ordered myself and six other men, of whom some are still alive as you know, to go hunting for him, and so we did, and, as you can witness, every day we bagged a dozen and a half partridges and quail, which don Pedro ate and gave to those he liked most. And this continued until they went to the Tembues and Francisco Ruiz asked for me and Baitos to stay behind with him to guard the ships, and don Pedro, because of promises he had made to Francisco Ruiz, left us there in Buenos Aires, while he went to the Tembues and returned, and then again I supplied him with partridge and quail to eat as I had done before, and the day he set sail they loaded over a hundred and fifty partridge and quail on the ship. You weren't present then, but Alférez Vergara can tell you, because he loaded them with his own hands.

You well know that after don Pedro left for Spain we stayed in Buenos Aires, suffering great hunger; I would go hunting with a crossbow, in great danger

from Indians and lions, and I fed seventy men who were there, because every day, even Sundays and holidays, I shot two or three deer, from which the men were given rations to sustain themselves. And despite this work, I was not exempted from sentinel duty; you know that there are many witnesses of this, and that blood ran from my hands and knees from crawling to get in a position to shoot at the deer, the same as to this day is done by those who want to hunt them. You saw and know well that the lions came inside the palisade and killed our people, and from a tree outside the palisade I lay in wait for one who was doing great damage, against the will of Francisco Ruiz, but I begged and asked as a favor that I be allowed to lay in wait for it, and I killed it. And then you saw that when we were going to Buenos Aires by the river of the Tembues, the Quirandis came out to attack the ships with arrows, and because of a shot that I made and you saw, they did not hurt us very badly, as they very easily could have otherwise.

Whenever you have gone exploring or to the wars, and at the time of the general rebellion, I have always been in the forefront and at your side, and you are a witness of it. I have never been without two sets of weapons in good condition, for myself and for others who needed them because they had broken theirs or dissipated them in order to trade with the Indians for Indian women to serve them; but I never broke mine, nor wasted them, nor traded in mares and horses with the Indians as others have done, as you very well know. I have not bartered, nor spread rumors, nor ever gone against an order from you or from others, much less escaped and fled through the wilds, nor been in jails, nor been pardoned by you for misdeeds, nor, for all of these services and hardships that I have mentioned and many others that I leave unmentioned, as you can bear witness, have you ever to this

day done me any good deed; the reason must be the disfavor with which you have always viewed me because I am not importunate as others have been and are. And now, after twenty-one years, when I expected the reward for my efforts in the distribution of Indians in encomiendas, you have left me without a share. Since you do not forget me when you need men, it would be right to remember me also when it is time to do favors, as you have done with others, even with those who came with Martín de Urrea, who though they have hardly arrived, already have received their encomiendas of Indians.

Bartolomé García

[1] Published in Spanish in *Cartas de Indias*, pp. 600-3.

9. The conqueror-governor

Don Francisco Pizarro, conqueror and governor of Peru, marqués and adelantado, in Lima, to Sebastián Rodríguez, his solicitor at the royal court, 1541[1]

. . . I will be left the governor of sandflats . . .

The reward of the members of a successful expedition was an encomienda for each; the reward of the leader was the governorship of the area. If the new land was already somewhat known and the venture well planned and financed, the leader might have capitulated with the crown for the governorship in advance of the expedition. If the leader had only an ad hoc captaincy and license from the governor of the region where the expedition originated, he would proceed to apply for a royal appointment after the fact. Usually he would get what he asked for; he was in a very strong position locally, and the practice was firmly established in the customs of the Indies, so that the crown officials had little choice in the matter. They had little reason to disapprove in any case. One should not imagine a Machiavellian crown, plotting the immediate replacement of the conqueror-governors in favor of pliable bureaucrats and viceroys. Many of

the first governors received lifetime appointments, which were honored. But the pressures were such that those lives were often short. The crown was well served to let the conquerors' momentum follow through to the establishment of a preliminary equilibrium, and wait for the natural course of further immigration, internal rivalries and Indian fighting to accomplish the replacement of the founder-governors quickly enough.

The whole sequence is well illustrated by the case of Francisco Pizarro and Peru. In Letter 2 we saw the origins of the venture under Governor Pedrarias de Avila of Tierra Firme; in Letter 4, indirectly, Pizarro's continued direction of the exploratory phase, and in Letter 1 the high point of the conquest, with Pizarro already styled governor on the basis of a capitulation obtained in Spain before the final expedition of 1532. He received high titles and honors. (Not the least of them was the *don*. Note that not another correspondent in this section, including Pedrarias, bore that title; today we can speak of Pizarro with propriety minus the 'don' only because, like Hernando Cortés, he had been without it for most of his lifetime.) He governed the country for nine years, presided over the establishment of its network of cities, and gave it its social-economic framework through the assigning and withholding of encomiendas. But to him and those like him, his activity was a far more personal matter than merely governing. Peru was his encomienda, to enjoy, to share with his brothers and to leave as a patrimony to his heirs. To govern Peru, the entire vast land, was all he lived for, as he says passionately in this letter. Without that, there would have been no point to the whole effort.

Others in Peru, senior and powerful men with allies, resources and followings, felt the same as Pizarro did. What of them? One could prod them off onto their own conquests, the more distant the better. This worked in the case of Soto and Benalcázar (as seen in Letter 2). But Pizarro had long had a partner, Diego de Almagro, who having been at first not much more than his steward, had over time become his near-equal, in full charge of organizing, financing and supplying the expeditions Pizarro led.[2] An outlet for Almagro was found in the governorship of

an undefined area to the south of Peru. However, Chile proved poor in people and precious metals, so Almagro, with a large number of recent arrivals behind him, laid claim also to silver-rich Charcas (the area of Bolivia today) and even Cuzco. This brought on a civil war and the execution of Almagro by the Pizarrists, which in turn brought a storm of protest and a royal investigation. The 'judge at the door' referred to below was Licentiate Vaca de Castro (writer of Letter 29), who was then coming by way of Panamá and Quito towards Lima, and quite unexpectedly became governor of Peru when Pizarro was assassinated by Almagrists a few days after the present letter was written.

Very noble sir:

About six days ago the news reached me of the partition of this government, and that they are taking Arequipa and Charcas from me, which is the whole best part of the jurisdiction and where I have all my enterprises and encomiendas. And as the thing grieves me so, before the judge should arrive I am sending a ship with this dispatch carrying a letter for his majesty, a copy of which goes along with this one. Please, sir, do me the favor of looking at it and asking in my name for a solution as therein contained, because if these jurisdictions are not divided in the way I suggest, his majesty will not be served; I will be left the governor of sandflats, and whoever has Charcas and Arequipa will have the best of it. He who has not done service to merit it would be made prosperous while I who have served would be brought low. Yet I cannot believe that his majesty would do me such injustice, since he was born and bred in our pious faith and will not permit his conscience to be burdened with me after so many years of such signal services, because I have advised him of them, not for my own interest but in his service, if only he had believed me and made provisions according to my reports. Let your industry not flag in gaining what I am requesting of his majesty in the letter, and fear no effort, sir, nor disfavor either, and sweat drops of blood to express the damage that can be expected and the ingratitude that is being practiced with me,

because in these negotiations the same thing is at stake for me as always has been, and to defend it I wagered my life and spent my property and placed myself in great disturbances. And consider that I, having my share in it, will profit as much when Adelantado Almagro has it, even if they take it from me; and they may give it to another to enjoy who perhaps will not have merited it nor done service and it would cost him nothing. Seeing that they prosper him and bring me low and put me in the hospital loaded down with debts for having sustained the land and brought his majesty the increase he has had, what can I feel and what can I do but appeal against it all, even if they gave it to my own brother, until such time as all the settlers can inform his majesty and justice is done to me as a first discoverer and settler? You may believe that even if I would stand for this, the citizens of this country would not permit it, because they cannot be so governed without great hardship to them, and I am shocked at the great blindness of ordering such a thing, since Quito cannot be governed from here, nor Charcas and Arequipa together with Chile. Above all inform my lord the cardinal, to whom I am writing, that it is not possible, nor can I believe that his lordship would want to make anyone's fortune by unmaking mine, although it were for his own son, since what is owed me is taken from me, burdening the royal conscience of his majesty and the cardinal's own. Try in any case to have things put off; the abruptness of the order could bring with it inconveniences that would be in disservice of God and his majesty. And since the importance of the matter is manifest, take it as your own affair. It is the thing most important to me and for which I have always clamored, since without it all my hardships and services will have been in vain, and I will be able to say that for my own damage and destruction I served his majesty and won him lands, which will be reason for me to complain to God and the world of such a great injustice and burden of conscience; even if I had only four days left to live and were disloyal, his majesty to show himself grateful would have to permit me to govern all that I won and have sustained at my own cost to the advantage of his royal crown and patrimony. And don't forget these

negotiations as you have those in the past; I have had no reply from any of them, nor do I know what is being done. The judge is at the door and I have had no warning from you or from anyone else, and it seems to me that you are leaving me as a man given up for dead, to live or die by himself, and you leave my grave open for me. Or are you gentlemen all dead, and my complaint is not licit? I want this business decided quickly because for my purpose I must know.

Our Lord guard and prosper your very noble person as you desire. From Lima, 15th of June, 1541.

At your orders, sir,

The Marqués

[1]Published in Spanish in Porras, *Cartas del Perú*, pp. 402-3. An interpretation of Pizarro's life is in Lockhart, *The Men of Cajamarca,* pp. 135-7.

[2]The two in later years formalized an agreement to share everything they had equally. Pizarro refers to this in the letter, a little puzzlingly in view of the fact that Almagro was already dead.

10. The conqueror in jail

Hernando Pizarro, in the fortress of La Mota in Medina del Campo, Spain, to his majordomo the priest Diego Martín in Peru, 1545[1]

. . . Being in prison like this is the cause of it all . . .

As we said in introducing the preceding letter, royal officialdom did not take too active a hand with the governors who emerged from the expeditions of conquest. Letting nature take its course, however, led not infrequently to the ruling conquerors murdering and committing outrages on upstart subordinates or other rivals who threatened their jurisdictions. For these political crimes many were jailed and variously sentenced or deprived. Sebastián de Benalcázar, for one example, died while appealing a death sentence for having executed a rival governor. While the early giants were thus at a disadvantage, their enemies would descend on them with claims and suits, and new powers would rise in the areas they ruled. The other side of

the matter was the resilience of the apparently toppled great; even in jail they were powerful figures, and if not they, then generally their families long survived with wealth, influence and high title, though sometimes in Europe rather than in the Indies (as with both the Cortés and the Pizarro descendants).

We have just seen much of the background of the present situation in Letter 9. Hernando Pizarro, Francisco's haughty brother and right-hand man, led the forces that defeated Almagro, and it was Hernando who ordered Almagro's execution. Hernando then went off to Spain (sent by Francisco) to justify the action, with the result that he was kept in jail under various kinds of legal assault for over two decades. Here we see him after a reversal, but not humbled, still browbeating and mistrusting his employees, plotting to smuggle money from his large Peruvian estates into Spain, asking for documents which he hopes will throw the blame onto his now dead brother the Marqués. Worse was yet coming for Hernando; just at this time his younger brother Gonzalo was leading Peru's most serious revolt to ultimate defeat. Nevertheless, Hernando eventually got out of prison, kept his estates in Peru and Spain, consolidated the family titles and entails, and established a lasting prominent position for the family in its ancestral Trujillo, Extremadura.

Reverend Father:

In many letters I have written you the state of my affairs and urged you to provide for me. What I have to report to you now is that the sentence has been handed down, as far as it refers to Almagro's death, and a very severe one too, for the little guilt there is. They condemned me to perpetual exile, to serve in an African border area of his majesty's choice for all the days of my life and to be removed from this fortress, but that provisionally, until the other matters of which I am accused are decided, I am to remain a prisoner here under heavy guard. Since they have conducted themselves so harshly in this trial where there is no guilt, if in the other evidence they should find some, they would do us no honor, but I think that, with God's aid, they will find no guilt if there are not false witnesses.

Hasten greatly and send the proof, and send me the order that the Marqués, rest his soul, gave me in Ica, because the copy that Diego Velázquez brought failed to mention the day it was presented in council; have it sent as it should be, and let a lawyer see it, and let there be no neglect in the copying as there was with the other one. If you could get the original, it would mean my life. Also send me two orders that the Marqués gave me there in Ica: one to arrest Almagro, and the other to arrest his captains. Also send me an authorized copy of the division of the jurisdictions, and how Cuzco was included in that of the Marqués, and don't neglect it, because much depends on it. If you delay from one day to the next, the damage here will be great. You didn't even manage to send me a copy with Castañeda, who departed from Lima there on the 24th of August of last year, 1544. Don't let a boat leave there without sending a letter in it.

Bustillo, I mean Pedro González Bustillo, wrote me that he was going to send a copy of the division of jurisdictions, but he didn't send it. The moment they arrive there, all they do is look after their own profit, while I'm here in despair, ready to put a rope around my neck and hang myself, and dying of hunger. May God give the remedy. Diego Moreno told me that there was still gold in Cuzco, and those rogues in my house are holding it back to fill their hands with it as in the past. Since I had written that nothing was to be left there, there was no reason to keep it back. By your life, leave no wretches in the house; I have been told that a great deal of rascality is going on, and even though I should not write about it, don't let anyone remain in the house who is best not there. Truly I am their enemy as much as if they had killed my father, and even more so of those who leave here fleeing and later turn everything to their own advantage. Castañeda wrote me from Valladolid that when he left, you had just come from Cuzco, you and the regent and Ampuero, that you had gone there on orders from the viceroy, and he wished that you had brought back the gold that was there, to send to me since you knew I was in need.

The silver that Juan de Zavala sent me from Nombre de Dios

when you went through there was taken and impounded at the House of Trade, which has done me great harm, because the Council of the Indies has sentenced me to pay Hernán Sánchez de Badajoz 2,000 pesos, and I had to take the money on credit to pay him, with the silver having been seized. For the love of God I ask you to succor me; I need it more than you can imagine. And if I must stand for my servants stealing and spending everything while my life and honor suffer here, then it would be better for you to sell what is there and take care of me. Consider that I have placed my hopes in you and you must help me, for now I am in greater need than ever, and require my own resources and those of others; I want what I have now. You can send me whatever you should want to by way of merchant friends. Juan Sánchez de la Sao is going to be stationed at Nombre de Dios, because Juan de Zavala is coming back; through one means or another, be sure that nothing stays behind there. Diego Velázquez is rather lukewarm about going back, I'm not sure he will return soon. I wish he would go, for your sake, but I am confident that you with your good industry will be sufficient to take care of everything.

I believe the originals of the orders I mentioned above are in the possession of Salas; don't neglect to send them, and a certified copy of the division of jurisdictions. Also don't neglect to furnish the evidence, since they will overlook nothing in our case, as I see. Again I implore you to send me my own wealth and that of others, because it is more needed than one can imagine. And realize that I am trusting in your good friendship and expecting you to perform better than those of the past, who have consumed everything and left me to suffer. Leave none of them in the house; they are my enemies and make war on me, since whoever sees me suffering and doesn't help me from my own property is abundantly my enemy. And again, be sure that you send me what you can scratch together, confidentially, by way of merchants and by way of Juan Sánchez de la Sao, and let it not be like the relief of Escalona, coming after the time of need.

Doctor Jara is suing me here for the property of his son. By

your life, make his estate give strict account of my property, and if it should result that I owe anything to him, I mean to his executors, then pay it, and if he owes me, collect it, and if there are no means, then send the order to pay to me, and later it will be in my hand to do with it as I wish. Keep a lawyer to look after the suits in Lima, where the viceroy and Audiencia are, and let nothing be lost for lack of legal advice.

I have had very good tools made to order for silver mines, and am sending to Lisbon for black mining technicians. I will send them all with Diego Velázquez, if he wants to go, or with someone else if he doesn't. I will also send donkeys, both stallions and females. Be very diligent with the mines, and don't wait till next year for anything that could be mined this year. Complain to the viceroy of all the damage Vaca de Castro has done to me and my nephews, and how he has used the avenues of justice to do injustice to me.

Be sure that you pay immediately whatever I owe there, that is, what I promised to pay Alonso de Toro and others, because I don't want them coming here to ask it of me. When it is paid, write me; Toro's brothers say that he gave me money for them that was not delivered. And a brother of Pedro de Soria is also complaining that his brother gave me money for him and I am keeping it from him. Before long they will make me a thief; patience doesn't suffice for such rogueries. Being in prison like this is the cause of it all, and so again I tell you, pay off everything still unpaid that I obliged myself for when I left.

Palomino has arrived here, and I have been told that he brings money. Write if he is bringing me anything, and if they gave him anything there send me his statement of receipt so that we can ask for it. Whenever you send anything, take acknowledgments from those who bring it, so account can be taken of them. I urge you to do a thorough job on Armenta.

Send me the silver pieces and the gold alloy that I have asked for in some memoranda. May our Lord guard your reverend

person as, sir, you desire. From La Mota in Medina del Campo, on the 8th day of March of the year of 1545.

At your orders, sir,

Hernando Pizarro

[1] Published in Spanish with comment in Otte, 'Los mercaderes vascos y los Pizarro,' *TILAS* (May–June 1966), 34-6. A biography of Hernando Pizarro is in Lockhart, *The Men of Cajamarca,* pp. 157-68.

PART II: THE VARIETY OF LIFE IN THE INDIES

> There are many farmers and craftsmen here, and many others who make a living by their work and sweat.
>
> Fray Toribio de Motolinia, Mexico, 1555

Here is the core of our interest. Conquest, as conquest, was an episode. True, it divided the history of the Western hemisphere into two sharply distinguished periods, but only because of its aspect as occupation, reorganization, foundation; there it stretched forward without break into the following decades and centuries. Even before the fighting was over, the Spaniards began to fill in the framework, bare but durable, that the conquest created – the system of Spanish cities, estates to tie them to the Indian countryside, and export of precious metals as their economic leverage with Europe. Immigrants poured into the richer areas (nearly all the letters of this section relate to Mexico and Peru). Even in the first moments there had not been an encomienda for literally every Spaniard, and before long encomenderos were a small minority of a Spanish population devoted to every pursuit known in early modern Europe.

Once a frame of reference is set, these people can speak for themselves. Through their own communications they emphasize the extent and earliness of development, the endless variety of occupations and types. And they express even more directly the humanity, universality and ready intelligibility of themselves and of the whole process. There is hardly a word they say that would not fit equally well in the mouths of immigrants – and non-immigrants – much nearer to our time and place.

Even the humblest Spaniards wrote letters, or found someone who could. The numerous black slaves and servants who lived

beside them did not have the opportunity; at least we have found no letters from them, though they are often mentioned in the letters of the Spaniards. As to the millions of Indians among whom the whole Spanish population was a minority, and on whom it was having an enormous destructive-creative effect, a certain number of them were already producing correspondence in the European fashion, of which we include three examples.

11. An encomendero's establishment

Andrés Chacón, encomendero of Trujillo, Peru, presently in the valley of Casma, to his brother Francisco Chacón in Los Hinojosos, New Castile, 1570[1]

. . . so that there are twenty or twenty-five people eating there . . .

With this letter we mean chiefly, in the face of the individuality and crustiness of its writer, to give a flesh-and-blood illustration of that social-economic complex which was associated with the encomienda, and which we have alluded to before (Letter 7). Located in Trujillo, a secondary city in the Peruvian scheme of things, with far from the richest encomienda in his district, spending much time out in the country acting as his own majordomo, married to good plebeian Ana López, our Andrés Chacón is no full exemplar of an ideal, like the great lords of Cuzco or Charcas, who were always in the cities, cushioned by their two or three echelons of stewards, married to doña Isabel Manrique de Lara or some such. But in the nature of his establishment, in employing many people and having his hand in everything, Chacón is representative. Here one can see all the better that no encomendero with any reasonable source of income at all was without his sheep, goats, pigs, cows and horses, his orchards, his wheat farm and mill, his Spanish employees and black slaves, his big house in town where many people were fed. And he could be counted on to get involved in other aspects of the local economy that looked especially promising, here silver mining.

All this is not only basic to the organization of sixteenth-century society, it also points ahead, because the complex, as a pattern, would outlive the encomienda itself and survive in later estate forms. Everywhere the trend was for the encomenderos to put increasing emphasis on the more flexible, secure private aspect of their estates, which with the growth of Spanish cities often became the more lucrative part as well, so that as their rights to Indian tribute diminished under attack from non-encomendero Spaniards and crown officials, many maintained their economic position quite well. Another reason for emphasizing enterprises over tribute was the continued decrease of the tribute-paying Indian population. The rate of diminution was uniformly fastest at low altitudes and on routes much traveled by Spaniards; both attributes apply to Casma, which is on the coast and located on the main route south to the capital of Lima. Chacón is not being gratuitously benevolent to his Indians by helping them with money payments and reducing their tribute in kind. He has grasped that the tribute is not as important to him as a general dominance in the area, that it is better to have a little maize and fish and keep the Indians as potential employees in his enterprises than to push tribute demands and see them run off as servants with Spanish passers by.

The situation we see here is well advanced towards patterns typical of the mature colonial period, but it flows out of the conquest period. Chacón has been in the Indies forty years and has held his encomienda for over thirty, or since 1540. He must have been in Peru since the conquest phase, surviving far into the second generation, still pithy and plain-spoken, if now becoming a little pontifical and, in this letter, wavering comically between bragging about his affairs to impress his relatives and magnifying his expenses so that they will understand why he doesn't send money.

Sir:

For a long time no one there has written me. In this fleet that just came from Spain, I thought there might be some letters,

but it seems that none came, because I inquired, and there is no trace of anything. I don't know the reason. It must be that you there don't want to write except when I send money. Truly you should write more often, or at least remember me from time to time if I am neglectful; it seems to me that would be best. Also, I suppose you haven't had letters from me for a long time, because another year I wrote and sent a gold ingot to Licentiate Montalbo who lives in Panamá, and unfortunately for you and the rest who were to have it, the fleet had already departed for Spain; only one ship was left there, and the Licentiate didn't want to send it in a single ship, for which I was very sorry, because in fact he didn't send it, and it was left behind. Later when I sent to Panamá to buy some blacks for some mines I have, there wasn't enough money, and he spent the gold ingot toward the purchase of the blacks. Now at present I don't know if I will send anything, because I am outside my house thirty leagues from Trujillo among my villages, and the messenger who is going to Spain will not touch in Trujillo, I believe, and for that reason I don't know if anything can be sent. If he should not go at present and there are ships when I go to Trujillo, I will try to send something, even if it shouldn't be much, because at present I don't have much, but with the aid of God if these mines that I'm working do well, I will make up for it, if God gives me life and health. I hope to God that these mines I'm working will yield us enough silver for here and for there both, because I have some silver mines that I think will be good, and if they are, I will make up for what was lost; if you had the money there that I've spent on them, it would take care of you very well. I have a dozen and a half blacks at the mine, and tools and things. So far I have spent more than 7,000 pesos on blacks and the rest, and with the aid of God, the mines will yield silver; until now everything has been spending.

What I would need now is what there is too much of there, which is a boy from among those nephews of mine, to ride about on horseback inspecting my properties and these mines; they need someone to take care of them, because the blacks overlook nothing they can steal, and as to the Spaniards that I

have there, each one looks after himself. As I say, I have great need of someone to go about, because I am old and tired and can no longer run everywhere, and as these mines are far from Trujillo in the mountains, it is hard on me to go, and the cold up there doesn't agree with me. To avoid going I would like to have one of those boys here, though none have ever managed to come, and he would flourish and lighten my work, if he is the right person. In case one who wanted to come should be free, I have written to a friend or two of mine in Seville who will help him along his way. When they come, they should bring my letters along. I believe Juan Antonio Corso, a very rich man, will outfit them for the trip, because he wrote me here. He carries on business here, and he will get the boy passage without his paying anything. I will pay here what it should cost, as I am now writing to Corso. Let them come and leave that misery in which they are immersed. Somehow two thousand paupers manage to get here; they look for a way to come across and finally they find it. But in forty years that I have been away from home, not one person from our town has come here except Alonso de Lara, son of Rodrigo de Lara the Red, who became a priest, and he has a living now; if he had wanted to go seek his fortune before he was a priest, he would have things even better. I have written other times that if some of the boys should take to learning, they should be trained up as lawyers or priests. If everything is to be digging and plowing, they and their fathers will be at it their whole lives. And however many of them come or make something of themselves, I will do my part to support them, and I say that when the mines begin to show profit, I will send money for it every year as long as I live.

I've been awaiting news about my papers of nobility, and haven't seen a thing. It must all be a joke, or I don't know what to say, when at the end of ten years there still has been no judgment. I consider it a joke.

As to things here, I am well, and Ana López too, though we are old and tired, and in the end this is very poor country, and all the properties aren't worth two pennies any more. If it weren't for a mulebreeding business I have, I don't know what

would come of us, because this has sustained me in my great expenses; to the priest who instructs my Indians and to Spanish employees and Indians, I pay 1,000 pesos for salaries alone, not counting the cost of their food. Consider what I need to keep up with costs, since I have to spend another 2,000 to maintain my household. And now there's the added cost of the mines, but with the aid of God they will yield enough for everything. As I said, I have a mulebreeding business and five or six stud donkeys; there's one they've offered me 1,000 pesos for, but I wouldn't sell him for 1,500, he's so good and so big. Most of the mules he sires are worth 100 pesos to me, and some more. The small livestock I have, sheep and goats, are worth nothing. A ewe can sell for 3 tomines or so, and a mutton brings me a peso at most. Meat is dirt cheap in this country. Every day at the mines the blacks and Christians eat up a goat or mutton. And here at Casma and in Trujillo we eat another every day, so that I have the expense of two head of stock daily and even then, truly, the blacks are not happy with it, so what am I to do with the rest, that is, the other expenses? I've said this so that you there understand that for all a man may have here, he needs it all, and hopes to God it is enough.

I know that those who have been here say that I am rich. Certainly I have more than I deserve from God. But as I said, everything goes for expenses, and at the end of the year the income only covers operations, and even sometimes isn't enough. And as the Indians give me nothing, that is, I take little from them and have expenses for priests and other things for them and they have been destroyed in past wars, since they are on the main highway and have been mistreated and destroyed, few of them remain. Once there were more than 2,000 Indians, and now there are about 200. I consider them as if they were my children; they have helped me earn a living and, as I say, I relieve them of tributes and everything else that I can. I have given them 220 pesos in income, [1?]60 at my pleasure and 60 perpetually, and if God gives me life, I will leave them free of tributes when I die, so that whoever enjoys the tributes will not mistreat the Indians to get his revenue. Probably you there will

say that it would be better to give this to my relatives than to the Indians. But I owe it to these children who have served me for thirty-odd years; it is a debt of life, and if I did not repay it I would go to hell. I am obliged to do what I can for my relatives, but if I don't, I won't go to hell for it.

I am here in this place much of the year because it is so luxuriant. To be able to stay, I have sheep, goats and pigs here, and I did have cows, but recently I sold them because they damaged the Indians' crops. I have a constant supply of milk, cream, and curds. This valley, or rather the Indians and my property, are close to the sea, where the Indians catch a thousand kinds of fish, and have many nets they fish with. And as they like me well, when they have good luck they bring fish to me. I have maize from tributes, and a mill where wheat is ground. And certainly we have very good fare, with the capons they give me as tribute, and the very fat kids and muttons; all is from the harvest and tribute, and praise to God, the excess here could feed all of those boys. I have four pounds of fish and two chickens in tribute daily. In the previous assessment they were obliged to give me 600 bushels of wheat and 500 of maize, but in this assessment that was just made the amounts were reduced by half, because I requested it of the inspector, since if I die, I want them relieved; I have more than enough with the wheat and the maize they give me now.

I have here next to the mill four or five hundred fig trees that yield a harvest of fifty hundredweight, and there are orange trees and some vines that yield grapes to eat. The Indians here suffer because the river of the valley is so variable, full of water in the winter and empty in the spring, and some years they have scarcity, but since they are fishermen, they get everything they need from the neighboring people in exchange for fish.

I have a farm in Trujillo where I grow wheat to maintain my household, and I have a mill in the middle of it to grind the wheat that is harvested and other wheat that is grown by surrounding neighbors. I have there a dozen Indian couples and two blacks, one of whom watches a flock of goats and sheep to supply the house. But since there are many livestock around the

town, the animals are thin, and the milk is less abundant than here. And besides I have in Trujillo two black women who make bread and cook for everyone, and a mulatto woman who serves Ana López, embroidering and sewing and serving at table along with the Indian women and girls. There are five or six other Indian women who are laundresses and help the black women make bread, so that there are twenty or twenty-five people eating there, including the Indian women and boys and blacks serving at the house. I have said this so you will see whether or not I have much to maintain and support. You will ask why I never wrote this before. I say that since Trujillo causes it all, Trujillo is what I have written about.

Many salutations to milady sister Mari López and the gentlemen your sons. May our Lord give you the desired contentment and repose. From this valley of Casma, 1st of January, 1570.

Your servant,

Andrés Chacón

[1] Published in Spanish, with comment, in Otte, 'Die europäischen Siedler.'

12. An encomendero's opinions

Bernal Díaz del Castillo, encomendero, councilman and conqueror of Santiago de Guatemala, to the crown, 1552 and 1558[1]

> . . . And we don't know when another boatload of Cerratos might arrive, to be given Indians . . .

What encomenderos wrote to their relatives was one thing. What they wrote to governors and the crown was another. The encomenderos of the middle and later sixteenth century, many still conquerors or their direct descendants, had a well-defined public position, varying little from place to place. They were poor; their tributes had diminished to nothing; they were being displaced by undeserving newcomers to whom the governors were giving the whole land. Hidden in such words was their desire to maintain the monopoly and total dominance they had in the conquest period, and measured against that unreasonable hope, they indeed fell short and were deprived. Immigration to

the central areas was strong, as we have said, and it included well-born and well-connected people who could not be denied their place. Others built up fortunes and connections on the spot, in mining or commerce, and then knocked insistently at the door. Incoming governors needed rewards for their entourage and close allies, to whom they could not give significant salaries. They cemented their base by awarding vacant encomiendas to relatives, employees and other followers, as indeed everyone expected them to do. Everywhere the governors acted the same, and everywhere the encomenderos protested. Actually, very few first conquerors or their sons had encomiendas taken away from them. Rather, between civil strife and Indian rebellions in the early time, and diseases in the later, many encomenderos died without direct heirs; it was mainly their grants that the governors gave away. The conquerors, within twenty or thirty years, had come to be a tightly knit group with innumerable nephews, nieces, or humble old friends under their wing, and it is to these that they would have had vacant encomiendas go. When this failed to happen, their response was not to fade into insignificance, but to marry their children into the new favored families, something which the newcomers desired just as greatly for the prestige and local acceptance it brought, so that from the second generation the encomenderos were an inextricable mixture of the new and the old, a situation that continued among leading families even in times and areas where the encomienda had lost its primary importance.

The above may give some perspective on Bernal Díaz del Castillo's colorful outrage in the first letter we include.[2] In the second, he illustrates a less grandiose, more realistic, but just as pervasive campaign that the encomenderos carried on, in this case more as individuals than as a group. Since the entire economy of the encomienda area, in its market- or city-oriented aspect, was exploited in an integrated fashion by the encomendero, he viewed any intrusion by other Spaniards as a threat, and acted either informally, or in the encomendero-dominated town councils, or before higher authorities, to repel the intruder. In doing so he often appeared in the somewhat improb-

able role of defender of the Indians, taking a position apparently – but only apparently – inconsistent with the rest of his stance. A free hand for the encomendero in the area of his grant was always the goal. Note how in the first letter Bernal is against the general influence of friars with the high court and the governor, while in the second he supports the two friars on his own encomienda, who clearly support him in turn. Near cities and in other areas of intensive development, encomenderos could not in fact long stem the economic invasion of outsiders, but they did usually manage to come to terms with it, making the invaders to some extent their allies, distributors or dependents.[3]

The writer of our letter is several steps above Andrés Chacón (Letter 11) on the social scale. He is on the council of the capital city of his region; he has impressive origins, with his father having sat on the council of one of Spain's great cities, and another relative a highly placed official; he is known and can function at the Spanish royal court; in his own hand he writes long letters to the royal council. And chronicles, as well. Bernal Díaz is, of course, the famous chronicler of Mexico, who in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has often been misleadingly pictured as some sort of uneducated plebeian. No, on the face of it Bernal Díaz was the social equal of Hernando Cortés. The puzzle is why Bernal, who in addition to his other qualifications was a first conqueror of Mexico and had American experience even before that, did not soon become a prominent encomendero of Mexico City, rather than being shunted off to Guatemala. Since his family's position was in a center of Spanish commerce, he might have had mercantile origins; but scions of established mercantile families of Spain were regularly considered hidalgos and given high rewards in the Indies. Since Bernal wrote so well, he might have been a notary, but that was no impediment; so was Cortés. The crux of the matter seems to lie elsewhere. In his chronicle, Bernal drops the remark that he was 'somewhat related' to Diego Velázquez, governor of Cuba (see Letter 5). An echoing statement appears in the second letter here, where Bernal claims a relationship to Licentiate Gutierre Velázquez. Conquest politics in Mexico for some time pitted a Cortés faction against a Velázquez faction. Bernal Díaz, however well disposed he may have shown himself towards Cortés, was a relative and compatriot of the enemy, certainly not someone to favor with a rich and centrally located Mexican encomienda.

Bernal Díaz to Emperor Charles V, 1552

Sacred Caesarean Catholic Majesty:

I believe your Royal Council of the Indies there will have heard of me and how I have served your majesty from when I was very young until now when I am in senescence. As such a loyal servant, and maintaining the fidelity to which I am obliged, and because I am your councilman in this city of Guatemala, and for many other reasons that exist, it is well to inform you what is being done in these lands as to their government and the administration of justice. I know for sure that your majesty and those of your Royal Council of the Indies believe that the orders you send are carried out and fulfilled, which orders are very just, to the benefit of the natives as well as of the Spaniards and the general good of the country. For that I kiss your majesty's sacred feet and pray to our Lord Jesus Christ that he guard your majesty and our lords the very illustrious princes and give them the reward your majesty wishes.

Your majesty, as I have said, this land stands in need of justice, because when it was completely without order it was much better managed, for the natives as well as for its proper perpetuation; and seeing this, I am so bold as to give this account, so that matters will not go further in such a fashion. I was at the royal court only a year ago, but when I left here for Spain, Licentiate Cerrato had just come to this province as president of the Audiencia, and by first appearances, he gave signs of doing justice; of course the citizens of this city and province always have been and remain such loyal servants, that with half a letter from your majesty they bow down to the ground in unison, as has always been seen in their actions, un-

like Cerrato. We understand he has written to your majesty that he has worked and worked, and served and served, and we imagine that both your majesty and those of your royal council have given him credence. At any rate, he showed good signs at first, and for that reason when I was at the royal court there was nothing to report about what he had done up until then, and so I am not at fault for saying nothing at that time. But if I didn't inform you what is going on now I would be greatly at fault. Concerning the tribute quotas, your majesty ordered Cerrato that the towns be inspected as to what lands they have, what plants and animals they raise, what enterprises and trade they have, what the region is like and how many households there are in each town, and then, in conformity with the nature of each town and its special characteristics, a tribute should be assigned that the town can comfortably pay to maintain its encomendero. But your majesty, everything has been done contrary to your royal command, for none of the above things were inspected; Cerrato set the quotas sitting in his rooms here, following I don't know what account or listing, so that he did injustices to some towns, and left others unhappy. There are some towns without a third as many people and resources as others, though located next to each other, and he assigned as much tribute to the one as to the other, and did other altogether unreasonable things, by what I have been told. They say that now he is sending all the quota lists there to your majesty, as though people in Spain had experience of everything here and all the circumstances.

Your majesty orders that governors should give preference to conquerors and married settlers, and help to arrange the marriage of orphaned daughters of conquerors, and should sustain the poor with the patronage of these lands. What more just command could there be than this? But your majesty, Cerrato has acted as if when you issued that command, you had said: 'As to all the good positions that there should be or should fall vacant in those provinces, be sure you give them to your relatives.' To two brothers of his and a granddaughter whom he married off here, and to a son-in-law, and to his employees and

friends, he has given the best encomiendas available in this province. In truth, any one of them alone yields more income than the total of everything that he has given in this city to conquerors. He gave one of these encomiendas I am talking about to a friend of his called Vallecillo, who, your majesty, was being sent prisoner from Nombre de Dios to Spain, and escaped along the way. They say that a Clavijo had reviewed his term in office, and for certain crimes and other faults that were found, fined him a certain amount of money, to go to the royal treasury. And then Cerrato took him in and gave him an encomienda of Indians! So he has neglected to give them to those whom your majesty orders, to give them to his relatives, employees, and friends, and he hasn't even finished satisfying them yet, since we are still waiting for him to make grants to two cousins of his, a nephew, and a grandson, and we don't know when another boatload of Cerratos might arrive, to be given Indians. If Cerrato would consider that your majesty ordered the encomiendas that the governors and royal officials once had to be taken away from them because they all get such substantial salaries, he wouldn't have given all this away with such grand flourishes. And also he should consider that your majesty granted him 500,000 maravedís more in salary than he had before, and he ought to remember that he is president of your majesty's Audiencia and that your majesty trusted in him to do justice uprightly and carry out your royal commands, as he has written he does.

I want your majesty to know how these grants of Indians that I have mentioned were made. In order that your majesty would believe it was done correctly, through the Royal Audiencia, Cerrato tried to have a Juan Rogel admitted as judge, because he had him up his sleeve. He needed his vote, since he saw that some of the other judges were not in favor of what he was doing, nor did they think it just to give Indians to his relatives who had just arrived from Castile, and take them away from poor conquerors who were loaded down with children and had served your majesty for thirty years. Although he had this Rogel expelled from the Royal Audiencia when he reviewed his

term, I have heard it said that in order to make use of him Cerrato overlooked many things, saying 'you shave me, I'll shave you.'

Your majesty, one of the judges, named Tomás López, in truth is of good conscience, and he seems to have great zeal in fulfilling your royal commands; recently he inspected most of the provinces here. Because he didn't agree with Cerrato about giving Indians to a brother of his who just came from Spain, Cerrato, in order not to have him against him, sent him to Yucatán with 400,000 maravedís in salary, over and above what was assigned to him, which departure could very well have been dispensed with, since Cerrato will now be left alone. Licentiate Ramírez is also departing for Castile, so he will be left by himself, to command at his pleasure. And also, previously, he sent Licentiate Ramírez to Nicaragua with 7½ gold pesos in salary per diem, beyond his assigned salary, and with expenses paid, because the towns of your majesty feed them as they pass through, both him and López. May your majesty look closely at what Cerrato writes about his services and deeds and wanting to carry out your majesty's commands. Let me tell your majesty, from what I know of him he has such a command of rhetoric, and such prettified and savory words, that I feel sure he will know how to gild what he does with the pen; your majesty and your royal councilors will believe that it is as he has written and informed you, and that everything is being done as your majesty orders. Since he knows that in Spain he has such a reputation as a good judge, he dares do what he does. So let your majesty see what is necessary for your royal service; all these things have happened just as I say they have. If he has served in anything, it is in the way I have said, and at the expense of your royal treasury, giving Indians to his relatives and making them rich in a short time, handing out grants left and right as long as it pays off and his relatives prosper, and he gains fame and honor, with your majesty considering him the good judge he has made himself out to be. It's quite something the way he at times talks of past governors who stole and robbed and did ugly deeds, and says he is not that kind, that he doesn't take presents, not a

chicken, nor has he transgressed with the citizens' wives, and in all this the good old man is saying that he does justice, as, with your majesty, he already has gained the reputation of doing; but he never considers that it is much worse to give a single one of those encomiendas to his relatives who used to work at their trades in Spain, and take them away from poor people who have richly deserved them by shedding their sweat and blood. So he gives what should go to the poor, according to your majesty's orders, to these people I have mentioned, but instead of considering this, he looks at the chickens and says other such things.

And also, your majesty, when some poor conqueror, perhaps married, with wife and children, comes to him to ask for help to maintain them, he is very indecorous in attending to his requests (and in other affairs too, for that matter), and answers with a fierce expression on his face and a way of wiggling in his chair that would detract from the presence of a man without many pretensions, much less the president of an Audiencia, and he says to him, 'Who ordered you to come to conquer? Was it his majesty? Then show me his letter. Go on with you, and let what you have already stolen be enough.' In this fashion he responds, and with other insults. When the poor miserable petitioners see such a countenance and such replies, they come away cursing their fortune and clamoring to God to send them justice in these things. And in truth, having been at the royal court a few months ago and seen what good and pure justice the presidents and judges of the royal councils dispense and how they pride themselves on it, and on the polite, agreeable replies they gave to supplicants, and then I see what goes on here, I am amazed at it, and I have even been so bold as to tell Cerrato to consider how your majesty is feared in our Spain, and the holy zeal shown there, with every last thing as it should be, and since in Spain Cerrato is considered a good judge, it appears to me that either I don't understand him or they must order him to do what he does here; he replies with beautified words, but no deeds at all.

Oh, if your majesty only knew what goes on here concerning

the little order that exists now among the natives of the land, how they go about as vagabonds and loiterers! Now when they should be advanced in matters of our holy faith, instead they are falling behind. They should be priding themselves on it, and seeking a better polity, and planting larger fields and raising livestock; it is all for themselves and their wives and children. But everything proceeds in great disorder, because Cerrato has no understanding of it.

And I also wish your majesty knew of the arrangement Cerrato has with two young friars and an employee of his, relator of the Audiencia, to assemble all the Indians of this province. This is something that he hides and is doing secretly in a town called Zumpango, so that all of them will unanimously and voluntarily appeal to your majesty to give them Cerrato as their perpetual governor. There would be much to say about this, but since I am not in your majesty's presence I will not say it. I only want your majesty to know that the people of these lands are of such a nature that for a drink of wine you can make the greatest chief say that he wants Barbarossa for governor, much less Cerrato, especially when those two young friars advocate it, for these people do not know of honesty and dishonesty, nor whether a request is good or bad. Here we see Cerrato telling us every day that he has written to your majesty requesting permission to return, and then he turns around and convokes people to ask for him as life-time governor. If it is true that he has written for permission to return, it is so your majesty will think he wants to leave and is not involved in convoking these people, and to give more foundation for his reputation there as a good judge. I tell your majesty, he is an old man of many stratagems, devices and tricks.

Oh sacred majesty, how just and good are the royal orders you send to this province, and how officials mold them here and do what they wish! I say this because I see how the friars are ambitious to rule and command in this land, and Cerrato desires to enrich himself and his relatives while keeping his fame as a good judge, and some of the judges have been involved in some deceits in I don't know what accounts, and they know

that the friars have heard about and know their motives, so they don't want them to inform your majesty, but to write praising the members of the Royal Audiencia as good judges. The upshot is that the judges let themselves be ruled, and friars decree your royal justice and jurisdiction, and in this fashion things continue. Therefore let your majesty order something to be done, and do not consent to such a thing.

Sacred majesty, I well understand and know for sure that Cerrato will have written and informed you that the encomiendas he has given to his relatives are of little profit, and he will have glossed it over with gilded words. Your majesty, those are all the best grants there have been in this province. The least of them is more, for this country, than 10,000 pesos for Peru. The truth is that one of Cerrato's brothers died, leaving 3,000 pesos yearly income to a daughter who survived him and only yesterday came from Castile. Your majesty may remember the time when Nuño de Guzmán presided in Mexico; he was empowered to grant Indians, but because he gave them to friends and dependents instead of conforming to your majesty's orders, the grants were revoked and annulled. It seems to me more just that your majesty should have what Cerrato has given revoked, since your majesty expressly ordered him not to do it, so that your royal justice and commands would be maintained and your royal name be feared, and others would not be so bold as to do such things in the future.

I declare this to your majesty as a loyal servant, the best I can, because for thirty-eight years I have served you. Therefore I implore your majesty to deign admit me among the number of the servants of the royal house, for I will take it as a great favor. And do not consider the lack of polish of these words, since as I am not a man of letters I do not know how to make more delicate propositions, but only to say most truthfully what happens. And I implore your majesty not to allow this letter to come back here into the hands of Cerrato, because other letters that the council of this city has written on matters of your royal service have been returned. May our Lord Jesus Christ guard your majesty, granting you many more years of life, and

give his holy grace to the most illustrious [queen] and princes our lords, and through their royal persons and fortunate arms may our holy faith always be lifted up. From the city of Santiago de Guatemala, 22nd of February, 1552.

I kiss your Sacred Caesarean Catholic Majesty's sacred feet,

Bernal Díaz del Castillo

Bernal Díaz to King Philip, 1558

Catholic Royal Majesty:

I have been informed that a Francisco de Valle, your royal factor, is sending to request your Royal Council of the Indies to grant him some lands for farming in the jurisdiction of two Indian towns, called San Pedro and San Juan, in a place where the natives of those towns were accustomed to grow crops; and he is also writing to ask that he be given license to hire Indians from these towns to work other lands that he bought close to the towns. Your Royal Audiencia here will not give him as many as he asks, since your judges have seen that because they gave him some before, more than twenty households there have been vacated, and very recently too, since he has had possession of the lands I mentioned for only about ten months. The people to whom Francisco de Valle is entrusting this business there in Spain are Martín de Ramoín and Ochoa de Loyando. For your royal majesty's information, the factor, in partnership with a Balderrama, had bought certain lands from the chiefs of these towns I mentioned, without informing me of it as their encomendero, so that I would not disturb the sale. And since the chiefs believed the lands were of a size that around fifty bushels of wheat could be planted there, and no more, and did not know the extent of twelve *caballerías,* which is what they agreed to in the bill of sale, and since now enough land is being taken from them to make up the twelve caballerías, and more than twelve – lands that must be more than a league in length and another in width – they disapprove of the sale, and demand that it be annulled because of the great deceit in it. And here in your Royal Audiencia they are suing for justice and returning

the money that was given them for the land, and also they say that they cleared and plowed the land and planted twelve bushels of maize there, and built houses, for such was the agreement. They say that if it is felt just, they will pay some expenses that were incurred in plowing the lands, provided that they be given what they harvested there this year, or at least half of it, or that they take it all and pay nothing for the plowing, whichever the factor should prefer.

The chiefs are doing this because truly they are very angry over the bad deeds they have received, such that the chiefs say that it is because of the factor that the houses I mentioned have been deserted, over twenty of them. If it hadn't been for me and the Dominican friars who reside in the town, more people would have left; but now they have stopped going. Catholic royal majesty, these towns are very fertile, given to good Christianity and holy doctrine, and they have very good churches and rich ornaments, with many singers and music of every kind, that is, musical instruments. In all these provinces there are no towns better treated nor which are called on for less tribute, and two Dominicans are among them continually; there are devout local Indian women who have a place of retreat to live apart, with income assigned for their maintenance. It is not right that such towns should receive harassment. I appeal to your royal majesty to deign, when you write to the Royal Audiencia here, to include a paragraph so that no Indians from these towns will be hired out to the factor, because the chiefs say that truly their hearts break when they see it; they say they will consent to being hired out to other Spaniards, but they will not work on lands belonging to the factor, for much pay or little. And I also ask your royal majesty to have the paragraph say that if they return the money they will be given their lands, and the factor will not involve himself with them directly or indirectly. Your judges know very well all that I say here, and they are already denying him Indians to hire for that reason, and because the friars of St Dominic defend them in what they see is just, especially those who reside there with them. And may your majesty also know that Licentiate Cerrato, former presi-

dent of the Audiencia, gave the factor some caballerías of land by virtue of a royal decree of yours; he sold them as soon as they were given to him and now he asks for more land to the detriment of the poor Indians. And since I know that your majesty, most Christian as you are, will order them to be favored as you continually do, I will desist from further supplication.

I want to give account of who I am so that your majesty might deign to do me fuller favors. I am the son of Francisco Díaz the Gallant, God rest him, who was your councilman in Medina del Campo, and I myself am your councilman in this city. At present I am your *fiel ejecutor*, by order of the Royal Audiencia and by vote of the council. I am quite closely related to your former judge, God rest him, Licentiate Gutierre Velázquez, and I have served your majesty in these parts for the last forty years; I took part in the discovery and conquest of Mexico with the Marqués del Valle, which fact has been confirmed before now in your Royal Council of the Indies, and don fray Bartolomé de las Casas, former bishop of Chiapas, also knows it well. Now again I beg that you condescend to grant me the *fiel ejecutoría* of this land, that is, of this city, since I am such an old servant of yours and my father and relatives have always served you, and for this I will be most grateful. May our Lord Jesus Christ give your Catholic Royal Majesty many years of life with much health and augmentation of realms, as your royal majesty might desire and your loyal servant, in whom you may put your trust, would wish. From Guatemala, 20th of February, 1558.

I kiss your Catholic Majesty's royal feet,
Bernal Díaz del Castillo

[1] Published in Spanish in *Cartas de Indias*, pp. 38-47.

[2] See also Murdo J. MacLeod's treatment of Licentiate Cerrato in his *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History, 1520-1720* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1973), pp. 108-16.

[3] An extensive illustration of encomenderos coexisting with a Spanish population in the area of their grants can be seen in Lockhart, 'Spaniards among Indians: Toluca in the Later Sixteenth Century,' *Creole Societies in Africa and the Americas*, ed. Franklin W. Knight (forthcoming).

13. The miner

Nicolás de Guevara, mining entrepreneur, in Potosí, to Simón Ruiz, merchant, in Medina del Campo, 1595[1]

> . . . I soon came up here to the imperial town of Potosí, where I have lived the whole time, occupying myself in the business of extracting silver . . .

We have seen that encomiendas dominated the economy of much of the sixteenth-century Spanish American countryside, channeling labor and goods to the cities, as later other types of estates would do. To be complete, to be even tolerable for the Spaniards, the system had to include some way for them to buy iron, cloth, wine, and many other things obtainable only from Europe. Therefore the encomenderos showed a sharp interest in extracting precious metals (as in Letter 11). But placer gold soon ran out in most areas, while silver, though abundant in the central regions, proved to be concentrated in a few rich, long-lasting, mainly remotely located sites: in Mexico, at Zacatecas, Guanajuato, and some others; in Peru, at Potosí, the great Cerro Rico or Rich Mountain. There could not be a silver mine on every encomienda. Instead of everyone becoming a miner, the whole Spanish American economy oriented itself towards the mines as the ultimate source of currency. The mines did not become the greatest centers in themselves, being mainly in forbidding places and distant from the densest Indian populations (though Potosí was an impressive town for a time); but Spaniards in all walks of life flourished economically only to the extent that they could sell supplies and services to the mines, or profit from them through extensions of loans or credit, or participate indirectly, selling things in the Spanish cities to others who had closer contact. In some fashion they had to have access to the mine silver that alone would pay for European things.

The Mexican situation is complex because the greatest mines were altogether outside the area of dense sedentary Indian population; the encomienda could not be brought to bear directly. To take the example of Peru and Potosí (belonging to colonial

greater Peru though in today's Bolivia), the encomenderos of the whole area from Cuzco south received tribute in silver because their Indians went to work in the mines, and they got yet more silver by selling in Potosí products as unusable by Europeans as *chuñu* and coca, to supply the Indian work force. Non-encomenderos entered the supply business too, and made fortunes; Potosí stimulated the rise of the Tucumán region in northwestern Argentina, which came to depend for its livelihood on sending livestock and livestock products to the mines. Merchants found Potosí an attractive market, and they also helped finance mining enterprises; the operations of the great international mercantile networks had two terminal points, Seville and Potosí. What the suppliers and miners earned was often spent in Lima, which continued to be the chief center for the Spanish population. The Lima market, full of Potosí silver, was the country's most lucrative, and the only recourse that existed for Spaniards in the central and northern part of the country.

Encomenderos and merchants seem to have been the first important miners, that is, mining entrepreneurs and investors (this was the sense the Spaniards gave to the word *minero*). But since both groups were heavily involved in undertakings of a very different nature, and silver mining was a specialized and intensive business, there soon came into being the special type of the miner. He might be an encomendero's relative, a former merchant, or a person with technical competence in mining. Or he might be none of these, for the rich mining sites sometimes saw enterprising people rise from nothing to great wealth in a short time. The successful miner was far less tied down than was the encomendero, and was very likely to return to Spain with his profits, or even more likely, to move to the capital, Lima or Mexico City, and begin to establish a position among the older families. Another possibility, of course, was the loss of everything. Mining was volatile.

While he continued his activity, the miner would aim for an integrated complex that was much like the encomendero's, and deserves the name of estate just as fully. In the present letter our Potosí miner speaks of some of its elements: mining sites, a

refining mill, honorific municipal office (lucrative too, in this case). He must have also had Spanish technical supervisors, skilled refiners at the mill (black slaves and permanent Indian employees), and much temporary unskilled Indian help, as well as, if he could manage it, supportive enterprises farther away to provide food, animals, wood and other supplies.

The letter itself tells us a good deal of Nicolás de Guevara's origins. For one thing, he is a Basque. The Basques, with their iron deposits, were the miners of Spain, and were correspondingly prominent in the silver mines of the Indies, in both Mexico and Peru, to the point that in the early seventeenth century Potosí saw a serious anti-Basque reaction. Guevara does not come from nowhere: he has an uncle Licentiate Guevara in Madrid; he is distantly related through marriage to one of the greatest merchants of Spain; and prominent relatives have preceded him in Peru. We may presume that his way was smoothed by help and credit from his kinsmen and compatriots.

Potosí was many things, and spawned at least three genres of writing, namely controversy over its disruptive labor system, project-spinning concerning its technical difficulties, and praise of its wealth. This brief letter belongs to the last.

Very magnificent sir:

You will consider it something new to see a letter of mine from such remote parts, but recognizing the kinship there is between us, I wanted to take advantage of your favor on this occasion. I had a sister in the town of Belorado, married to an honorable man there named Andrés Ruiz, and my uncle Licentiate Pedro de Guevara has written me from Madrid that she died and left four children. To help bring them up, I thought I would send, through you, 350 gold pesos, to be delivered entire in Medina del Campo, the charges borne as appears in the authenticated bill of lading that accompanies this. A great friend of mine called Juan de Guesala is taking the money and will be very careful to deliver it when he arrives; he is going to live in Durango, Biscay, where I was born and raised. I beg you, when you receive this, to send the accompanying letter to Andrés

Ruiz, and tell him that when Juan de Guesala arrives the amount will be sent to him. Since that is a land of scarcity, they are doubtless in need.

Now that I am writing you, it seems proper to give you an account of my life. I came to Peru the year of '81 and soon came up here to the imperial town of Potosí, where I have lived the whole time, occupying myself in the business of extracting silver. I have many very good mining sites in the Rich Mountain, and a mill where I grind the ore. I also bought the office of municipal council secretary and notary public of this town, for 42,000 ducats in cash; it is the most profitable office having to do with papers that the king our lord offers in all his realms, and as to honor, it is the best thing here. I have or am gaining a great stock of ore to process, and if it yields well, with our Lord's aid, I mean to go back to Spain within three years. When I arrive, I will come to pay you my respects.

I married a second cousin of mine named doña Francisca de Lantadilla, from this land here, daughter of Martín de Ayales, with a dispensation brought from Rome. I wanted to give you such a long account of everything because it would not be right to neglect to give it to a person such as yourself. I beg you to do me the great favor of answering my letter and telling me in what way I might serve your grace, whose person I greatly desire that our Lord guard and increase.

Written in Potosí, 4th of April, 1595.

Nicolás de Guevara

[1]Published in Spanish, with comment, in Marie Helmer, 'Un tipo social: el "minero" de Potosí,' *Revista de Indias*, XVI (1956), 85-92.

14. Commerce across the Atlantic

Francisco de Escobar, merchant of Seville, to his junior partner Diego de Ribera in Lima, 1553[1]

> . . . I have written you with this fleet all about everything going on . . .

The third great constituent of the life-support system of Spanish American cities, along with the encomiendas and the

mines, was commerce. Since the reader has already been exposed to two merchants' letters of progressive difficulty (Letters 4 and 5), we now present him with the maximum challenge of a voluminous letter from the nerve center of one of the large trans-Atlantic companies, at a time when the trade had reached full maturity. The other two letters were written by junior partners in the Indies; this one is from a senior partner in Seville to the factor-partner in Lima. Francisco de Escobar, the merchant in Seville, is no novice to the Indies, however, for he had typically enough been active in Peru for years, accumulated capital during the first boom of Potosí, and advanced to head his own company based in Seville. On a several-year term, the company arrangement included two partners in Seville, a representative on the Isthmus to forward goods toward Peru, a partner in Lima seeing to distribution there, and underlings in Lima and other places in Peru.

The letter is written in stages, over a two-month period, and is really several letters in one. Certain leitmotifs run through the whole, one of the more charming being the advancing pregnancy of Escobar's wife Marcela de Carvajal. Not advancing, rather constantly being harped upon, are the 780 pesos that Juan López, the Panamá man, double-charged Escobar for transportation of goods. Escobar is unable to forget it for more than a couple of pages, and mentions it in every conceivable connection. The death of Juan López and the company reorganization made necessary thereby are the real occasion and substance of the letter. Escobar considers one type of company, then another, then yet another, with both organization and personnel changing constantly.

In the course of the discussion Escobar brings up some matters vital to an understanding of the evolution of trans-Atlantic commerce. He is quite uncertain whether to leave sale of goods in Panamá at the discretion of the representative there, which would take advantage of windfall high prices and allow quick reinvestment, or to use the more dependable, mechanical method of sending all goods on to the principal market in Lima. Everything turns on getting large and steady streams of silver

back to Seville to pay debts and make investments; Escobar comes to this point again and again, and leaving nothing to the imagination, he admonishes his partner Ribera always to send whatever he has 'whenever ships leave Lima for Panamá in August, September, October, November, December or January.' The Seville merchants are against any local long-term investment in the Indies, as we see in Escobar's reports of arguments inside another firm (caused by the Lima representative's action in investing in local meat supply and transportation). Thus the large Seville firms at this time were still tending to keep direct control of trans-Atlantic trade all the way through to retail in the capitals of the Indies, and make any long-term, credit-stiffening investment in Spain. But divergent tendencies were being felt, tendencies which won out in the next century when most goods were sold wholesale at the ports to merchants who had taken firm root in Lima and Mexico City.

Another important aspect of commercial life coming through clearly in the letter is the extent to which the merchants manipulated and milked their own companies. All the partners took advantage of the expressed or tacit right to make separate investments and use company facilities to distribute the goods. Escobar maintains a whole store in Lima for the sale of his private merchandise. In order to help in setting up a new company, he in effect wants the Lima house belonging to the old company underevaluated. The apparent investments of the different partners actually represent prospective percentages of the profit, arrived at after much haggling.

The tone of the letter is mainly friendly, but we do see at times that it is the superior talking, chastising Ribera for neglect of remittances and for bad hiring practices, i.e., hiring someone other than Escobar's friends. At other times he wheedles a bit, since he very much wants Ribera to represent the company for some years more before being promoted to Seville – the ambition of practically all the merchants of this time.

As in the other merchant letters, here too names abound, and much of the color and interest lies hidden in them. Many belong, as is clear in the letter, to other merchants of Seville,

competitors or possible partners of Escobar; what is not clear is that many of these people made their start in Peru as he did, so that in the commercial world a tight net of career patterns, friendships and rivalries held both sides of the Atlantic together. Even the Seville notary Juan Franco who prepares Escobar's papers was once chief notary of Lima, and Escobar knew him there. We have already mentioned three of the partners of Escobar's company; 'Mr Diego Núñez' is the fourth, in Seville with Escobar.

Some important patron–client relationships are glimpsed in the letter as well. Particularly small-scale merchants such as Escobar once was found it to their advantage sometimes to be the near-dependents of important encomenderos who favored them in various ways. In this letter we have Ana Suárez, who inherited a large encomienda of the Lima district, and was closely associated with Escobar when he was in Lima (Secretary Merlo is her second husband; he was secretary of Governor Vaca de Castro, writer of Letter 29, and married Ana Suárez through the latter's influence). The connection continues even though Escobar is now in Spain. Another relationship is that with Judge Altamirano of the Audiencia of Lima. Escobar is keeping tabs on a lawsuit in Granada concerning one of the judge's relatives. Also Escobar's wife is sending some special things for the judge's wife. One imagines that he and his firm received favors in return. Notice, by the way, that Escobar wavers on whether to call the judge's wife *doña* or not, something that could happen only in rather extreme cases. In fact she did not have the title, but this was such an anomaly in the wife of such a high official that Escobar uses the term once, then returns to the unadorned name. With Ana Suárez, long a camp follower and mistress of the first husband she married only on the day of his execution, there is no such wavering.

Another thread are Escobar's relatives. One is Alonso de Escobar, already in Peru when Francisco was, and now in Chile, not exactly part of the company, but still carrying out commissions for it in that most distant outpost. Escobar's sister and brother-in-law are now in Lima, and throughout the letter Esco-

bar pushes their advancement. In Tierra Firme is a nephew, ready to start up the company ladder. This sending back of younger relatives was a basic mechanism long maintaining the strength of trans-Atlantic ties.

In addition to all these things, there is much in the letter on the debt-collection and courier service that was one part of mercantile affairs; on the Atlantic fleet system, by now quite fully developed; on profit levels; on conditions in Seville; on wars with the French, and even the most recent, if not most accurate news on English politics, so that Escobar could say with much justice that he had written 'all about everything going on here.'

Jesus *Seville, 16th of October, 1553*

Sir:

I have so much to write that I don't know where to begin, though I'll not write at length now. A caravel is leaving for Cape Verde; there being so many Frenchmen on the sea, we don't know whether it will meet with any or not, but on the chance that this might arrive, I will write. I'll say a few things that need to be said: first, a caravel that left Nombre de Dios on the 5th of February of this year and arrived here at the end of May, brought us letters from Gaspar Ramos and Alonso de Cazalla, in which they inform us of the death of Juan López, and though his death grieved me as a relation, as far as our property is concerned, God did us a great favor. He had handled business so badly and confusedly that I believe it was a great gain for our property to lose him. And as we had given power in Tierra Firme to Gaspar Ramos and Alonso de Cazalla to take over our affairs if he died, they did so, which was just the right thing. And being sure that as soon as you heard of his death you would hurry to come to Tierra Firme, we did not send a special person there for those matters, but in the fleet that is now ready to leave we are again sending you very full and explicit powers to take account of everything that has been done there, and I desire extremely that you should have come to Tierra Firme so you can intercept our messages there. For as I say,

considering it certain, we are not sending anyone, because we wish and desire that all of it should go through your hands, which would be better than through our own; and if perchance when this arrives you should not have gone to Tierra Firme, then by all means go and finish up matters there.

With the changing times we here may have an excess of merchandise, though you will not there. When you come to Tierra Firme you should in no way or manner sell the house in the city of Lima, because we want to make a new company and have you go back to reside there. Don't take it into your head to come to Castile now, because all Spain is so expensive and high priced that people need great means to be able to support themselves here. I would like you to be there another five or six years, whichever you think best, for the time that the company we are organizing should last, because in it would be only you and I and Mr Diego Núñez, without having this confusion in Nombre de Dios and Panamá, but only a man who would take care of the merchandise we would send from here, directing it on to you, and he would send here whatever you send him. All this is to be something very much among friends and brothers, because even if there were to be no one in the company but you and I, as long as I should live and you should want to stay there, I will not abandon the association nor stop sending you all my goods; though I don't want to get in debt to make shipments, just whatever I have, and you, and if Mr Diego Núñez wants to, whatever share he wants and no other volume, merely what we could ship without resorting to credit or exchange.

At the moment we are all in necessity because the fleet of which Carreño was general and which left on the 4th of November of last year has not been heard from to this day, nor has any ship come from New Spain or Santo Domingo, and so we are in great necessity, as is the whole kingdom, since almost the majority of the merchants have failed and there is not a penny to be borrowed in the whole city; if any bills of exchange are available, they are payable in Valencia or Lisbon, at something like 60 percent a year. Consider how many businesses could stand such a thing. Nor do we have silver pieces nor gold jewels;

everyone has had them melted down. The hardship and general necessity among all, rich and richest, just to get enough to eat, is such that you truly must see it to believe it. Every day we await the fleet of Carreño from New Spain and Santo Domingo. May our Lord see fit to bring them back safely, because truly the arrival of the fleet will revive this part of the country, and the whole kingdom as well. And as Juan López had done so badly in taking what you were sending us, we have suffered need. Still, praise the Lord, we came out of it better than most, because with properties and possessions that friends gave us to be leased out, we have taken care of almost all of the letters of credit; if it hadn't been for this help it seems to me we would have paid out more for loans than profited on the merchandise, but in the way I have said, we managed well enough, and weren't damaged as much as others have been.

I will come now to reviewing Juan López' accounts, and I think that just from the money he took from me there, there will be a deficit of 5,000 pesos. To amass money, in one account that he sent me he charges me with an item that reads as follows: 'Item, 780 pesos, the cost of 130 loads I transported for him in the packtrain and boats, being the merchandise that was appraised in the galleon for Chile and the one for Paita.' You also charge me with these 780 pesos in the current account you sent me, so that I am charged twice for the same amount, and may God pardon Juan López for it; a very fine fraud of his, to get paid there in Tierra Firme for my shipments and on the other hand send to you for payment. Search out this item that I mention and compare it with Juan López' account, because if you charge me with it, then Juan López shouldn't, so don't accept this item of his, so that I will not be charged more than once; and don't be neglectful in this matter.

At the time that Juan López died, there was a quantity of my wine in Panamá and Nombre de Dios, in jugs and casks, and also soap and other things of mine outside the company, all of which was sold at auction. I hope that Gaspar Ramos and Alonso de Cazalla sent me the money from it in the fleet that we expect, and didn't add it to the company assets or pay debts

and other things that Juan López owed with it, because if they shouldn't have sent it to me and should have used it to pay the things I mentioned, they would be doing me a very bad turn, since it is all on my own account.

I feel sure that in this fleet we are now awaiting you will have sent me a quantity of money. At Sanlúcar there are now more than thirty ships, loaded and very well equipped, with bronze artillery and munitions. Each ship carries a double crew of sailors and 10 soldiers; the general of the fleet will be Cosme Rodríguez Farfán, named by the king, with two ships and an advice-boat carrying 500 soldiers. The two ships and boat carry no merchandise, but only artillery, munitions, provisions and fighting men; they are in very good order, and one goes as flagship. The fleet and convoy of Rodríguez Farfán will go straight to Nombre de Dios; in the latitude of San Germán the ships headed for New Spain and those headed for Santo Domingo will separate and each head its own way, while the two ships and advice-boat will continue with those going to Nombre de Dios, about fifteen ships at least, and as I say, all very good ones and well outfitted. The defense levy for the fleet is 2½ percent; lack of money has delayed the fleet's departure so much, because the shippers haven't a penny to pay the levies to the masters and the 2½ percent for the fleet. They say that when Carreño's fleet arrives there will be enough money to dispatch this one; if it doesn't come, we believe this fleet will not be able to leave until January, however much effort is put into it. May our Lord bring it in safety and bring also the others we await, so that we can emerge from the great need we are in, which is such that, by God, we are all weary and chastened.

In order, with the aid of God, to avoid finding ourselves in such straits again, we are sending plenty of merchandise in the fleet, though however much it is, it will hardly be enough, because no other fleet will depart for a year. There is great scarcity of merchandise in New Spain, Santo Domingo, and the other places, and we feel sure that great profits have been made in New Spain; in the last letters from there they write that merchandise was sold for 130 percent and more, and people

think it will be much more now, since no ship has come from there for almost a year and a half, and we expect a great treasure of money here.

All Spain, praise our Lord, has had good weather. We have a very bitter war with France, the hardest fought that ever was seen. His majesty has taken two forts at a place called [Tebianrediun],[2] which is between Flanders and France, and his forces have entered the country there. The last letters we have from Flanders, from the 28th of August, report that his majesty was in good health and was going to his camp in person, and that the camp of his majesty and the French camp were only three leagues from each other. The general of his majesty's army is the prince of Piedmont, who is also the duke of Savoy. His majesty's forces are large, and so are those of the French. It is thought that the two camps met in battle this very day. May our Lord be pleased to give the victory to his majesty, since he is such a Christian prince. The Prince is in Valladolid now, since the court is there; he came from Acoca to El Pardo, which is the wood of Madrid, and now is back again in Valladolid, because don Diego de Acevedo came from his majesty's court with dispatches for him, and don Francisco de Mendoza came along. Up till now no viceroy has been appointed for Peru, except that they say that his majesty has left it up to the Prince whether to name don Francisco de Mendoza; we hope they will name him, although others claim the viceroy will be don Diego de Acevedo or the count of Palma. We all want it to be don Francisco de Mendoza, since he is such a good cavalier and deserves it.

In the month of February last, Anchueta's ship, of more than 300 tons, left Sanlúcar for Nombre de Dios, with permission to sail alone. It cost us dear, because within four days after it left Sanlúcar the French took it; it was very richly loaded, with a cargo worth 60,000 ducats or more. The loss did great damage among the merchants here, and cost me myself about 400 ducats; this was the greatest prize the French have taken on the Indies route.

On the feast of Magdalena a French fleet sacked La Palma, in the Canaries; it is said that what they took was worth over

200,000 ducats. And since, as I said, I don't consider this letter very sure to arrive because it is only going to Cape Verde, I will not write more news, though there is much to write.

The king of England died. He was still a boy, and they say a tutor of his killed him to seize the kingdom. There have been great arguments among them, but now the kingdom is peaceful under Madam María as queen, the dead king's sister; she is the emperor's cousin, and he was going to marry her before he married the empress. She is a woman of about forty; they say that the people of the kingdom are pressing her to marry, and with a native of England.

Our Prince's marriage is arranged with the Infanta of Portugal, the one they call the Rich.

Marcela de Carvajal is in good health and sends you her greetings. Our Lord has seen fit to grant us favors, and she is six months pregnant; she has had a very good pregnancy and is due in January. With the aid of God we will have a little Baltasar, or if it is a girl it will be Ana, please our Lord that it be for his service.

As I said, this fleet in which Cosme Rodríguez Farfán is going as general will be so good and so well equipped for the return trip that it will not fear all France; by all means strive to send us a great quantity of money in this fleet of Farfán because it will come in such security, and we will not insure a penny of it. For lack of money we are not sending merchandise in this fleet, except for four or five slaves, and some Avila pitch that is going on the ship of the Albos, of which Juan García is master. Francisco de Ampuero is going in this same ship, and the wife of Governor Balduña is also going in this fleet, in Buitrón's ship. Secretary Merlo has gone to Valladolid to confer with don Francisco de Mendoza; I don't believe he will go with this fleet, because he is trying to get permission to have milady Ana Suárez come here. I will report at length on everything with the fleet, and meanwhile hope that this reaches you.

In Tierra Firme try to obtain all the letters and papers I sent in the last fleet, Carreño's, that were directed to Juan López; they should all be in the hands of Mr Gaspar Ramos. Take care

of the bills I sent to have collected in the city of San Miguel; I think the power to collect included Mr Gaspar Ramos. He would do me a favor by delegating the power to you so you could have the money collected.

Consider how well Juan López managed things; he never remitted the 800-odd pesos belonging to milady Ana Suárez that you sent him to be sent on to me. You will have to tell her to give you power to collect it; get a copy of the item in the register of the ship in which it was sent, and have it collected in Nombre de Dios. Another great cruelty of his was that he failed to send on the money belonging to Bartolomé de Jerez that you sent him, and its proper owner here is reduced to begging. We here need a copy from the register so it can be collected, and also copies of all the items that you sent him, so we will have clarity in everything.

There in Tierra Firme is a boy, my nephew, son of my sister; when you get there, look after him until, God willing, I will write with the fleet what should be done. Along with this letter will go one that Mr Núñez and I wrote, signed by both of us, and for what is lacking here I refer you to that one.

And if this should chance to reach your hands, tell Judge Altamirano that last December a decree was issued in Granada, ordering all of Mr Gonzalo de Torres' property returned to him. I was sending you an authorized copy of the order on the ship of Anchueta that the French took. The other party appealed, but I believe that with the aid of God I will be able to send news in the fleet that the judgment has been confirmed in review, because Mr Francisco González is in Granada and is certain they will confirm it. May it please the Lord that it turn out as you there desire.

Write me continuously, by way of Santo Domingo and by whatever other routes there should be, and tell about everything at length; as I say, I greatly wish that this might reach you at Nombre de Dios.

May our Lord give you, etc.

Seville, 25th of November, 1553

The above is a copy of a letter that went on the caravel for Cape Verde on the day that appears, and left from the bar at Sanlúcar on the 22nd of last month. Since then our Lord has seen fit to do us more favors than we deserve; on Wednesday, the 25th of last month, General Carreño and the fleet from Nombre de Dios and New Spain passed the bars at Sanlúcar, and I believe if all Spain arrived here the joy could not be greater. Blessed be the Lord. We did have a moment of suspense, which was that about a hundred leagues before reaching the Azores, the flagship got lost from the rest in a storm; it was richly loaded because in the Gulf, while the fleet was still all together, a ship of Bolaños' was leaking badly, and they took off all the money and passengers and put it all on the flagship I mentioned, which got separated from the fleet. We were greatly concerned because of all that came in it; a full half of what you were sending us came in that ship, because it was the best in the whole fleet. In the end our Lord saw fit to favor us, since within a week after Carreño arrived we had news that this flagship had reached Terceira, in the Azores and, because it was no longer navigable, unloaded all the money it carried and was beached there. In January, pleasing God, don Alonso will leave Sanlúcar with six heavily armed ships carrying almost 1,500 men and go straight to Terceira to bring back the money from this ship. He will come back along with a fleet from New Spain that is expected then; God willing, don Alonso will be here by March or April, because he is only going to Terceira with the fleet that guards this coast and gathers in ships coming from the Indies, to accompany and guard them as far as Sanlúcar; and this armada is at his majesty's expense.

With this fleet of Carreño I received your letters from the 12th of March and 12th of April of this year; our Lord knows the joy it gave me to know that you are well, which is the main thing I want to know, because I love and desire your health as my own. In the letter of March 12 you tell how last year you sent us a shipment of money. By now you will have found out what Juan López did with it, may God pardon him; he sent me only 4,000 pesos, and for the company he sent not a penny. It

was a good thing he died, since he surely would have taken a good slice of what you just sent; may God pardon him everything, for truly he was the destroyer of our business and good name. And as to what you say of the pain you felt when you found out that Juan López had taken money, I readily believe that your pain equalled ours.

You say that you heard of Juan López' death through letters from Gaspar Ramos, and also that he and Alonso de Cazalla by power from us had taken over the property; you will also doubtless have heard how they sold the stocks of goods in Panamá and Nombre de Dios, and about the many debts that Juan López had left there, and what poor security he had maintained in everything. I will say no more about this except that truly our Lord did us a favor in taking Juan López and removing him from that post.

I had written you that we thought it would be well if you came to Nombre de Dios and Panamá to settle accounts on this affair, but now I tell you to stay at home without budging or leaving Lima, because we will send from here an adequate person to finish up matters, who will be stationed in Tierra Firme and be part of the new company that, God willing, we are going to make. As soon as you see this, we need for you to strive to close out everything having to do with the company so that we can finish up here; whatever you have to sell that belongs to the company, sell it now even if it be on credit, or in whatever way you think best, so that you can send us the conclusion of it and we can finish up here. Appraise the houses for the new company in such a way that you don't do it an injustice, but appraise them at what they could be sold for in cash. Do all this as quickly as you can, and also send us sufficient powers both to finish the old company and make the agreement on the new one. Let the power be made out to Luis Sánchez de Albo, Diego Díaz Becerril, Diego de Illescas, and Ruy Díaz de Gibraleón, or any one of them alone. Since this is a matter that must be arranged among us here, you need not worry that we will not do right by you; that you will see by the result.

In your letter of the 12th of April I see that you didn't want

to come to Panamá, and am glad of it. Stay in Lima, and when you leave there, let it be when you are coming straight to this country to rest and take your pleasure from the company we will make, if it please God. I will invest at least 30,000 ducats in it, and Mr Diego Núñez 15,000 ducats, plus whatever you should put in. It will be a good company, and we will have no packtrains nor boats nor impediments in Panamá and Nombre de Dios, only a dwelling house, and we will not send there another person who will then or later cause us concern, because the person we send will understand perfectly that in everything he is to do what we and you tell him.

At the time when Carreño's fleet arrived, the other fleet of which Farfán is general was about to leave from Sanlúcar, but because of the arrival it has stayed on for some days; great demands for merchandise have come from all parts of the Indies. In New Spain shipments were sold for 150 percent, and in Nombre de Dios, at the time the fleet was ready to return, they say that merchandise was selling for even more than that. With this news from all parts of the Indies, there has been a great rush to ship things, and in twelve days I believe more than 500,000 ducats worth of merchandise have been bought; prices have all risen so quickly that in three days everything went up 25 percent. Since the ships were already loaded, what has risen most of all is freight; people have paid 30 ducats per ton to Nombre de Dios, cash down, and by God, this week I myself paid 30 ducats per ton, cash, from here to Nombre de Dios.

I have bought a little merchandise on my own account and am sending it in these ships, as you will see by the bills of lading; since it was bought within a week I couldn't sort things out very well, but just bought what I thought might be needed there, although we feel sure it will bring a large gain. Be so good as to send me the final accounting on all merchandise you have received for me that went through the hands of Juan López, and the goods he sent and in what ships, because I must finish up the account of the merchandise I sent Juan López and would like, since there has been enough time, that nothing of that account of mine be left unsettled, but that the final summary

be sent. I sent some merchandise on my own account in the fleet of Carreño, and Gaspar Ramos received it in Nombre de Dios; he writes me that he sent it on to you as I had written him to; that is, Gaspar Ramos sent this merchandise from Carreño's fleet to you in my name. Keep a separate account of what I am sending in this fleet without getting it in any way mixed with the shipments that went through the hands of Juan López. As I say, everything that Juan López sent in my name from Nombre de Dios and Panamá is to be kept apart, and I am extremely desirous that when this arrives you should already have sent me the final accounting for it, but if by chance when this comes, there should be anything of mine left in that account, then sell it right away to close it out. Everyone tells us here that, praise our Lord, you have made a very great profit. May it be for His service and may it continue until today, but do be sure you keep selling the merchandise of mine that you should receive. I will not be sending more merchandise on my own account, though, until such time as we make the new company, and after it is made I intend to ship only on behalf of the company; I will have plenty just shipping for it.

As to what you sent in the ship of Juan de Areche, Gaspar Ramos and Alonso de Cazalla sent it all on, exactly as it came; half of it, praise God, is already here in the city, and the other half is at Terceira. As I said, it was coming in the flagship, and with the aid of God we will have it here by March or April. Though we have a bitter war with France, the enemy does us little damage, because the fleets are very secure, going and coming back with an armada, and besides that don Alonso sails between here and Terceira in the Azores with another very fine armada, awaiting the fleets, so that in addition to the convoy the fleet already has with it, on reaching the Azores don Alonso comes with his armada to guard it, and so all proceeds in very good order. The armada that goes to the Indies with the fleets is paid for by a defense levy of 2½ percent, and the one that don Alonso leads is at his majesty's expense.

It's amazing that the money you sent with Juan de Areche reached the fleet, it already being in Nombre de Dios ready to

sail. Don't wait so late again to send money; rather whenever ships leave Lima for Panamá in August, September, October, November, December or January, always send whatever you should have. This will have two advantages: it will make sure that money reaches the fleets, and it will avoid running so much risk in only one ship. After all, what you have there is also the sea; sometimes ships sink between here and Sanlúcar, and the same thing could happen there.

As to what you say about the money belonging to Alonso de los Naranjos, I have a very satisfactory acknowledgment of the receipt of it all by his mother, made yesterday before Juan Franco, notary. He is getting a lot of papers ready for me for this fleet; I will do my best to see that they make it, but if not, they will go with the next one, and don't worry about any of it. The same will be done with the estate of Bachelor Ramos. As to what you say about the papers on the property that Gamboa owes and the black who has run away, we would be very grateful to have it collected, if possible, for Alonso de Naranjo's mother. She says that Valenzuela's son is obliged to pay the debt of 1,700 pesos by a new document Gamboa signed in Arequipa; although they had seized Gamboa's estate to pay Valenzuela's son, they gave him his property back and he issued new obligations. For this reason Valenzuela's son is obliged to pay, since the debt was secure, the property having been seized, and he returned it without being empowered to. I have informed Pedro López Urrea here of all this, and you look into it there. I received from Alonso de Carmona the 864 pesos, 6 tomines of the judicial order; some time ago I took the letter out of security to have the money paid to me here. All the letters you sent for people in this city were delivered, and those for elsewhere were sent on their way in good hands, and the same will be done with whatever you send. I was very glad to hear the news you sent about Charcas and the rest; please keep reporting on everything at length.

In matters of Chile, write to Alonso de Escobar entreating him to collect the estate of Juan Pinel as I already wrote him, as a work of charity, since those who are to receive it here are very

poor people; and if it can't be collected, then let him send a statement to that effect, and I will have done my duty. Send him the letters I wrote him, and tell him to be sure to collect what is outstanding on the merchandise and what Bautista, the captain, owes me, and send it to me. If Alonso de Escobar should need something from you, then please send it to him, and you will be doing me a favor.

Milady Ana Suárez will be able to come here, God willing, because I am sending her his majesty's license to come to Spain for three years without giving bond, and God willing, when the three years have elapsed I believe she can get an extension. What she leaves there is to be in your hands, and you will be doing me a very great favor if you take care of it as though I were doing it myself. If a bond or some such thing is required, see to it, and I declare that whatever you do or any risk you should assume will be on my account and I will pay forthwith.

She will have to leave someone there with arms and a horse; I wish, since it has to be someone other than you, that it could be Lope de Salinas, my sister's husband, if he is in the city now. See if you can arrange it, since you will receive very ample powers for everything. If milady Ana Suárez should give you some money and not want it to come in her name, then so that I will know about it, put in the register that the money is mine and is coming on a separate account of mine for her, and that it goes at my risk; and I also wrote you at Nombre de Dios that it should come under this account I mean, without going into detail.

As to what you say of the great quantities of olives that have been sent, from now on I won't send any more. Whatever Captain Lope Martín should need and send to ask of you, please do it for him better than I would myself, and keep writing about it.

In the letter of April 12 I see the events in Charcas. May our Lord pardon the dead; they enjoyed little and have paid for it, and all those who should want to do anything in disservice of his majesty will pay the same. May our Lord maintain the kingdom in peace and quiet.

I was also glad to hear from you that Mr Rodrigo Niño arrived in Lima; give him greetings on my behalf if he is there.

As to what you say, that you consider it superfluous for you to come to Tierra Firme, or us either, we would have been sorry if you had come; stay there with the blessing of God in Lima, and when you come to Tierra Firme it will be not to stay there but to come straight on to this country, as I wrote before.

Please, in the matter of what Marcela de Carvajal sent in the trunk that was to be given to milady Ana Suárez, send me a memorandum of what arrived, because Juan López took two thirds of it or more, and see that what is missing is collected.

I already reported how Juan López charges me in his account 780 pesos for 130 loads of merchandise that he sent for me in the ships of Mafla to Chile and to Paita, and you charge me with the same item. Don't accept any of this in Juan López' account; I am not to pay it twice. I'm sending you an account of all the news here, and will continue to do so at length, and you must repay me in the same coin. I am writing in reply to the letters of doña María Martel and her sister. Rodrigo de Cantos is in Rome, having escaped from the jail where he was being held about his marriage here; they say he doesn't have a good case, and the woman here really is his wife. And please take care that all the letters I send you are given to the people they are intended for; the assets you have sent me go to the proper persons as you wish, and so I will keep doing with whatever you send.

Marcela de Carvajal, bless the Lord, is very well, and seven months pregnant now. She sends greetings and will write; little Melchor is well, and also sends greetings.

They are rushing us greatly to send off this fleet; for almost a month Francisco Tello has been in Sanlúcar inspecting the ships, pressing for departure, but we are not to know when they will leave; if there is any new development I will advise you.

I have had letters from Gabriel de la Cruz in Chile, who tells me of an obligation made out to me by Ulloa, lord of Caraballo, citizen of Charcas, for 200 pesos that he owed to this Gabriel de la Cruz. He had given that amount in gold to Ulloa in Chile to give to his wife here, because Ulloa was going to come to Spain, but he never did, and spent the money there. Later Gabriel de la

Cruz came from Chile to Lima to ask for it, and since Ulloa didn't have the means to pay then, he issued a written obligation to me, I believe Baltasar was the notary. This was in Lima in the year of '48, almost at the end of it, or the beginning of '49, and as I say, it is made out to me. Please have it looked up, and if Ulloa or assets of his should appear, have it collected, because it is to be given to Gabriel de la Cruz' wife, who needs it. It is a good deed and our Lord will repay it, so make an effort. This Ulloa also owes me a debt I would like to see collected; keep me posted on all this.

After the above was written, Diego Díaz Becerril and Mr Diego Núñez and I discussed what I will now tell you about. The company that existed between Alvaro de Illescas, Diego Díaz and Diego de Illescas, Gonzalo López and the rest, is being dissolved, because Diego Díaz and Diego de Illescas, saying that the agreement with them has not been fulfilled, have brought great suits against Alonso de Illescas, father of Alvaro de Illescas, and against Ruy Díaz de Gibraleón, and in short as I said, the company is being dissolved; and also Gonzalo López writes to Diego Díaz that he is very annoyed to see that Alvaro de Illescas had not remained. Diego Díaz has discussed our making a company with you residing there in the city of Lima, and Gonzalo López residing in Tierra Firme, and Mr Diego Núñez and I and Diego Díaz in this city; we think it should be considered a certainty and already arranged. Diego Díaz is writing with this fleet to Gonzalo López to send him power to put it into effect, and when this arrives, you send us your power for this too. I believe that with the aid of God it will be one of the best companies that have been formed in this land, and the best supplied. The investment in it will be 80,000 ducats or more, and it will be supplied as if it were 200,000 ducats. We don't want to have boats nor packtrains in Tierra Firme, but that Gonzalo López should send whole shipments on to you just as we send them from here. With this fleet we are sending Gonzalo López very full powers to take care of all our holdings there, and to examine the accounts of the executors and holders of the estate of Juan López. And in the first ship we need for

you to send power to Gonzalo López for things there, approving the powers that we have sent him. You relax and have a good life, and God willing, we here will see to it that the principal trading house and business deals of Peru will be yours; and as I say, send powers for the new company. I think you can trust empowering me and Mr Diego Núñez and also Luis Sánchez de Albo, who is a very judicious and honest person, because although you will be absent at the time of agreement, be sure that you will be much more than present, because with Mr Diego Núñez and me here, and we are the ones who will decide things, you will see by the result whether you were missed; wait and see by how it comes out. I am very happy that we have been able to arrange this so that we can have a man as honest and prudent as Gonzalo López in Tierra Firme; and the main thing is having you, because you are the crucible into which all is poured. From today on, whatever you have to send us, whether to me or to Mr Diego Núñez, let it come to Tierra Firme consigned to Gonzalo López, and in all the ships that leave, write to him in a friendly way, since our friendship must be as a brotherhood of brothers.

When the fleet leaves, Mr Diego Núñez and I will start acquiring merchandise to ship on the account of this new company. All three of us here will invest whatever we have at the moment so that when the next fleet arrives you will get an abundance of merchandise, and it will be very easy for you because none of us three will send anything to you or to Gonzalo López on our own account, but all on the account of the company; I pray to our Lord that it all be for his service.

Send me two copies of all the shipments of merchandise that Juan López sent you on my individual account, and in what ships and when, because I must settle accounts with his brothers, and we must have complete clarity, since it is a matter of making final arrangements with heirs of the dead.

The merchandise I am sending in this fleet on my own account is already all consigned to Gonzalo López, for him to receive it and send on to you immediately; the merchandise was assembled in a rush and could not be properly assorted, because

it was put together and loaded within a week, some of it freighted at 30 ducats a ton paid immediately in this city; but the demand for merchandise that has come from New Spain, that is, the high prices there, is something to wonder at.

Have no fear that the French will harm us, because the fleets go and come back in very good order, with many men and much artillery, and many strong ships. When this merchandise of mine that I'm now sending arrives, begin to sell it right away without waiting for more, because from now on we are going to do nothing but enjoy all seasons and go along selling every day; we will send a great quantity of merchandise so that you won't have to be always waiting. Send a memorandum of the merchandise you want shipped, and what prices things are selling for.

Gaspar Ramos writes me that he received the merchandise I sent him on my account in Carreño's fleet, and he sent it all on to you; I think, God willing, it will arrive in good time.

Along with this letter go some dispatches of Mr Pedro López so that you will send to Chile to collect some money owed him by Juan Ruiz, who used to make hats in Lima and has now become rich in Chile; have your power delegated to Alonso de Escobar, who will do this as well as myself, and also anything else that is necessary. Please do this, because it is our own affair.

I had written you to buy up some gold to send me because of the high price it was bringing, but now recently things have become very tight for the Genoese and others who buy gold in order to take it out of the kingdom, and the price has fallen greatly. The best gold that comes from Chile is sold in this city for 470 maravedís at most, and that which is not so good falls below that price, so send me no more gold, because I don't want to see us lose money with it, but send bars of silver even if they are bulkier, and let others send gold if they wish, unless it should be so cheap there that we can still make a profit here. And tell milady Ana Suárez the same, to care nothing for bringing along gold or any jewels, but to sell them there because here she can buy them for half as much, and much better and more to her taste.

After the above was written we were informed that there had arrived with this fleet a Diego Núñez Chaves, who was in Lima and had a company with Jaime Fajardo and Mesa, the citizen of Cuzco; he brought in the fleet more than 30,000 pesos of Fajardo's and more than 20,000 for Captain Lope Martín. As we have heard such good things about him, we sought to make company with him, and at last our Lord has permitted us to bring it about, as follows: we are investing 60,000 ducats in the company, I myself 35,000, Mr Diego Núñez 17,000, you 6,000 ducats, and Diego Núñez Chaves 2,000 ducats. You are to be in that city where you are, Diego Núñez Chaves is to be in Nombre de Dios, and we two in this city. And people who understand what a company is, Luis Sánchez de Albo and Ruy Díaz Gibraleón, say that the partner who is to be in Tierra Firme should earn 4,000 ducats for his industry, and finally we agreed to do ourselves this injustice. So the arrangement will be that you will invest 6,000 ducats and get a share of the profit as though you had invested 11,000; Diego Núñez Chaves invests 2,000 ducats, and his work will be counted for five, so he will share as though it were 7,000 ducats; Mr Diego Núñez and I will earn strictly according to our investments. Though you were absent, it seems that you did better than anyone else, for while Diego Núñez Chaves also earns 5,000 ducats for his person, yet it is more work and danger to be in Tierra Firme; you would do well to earn 4,000, which with the six you invest would make 10,000 ducats, but actually, as I say, we are counting you at 11,000. We have made this company in good time; the fleet is in Sanlúcar ready to leave, and we think it will depart before six days go by if the present weather holds. Diego Núñez Chaves is going in this fleet to Tierra Firme to conclude the business of the old company there. In the first fleet that should leave we will send a good shipment for the new company, with the aid of God; and then we will send the rest, to make up the 60,000 ducats, in the second fleet, so that within a year and a half, if two fleets go, we will have shipped all 60,000 ducats worth. I am sending a copy of the company agreement, and in the first ships that leave there you must send your approval of the

company we have made, and also send the conclusion of the old company. Assess the houses for the new company, and send us word for how much, and also send the account of all the shipments that Juan López sent you on my account and in what ships, all very clear; and separately, aside from this, send me the account of what Gaspar Ramos or Alonso de Cazalla has sent, because we must finish up here with the heirs of Juan López, and we must pay whatever Juan López should owe in all the fleets, insofar as his share in the company is concerned. As I say, we need you to send proof of everything, because if we have a record of the affairs of Juan López and how much he destroyed and the bad accounts he kept, his principal and profit will vanish and there will be no reason for us to pay debts that should appear. God pardon him for it; amen.

I already told you that as to the item of the 780 pesos for loads of merchandise which Juan López sent on my account with Mafla and in the galleon for Chile, you are not to accept it, because as I already wrote, Juan López charges me with it in this account and I am only to pay it once, not twice.

Other times I have written you asking that Luis de Herrera, son of Dr Cabra, be given charge of the store, since he is an able boy, faithful and sufficient for the job. Now with this fleet people have brought good reports of him, especially Francisco Gutiérrez, citizen of this city, who stayed in the house of the Inspector of the Treasury and even, I believe, has some company with him. He tells me that Luis de Herrera is very able, much more so than someone else you have in the store, whom you put there to please Alvaro de Illescas. Also Martín Pérez, who was chief constable, and Mr Crespo, and many others who have come in this fleet, tell me what a good son Luis de Herrera is and how worthy of being trusted with affairs. It seems to me it would be more proper for you to favor my requests than to do what Alvaro de Illescas wants; I would be very gratified and pleased if, assuming you have not already put Luis Herrera in charge of the store when this arrives, that you do so right away, because it will please me extremely, and he takes the place of a brother for me, so I again entreat you to do me this favor.

I wrote earlier how the company of Alvaro de Illescas, Diego Díaz Becerril, Diego de Illescas, Gonzalo López and all the rest was dissolved and would not be continued. That still holds, and what they shipped to Nombre de Dios in this fleet on the company's account is to be sold in Nombre de Dios before being transported to Peru, and when it is sold, each of them is to get a share according to his investment. Besides this, Alonso de Illescas is very annoyed with his son Alvaro de Illescas for having invested there in the city of Lima in livestock, meat markets and other things, so that they are not going to send him merchandise or anything else; instead, according to our understanding, they are sending power to have someone examine his accounts, or have him come back to give account. And since I want to be and am his true friend, I am extremely desirous that Alvaro de Illescas should come here immediately to render an account of himself in person, because truly his reputation has suffered here. I think you should tell him this discreetly, without his seeing our letters, but just as something from friend to friend.

I already wrote you how milady Ana Suárez, God willing, will be coming here, and you, God willing, will receive ample power to manage her Indians and estate; I would like very much, since Lope de Salinas is there and is my sister's husband, for you to favor him so he can begin to make his fortune; he is honest and of good parts and I feel sure his deeds will reflect his origins. I will not go on about this, except to repeat that he is my sister's husband, and she herself is there with him, so do with him and his affairs as I would do with a brother of yours.

Sanlúcar, 12th of December, 1553

Two days ago I came to this port of Sanlúcar to see the fleet off and to help embark our partner Diego Núñez de Chaves; as the registers were already closed when we made company with him, it was necessary, in order to send him properly, for me to come here in person. God willing, I will return to Seville and my house within three days from now, leaving everything here ready for the journey, and the bundles of letters and dispatches distributed

among the ships. If by chance the fleet should be delayed and there are new developments, I will advise you from Seville.

I am sending along some papers to collect a certain amount of money there in Lima from Nicolás de Ribera the Elder; please collect it, and when you have taken your commission, send it registered under the owner's name and at his risk, with provision for me to remove it from the House of Trade. Also be notified that all the collections we will send, even though they come at the risk of the owners, should carry instructions that either I or Mr Diego Núñez can take them from the House of Trade. And as to the letters of private individuals included with this, send them all on to the people they are meant for, and be especially careful with those going to Captain Lope Martín. I am also constantly sending papers to have money collected from people in Tierra Firme who owe me debts, and I write that if it cannot be collected there and the people should have gone to Peru, the papers should be sent on to you, and so it will be done; be advised from now on, that when these things come to you it should be understood that it is something of mine, so that I won't have to write about each special case.

Licentiate Francisco Martínez is going in this fleet to be prosecuting attorney of the Royal Audiencia there and of the kingdom of Peru. We lent him 200 ducats to outfit himself, the papers for which go along with this; have the collection made. The bishop of Charcas also goes in this fleet and owes me money I have lent him; an acknowledgment or formal obligation will accompany this, and you should have whatever that comes to collected also.

Mr alderman Pedro García de Jerez of this city, who is very much my patron and friend, is sending, for Mr Rodrigo de Contreras, former governor of Nicaragua, who is there in Lima, a barrel of soap, over 200 yards of Rouen cloth, and a copper barrel of rose water, which goes to Diego Núñez Chaves to be sent on to you; deliver it and collect whatever he should advise you the handling costs were. Also Marcela de Carvajal is sending, within the shipment that I am now sending, some nun's flounces of silk to trim kerchiefs, three netted bonnets, and

seven ounces of gold fringe; all of it is to be shown to milady Leonor de Torres, wife of Judge Altamirano. And if you should care for part or all of it, take it, paying the cost plus only 5 percent, since here we pay 2½ percent for the defense levy and 2½ for sales tax, another 5 percent duty in Nombre de Dios, and 10 percent for insurance. This is all you need pay, and then you can take it. And since the fleet was already in such a rush when Marcela de Carvajal received the letters from milady doña Leonor to send her some things, no more could be sent. God willing, in the first fleet that leaves other things will be sent, for her grace to take what she pleases.

I know no more to say, and it seems to me I have gone on at very good length, as I wish you to do with me. May our Lord give you all the repose, happiness and prosperity that you desire and that I would wish for myself.

Also some other fringes of Portuguese thread in the shipment are to be given to milady Leonor de Torres; take what you care to of the little nun's flounces of silk and the gold fringes and the three bonnets of netting, and these fringes of Portuguese thread; in the first fleet Marcela de Carvajal will send other good things for the lady.

Once again I recommend to you my sister Juana de Escobar and her husband Lope de Salinas; since he has ability, favor him so he can make his way, and as I have written, I hope that when milady Ana Suárez comes, you will strive to see that the person who is in her house and encomienda should be Lope de Salinas. Do this as though it came from you, without anyone knowing that I am writing you about it; in everything do as I trust you will. From milady doña María Martel I have received no letter, except one from her brother; I am answering him about the affair of Rodrigo de Cantos, who should be in Rome at present. We don't know what will be negotiated there, except that people here affirm that the woman he had here is his wife. I intend to use what you just sent to buy merchandise to send with the first fleet; so far we haven't even taken the money out of the House of Trade, but when I get back to Seville I will try to get it out, and also the 50 pesos that are to be invested for

you in feminine items. As to the 50 pesos you sent to be remitted to Trujillo, the day before leaving Seville I gave it to a Morales, muleteer of Trujillo, who was empowered by the person the money was intended for; and thus everything you send or send to order will be done.

Kissing your hand,

Francisco de Escobar

Sir:

I have written you with this fleet all about everything going on here, and how we have made a new company, and Diego Núñez Chaves will be residing in Tierra Firme; he just came from there, and is going back with this fleet. So that you will know him better, he is the one who brought the money of Alonso de Mesa, citizen of Cuzco, and of Captain Lope Martín. And you are to reside there in Lima for the term of the new company we have made, which is five years. The investment is 60,000 ducats; I invest 35,000 ducats, Mr Diego Núñez 17,000 ducats, you 6,000, and Diego Núñez Chaves 2,000. If by chance this should arrive before the large packets with the transcription of the company agreement, stay there in Lima, and if a ship should leave soon for Panamá, write to Diego Núñez Chaves, who has very ample powers from us, and also he will write to you when he gets there. I am also writing to Judge Altamirano, and if this should chance to arrive first, tell him I kiss his grace's hand a hundred thousand times, and tell him how the order was given in Granada in favor of Mr Gonzalo de Torres, and they are ordering all of his property returned. I came to this port of Sanlúcar six days ago to see this fleet off, and with the aid of God I'll be home again two days from now.

Marcela de Carvajal is well, and very advanced in pregnancy now at eight months; she sends greetings.

Our Lord give you all the contentment you desire. From Sanlúcar, 15th of December, 1553.

Along with this goes a copy of the shipments being sent in this fleet. By Mr Diego Ruiz Cerrato I am sending you another very long letter of mine.

Kissing your hand,

Francisco de Escobar

[1]Archivo General de Indias (Seville), Justicia 402. A discussion of Escobar's career in the context of Peruvian commerce generally is in Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, pp. 88-90, 95.

[2]Professor Geoffrey Symcox has suggested to us that Thérouanne may be what is intended by these garbled letters.

15. The professor of theology

Fray Juan de Mora, in Mexico City, to his brothers in Spain, 1574[1]

. . . And if one of my nephews knew Latin . . .

Since there were many ecclesiastics and men of the law in the Indies, there was no lack of intellectuals to man the institutions of higher learning, both royal universities and academies or seminaries attached to the orders, that were soon established in the regional capitals. Except for some chairs of Indian languages, the content and form of instruction were the same as in Spain; the basic purpose of the schools was to train up members of the second and succeeding Spanish generations as lawyers, churchmen and physicians. The early Franciscans of Mexico, such great students of Indian language and culture, had little to do with the schools for Spaniards, and only rarely did these institutions attain the distinction seen in a few Jesuit professors of the latter sixteenth century, but at least they were there, giving some second sons of encomenderos or ambitious offspring of other Spaniards the qualifications to hold a church benefice or a post with one of the royal courts.

In the present letter our Augustinian friar and professor of theology tells us little about his teaching, though in his shameless preaching at his brothers he gives us a good sample of his pulpit style. Some interesting things emerge about the ecclesiastical world, which shows itself as a network of communications, not unlike the mercantile organizations, since the

friar's letters to Spain often go through the sister of the Mexican archbishop. The church is even to some extent a business network, and fray Juan could see to the sale of some bibles now in demand in Mexico City. As a person who has made it, no less so than encomendero Andrés Chacón (Letter 11), fray Juan is, like him, prepared to send his relatives gifts and dowries, and would like to have a nephew or two around him. Family ties were an important constituent element in all Spanish organizations, including the intellectual and ecclesiastic.

Gentlemen and very beloved brothers:

May our good God ever dwell in your spirits and give you the health, grace and peace that I desire for you and all your families and households. Since for two years now I have not seen a letter from you in the ships and fleets that have come from Spain, I have felt some worry and care about your health and lives, so much so that I have begun to presume that there must be no one left there who remembers me. I would be greatly pleased to know that one of you is still alive, and so I am moved to write this letter, to make it known that the Lord is still pleased to grant me the health I have today. True, I am kept very busy, since I occupy a chair of holy scripture and preach constantly, but even with all this I am, glory to God, well, and I am established here in Mexico City. If one of my nephews were man enough to want to come here and see me, and had the spirit and strength to leave those little huts they have there, I would be very glad to have him, because I no longer believe the time will come when I can return home, unless God ordains something unforeseen. Let him who should want to come understand that he must be a man who can assert himself on his own, by his own good industry and diligence, as many others do here and make their fortunes. For my part I would do what I could to aid him and recommend him here, if he came as a man of good repute. And if he should want to bring some capital to begin with, let him invest it in some goods to be shipped with him, on the advice of some good merchant of Seville, or in some bibles that were recently printed in

Salamanca, called bibles of Ruperto Estephano, and others that they call bibles of Isidoro. Of course I will see that they find a market here, and the amount invested in them will be doubled. And if there is much linen available of the good homespun that is made there in that area, then a profit could be made from that too, and it would be a good beginning, because some who begin here later make fortunes, through their good industry. But those who come have to be men and not donkeys. I would want whoever comes at least to know reading, writing and counting, and be able to answer very faithfully for anything entrusted to him; a person like that will be greatly esteemed in this land, as anywhere.

I wish I were able to send you something at present, but I find myself without means to do so now; as time goes on I will do what I can. And if a good marriage presents itself for one or two of my nieces, then for that purpose I hereby set aside 100 pesos, and will send the money whenever I should be advised. But be sure they avoid allying themselves with people of low stock. And I declare that it is my will that the two who are to benefit are the eldest two among all those who are unmarried, and God will provide for the others who come after them, if He is pleased to give me health. They should pray for me, and try to be good women, honest, retired and God-fearing. God will favor them and remember them if they are as they should be, and busy themselves in serving Him and being very obedient to their parents. Understand that if I know that one of them so behaves I will favor her, and if any does not, then she can be dismissed as worthless and not consider me her uncle, because I will not have her for a niece. And let them not think that though I am here I lack persons who will report on them to me. And I say the same of my nephews, whom I also beg to strive to be very honest and very obedient and faithful servants wherever they go, because God cannot fail them if they are his servants and pride themselves on being good Christians and friends of the things of God, and very constant in their faith and obedient to all that the holy mother Roman church teaches. For the love of God, let them all strive for this and look that Satan does not

deceive them. If they should be poor and find themselves in necessity, they should be very patient and give many thanks for it to the divine goodness, and understand that that is what best suits them for their salvation, if they know how to take advantage of it, enduring it all with much humility and patience, and adjusting themselves in all and through all to the divine will, which rules and governs everything as best suits our salvation and God's honor and glory.

And if one of my nephews knew Latin or wanted to be a friar, I would be glad if he would be in my order. Advise me, and I will send to recommend him to someone who will see after him. Or if not, then let him come here and I will see that he is given the habit so that he can serve God in it.

Nothing else occurs to me than to recommend to all the peace that as brothers and relatives we should have among ourselves. I earnestly charge you with this peace, and beg my God to give it to you, and with it grace, to serve and love Him as you are obliged. Amen.

From Mexico City, 29th of March, 1574. I greet all my sisters, relatives and friends.

Your least and true brother kisses your hands,

Fray Juan de Mora

If you wished to write me with the bearer of this, who is from Torre Milano, and a relative of Mr Antón de Espejo who is now in this country, you can send the letter back with him, or with the bundle that a lady doña So-and-So de Moya, who lives in Pedroche, is sending; she is the sister of the archbishop here in this city, and with her letters those you write me will come in security. Be sure you write and advise me of all who are gone, and the number and names of those who are left of our brotherhood and kindred, and about the nephews and nieces, and which are married and which still to be married.

[1] Published in Spanish, with comment, in Otte, 'Die europäischen Siedler.'

16. The new arrival

Alonso Morales, tailor, in Puebla, Mexico, to his cousin in Trujillo, Extremadura, 1576[1]

> . . . Imagine that if back there in Spain we got 8 reales for a coat and short cloak, here they give us 32 . . .

On previous pages we have seen evidence of the fact that private correspondence from the Indies to Spain consisted in good part of propaganda inducing relatives to migration. The appeals take many forms. One of the most characteristic is the letter written by the settler just off the boat. Genuinely struck by the differences between the new land and the old, though not understanding the new things too deeply yet, still missing home and kinfolk sharply, the new arrival perhaps more than others was responsible for creating the image of a land of opportunity, where everything is bigger and better, that same half-truth, half-lie that has been told to people of the old country since there has been migration.

Young Alonso Morales, probably still under twenty, has recently arrived in Puebla in the company of his older cousin, who paid his way from Spain, and he is now working off the debt in his cousin's tailor shop. The picture he paints has elements seen again and again in such letters. Food is good, plentiful, and cheap. Everyone (every Spaniard, that is) has a horse. There is plenty of work, and it is very well paid, three or four times as well as in Spain. Spanish things are scarce and expensive, but since one earns much, one can afford them. The homeland is the reverse, 'that misery,' 'that wretched country,' which is tolerable only for the rich. Such an image of the Indies, enthusiastic but stopping a good deal short of streets paved with gold, was perhaps all the more convincing in its relative solidity and modesty. This particular letter did not fail of its effect, since the recipient brought it to Seville to buttress his application for license to emigrate.

Dear cousin:

Since I know you'll be glad to hear from me, I will write, and by this letter I wish to announce that, bless the Lord, we had such good weather on the sea that you could think sea-voyaging a pleasant pastime; everything went so smoothly it couldn't have been better. But I can tell you that after we landed we underwent some hardships before reaching this city of Los Angeles; as soon as we arrived the climate attacked me and I was in serious condition, but our Lord saw fit to give me health to work. Your brother and I keep shop here and are doing well; there's enough to keep us and five or six helpers busy. And imagine that if back there in Spain we got 8 reales for a coat and short cloak, here they give us 32, and for a quilted doublet they give us 3 pesos, which is 24 reales, and one for a woman brings us 16 reales. If a helper does piecework, he earns 8 to 10 reales a day, and if he works for a daily wage they pay him 6 reales and his board. So you would give me great pleasure in leaving that misery there and coming here, because it would be greatly to your advantage, and it would give me great happiness to see you in this land. I swear to God that I am always thinking about you, and some days with much concern; it would rest my mind if you were here so I could give you account of my affairs. I work as much as I can, and will not be paid by your brother for this year because I owe it to him, as you know. (I have been paid often in blows, but in the end, he did it with good intentions.)

Do me the pleasure of coming here with the bearer of the letters, who is called Francisco Márquez and is your brother's *compadre*, because we have entreated him to bring you back. He says he will, if you want to come. You can be sure that if I had as much possibility as I have good will, I would send you some money, but I swear as a Christian that I don't take a penny for all the work I am doing now, because I see the good deed that your brother has done me. And also we arrived more than 100 ducats in debt. But in four months we have saved that much and more because, as I say, work is paid well here. And food is cheap. For a real they give you 16 pounds of beef, or 8 pounds of mutton and 8 loaves of bread; they harvest wheat twice a year, and a bushel and a half is worth 4 reales.

If you don't come, be sure that I will be very annoyed. Get my brother Pedro to come with you, and leave that wretched country, because it is only for people who have a lot of money, and here, no matter how poor a man may be, he never lacks a horse to ride and food to eat. Wine is expensive and costs 6 reales for half a gallon, but that doesn't make us stop drinking, because we think no more of a real than you do there of an ochavo. I won't persuade you further; you already see I have your welfare at heart.

I have nothing more to report, but do me the favor of giving my greetings to Francisco Hernández and Pedro Martín and Orellana the tailor, and Pedro González and all those who you know are my friends and yours, and first of all to our brothers and relatives. And with this I will cease, except to pray to our Lord to bring you to this land and give you the same health I desire for myself. From the city of Los Angeles, 20th of February, 1576.

Your brother who wishes you all good,

Alonso Morales

[1] Published in Spanish, with comment, in Otte, 'Cartas privadas de Puebla del siglo XVI,' *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas,* III (1966), 10-87.

17. The tanner and his wife

Alonso Ortiz, in Mexico City, to his wife Leonor González, in Zafra, Extremadura, c. 1574–1575[1]

. . . I am pressed and hemmed in to earn a living for you and my children . . .

The letter of tanner Alonso Ortiz illustrates two common phenomena. The first is one of the basic processes in the formation of Spanish American society. Artisans of all kinds came to settle in the Spanish cities, catering to the needs of a population which could pay in silver coming from the mines and encomiendas. Starting with nothing but their tools, Spanish craftsmen

would at first perform most of the productive work themselves. If they had any success at all, they began to train helpers and expand, until they themselves graduated into supervision and marketing, while much of the shop work was done by blacks and Indians. Often, as here, the blacks, though slaves (or indeed because they were slaves and more permanent), were the foremen and most skilled workers, while the apprentices and less skilled were Indian. This sort of shop organization accomplished some things of vast cultural significance: it greatly increased the productivity of Spanish crafts, filling the larger cities with Spanish-style artifacts and services, and second, it was a prime factor in hastening the growth of a non-Spanish but Hispanized sector of the urban population. Skilled help was scarce and much in demand, so that Alonso Ortiz could find none at first. But now, after only a year, aided by a partner, he has trained or acquired a force of nine, and is showing a good profit.

Ortiz mentions the possible export of some cured hides to Spain. Let it be clear that his most important market is local, Mexico City itself. All Ortiz envisions is sending a hundred or so of the best hides from among the thousands he cures. His first attempt to do so came to nothing, and his plan for the future is most hypothetical. The export of hides to Europe was a quite marginal, unprofitable business until lower freight costs and higher demand finally made it really viable.

The second phenomenon is related to the fact that a certain number of immigrants to the Indies were married men unaccompanied by their wives. If the most numerous type of settler was a young unmarried male, there was certainly no lack of incentive for married men either, especially if things were not going well. Alonso Ortiz, it would appear, ran away from indebtedness in Zafra. Sometimes the whole family went together, but often the man would go ahead, meaning to send for wife and children when he was established, and this led to long separations that were frequent enough to strike Spaniards in the Indies as a social problem. Laws were on the books to the effect that a married man must have his wife come to live with him or himself be forcibly returned to Spain. The general unenforceability of this legislation is patent. It was there as a potential threat, however, and came into play on occasion, for various reasons. Authorities could deport troublemakers under this pretext. Or those interested in the person's departure could press the issue, whether business competitors (Ortiz mentions 'the other tanners') or personal enemies. Often enough creditors back in Spain brought action, or the wife herself might do so, as Ortiz' wife seems to have threatened to. In any case, Ortiz has now come under pressure of one of these types, and is sending his wife enough money to join him (nominally his partner is sending it, but he as good as says that this is merely a device so that the creditors in Zafra cannot claim it). If his wife should refuse to come for any reason, Ortiz could still stay on legally if she would give her permission and certify that his presence in America is necessary to support her – a position a little hard to justify in view of the fact that he has sent her nothing. Ortiz seriously expects his wife to come, but, less than sterling character that he seems to be, he could probably live with the other solution in equanimity. As to his real intentions concerning his debts in Zafra, they will not bear much scrutiny.

Milady:

This will be to give you an account of what is happening here and how I am doing up to the day this letter is dated. For about a year now I have been in good health and working at my trade, though I had few Indian helpers. I couldn't find any who were trained, since the other tanners had them, and it was not for me to take them away from them. In this year I must have made 500 pesos profit, and if I said 600 I wouldn't be lying; it's about the same as 500 ducats of Castile. But I no longer have to take off my shoes to work, because now I have eight Indians who work steadily, and a black belonging to my partner who aids me very well, and all I do is give instructions, buy, and sell. That is enough work, and indeed it is not little, though it seems little for me; actually I don't want to work at more than supervision so I won't get some sickness that would be the end of me, because great is my desire to see you again.

You can find out about all this from the messenger who is taking these letters, Juan Maya, citizen of Fregenal, who has been my neighbor for a year. He had a thousand kids slaughtered at my establishment, and the payment he gave me for it was very much to his advantage. And now here I am left in the tannery; but he has earned what he is taking with him, which must be about 10,000 pesos. He is an unpopular man, and didn't get along with any of his neighbors. If you chance to see him, keep an eye on him. He talks a lot; try to sit down and let him go, because he doesn't know how to stop talking. He is taking along a son of his; if perhaps you should see him, he has more sense than the father. Whatever he says will be neither more nor less than what is happening with me here. I thought I might send a hundred hides with him, and I asked him, but he said he was greatly burdened.

It doesn't matter at all, though, because my partner has decided to send for you, and is sending you 150 pesos just for your sustenance, and the rest can be paid when you get here. You will find this money in Seville in the possession of a councilman there who is the partner of Alonso Ramos, a merchant here in Mexico City. I won't say the name of the councilman here because I don't know it. I'll tell you in another letter when I have found out his name.[2] And for this I will send you a power of attorney, which you can delegate to anyone you wish to go and arrange things for you. I am also giving power to Melchor González and Alonso González, your brothers, so they can arrange it. Have them come along with you; I undertake to make their fortunes here, if they wish. My partner is sending this money, and it is his and goes as his, so that those gentlemen there to whom I owe money will not try to have it confiscated. And you can tell Mr Alonso Sánchez and Mr Francisco Pérez that in the next fleet I'll send them a hundred hides, worth 100,000 maravedís and more, because they will be chosen one by one from two thousand I will be curing. This year they will be paid what I owe them, if God wishes and I stay here, and what I owe and am obliged to pay to the rest will also be paid. Tell them to pray to God for my health as I pray for theirs, so

that they can receive their payment.

And if perhaps you decide not to come, then send Francisco to me, because letters are going to this councilman who is to receive the money that he should arrange passage for him. And if you resolve not to come, send me your license, drawn up by a lawyer with as much legal force as possible, saying that you permit me to be in this city of Mexico for four years, because I am earning a living for you and for my children. And tell Melchor González and Alonso González that though I've sent them nothing from here and they have worked to support you, knowing that they give me pleasure thereby, then they should go ahead and do it, and if they do, they will please me greatly, and it will be a great debt which I will repay.

And milady, since in your letters you ask me to fulfil the promise I gave you in the letter I sent you from Santo Domingo, and you say you will expect me during the year of '75, now I say to you that as far as love of you and my children is concerned, I would have fulfilled it earlier, but I am pressed and hemmed in to earn a living for you and for my children, and it would be against you and my children to fulfill that promise, but rather I should go through this anguish to earn you a living. So make the decision and come quickly in this very fleet, and let no one hinder you from taking the voyage.

From Mexico City, district of San Pablo, tannery of Ronda, 8th of March.

Alonso Ortiz

[1] Published in Spanish, with comment, in Otte, 'Die europäischen Siedler.'

[2] He then did find out his name, and inserted it between the lines: García de León.

18. The troubadour

Sebastián de Pliego, in Puebla, to his wife Mari Díaz in Mecina-Bombarón, Granada, 1581.[1]

. . . I can't live without you . . .

Not all husbands were like the Alonso Ortiz in the preceding letter. Others were solicitous, anxious to be with their families

as quickly as possible, doing everything they could towards that end. In this letter, Sebastián de Pliego, who has been in Puebla only a short while, is already writing his wife for the second time, is sending her money, and in his great concern is giving her the most detailed instructions of what to sell, buy and bring for the trip. As he goes over everything, much of it twice, he brings the whole migration procedure, from the paperwork to the sea trip, to life for us. He also reaffirms the image seen in Letter 16, of the Indies as a land of plenty, in contrast to the lack of promise in old Spain. Pliego is unusually anxious about the question of proving lineage and identity, possibly because anyone from the Granada area, so recently won from the Moors, was somewhat suspect. His reference to the possible necessity of proving the family's antecedents in Brihuega betrays much. Textile workers from the central Castilian town of Brihuega were prominent in the development of early Puebla as the center of New Spain's textile production. The connection is confirmed in the fact that 'Juan de Brihuega' is sending the money for Pliego. Brihuega solidarity, then, operated despite the fact that Pliego's family had lived elsewhere for some time. Pliego was doubtless somehow involved in textile-making himself.

Of course the main thing we have here is the shining expression of unbreakable ties and love in Pliego's concern, his awkward jokes, and the wooden verses which we have attempted to translate.

Very desired and beloved wife:

The present letter is to let you know that, praise God, I am in good health, with much desire to see you. In the dispatch-boat I sent you a letter as soon as I arrived here in the city of Los Angeles, telling you what to do. First, with the aid of God and his blessed mother, when you see this, sell everything you have there, the property as well as what is in the house, except for usable linen, and buy all the linen you can to bring along, and some hanks of flax to be used for the house, God willing, and a bag of rosemary and lavender. Bring the paintings too, because here they have pictures of a different kind. Consider that you

are to come with my brother and yours, and you will need everything.

When you get this, all of you should go to Madrid with the documents I am sending, which are a power of attorney to all three of you, and also a testimony, and also proof that I am a citizen of the city of Los Angeles and that my identity was established here. Do what you can to bring along convincing papers so that, with the papers from me, you will be given what I am sending; bring papers identifying each one of you, and also testimony that you are my wife. And by the love of God I entreat you to keep peace among yourselves and come as brother and sister, and even if he brings his wife, don't worry about it, there will be enough to provide for all, with God's help. Sell what you have, and your brother the same, and go to Tendilla and sell what is there too. Then come with what you have; buy some pack animals to bring you to Seville, and stay at the house of Juan Alvarez at the Arenas gate. Be sure to bring proof of the identity of your father and mother; if it can be established in Mecina, good, but if not then go to Brihuega; and get license for everyone. Always pray to God and his blessed mother that all will go well.

When you arrive in Seville go to the house of Francisco Gómez, or to the house of his brother-in-law Alonso Rodríguez de Valencia. Be sure that you have your identification as my wife and children, so that they will give you what you need when you get there. Don't take a cabin or a stateroom, but the common space like the rest, and remember that children in arms don't have to pay for passage. At sea they will give each one two pints of water, so take along twelve water jugs, or more if you want to. Take a hundredweight of hardtack for each person, and for everyone a hundredweight of raisins, three cured hams, almonds, sugar, twenty-five pounds of fish and the same of dogfish, and especially half a peck of chickpeas, and hazelnuts. Bring from home a good frying pan, a spit, a rolling pin and a ladle. In Seville buy a copper stewpot, plates and bowls, and also a kettle. Take two arrobas of wine, two more of vinegar, one of olive oil, and whatever else you should want. Buy

two chests to hold what you are going to eat, or they will steal it all, and also for you to sleep on, and don't sleep alone, but with my brothers. There will be enough for all.

The first thing you have to do is go to the House of Trade to present your documents, and then pay for the passage. I have counted with my own hand the money that will be given to you, which is 100 pesos. Juan de Brihuega will take care of this and everything else. They will write to Granada saying that the money will be given only to you in person, and to no one else, because they will have a description of you and your children; if you don't come, they are to invest it for me. For the love of God come right away, because everything is well provided for. But if you don't come, I swear to God and the holy cross you will not see more money or letters from me as long as you live. So I have given them here what they will give you in Seville, knowing you will receive it.

Do buy yourself a good dress skirt of blue woolen of Baeza with its trimmings, and clogs for the girls, and buy for me a doublet of Dutch linen and some knitted stockings. Be sure to bring from Mecina your identification as my wife and daughters, so you can prove who you are.

In the name of allpowerful God
One and three, my treasure,
I will serenade you now,
To give you present pleasure.

Mari Díaz is your name,
For me there is no other such.
I will give you a ring of gold,
A metal worth very much.

Lady for whom I long,
Woman of my heart,
How was this treason planned,
That you should stay alone so long
In such an unpromising land?

My nights and days are spent

With but a single thought;
I know well you'll come for me
Where I by God was brought,
Because I pray with such intent.

This land I'm in is so
That no one lacks to eat,
And I don't lie, my sweet,
Because wherever I may go
At table I quickly take my seat.

The name of Juan de Brihuega's agent is Francisco Gómez, or in his absence Alonso Rodríguez, his brother-in-law, in the street where wine is sold in Seville. Take the letters to Seville, and also the papers I'm sending.

I can't live without you. So for the love of God, come, now that everything is so well arranged. Send me a letter in the dispatch-boat.

If your brother shouldn't want to come or were married, arrange a marriage for your daughter, and you will have more company. Tell Blas Mateo his brother says that if he will venture to come, he will pay his passage and whatever else he needs.

I say no more except to wish that God may preserve everyone there in Mecina generally, and may God give health to my *comadre*, Alonso Yáñez' wife. I would send some things, but there is no one going to Granada.

I will say no more than that I wish to see you with my eyes before I die. All that there is would not pay for the tears I have shed for you day after day. Say, I would like to see you count, to be sure you wouldn't say thirty is more than forty.

May God preserve all those in Ahudia. At your orders, as your husband who desires your wellbeing. From the city of Los Angeles, March, 1581.

Sebastián de Pliego

[1] Published in Spanish, with comment, in Otte, 'Cartas privadas de Puebla.'

19. The nephew

Martín Fernández Cubero, cloth trader, in Puebla, to his nephew Pedro Fernández Cubero in Fuentelencina, New Castile, 1572[1]

> . . . I could have arranged a marriage for you worth at least 15,000 pesos . . .
>
> By God my only desire is to see people of mine in this land . . .

The Spanish settlers were from every region in Spain and from every walk of life. One thing that a great many of them had in common was the quality of being nephews, nephews of someone already in the Indies. It is not hard to imagine some of the elements of the pattern. The original settler would probably be a second son, leaving his older brother in Spain to inherit the family fortune. Young and unmarried at the time of his departure, he would stay unmarried in the Indies until he had made a good beginning (longer than that, in the case of Fernández Cubero). Having affairs to manage, needing aid and company, and with no grown sons of his own, he would turn to the sons of his older brother back home, who would be just coming of age. However it may have worked in detail, the nephew was a key figure. Nor was the importation of nephews an ephemeral phenomenon; David Brading has established its importance in maintaining the continuity of Spanish-Mexican merchant houses as late as the latter eighteenth century.[2]

In this volume we have already seen two appeals for nephews, and there will be more. To underline the importance of the topic we include here this maximum appeal, which wheedles and threatens, praises and taunts, using all the reasoning we have seen before, plus the new factor that Fernández Cubero wants to have someone to whom he can leave his considerable wealth.

Nephew:

Many times I've written you telling of my life and the way in which, since coming to this country, I have managed this business and commerce and earned a living. Really, as this is a rich land and food is quite cheap, and I have continually lived alone, I have earned a great deal, as those gentlemen who have left here can very well tell you, having seen it with their own eyes, especially Mr Alonso Hernández and Mr Alonso de Rivas, the one from Brihuega. We used to go around together while they were here and were very great friends, all being from the same part of the country; at the time when each one of them left this land, it was hard for us all to part from one another. I wrote you another letter by Mr Alonso Rivas, and in the last fleet I received your answer to it, in which you reported that you had married, much to your liking, with Catalina, youngest daughter of Mr Alonso Gil, and that they gave you about 300 ducats with her. Nephew, may it be in the service of God and for your happiness, but I wish you had wanted to come here at the time when I sent you word through Alonso Hernández, from Pastrana, and through some others who left here; you would have been more able to then than now, being younger. If only you would have come at that time, either I am a man of little account, or with the aid of God I could have arranged a marriage for you worth at least 15,000 pesos, or more. Here men of your parts are not held in such small esteem as you have held yourself; though I, for having esteemed myself so much, am now old and still unmarried, as I have written you many times. Yet even so I live very much at my pleasure, without any of the annoyances of those who live with wife and children.

When Mr Alonso de Rivas left this land I would have liked to go with him if I could, and he wanted it even more than I did. But since I had most of my assets tied up in sales on credit, I couldn't pull away. Yet I would have come off much better if I had left because, as I am old and loaded down with years, one day coming along the road I fell while dismounting from my horse and broke a leg. That fall cost me twice as much as I would have spent if I had gone along with him; I would have considered well spent the half of my property that I would have left here, if I had known all that was going to happen. It must be my sins, but I'm not always able to get about now, and if a

man doesn't have someone to take his affairs to heart and look after his property, everything goes badly. The time I was in bed cost me more in thefts and embezzlements than I will ever find out about, which would not have happened if I had had one of you to guard my property; I need a relative here, and I would make something of him. I have been so unhappy that not one of you cowards, even having the support here that you have in me, should have had the courage to risk coming here to see me and help me enjoy my estate. I have written about it many times, as you well know; I importuned your father, and he would never make the arrangements. Why, there are others who have the courage without having any support here, who make the fortunes they can without owing anyone anything, except the favor they get for being from that part of the country. So, nephew, I beg you for the love of God, since you didn't want to when you were young, then come here now with your wife and children (you say you have two), for by God my only desire is to see people of mine in this land, in order to favor and aid them with my assets and have someone to look after me now in my old age when I need consolation more than ever, and through the will of God I lack anyone else to give it to me. Though what I have in the business is worth more than 20,000 pesos, it gives me no happiness at all, since I have no children or heirs to leave it to. Therefore, nephew, you will give me the greatest happiness if you will come here with me; I have no one to give all this to but you, and if you do your part and come, I will do mine. As long as I live I will not leave you, because I desire nothing but to have you with me, and after the end of my days I will leave you what I have, since I have earned it for you, and if God gives you good fortune, that is what I want. But if you don't come now when there is opportunity, and if perhaps our Lord sees fit to take me, someday you will be sorry, and you will want to and not be able to. So I will say no more.

Advise me if my niece María, the daughter of my brother Francisco Fernández, got married, and if not, tell her I beg her to wait and I will send her something to get married with if she

will wait a year or two, so that she can make a reputable marriage. Our Lord keep you in his hand for his holy service. From this city of Los Angeles, the 21st of March of 1572.

Give my greetings to Mr Martín Gómez and his wife and children, and to Mr Francisco Sánchez del Moral and his brother Alonso Sánchez, and to all the others who might ask about me. And give your wife and children my greetings. The desire I have to see you here is so great that I cannot exaggerate it, because I know that when you taste this land you will not remember your own.

He who wishes you all good,
Martín Fernández Cubero

[1] Published in Spanish, with comment, in Otte, 'Cartas privadas de Puebla.'

[2] *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico* (Cambridge, 1971).

20. The garden and the gate

Juan Prieto, in Potosí, to his wife in Valladolid, Old Castile, 1551[1]

> . . . so that they will build me a double door and a stone arch into the garden . . .

Spaniards were by no means immune to nostalgia. No people were ever more insular, more attached to locality and lineage. The original intention of a great many of the migrants was to make money and return with it to Spain, and even those most deeply entwined in the affairs of the Indies were often tempted by the thought of returning, as several of these letters attest. Here is the letter of a man absorbed by thoughts of home. Juan Prieto is a small trader of some kind, perhaps one of those who bought Indian products in the country and sold them in Potosí, or one of the small independent merchants who brought shipments of goods from Arequipa. His business has gone quite well; at the moment there is a lull. For weeks he has been dwelling on what he will do when he gets home to Valladolid: improve relations with the important people who were once his patrons; have parties with compatriots who will go home at the same

time; retrieve his family from the in-laws with whom they are staying; start seeing about a good marriage for his daughter Sabina. At the center of his dreams is the vision of a sheltered garden, the garden of his own house, which is to be a green oasis, full of fruit trees, doves and rabbits, completely closed in from the outside ('there should be no aperture anywhere'). The crowning point is to be a double wooden door at the garden entry, framed in a cut stone portal, toward which Prieto is sending a good sum of money, and for which he gives lovingly detailed instructions.

Most Spaniards probably felt something like this at times. Surely no place was so conducive to nostalgia, though, as the mining towns: raw, unpleasant, and remote from the amenities of the capitals. Not one Spaniard in ten thought to stay in such a place longer than it would take him to amass a decent fortune. Meanwhile, thoughts of home were a morale builder and diversion, to which the only alternatives were the bullfights and tournaments Prieto mentions, or the gambling and fighting the mining camps were famous for.

The effect of this dreaming of home was not quite what it seems. Perhaps it slowed down identification with the new country but it also made being there more bearable, and may in the end have helped make it possible for people to stay away longer. Prieto left home for Peru around 1540. In this letter he says he would have come back long ago if it weren't for wanting to save money for the children. Here, in 1551, he says his departure is imminent. He wrote again from Potosí the next year, 1552, saying much the same; he was still there in 1554, the last we know.

Lady, sister and mother of my children:

For more than three years I haven't seen a letter from you; I don't know whether the reason is you or my bad luck, but I do beg you, if there has been any neglect in the past, let there be none in the future, because even though my departure is to be soon, I would really like to come upon letters from you and from my brothers and from Mr Hernando de Mucientes, since in

deeds he is my brother. But it could be that when this arrives I might arrive with it, with the aid of God, because I am only waiting to know if they are bringing me some money they owe me in Chile, or to get some reply about it; all I'm doing now is eating up the profits.

I ask you please to put much effort into the collection of all I have sent, since you know it is the right thing to do. Last year I sent you 150 pesos in marked ingots through Servicial, who is from Valdunquillo, and a bar of silver worth 141 pesos, 2 tomines, through Esteban de Vivar, who is from Villa Baruz. I also wrote you that I was sending another bar with Luis de Soto; it didn't get there because he stayed in Lima and I took it back. Now I'm sending with a very great friend of mine called Bartolomé de Nava a bar assayed at 1,930 maravedís a mark, worth 210 pesos and a ducat since it weighs 49 marks and an ounce. He is from Huete; I think he will carry the money himself. If he comes there, please give him a good reception and don't neglect to get his advice, because he is an honest man.

I am also sending 50 pesos with Antonio de la Cuadra so that they will build me a double door and a stone arch into the garden, and have the door made too big rather than too little, so that the cart can enter, and at the height where its hubs pass, have them put a plate of iron on the doors all the way across, broad as a man's hand, so that when the cart comes in, even if the axle hits it won't damage the doors. And if it takes more than 50 pesos, don't let that be a hindrance, but go ahead and spend more, just so long as it's very well done. Antonio de la Cuadra is very much my patron and friend; he will look after this to do me a favor.

Lady, see to it that Mr Hernando de Mucientes takes part in all my affairs, because I am very pleased that he should. As to Mr Santalejos where you are now, lady, there is no necessity to write you about it since my departure will be so soon; I hope in God to spend part of what I bring with me on that house of his. I won't write that anything be done about it now because I intend to do it all from scratch.

I'm not writing to milady doña Isabel de Celada, but beg her

to consider this letter hers, and tell her to keep the girl under her care for the love of God until I come, because if God permits I will go to serve her in whatever she should command me; and greet milady sister Ana Sánchez and tell her to look out for my daughter, and with the aid of God I will make it up to her when I come. Greet my sisters and yours and tell them to remember me in their prayers. I kiss the hands of my good friend Hernando de Uceda and his wife, and they should consider this letter theirs; I kiss the hands of all my lords and friends and ask that they pardon me for not writing them.

By your faith, lady, take special care with your children, especially my daughter Sabina; if possible I don't want the sun to see her, much less people, and in this way you will give me much peace of mind both there and here, because I give you my word if it weren't for the children I would have left here many years ago; and since you know, lady, how much reason there is to look after my honor, I will not be importunate, but remain begging God to hold us all in his hand and allow me to see you again in health as I desire. From this site of Potosí, the day of St John – and here you can see, lady, how much I love you and my children; the others are going to see the bullfights and the tournaments, while I don't spend time or lose sleep on anything but remembering you and them, and writing you. In the year of 1551,

At milady's command as your very own, liking and loving you more than himself,

Juan Prieto

Lady, see that the adobe walls they lay for the garden are even and very good and thick, and there should be no aperture anywhere, but all of it walled in, two rows high. And be sure that many grafts are started and trees planted, and if there aren't many rabbits in the rabbit hutch buy some and put them in, and the same with the doves, because many of my lords and friends are coming all together to that house when I arrive, who are the following: Pedro de Acevedo, who was receptor in the chancery, and Pedro de la Torre, son of Luis de la Torre the merchant, and Juan de León, son of the Vitoria woman in the

street of the potters, and Francisco de la Serna, merchant, and Ruiz, the married one who lives without his wife in San Salvador, and Juan de Arcos, and many other gentlemen whom you, lady, don't know. Don't neglect to tell these gentlemen's relatives that they are coming.

[1] Archivo General de Indias, Justicia 1126, no. 3. A discussion of this letter in the broader context of transience is in Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, p. 146.

21. The woman as settler

María de Carranza, wife of a textile-mill owner, in Puebla, to her brother Hernando de Soto in Seville, 1589[1]

. . . And buy four cured hams from Ronda . . .

We include this letter less for its idiosyncrasies than for its lack of them, that is, to emphasize that there were indeed Spanish women settlers, part and parcel of the general migratory movement, and sharing the general characteristics. They came from the same towns and regions of Spain as the men, because they were their wives, sisters and nieces, and they went to the same parts of the Indies. This means that they were most numerous in Mexico and Peru, like most of the other hallmarks of development in the sixteenth century, whether Spanish artisans, silver mines or black slaves. Without making them into culture goddesses as the Spaniards themselves sometimes did (see Letter 3), we can see the crucial role of women settlers in placing households in the cities under entirely Spanish management. Not every last household, certainly; but by the time of this letter, Spaniards of all social types down to the artisan level were tending to marry Spanish women, whether new from Spain or born in the Indies.

If we search in the present letter for anything that might be special to a woman, we might say that the list of foods to buy is even more detailed than Sebastián de Pliego's in Letter 18 (though quite similar), or that María de Carranza does show a special concern for gathering together *all* relatives, much as the

stereotypes of the time dictated. For the rest, this is a standard recruitment letter, with the usual images, inducements, plans and expressions of annoyance at the reluctance of the stay-at-homes. Most of it could have been written by any settler.

Desired and beloved brother of my heart:

I have never had a reply to the many letters I have written you, except one, and it gave me great joy to know of the health of yourself and my sister-in-law and my nephews, whom I hope our Lord someday lets me see, as I desire. My husband Diego Sánchez Guadalupe was no less happy than I, though for him as well as for me, after our having so desired it, and having put so much into sending to call you here, it would be a greater happiness to see you; yet you want to stay there in that poverty and need which people suffer in Spain. I ask you for the love of God to spare me such pain from your absence, and yourself such necessity, when I have the means to give you relief. Do be sure to come quickly now, and don't make your children endure hunger and necessity. I would have sent money for your trip, but since I have had no reply to my letters, I didn't dare. Go to Ronda and collect the rent from my houses, and if you wish to, mortgage them and take four or five years' income in advance; I leave it to your discretion. And invest all except what you need for travel in fine cloths, in Rouen and Dutch linens; be sure you do it yourself, and don't trust it to others.

Be aware that anyone who brings children must come very well prepared; six hundredweight of hardtack will be enough, but better have over that than under, and make it yourself, since you know how. And buy four cured hams from Ronda, and four cheeses; twelve pounds of rice; chickpeas and beans, rather too much than too little; all the spices; vinegar and olive oil, four jugs of each; jerked beef and mutton, plenty of it and well dressed; and as much linen and woolen clothing for you to wear as you can bring, because here it is very expensive.

Do everything in your power to bring along with you two masters of weaving coarse woolens and carding, for they will profit us greatly, and also a candlemaker, who should be an

examined journeyman and good at his trade. Buy their provisions and make a contract with them from the day they sail, and I will fulfill whatever you agree to; I will pay their passage and any debts they have when they arrive. And you can do all this much better than I could. Your brother-in-law Diego Sánchez Guadalupe, to whom you owe more than to me, shares my desires; to make me happy he would have gone there himself, and I was tempted to let him for the sake of you and my sister-in-law and my nephews, but in order not to be left here alone and because he is an older man, I didn't let him go.

Tell the sister of my soul to consider this letter hers; how is it that her heart doesn't melt like mine for us to see each other? I understand that she is the reason you haven't come, yet she is the one who loses and has lost in not enjoying a land where food is plenteous and she can give me a good old age. I ask her, since it is in her own favor, to come quickly and make my old age happy with her arrival and that of my longed-for nephews.

Cristóbal de Velasco, my brother-in-law, was here, and I gave him hospitality which he enjoyed considerably, but then he went to Panamá and left me disconsolate in his absence, and I will not be satisfied until he comes back. Our Lord fulfill my desires, so that you can find relief, and I happiness.

I greet Aunt Ana de Ribera and Aunt Ana Ruiz, and when you come here, leave them where you can send them some presents, money and other things to help them, because we owe it to them, since they are sisters of our mother. Diego Sánchez Guadalupe is not writing because he is tired of sending letters and peevish that you don't answer, so he only gave permission for me to write. Maybe I will have more luck than he has had. I am sorry that so much is necessary for your own redemption.

I will send you power to collect on the property in Ronda or sell it, and I do not send it now because I am not sure it will reach your hands, for I think that if my letters had arrived, I would already have had some letter from you to enjoy. And if you decide not to come with this fleet because you aren't outfitted yet, write me, and give the letter to Francisco López de Olmos to be directed to the house of Alonso de Casas in Puebla.

Trusting our Lord will give me this happiness, I and mine continue in our hope, and we greet my sister-in-law and my beloved nephews. And as to my beloved daughter Mencía Gómez, I have reserved a very rich marriage for her. May God arrange it for his holy service as I wish. From Puebla, 2nd of October, 1589.

María de Carranza

[1] Published in Spanish, with comment, in Otte, 'Cartas privadas de Puebla.'

22. The farmer

Antonio Mateos, in Puebla, to his wife María Pérez in Spain, 1558[1]

> . . . the valley of Atlixco, where they grow two crops of wheat a year . . .

The main areas of sixteenth-century Spanish settlement were the scene of an extraordinarily productive Indian agriculture, which would seem to have left little scope for Spanish farming. However, the Indians grew maize and other things that Spaniards would eat only from necessity. The conquerors in asking for rewards would sometimes list the eating of Indian foods among their great hardships. So from the earliest time there was a demand for meat from European livestock, as well as cereals, fruits, and vegetables of the European varieties.

At first most of this was procured through the encomienda, in a way of which we have seen an example in Letter 11. The encomendero would have one of his Spanish tribute collectors do the agricultural management, or he might hire someone especially for that purpose, usually a Spaniard on the humble side, newly arrived in the country, without many other possibilities. There would be a maintenance crew of a few blacks and permanent Indian employees, with the heavy labor of planting and harvesting done by Indians coming seasonally in fulfilment of their labor obligation to the encomendero. In the case of livestock, very little labor was required, and the small permanent crew was sufficient.

Since the Spanish cities in the central areas expanded so rapidly, in terms of both population and wealth, this system

came under pressure almost immediately. Government officials, local entrepreneurs, younger relatives of encomenderos, and others who had some capital but no encomienda began to build up complexes just like those associated with the encomiendas, except for lack of rights to Indian tribute and labor. After a time of hiring seasonal labor from the encomenderos, they eventually succeeded in attaining an arrangement whereby Indian tribute labor was spread more evenly among the Spaniards and on a short-term basis, rather than being granted for a lifetime to one person in a whole area.

Even earlier and more pervasive than the large estate builders were the small fry, for food production was something susceptible of being carried out on a small scale and with little capital, and the market was increasingly good. These people, new and without connections, were of the same type as the employees of the encomenderos. Indeed, at first they were typically the very same people. Newcomers acquired experience and a little money by working for an encomendero, and then went off on their own. Their first ventures nearly everywhere were truck gardens on the edges of the cities. Supplying the mines was another early opportunity. As the small farmers became more established, raising the Spanish staple of wheat came to be one of their main activities; in Mexico the valley of Atlixco was before long dotted with small and medium-sized wheat farms belonging to *labradores* or non-encomendero farmers. Livestock required more capital, but as European livestock multiplied explosively, filling a vacant ecological niche, they became easier to acquire, and the marginal agriculturalists moved into this line as well.

The encomenderos put up stiff resistance to all this, but in the end acquiesced. In an area like Querétaro, with few Indians, but good farming and grazing land as well as access to markets in Mexico City and the mines, it could happen that there was only one encomendero among scores of farmer-settlers.[2] In a well-populated, centrally-located area such as Toluca, there would be several strong encomenderos, but the pressure was irresistible; in the end it was in the encomenderos' interests to

let relatives and other potential allies have estates, and to allow their employees more independence. The encomendero actually sometimes found it profitable to sell a property to the very employee who had just been running it for him. He might also lease it to him, an intermediate solution with great advantages for both sides. In any case the encomendero usually maintained an informal social-economic dominance over the smallholders in his district, who needed his acquiescence and aid for full success. Often their enterprises failed, in which case they might come back to work for the encomendero.[3]

By the latter sixteenth century, in the countryside of the central areas, Indians still grew most of the maize, which did have market value as the main sustenance of the more Indian part of the urban and mining population, and therefore was an important, acceptable tribute item. Spanish estates were above all for livestock and wheat. The largest of them still belonged to encomenderos, followed by similar estates held by people who were socially and economically nearly their peers, and then smaller enterprises, of various degrees of marginality, held by humbler Spaniards. There was a continuum rather than two competing systems. The 'large' estates consisted of collections of small ones under one general management, each subunit run by people who were no different from the independent smallholders. Personnel passed back and forth between large and small estates constantly. There was a dialectic or cyclical process which might be expressed in simplest terms thus: where there was little or no market, smallholders might prevail; where the market was better, there would be a few large estates, with the small agriculturalists as their employees; if development became intensive, the smallholders would gain independence, and if successful they would tend to form large estates of their own.

The Antonio Mateos of this letter is clearly one of the smallholders we have been referring to. He is quite recently arrived, though not inordinately humble, given his literacy and concern for the education of his son. He has been in both the main branches of Spanish agriculture, livestock and wheat. He seems to feel that livestock is more profitable, wheat more stable and

better as the economic basis for a family. He also shows us that the small agriculturalist had yet another incarnation, the muleteer, for it was a small step from transporting something to investing in it, and conditions sometimes forced farmers to do their own transporting, as happened with Mateos.

Very longed-for lady wife:

About a year and a half ago I wrote you greatly desiring to know about you and the health of yourself and my son Antón Mateos, and also about my sisters and your brother and mine Antón Pérez, but I have never had a letter or reply since you wrote when I sent you money by Juan de Ocampo. I don't know if you got the letter in which I told you that I sent you 50 ducats, and now again I tell you to collect the rest, since he gave you only 30; try to get the other 20 from him to make 50, as I say. In those letters I already wrote you things about this country; at present I will not say more of my life and business since Juan de Ocampo left, thinking that you will come with him if he comes back. With the desire to prepare for your arrival, I went to the valley of Atlixco, where they grow two crops of wheat a year, one irrigated and the other watered by rainfall; I thought that we could be there the rest of our lives. I was a farmer for a year in company with another farmer there; for the future I had found lands and bought four pair of oxen and everything necessary for our livelihood, since the land is the most luxuriant, and plenteous and abundant in grain, that there is in all New Spain. But after I got your letter saying you weren't coming, nor was it your intention to come here, I decided to sell the oxen and all the equipment.

This part of the country is, as I say, the richest in foodstuffs that there is anywhere, but poorer than other parts in money, and so, because of your not coming here and my needing money, I sold the oxen and the rest and bought a packtrain of horses to transport the wheat we had harvested there. My share was 300 bushels, but I couldn't find anyone to offer me a penny for it in the valley, so I bought the packtrain, as I say, and sold my wheat converted into flour in Mexico City, and

also another lot that I bought after I had harvested my wheat. I was in this business for two years, but now I have sold the packtrain and am going back into livestock, where I expect to earn more profit from now on in a year than up till then in two. Truly, if I hadn't left livestock I would have had enough money to go home or would already be there, but I left raising animals, expecting your arrival, and was not able to return to it quickly. Now I have sold the packtrain and bought 1,500 muttons, with which I mean through God to make money, because from 500 ducats that I am investing now in cash I expect to earn more than 1,000 within two years, through the will of God our Lord.

Give Francisco Hernández Franco's wife a letter I am sending along with this one on behalf of her husband; I was so bold as to write her telling of him because the messenger was ready to leave, and there wasn't time to advise him so he could write himself. Greet the children of Juan Fernández Lucas for me, and tell them that when their brother Gonzalo Martín died, may God rest his soul, there remained here as his heir a son he had by an Indian woman, and they should pray to God for his soul.

I will not give a long account of the things of this land. Food provisions are cheap here, and things from Spain are expensive. I charge you not to take your son and mine Antonio Mateos out of school, but let him always learn and know more, and that way you will be doing the best thing for you and me. Give my greetings to my sisters and to your brother and mine and to my nephews, and also to all of your cousins and relatives and neighbors, and greet everyone who asks for me. I haven't heard from my cousins for four years and nine months; they left Mexico City and went I don't know where, nor do I know if they are alive or dead. No more, but may our Lord keep you in his hand for me. From this city of Los Angeles, day of St John, 1558, where I remain

Antonio Mateos

I have not heard from Leonor de la Cueva. About a month ago I saw Juan de Mesa, her husband, and he said she was well. Guiomar de la Cueva and all her daughters send you their greetings.

[1] Published in Spanish, with comment, in Otte, 'Cartas privadas de Puebla.'

[2] See John C. Super, 'Querétaro: Society and Economy in Early Provincial Mexico, 1590-1630.' UCLA doctoral dissertation, 1973.

[3] See Lockhart, 'Spaniards among Indians,' for a detailed treatment of the labradores of the Toluca valley in the late sixteenth century.

23. The petty dealer

Andrés García, in Mexico City, to his nephew Pedro Guiñón in Colmenar Viejo, New Castile, 1571[1]

> . . . I deal in Campeche wood and cotton blankets and wax, and I also have a certain business in cacao . . .

The petty trader was first cousin of the petty agriculturalist. The activities of both were attractive to penniless newcomers because they could be undertaken without great capital or connections. Often called *tratante* or dealer, as distinct from the *mercader*, who was usually an import merchant, the small trader was rather lower on the scale than the small farmer. Ex-seamen, the lowest of the low, often became tratantes on land. Immigrants of foreign origin (especially Italians, for some reason) tended to gravitate to local small trade, whereas among the farmers the only non-Spaniards, in any numbers, were the nearly Spanish Portuguese. The tratantes dealt in anything that could be bought cheaply in the local economy and resold for silver. They were taverners, peddlers, traders of nags and used clothing. Their most characteristic operation was selling to the Indian population of the cities and mines, people who, if not as rich as the Spaniards, were able to pay money for the *ropa de la tierra* ('native cloth'), and other products of the traditional Indian economy which they still desired and which the dealers gladly supplied them at a profit.

Andrés García is the very epitome of a tratante. We can surmise this good industrious man's social status among Spaniards by the fact that he is great friends with a mulatto woman, and married to an Indian. His trade is exclusively in Indian products,

sold at the *tiánguiz* of San Juan in the southwest district of Mexico City, the most important Indian market in the city proper. (*Tianquiztli*, Nahuatl for 'market,' was picked up by the Spaniards and applied to Indian markets specifically; in this sense the word was even carried to other parts of the Indies.) The products García sells are Indian, but not from the region of the capital. They come a long distance, from the southern lowlands of Yucatán, Chiapas and the Guatemalan coast of Soconusco. (When García says he has a cacao business 'in Soconusco,' he means he is involved in production or buying there; the cacao would be sold in Mexico City.) Trade in these products between highland and lowland long antedates the conquest, of course. Marginal Spaniards are here following in the steps of the Aztec *pochteca*. In this way the tratante becomes to an extent a long-distance merchant and importer after all. Also, with time, some of the Indian products gain entry into the Spanish market. García's clientele would be predominantly Indian, but some of the cacao and much of the Campeche wood would be bought by Spaniards. García seems well on his way to lasting wealth. In Spanish social ranking the achievement is not comparable, though in another generation it could be. Note the ambivalence of what he says about his marriage. It is true that for various reasons Spaniards even in the central areas did marry Indians and lived happily on that basis; almost all of such Spaniards were out of the same social stratum as García.

In other aspects this is, as the reader will quickly see, a typical 'nephew letter.'

Dear nephew:

In other letters I have written you, telling you where I am and how things are going with me, and I will keep doing the same until I should see a letter from you, as I greatly desire. After leaving you and our kinfolk, I went through many different hardships. As you saw, I came in the ship of Felipe Boquín, and in Veracruz, which is the port of this land of New Spain, he sold off everything I owned to get forty ducats that I owed him. I arrived on the point of dying, and might well have died in fact,

if it weren't for a woman called Inés Núñez, who is of dark skin; she made me very comfortable, and I owe her more than my very mother. If God should bring you here safely, try to go to her house, because I have already told her about you.

Nephew, I live in Mexico City in the tiánguiz of San Juan, among the shops of Tegada. I deal in Campeche wood and cotton blankets and wax, and I also have a certain business in cacao in Soconusco. But now, nephew, I am advanced in years and can no longer take care of all this. I wish, if it please God, that you would come to this land, as I have written you in other letters, so that I could rest and you would remain in the business.

I am married here to a woman very much to my taste. And though there in Spain it might shock you that I have married an Indian woman, here one loses nothing of his honor, because the Indians are a nation held in much esteem. And besides, I can tell you that in the ten years that we have been married we have had no children, praised be our Lord. And she is after me more every day, ever since I told her that I have a nephew whom I raised from infancy and love as if he were my son; she is of the opinion that if God our Lord brings you to this land, we should leave you our property, what we have, as to a legitimate son and heir, because after the end of our days we want to have someone here to do good for our souls. And if you could, bring along your cousin Pedro López, son of Catalina López, our kinswoman, because he could earn as much here from his trade as he wants, and anyway he wouldn't have to, because I have enough for myself and for others, praised be our Lord.

Nephew, I entreat you again to come, because it is a matter of great importance to you; don't imagine remote regions far from your native land, or the hardships that are usually met on the way, but rather the ease you will have here. And if you do make this change, the merchant Alonso Moreno in Seville will provide well for you, if it is for the purpose of coming here, because I spoke to him when he left here, and I've written him about it too, and I know he will outfit you very well. And if you can, come in the ship of Mr Antón Sánchez, a person to

whom I have done favors, and knowing the kinship between us, he will treat you well.

Greet everyone from me, and they should consider this letter theirs, and let them know that if one of them should reach this country, he would not be in need, with the aid of our Lord.

My wife Mari Hernández sends you many greetings and entreats you the same as I, because we greatly desire to see you in this land. May our Lord guard you and let me see you again as I wish. Written the 10th day of the month of February of the year of the Lord 1571, from Mexico City.

Ready to serve you in all, your true uncle, who loves you more than himself,

Andrés García

[1] Published in Spanish, with comment, in Otte, 'Die europäischen Siedler.'

24. The Flemish tailors

Pedro de Anver to a compatriot in Cuzco, 1547[1]

. . . Jos del Miere says you should be sure to come to his house . . .

'Foreigners,' that is, non-Spanish Europeans, were a minority in the Spanish Indies, held in low esteem and often drifting towards marginal areas and occupations, but they were a standard phenomenon nonetheless, appearing everywhere, quite essential to the Spaniards as mariners and in certain specialized trades. Over time, they melted into the lower and middle reaches of the Spanish population, losing their distinctiveness. But in the first generation, precisely because they were in such a minority position, lines of common ethnicity and craft structured their lives, even more than with the Spaniards. The Greek gunners were one world, the Genoese sailors another, the Flemish silversmiths another; inside that framework each group had its principal friends, enemies, and business connections. Those little worlds had great cohesion and independence, and were not easily disturbed by even cataclysmic events outside.

Here, our world is that of Flemish clothing makers in Peru. The writer, 'Peter of Antwerp,' is a tailor, and so is the Maestre

Diego Flamenco (Master Jacob Fleming) who is mentioned. Jos del Miere (Joos van der Meer) is a hosier, while the recipient of the letter seems to be more of a producer of leather items. They write and visit each other; they give each other news on prices and demand; they use each other as a business network to collect debts from Spaniards around the country for whom they have done work; and they come into conflict with each other, since we see that Maestre Diego has had the man in Cuzco thrown into jail for a debt. At this time, 1547, Peru was under the rebel government of Gonzalo Pizarro and was approaching the climax of its most shattering civil war. There is some mention of this in the letter, along with some rather poorly informed gossip, that 'Dr,' actually Licentiate, Gasca had arrived in the north with 'a few' men, actually plenty to attract the whole of Spanish Peru to the royal side in quite short order. And indeed, Maestre Diego was quite heavily involved in the rebellion itself. But the emphasis is on visits, prices, loans, and family news: Jos del Miere's wife has had a baby.

Sir:

Two days ago I received a letter from you in which you tell me that Maestre Diego has you in jail. I am amazed that you should want to tell me such a thing, because I know very well that they wouldn't throw you in jail for so little.

In another letter I wrote you of the efforts I made to collect from Captain Juan de Acosta and from Marchena; I haven't been able to do more.

I believe you will be coming here very soon; Antonio de Robles is going there to bring our friends back, because Dr de la Gasca is in Trujillo with a few men. Juan de Acosta has gone to scout the countryside with Maestre Diego and Gálvez, and other cavaliers.

I also wrote you how everything is very expensive, and that you should supply yourself with everything you might need, and if you thought best you should bring your wife along, because here a leather jacket is worth 100 pesos, and a pair of boots 20.

If you should not be able to satisfy Maestre Diego, when you come here you will not want for a hundred pesos, and because the messenger is leaving I will say no more now, except may our Lord give you what you desire. I beg you to bring a leather jacket and some boots and a blanket, because people are eager for them here.

Jos del Miere salutes you; his wife bore a son.

From Lima, 21st of May. Jos del Miere says you should be sure to come to his house.

At your service,

Pedro de Anver

[1]Published in Spanish in Juan Pérez de Tudela, ed., *Documentos relativos a don Pedro de la Gasca y a Gonzalo Pizarro*, II, p. 548.

25. The nobleman

Don Alonso Enríquez de Guzmán, with Almagro's forces at Guaytará, Peru, to fray Francisco de Bobadilla, provincial head of the Mercedarian order, with Pizarro's forces at Lima y Caxca, 1538[1]

> . . . I will come there over the objections of wretches, knowing it will anger the devil; and I would be no bad acquisition for hell . . .

Since it had people of all types and estates, the Spanish Indies also had some high noblemen, bearing the title 'don' by birthright, related to counts and dukes, habitués of the Spanish royal court or the courtly circles of Seville. Not much in evidence in the conquest itself, the courtly nobles began to be attracted to the Indies after the wealth of Peru and Mexico had made itself felt. Some set out alone, more went in the entourage of governors and viceroys of the central regions, until there came to be a good contingent of them in the great capitals, frequenting the viceregal courts. Having experienced the court of Spain and learned its manners, they were little impressed with what they saw in the Indies, and were not inclined to make adjustments. A large proportion of them returned to Castile,

with or without the fortune they needed to mend their positions there.

Don Alonso Enríquez de Guzmán was an early representative of this group (though his brother preceded him, as can be seen in Letter 31). When he arrived in Peru in 1535 both Governor Pizarro and the Spanish populace made much of him, and he might have had almost any position. But before long he was on the other side of the Pizarro–Almagro conflict, and by 1539 he was on his way back to Spain.

The present letter illustrates the extent to which the high nobles in America continued to act as though they were at court. The situation here is serious; Almagro has returned disappointed from Chile, seized Cuzco, and advanced far north towards Lima with an armed camp. Pizarro has come out from Lima to face him, and fighting seems imminent. In the event, the decisive battle will not occur for four months yet. (See Letters 9 and 10.) Don Alonso, with the Almagrists, addresses himself to an influential ecclesiastic on the other side, fray Francisco de Bobadilla, head of the Mercedarian order in Tierra Firme and Peru. But what is don Alonso at? The basic message would seem to be a timely and appropriate one: Try to persuade your people not to fight, because of the great damage it will do both sides, but be sure that if you try to take Cuzco back we will resist fiercely, and the Pizarros will lose everything. Parts of the letter, the fifth paragraph for example, seem to ring of high sincerity and an eloquence flowing from true emotion. But in other parts there is rhetoric for display, along with jokes in good and bad taste. Among other things don Alonso offers to arrange this sober friar's marriage. At times he indulges in camp gossip and nose-thumbing, and he ends wishing that fray Francisco be 'a father in this world and a saint in the other,' i.e., that he have many children and die soon. This is the court intriguer at work, taking every side of every question, reveling in talk, allusions, gossip and taunts. Fray Francisco, not knowing what to make of it, answered briefly, perhaps with some irony of his own, asking don Alonso's pardon 'if I have somehow annoyed you.'

Very reverend and magnificent sir:

I fear that though I wish to serve and please your paternity and be reputed in your good judgment as a peaceful man dedicated to the service of God and the king and the good name of Governor don Francisco Pizarro, because of my argumentative nature you and others there may believe that I am eager for the battle to begin. The truth is that in my own praise I can assure your paternity that if it had not been for me and the royal officials and Licentiate Prado, we would already have returned to Lima y Caxca, or even gone to Lima without stopping in Caxca. But he who attacks first is the guilty one, and I remember that when the emperor our lord sent me to Ibiza as captain general against Barbarossa, who was coming to attack it, he included in my instructions, among many other paragraphs, one that read thus: 'Also we order and charge you that if the Moors, enemies of our holy faith, should come against the said city or island and you should come to blows with them, strive, without considering the advantage they have from having started hostilities, to take as many as you can alive, killing as few as possible, since they are our relations, and in order not to hinder any whom the Holy Spirit should illumine in our holy Catholic faith.' Yet I must also say that now I do not fail to advise that we die and kill for our law and our king, and for the former especially, seeing that those against us show that they follow not reason and the law of God, but the law of Mohammad, since they rely more on force than on the merits, and the judge is at the door who can give what is rightful; yet for them, muskets are the law more than the orders of their king and lord and what he very clearly shows and says and commands, and it is evangelical law that no one should seek satisfaction on his own authority. And since his majesty wanted us to give life to the Moors, should we not do as much for Christians?

I assure your paternity, since you are the soul and body of Governor don Francisco Pizarro, and I myself am no less his servant than his most faithful follower, and I swear, as God is truth, and by the most holy trinity, and by this habit of Santiago in which I will be condemned or saved, that according to all I

know or feel, there are 400 men here as unanimous and agreed, as determined to die, as eager to fight to gain a decision, as sure of victory as they are certain of their belief in God. And so in truth it will no longer avail our antagonists to think that through agreements or threat of force they can enter here into paradise without performing deeds that merit it. If his majesty should send a specific order for what we hold to be given up, it will be given, not with trumpets and kettledrums, but with the tears of men, since Governor don Diego de Almagro has helped so much to win it with his property and life and his eye.

I am shocked when Juan de Vallejo assures us that your paternity desires peace, and that Governor don Francisco Pizarro does not wish war and is a very good Christian and your servant. By my sins, if you two are with us, who is against us? If it is the anger of Hernando Pizarro, then restrain him; if it is the importunity of the citizens of Cuzco, I well know how the wise philosopher says that the man who is angry or has an interest in the matter is not to be admitted to council. Consider that Hernando Pizarro is a putrid monster, and the citizens of Cuzco are covetous and rebellious and more jealous of their encomienda Indians than of their Indian women, because they are afraid their encomiendas will be taken away and given to the men of Chile. This, so much the worse for them, is the loyalty they have, and for this they want to risk the fame and honor in this world, and the glory of heaven in the other, that God has seen fit to give to this good old man their governor. If it is for covetousness of black gold, let them consider the fate of the rich miser, and with how much less they would have been content ten years ago, and how little time is left for the governor to enjoy what he has wanted and what he now has. I said that Hernando Pizarro is putrid because he is a man so rotted by anger and sense of honor that this black honor puts men's souls in hell and their bodies in much necessity in this world, especially as to inordinate greed.

You, sir, have become more annoyed than is right, considering not what could come of it in the future, but only the blinding anger that has you in its grip, when there is no question

of honor at stake for you, and you have lost none, so you should be content to refrain from regaining it in the face of God and king and at the risk of so many Christians. If those there are made of good stuff and there are a thousand of us on both sides together, not a hundred will be left alive; and if of bad stuff, why should they want to tempt fortune again? I promise and assure that if Hernando Pizarro is taken again they will not let him loose this time. And since you have such a suitable, reasonable and secure position, gained so honorably, and you are of marriageable age, your reputation and estate are enough to get you the daughter of some great lord; don't grasp for the sky with your hands; don't leave eating capons for spiritless sheep. And since I have promised to arrange your marriage, let me warn you that the way you are exercising your office is a hindrance to my purpose; let it not be that the devil should have raised you up in order to pull you down. Hold yourself close to the cross on which God suffered for us sinners; adhere to the love that I know you have always had for our emperor. Take an example from his majesty: let us conquer infidels; if Christians are guilty, let us not want to be kings or confessors, and let us not usurp the king's justice nor make ourselves judges of our own causes.

Consider that very surely he who is losing the game is the one who interrupts it; consider that the part of Christian men, fearful of God and king, brave, valiant and hardy, is to be patient, to win heaven and credit with their prince especially through their obeisance, to conquer their enemies leaving room for time, justice and reason, to bear up under the load to the point of bursting; and then, all these efforts made, comes the time for a man's force and anger and wildness, which are then not only to the purpose, but help remove defects, for when the man comes to be tested in the crucible he is more inflamed, free of all dross and lead, and if any should remain, the smoke will bear it away.

Truly, sir, I desire all peace and concord; my concern for it makes this letter lengthy, and also my being so much your paternity's servant, though recent, and since I cannot speak in your presence I take joy in speaking through this letter. From

Juan de Vallejo as well as from other sources I have come to know your paternity's goodness and the good will you have in these matters, so I beg you to consider me your very great friend and servant, and as such I extol myself to you and will never repent of it, for I am a much better and more constant friend than an enemy, though I make a very reasonable enemy too, for that matter. And so I implore you always to be at the side of the governor, and let the devil not be able to do more than you, because we here consider you a good angel that God sent to guard us. Contrive that the evil one, whose identity I do not know, and if I did do not want to say, should not be more powerful. As to the reverend father Vice-provincial fray Juan de Olías, to what other purpose should he want his life than to spend it where he can serve God and his majesty, and die for the faith of Jesus Christ, so that he be repaid in the same coin? And since he has shown such good will up to now, I ask him for the love of God to persevere in it together with your paternity. And if we are in the wrong, then come here and preach to us, and we will hear and obey you, because I do not want to be so presumptuous as not to listen to you, and so I challenge you both, in the name of God, once, twice, and three times, to come, and thus relieve my conscience, and no notary is required, because it is known to all that if we are in darkness you must illumine us, and if we are, then so are you over there, and we are all Christians.

May the devil take my soul if I do not fear as much and even more the perdition of don Francisco Pizarro and his people than that of Governor don Diego de Almagro and his, to judge by reason and the forces of the land and the spirit of these men, each thinking he will be what he is in fact, a governor, and trying to avoid being an outcast or worse, for which they will die like rabid wolves. I consider our victory certain, but the anger of God and the king, and the loss of souls, grieves me, and also that most of what will be lost is what Governor don Francisco Pizarro won with such effort, especially since I believe he has justice on his side; but if it is so, he will have what is his, and if not, why should he want it? Even if he should take it by

force and maintain it in this black world, in the clarity of judgment and in perpetual life he would pay for it. In this I think I do your paternity a service, and I swear to God and the holy cross that I will come there over the objections of wretches, knowing it will anger the devil; and I would be no bad acquisition for hell.

If I did want to come there, it would be to see royal factor Illán Suárez with his grave deportment among those firebrands, and the lieutenant governor giving judgments against benefactors. I don't know what they found wrong with royal accountant Juan de Guzmán, who was going to report to his majesty as his officer. It would have been better to give him supplies in sign of wishing him a good journey, since he shows himself so faithful to his king, and they shouldn't have hidden anything from him or tried to stop him from asking anything; he whose piss is clear thumbs his nose at the physician. They say that Captain Francisco de Godoy walks about sad-faced, and goes to Licentiate de la Gama as St John to the Mother of God when he permitted her to be badly treated. We were enlightened about this by two innocents whom we captured and then let go. They also said that your paternity said to them 'Little sinners, do you think you can go to fight against Christians?'

And so I cease, praying that our Lord guard and augment your paternity's very reverend and magnificent person, making you a father in this world and a saint in the other. From this site of Guaytará, today, 1st of January, 1538.

At your paternity's service,

Don Alonso Enríquez de Guzmán

Fray Francisco de Bobadilla's reply

Very magnificent sir:

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be with you. I received your letter, so long and so wise, and have no other recourse than to abbreviate my reply, informing you that with your letter or without it I cannot placate the anger and interests of these gentlemen. May God remedy it; I am unable to. And so I cease,

asking your pardon if I have somehow annoyed you, and assuring you that I will serve you better in the future. I continue to pray to our Lord for your life and estate. From Lima y Caxca, January 4th, 1538.

From your servant,

Fray Francisco de Bobadilla

Provincial superior of Our Lady of Mercy

[1] Published in Spanish in Porras, *Cartas del Perú,* pp. 274-7, among other places.

26. The Hispanized Indian

Don Martín, Indian nobleman, interpreter and encomendero, to rebel governor Gonzalo Pizarro in Lima, 1547[1]

> . . . I have my hair cut, by which I would be very easily recognized . . .

The Indians of the whole vast reach of South and Central America were affected by the sixteenth-century European presence: by epidemic disease, demands for new kinds of tribute and labor, reduction of their own interregional trade, addition of new techniques, plants and animals, reorganization of local political and religious life, and much more. The majority of the population, however, long continued to live in the same provincial and local units as before, within a functioning Indian society which retained its vitality and viability. These people had little direct contact with the Spanish life of the cities, to which they were tied only through encomienda obligations and the relatively few secular and ecclesiastic encomienda representatives who came out into the countryside.

Two types of Indians did come into direct and frequent contact with Spaniards. The first, and the more important for the growth and transformation of Spanish American society, were the Spaniards' permanent servants, employees and dependents. The tribute and temporary labor provided by the encomienda were not enough. The Spaniards needed auxiliaries, people on a permanent basis who would learn something of their skills and

their language, and who could then be their trusted retainers, or work at skilled crafts, or help with maintenance and supervision in their enterprises. The most prominent such auxiliaries were the ubiquitous blacks, whether as slaves or freedmen. From the beginning there were Indians in this role as well, who came to outnumber the blacks by far, and before the end of the colonial period had supplanted them in many areas.

Indian societies of many parts of America already knew not only nobles and commoners, but a third type: the person, often an outsider, who was the direct dependent of a nobleman, rather than sharing in general community obligations and rights. It was easy for the Spaniards to utilize such people, simply transferring the allegiance from an Indian nobleman to a Spaniard; even when the persons employed or commandeered were not of the dependent class, the existence of the type and function in preconquest society gave a framework of expectations. In the Caribbean the Spaniards found the word *naboría* for this type, and they carried it from there to Central America; in Peru, where the institution was particularly strong and idiosyncratic, they adopted the local word *yanacona* (actually a plural form, interpreted by the Spaniards as singular). Always on the increase numerically, the Spanish-speaking, partly Hispanized Indian, more outside Indian society than in it, came to represent a large proportion of the population of Spanish cities, mining towns and estates.

The second category of Indian dealing with Spaniards on a regular basis was the personage they called the *cacique* or 'chief,' another word they heard first in the Caribbean and spread everywhere. At times they even tried to create caciques where there were none. But generally one may equate the caciques with the traditional rulers of provincial units, vital to the Spaniards because it was only through their inherent powers in the Indian communities that the encomiendas could be made to deliver tribute and labor. The entries in a great Nahuatl tribute book of the 1530s for the Cuernavaca region of Mexico, that area being under Cortés as Marqués del Valle, tell us the whole story: 'Francisco Yaotl gives his tribute to Martín Huitznauatl, and Martín gives it to the cacique, and the cacique gives it to the Marqués.' Where such an arrangement was not built into Indian society, there could be no encomiendas in the usual sense. So the Spaniards, though they did manipulate the caciques, also relied on them greatly, gave them various kinds of support, and even sometimes courted them. But since the cacique's power base was in Indian society, he was typically less deeply and quickly affected by European culture than the Spaniards' servants and employees.

Don Martín, the writer of our present letter, is somewhere between yanacona and cacique. He seems to have been connected with Andean nobility, but he came among Spaniards as one of the interpreters who were so important in the early years of the conquest. On an exploratory voyage to Peru, in the Piura region, Francisco Pizarro requested a boy to learn the language. He was given don Martín, who was thus among Spanish speakers for years, even in Spain itself, before Peru was ever conquered. He learned beautiful Spanish, did the interpreting at critical junctures of the conquest, and much like doña Marina in Mexico, was given handsome rewards within Spanish society itself. He became chief interpreter of the realm and received an encomienda in the Lima district, on the basis of which, like any other encomendero, he set up an establishment in Lima, married a Spanish wife, hired Spanish stewards, and so on.

In this letter of 1547 we see don Martín well on his way to downfall, adhering to his patrons the Pizarros unconditionally; at the defeat of Gonzalo Pizarro in 1548 don Martín will be punished, deprived of his property, and exiled, shortly thereafter to die in Spain. At the moment the letter is written, Gonzalo Pizarro is in Lima, acting as governor in defiance of the crown, while Licentiate Gasca has landed in northern Trujillo with forces raised in the king's name. Pizarro has stationed don Martín at the latter's encomienda up the coast towards Trujillo to watch the roads and the sea. Just recently he has sent don Martín orders to go in disguise and spy out the enemy's strength in Trujillo, probably conferring with some Spaniards there who can be trusted. Don Martín declines, because he has not only

adopted Spanish dress completely, but has had his hair cut Spanish style, so that he could no longer pass for an ordinary Indian. But don Martín does not lack someone to send, since he heads a whole crew of Spanish-speaking yanaconas. Don Martín, his men, and others like them are mediating between the two worlds, able to communicate with the Spaniards but also continuing to bring Andean status, techniques and institutions into play; in the letter we see this symbolized in the Andean words used, not only *yana,* but *quipu* or colored-string accounting device, and *tambo*, the Andean way-station and storage place.

The Alcántara mentioned was an encomendero of Trujillo who was then in the hills hiding from the Pizarrists. 'Fray Pedro' was fray Pedro Muñoz, a Mercedarian friar in Trujillo who was an inflamed Pizarrist partisan. As a final detail, note how don Martín when speaking Spanish uses Spanish categories, including that of 'Indian,' which was a concept foreign to the alleged Indians, and which they practically never used in their own languages, preferring to think of themselves as many distinct peoples.

Very illustrious sir:

The moment I saw your lordship's letter I would have fulfilled what your lordship commanded me therein and considered it a very great favor to be able to serve your lordship in something, since my desire is none other. But because I have my hair cut, by which I would be very easily recognized, I decided not to do it myself, but immediately sent a yanacona of mine who speaks very good Spanish, with two other Indians from this valley, to Trujillo, to find out what your lordship ordered me to. He will do it as well as I could myself because, as I said, he speaks very good Spanish and I gave him full instructions. As soon as he finds out, your lordship can be certain that he will bring back a true account on his quipu of the men, ships and captains. When he comes, I will go with what news he brings to give your lordship account of everything, and kiss your feet and serve you in what your lordship should wish to command me.

As soon as Captain Martín de Olmos arrived here, I sent

another Spanish-speaking yanacona of mine to Tarma to see if there were any Spaniards at the tambo; when he got there he found no Spaniards, but near the tambo on a hill he found an Indian of Tarma with a letter that Alcántara's wife was sending to her husband, as your lordship can see from it. My yanacona said that the Indian who gave it to him was not the one who brought it from Trujillo, but another Indian; the one who had the letter came with my yanacona as far as four leagues from here, where he remained exhausted. I then sent another Indian to bring him here so I could ask him who gave him the letter, or if he knew anything about Trujillo. If he comes, I will question him on everything and report what I find out.

Captain Martín de Olmos is returning to Lima because he thinks he is no longer needed here.

I am very careful to maintain Indians on the roads to know who comes or goes, and I will continue to do so always, even if I go up the valley as I intend to do, to be more secure.

What my Indians saw in the sea were four ships, of which I sent your lordship a drawing on paper. They saw them between this tambo and that of Tarma. They also say that five Spaniards were going by the head of this valley toward where your lordship is, and another time, two others on horseback and one on foot. I told fray Pedro to tell your lordship this. There is nothing else to report to your lordship. When there is, I will be the messenger, as I said.

Our Lord guard your lordship's very illustrious person and augment your estate as your lordship desires. From this tambo of Guarmey, Wednesday, 13th of May, 1547.

Your lordship's least servant and follower who kisses your very illustrious hands and feet,

Don Martín

[1]Published in Spanish in Pérez de Tudela, *Documentos relativos a don Pedro de la Gasca*, I, pp. 154-5. Don Martín's life is treated in detail in Lockhart, *The Men of Cajamarca*, pp. 447-55, and also, in the context of Spanish–Indian contact, in *Spanish Peru*, pp. 213-15.

27. Indian high society

Don Pedro Enrique Moctezuma, in Mexico City, to his relatives doña Magdalena Axayaca, doña Petronila Pimentel, and doña Bárbola de la Concepción, in nearby Iztapalapa, 1587[1]

> . . . Ma yehuatzin S$\overline{\text{pu}}$ Sancto ytlan moyetztie yn cenca mahuiztic amotlaçoanimantzin tlaçocihuapipiltine . . .
>
> May the Holy Spirit dwell in your very honored precious souls, dear ladies . . .

If all Indian rulers were 'caciques,' still there were some distinctions recognized by the Spaniards. Encomiendas, pensions and honorific titles went to a few direct descendants of Moctezuma in Mexico, and of Atahuallpa and Huascar in Peru. And aside from the question of Spanish recognition, a corps of high nobility maintained itself in and around each of the former imperial centers, Mexico City and Cuzco, even after decimation in the conquest. For a century or more these groups continued to exist in important Spanish cities, quite well received by the Spaniards, sometimes marrying into Spanish society at a high level, yet long retaining a self-awareness and distinct life style. In Peru, since Quechua was rarely written down, the nobles tended to do their writing in Spanish. But the nobles of Mexico, where after the conquest literacy in Nahuatl was widespread, have left us chronicles and correspondence in their own tongue.

Our main purpose here is to give the reader some rough notion of the refined, elegant, hyperflorid tone of these people's discourse, still very much that of the preconquest Aztec nobility despite the integration of Spanish terms and concepts – a rough notion, we say, because the English is a pale reflection of the parallelisms, circumlocutions and multiple reverentials which the richness of the Nahuatl allows without artificiality or coyness.

Some dynastic background will be necessary for understanding. The only son of Emperor Moctezuma to live on into the Spanish period, at least the only one enjoying recognition, was don Pedro Moctezuma. He received the encomienda of Tultengo in the Tula district and owned considerable property, including a large house on the square of San Sebastián, the northeastern district of Mexico City. A series of royal decrees confirmed his rights and gave him a large pension besides. On his death, his legitimate son don Martín Moctezuma succeeded. As this letter is written, don Martín has also died, and there is great controversy over the succession. The writer of the letter, don Pedro Enrique, is a grandson of don Pedro and nephew of don Martín, and lives in their house in San Sebastián. That he is an actual claimant is not clear, but he surely is opposed to the claims of a certain don Francisco; this latter is the son of doña Inés, don Pedro's widow, but not of don Pedro himself, so that he is making his claim through the maternal line alone. The three ladies who are recipients of the letter are also descended from Aztec emperors. At the moment they are in physical possession of the originals of some of the royal decrees relating to the Moctezumas. This is what don Pedro Enrique is writing about; he wants to have the decrees to present to the Royal Audiencia and demolish don Francisco's case. In the end, a son of don Pedro's who was then in Spain, don Diego Luis, succeeded to both encomienda and property.

May the Holy Spirit dwell in your very honored precious souls, dear ladies. Know that I have heard and received your message, and very great joy and consolation it gave me that the Lord of the earth, Lord God, grants you health. May it be his wish that you always fare as I desire for you, dear ladies. Now in some measure I kiss your hands and feet, and as to the governorship of the sir ruler señor don Alonso Axayacatzin, my late grandfather, I greet and in every way salute what he there bequeathed you; may you exercise it fully.

Dear ladies, may I not at such a time upset you, and if so please forgive me, by our Lord God. And in this let me not give you pain, my dear ladies, since I have already informed you and you are already aware of how the son of the lady my grand-

mother doña Inés, don Francisco, wishes and desires our house here in Mexico City: the house where both my late grandfather the esteemed sir don Pedro Moctezuma, and my uncle who died here, the late señor don Martín Moctezuma, lived out their lives, and which they bequeathed to us. Don Francisco considers himself the holder of the lord rulers' grants, concessions and decrees, and, as you have heard, he is taking my late sir grandfather señor don Pedro as his father, saying that he is his youngest son. As to this, I will investigate the matter and he will surely come to shame.

Now here is something with which I will content your hearts as much as what the lord rulers left us spreads discord. For know that I am sending there to you your uncles the nobles who are here at our house in Mexico City, don Martín de Aguilar and don Martín Cortés, to kiss your hands and feet. And as to why I am sending them to you, know that I am requesting the royal concession and decrees; may you concede this and send them to us. May everyone yet be content; here we will make a statement to the Royal Audiencia so that everyone will be satisfied. Dear ladies, may you grant this, because I am sending your uncles to bring the papers back, so that they will not be lost somewhere. Surely you will not reject us, dear ladies. And may I in some way attain your message; if my illness were not still a little heavy on me, I would go myself to give you satisfaction. May your hearts not be troubled by all this, and you will hear what happens when it is divulged. My ladies, this is all with which I importune you and which you are to hear. May our Lord give you his grace in his holy service. Done in Mexico City on the 9th of October, year of 1587.

Your younger brother who salutes you from afar,

Don Pedro Enrique Moctezuma

[1] Published in Nahuatl and English in Arthur J. O. Anderson, Frances Berdan, and James Lockhart, trans. and eds., *Beyond the Codices* (University of California Press, forthcoming). The translation there is slightly more literal, and several difficult points in the interpretation of the original are discussed.

28. An Indian town addresses the king

The city council of Huejotzingo, Mexico, to King Philip, 1560[1]

> . . . But as to those Tlaxcalans, in many places they ran away, and often fought badly . . .

As fully pre-Columbian in tone as the previous letter, this text is representative of public rather than private discourse. With its length and full development, the language has breathing room; the rhetoric rolls on to establish an atmosphere, leading inexorably to the main point, a new high tribute assessment, which by the time it arrives seems the climax and crowning disaster of the history of Huejotzingo. This is oratory, an art as well developed among the Aztecs as among the Greeks. Such speeches as this were addressed by nobles to the emperor or other high dignitaries, and examples of the genre may be seen in Book VI of Sahagún's *Florentine Codex.*[2] Of course here the subject matter is postconquest, and a considerable amount of Spanish and Christian terminology has crept into the text. Yet the stylistic devices and most of the vocabulary are retained from earlier oratorical practice. So is the structure, consisting of large paragraph-sized units, each introduced by the invocation *totecuiyoe totlatocatzine* ('O our lord, O our king'), and each an extensive elaboration of a single basic idea. In a way, it is small wonder that when Nahuatl speakers gave their petitions to Spaniards to translate, the result was often a text less than half the length of the original.

The message is approximately as follows: We salute you, high king. From a distant land we appeal for your mercy. When the Spaniards first came here, we greeted them as friends and helped them in all their wars, far more than the people of Tlaxcala. We accepted Christianity gladly and peacefully, whereas the Tlaxcalans resisted. Now your officials have assessed us a burdensome tribute. All the governors who went before treated us well, and we served them faithfully. What crime have we committed to deserve this? We humbly protest, and dutifully

inform you that with such a tribute the city of Huejotzingo will soon cease to exist. The friar who bears this letter can tell you more.

The transparency of this is likely to bring a smile, in view of the contrast with the rhetorical grandeur built upon it. But this was the way of Nahuatl oratory. The elaboration was no attempt to disguise, nor exactly to construct a logically convincing argument. Rather one took joy in repeating the idea in slightly varying forms until a magnificent fabric came into being, a verbal tapestry spread out in the panels of the great paragraphs.

The letter asserts, and correctly so, that Huejotzingo was an independent province before the arrival of the Spaniards, not paying tribute to the Aztec empire. In this, as in its internal structure of four subprovinces and in much else, Huejotzingo greatly resembled its northern neighbor Tlaxcala. As soon as the Spanish invaders had proved their power, both provinces joined them against the enemy of all, the Mexica. Tlaxcala, being the larger, received the lion's share of the credit, leaving those of Huejotzingo resentful of both the Tlaxcalans and their special privileges, as their letter shows. The feeling and the situation also demonstrate something very basic and general about the self-perceptions of Indians almost everywhere. To them the local province or city-state was the primary unit of existence, a people in and of itself. The relation between a given province and its neighbors was ordinarily one of strong rivalry in every aspect of life. In fact there were usually smaller units inside the province with their own myths and ambitions of separateness. The existence of empires in preconquest times hardly affected this phenomenon, which also survived the Spanish conquest and continued strong for centuries. Notice that the writer of this letter, unlike Spanish-speaking don Martín in Peru, never once uses the word 'Indian,' coming no closer than the phrase 'we people here.' There is a unitary perception of Spaniards as a group, but Indians are referred to by the individual provincial names.

One other important constituent of the Indians' conceptual

organization of their world appears here: the nobleman–commoner distinction. This must, indeed, be given close second place to provincial separatism in the definition of Indian self-awareness, far ahead of any perception of Indianness. Underneath the rigid ethos was mobility and complexity, as always in human societies, but still a strong insistence on the different status, rights and character of noblemen had come into being in the main centers of population, the central Andes as well as Mesoamerica. Like small-unit awareness, this distinction, and the noble group itself, survived the conquest handily. Within less than a generation all the important Indian towns in the central areas were reorganized, in principle, as municipalities in the Spanish fashion, with a presiding officer, two or more alcaldes, and a corps of councilmen, but this did not much affect the social scheme. With few exceptions the presiding officer was the cacique or a close relative, and the alcaldes and councilmen were noblemen. Notice that in the Huejotzingo letter it is taken for granted that all the council members are nobles. And as usual in municipal petitions, they represent the noblemen's interests, here complaining that they have been reduced to the status of commoners, a far cry from the literal truth, seeing that during these very years the nobles of Tlaxcala and Huejotzingo were converting their often amorphous privileges into full ownership of land and legally recognized rights to goods and services from tenants.

Catholic Royal Majesty:

Our lord sovereign, you the king don Felipe our lord, we bow low in great reverence to your high dignity, we prostrate and humble ourselves before you, very high and feared king through omnipotent God, giver of life. We do not deserve to kiss your feet, only from afar we bow down to you, you who are most high and Christian and very pleasing to God our Lord, for you are his true representative here on earth, and you govern us and lead us in Christianity. All of us, creatures and subjects of life-giving God, we vassals and servants of your majesty, we people here, we who dwell here in New Spain, all together we look to

you, our eyes and hearts go out toward you; we have confidence in you in the eyes of our Lord God, for he put us in your hand to guard, and he assigned us to you for us to be your servants and your helpers. By our Lord God and by your very honored and very high majesty, remember us, have compassion with us, for very great is the poverty and affliction visited on us who dwell here in New Spain.

Our lord sovereign, king don Felipe our lord, with our words we appear and stand before you, we of Huejotzingo who guard for you your city – we citizens, I the governor and we the alcaldes and councilmen and we the lords and nobles, your men and your servants – very humbly we address you: Oh unfortunate are we, very great and heavy sadness and affliction lie upon us. Your pity and compassion do not reach us; we do not deserve, we do not attain your rulership. And all the while since your subjects the Spaniards arrived, all the while we have been looking toward you, we have been confidently expecting that sometime your pity would reach us, as we also had confidence in and were awaiting the mercy of your very revered dear father the ruler of the world, don Carlos the late emperor. Therefore now, our lord sovereign, we bow humbly before you; may we deserve your pity, may the very greatly compassionate and merciful God enlighten you so that your pity is exercised on us. For we hear, and so it is said to us, that you are very merciful and humane towards all your vassals; and when there appears before you a vassal of yours in poverty, so it is said, then you have pity on him in your very revered majesty, and in God omnipotent you help him. May we now also deserve and attain the same, for every day such poverty and affliction reaches us and is visited on us that we weep and mourn. Oh unfortunate are we, what will come of us, we your poor vassals of Huejotzingo, we who live in your city? If you were not so far away, many times we would appear before you. Though we greatly wish and desire to reach you and appear before you, we are unable, because we are very poor and do not have what is needed for the journey on the boat, nor things to eat, nor anything to pay people in order to be able to reach you. Therefore now we appear before you

only in our words; we set before you our poor prayer. May you only in your very great Christianity and very revered high majesty attend well to this our prayer.

Our lord sovereign, before anyone told us or made us acquainted with your fame and your story, most high and feared universal king who rules all, and before we were told or taught the glory and name of our Lord God, before the faith reached us, and before we were Christians, when your servants the Spaniards came to us and your Captain General don Hernando Cortés arrived, although we were not yet acquainted with the omnipotent, very compassionate holy Trinity, yet our Lord God the ruler of heaven and possessor of earth caused us to deserve that in his mercy he enlightened us so that we took you as our king, to belong to you and become your people and your subjects; not a single town here in New Spain surpassed us, in that first and earliest we cast ourselves toward you, we gave ourselves to you. And furthermore, no one intimidated us, no one forced us, but truly God caused us to deserve that voluntarily we adhered to you, so that we gladly received the newly arrived Spaniards who reached us here in New Spain. For we left our homes behind to go a great distance to meet them; we went twenty leagues to greet Captain General don Hernando Cortés and the others whom he led. We received them gladly, we embraced them, we saluted them with many tears, though we were not acquainted with them, and our fathers and grandfathers also did not know them; but by the mercy of our Lord God we truly came to know them. Since they are our neighbors, therefore we loved them; nowhere did we attack them. Truly we fed them and served them; some arrived sick so that we carried them in our arms and on our backs, and we served them in many other ways which we are not able to say here. Although the people who are called and named Tlaxcalans indeed helped, yet we strongly pressed them to give aid, and we counseled them not to make war; but though we so admonished them they fought and made war for two weeks. But we, when a Spaniard was afflicted, at once we would manage to reach him, like no one else. We do not lie in this, for all the conquerors

know it well, those who have died and those now living.

And when they began their conquest and warmaking, then also we well prepared ourselves to aid them, for out came all of our war gear, our arms and provisions and all our equipment, and we not merely named someone, we went in person, we who rule, and we brought all our nobles and all of our vassals to aid the Spaniards. We helped not only in warfare, but also we gave them everything they needed; we fed and clothed them, and we would carry in our arms and on our backs those whom they wounded in war or who were very ill, and we did all the tasks in preparing for war. And so that they could fight the Mexica with boats, we worked hard; we gave the Spaniards the wood and pitch with which they built the boats. And when they conquered the Mexica and all their adherents, we never abandoned them or left them. And as they went to conquer Michoacan, Jalisco, and Colhuacan, and at Pánuco and Oaxaca and Tehuantepec and Guatemala, we were the only ones who went along while they conquered and made war here in New Spain until they had finished the conquest; we never abandoned them, in no way did we hold back their warmaking, though some of us were destroyed in it, nor were any of our subjects left, for we did our duty very well. But as to those Tlaxcalans, several of their nobles were hanged for making war poorly; in many places they ran away, and often fought badly. In this we do not lie, for the conquerors know it well.

Our lord sovereign, we also say and declare before you that your fathers the twelve sons of St Francis, whom the very high priestly ruler the Holy Father sent and whom you sent, both of you taking pity on us so that they would teach us the gospel, came to us to teach us the holy Catholic faith and belief, to make us acquainted with the single deity God our Lord. And then likewise God favored and enlightened us of Huejotzingo, who dwell in your city, so that we gladly received them. When they entered the city of Huejotzingo, of our own free will we honored them and showed them much esteem. When they advised us to abandon the wicked belief in many gods, we forthwith voluntarily left it. Likewise they did us the good deed of

telling us to destroy and burn the stones and wood that we worshiped as gods, and we did it; very willingly we destroyed, demolished and burned the temples. Also when they imparted to us the holy gospel, the holy Catholic faith, with very good will and desire we received and grasped it. No one frightened us into it, no one forced us, but very willingly we seized it, quietly and peacefully we arranged and ordered it among ourselves; no one, neither nobleman nor commoner, was ever tortured or burned for this, as was done on all sides here in New Spain. The people of many towns were forced and tortured, were hanged and burned because they did not want to leave idolatry, and unwillingly they received the gospel and faith. Especially those Tlaxcalans pushed out and rejected the fathers, and would not receive the faith, for many of the high nobles were burned, and some hanged, for combating the advocacy and service of our Lord God. But we of Huejotzingo, we your poor vassals, we never did anything in your harm, always we served you in every command you sent or what at your command we were ordered. Very quietly, peacefully we took and grasped it all, though only through the mercy of God did we do it, since it was not within our personal power. Therefore now, in and through God, may you hear these our words, all that we say and declare before you, so that you will take pity on us, so that you will exercise your rulership on us to console us and aid us in this trouble with which we daily weep and are sad. We are afflicted and sore pressed, and your town and city of Huejotzingo is as if it is about to disappear and be destroyed. Here is what is being done to us: now your stewards the royal officials and the prosecuting attorney Dr Maldonado are assessing us a very great tribute to belong to you. The tribute we are to give is 14,800 pesos in money, and also all the bushels of maize.

Our lord sovereign, never has such a thing happened to us in all the time since your servants and vassals the Spaniards came to us, for your servant don Hernando Cortés, late captain general, the Marqués del Valle, in all the time he lived here with us, always greatly cherished us and kept us happy; he never disturbed nor agitated us. Although we gave him tribute, he as-

signed it to us only with moderation; even though we gave him gold, it was only very little – no matter how much, or in what way, or if it was not very pure, he just received it gladly. He never reprimanded us or afflicted us, because it was evident to him and he understood well how very greatly we served and aided him. Also he told us many times that he would speak in our favor before you, that he would help us and inform you of all the ways in which we have aided and served you. And when he went before you, you confirmed him and were merciful to him, you honored and rewarded him for the way he had served you here in New Spain. But perhaps when before you he forgot us. How then shall we speak? We did not reach you, we were not given audience before you. Who then will speak for us? Unfortunate are we. Therefore now we place ourselves before you, our sovereign lord. And when you sent your representatives the President and Bishop don Sebastián Ramírez and the judges Licentiate Salmerón and Licentiates Ceinos, Quiroga, and Maldonado, they well affirmed and sustained the orders you gave for us people here, us who live in New Spain. In many things they aided us and lightened the very great tribute we had, and from many things that were our tasks they delivered us, they pardoned us all of it. And we your poor vassals, we of Huejotzingo who dwell in your city, when Licentiate Salmerón came to us and entered the city of Huejotzingo, he saw how troubled the town was with our tribute in gold, 60 pieces that we gave each year, and that it troubled us because gold does not appear here and is not to be found in our province, though we searched for it everywhere. Then at once Licentiate Salmerón pardoned it on your behalf, so that he made a replacement and substitution of the money, setting our tribute in money at 2,050 pesos. And in all the time we were thus assessed, we kept doing it, we hastened to give it to you, since we are your subjects and belong to you; we never neglected it, we never did poorly, we made it all up. But now we are taken aback and very afraid and we ask, have we done something wrong, have we somehow behaved badly and ill toward you, our sovereign lord, or have we committed some sin against almighty God? Perhaps

you have heard something of our wickedness and for that reason now this very great tribute has fallen upon us, seven times exceeding all we had paid before, the 2,000 pesos. And we declare to you that it will not be long before your city of Huejotzingo completely disappears and perishes, because our fathers, grandfathers and ancestors knew no tribute and gave tribute to no one, but were independent, and we nobles who guard your subjects are now truly very poor. Nobility is seen among us no longer; now we resemble the commoners. As they eat and dress, so do we; we have been very greatly afflicted, and our poverty has reached its culmination. Of prosperity and honor such as our fathers and grandfathers and forebears enjoyed, there is no longer the slightest trace among us.

Oh our lord sovereign king, we rely on you as on God the one deity who dwells in heaven, we trust in you as our father. Take pity on us, have compassion with us. May you especially remember those who live and subsist in the wilds, those who move us to tears and pity; truly we share just such poverty as theirs, wherefore we speak out before you, so that afterwards you will not become angry with us when your subjects have disappeared or perished. Here ends this our poor prayer.

We cannot write here for you the very many ways in which your city of Huejotzingo is poor and stricken; we are leaving that to our dear father fray Alonso de Buendía, son of St Francis, if God the one deity wills that he should arrive safely before you. He will be able to tell you much more about our anguish and poverty, since he learned and saw it well while he was prior here in the city of Huejotzingo for two years. We hope that he will tell and read this to you, for we have much confidence in him and have placed ourselves completely in his hands. This is all with which we come and appear before you; this letter was done in the city of Huejotzingo on the 30th day of the month of July, in the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ 1560.

Your poor vassals who bow down humbly to you from afar.

Don Leonardo Ramírez, governor. Don Mateo de la Corona, alcalde. Diego Alameda, alcalde. Don Felipe de Mendoza, alcalde. Hernando de Meneses. Miguel de Alvarado. Alon-

so Pimentel. Agustín Osorio. Don Francisco Vázquez. Don Diego de Chaves. Juan de Almo[a]. Diego de Niza. Agustín de Santo Tomás. Diego Suárez. Toribio de San Cristóbal Motolinia.

[1]Published in Nahuatl and English in Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart, *Beyond the Codices*. As with Letter 27, some obscure points of the translation are discussed there.

[2]Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson, trans., *Florentine Codex. Book 6: Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy* (Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1969).

PART III: OFFICIALS AND CLERICS

> Oh sacred majesty, how just and good are the royal orders you send to this province, and how officials mold them here and do what they wish!
>
> Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Guatemala, 1552

Letters from governors and prominent ecclesiastics fill the great Archive of the Indies. They were, for reasons not unrelated to the relative legibility of their script, among the first documents to interest Spanish American historians; consequently they dominate the documentary collections of the nineteenth century, and are second only to the chronicles of the conquest in familiarity.

Despite this popularity, the governors' letters, directed usually to the king and royal council, are among the least informative writings of man. They magnify small problems and hide large ones; they denigrate the actions of predecessors and represent routine procedures as important policy innovations; they give the weight of official truth to uninformed gossip, malicious stereotypes, and superficial observations. Letters from judges, treasury officials, bishops and friars share many of the same characteristics, with the addition of constant highly colored criticism of the governor and of each other, as almost institutionalized rivals.

We include some examples of this type of public official correspondence because it was a part of the cultural life of the time. If one gets a notion of the conventions of such writing and the types of motivation underlying it, one can gain from it considerable knowledge concerning the correspondents' mentality and stance, and learn at least something about general conditions. However, in these letters one learns very little indeed about officials and clerics' manner of operation, a phenomenon of an altogether different level. Affected very strongly by con-

siderations of region, family, social position, economic necessity and group rivalry, officials in real situations perforce acted differently than might seem to be dictated by royal decrees or their own public pronouncements. To give some sense of this, we also include several private letters from the holders of various types of office. When talking to relatives and friends rather than to the king, they touch a different subject matter, are much franker, and reveal profound similarities to other settlers. The institutions use the same methods as the society in which they are immersed, and they reflect it perhaps more than they shape it.

29. How a governor operates

Licenciate Cristóbal Vaca de Castro, governor of Peru, to his wife doña María de Quiñones in Valladolid, Old Castile, 1542[1]

> . . . In everything seek the aid of the president of the Royal Council, because since I have given his brother a very good encomienda of Indians here . . .
>
> So I have made this small profit from the goods I brought with me . . .

Already in other sections (Letters 9 and 12) we have seen how, through necessity and inclination, governors tended to treat their offices and jurisdictions as a private, familial domain. However upright a governor was or meant to be, if he was to be effective he must have support at home in Spain, faithful followers in the Indies, and economic sinews beyond meager salaries. Thus certain procedures were almost universal for Spanish American viceroys and governors. Owing their initial appointment and continued term in office to court figures high in the king's favor or on the Council of the Indies, they showed gratitude and curried favor by sending letters and gifts, giving plums of patronage to the courtiers' relatives, etc. Any governor setting out for America would have to go into debt to outfit himself for the trip; his prospective position, however, gave him

abundant credit, which he would generally use not only for his immediate needs, but also for investment, direct or indirect, in goods destined to be sold in his district. He took with him an entourage of relatives and compatriots that made up an embryo government, including people who could be trusted to perform tasks for him at all levels, as executives, secretaries, constables and henchmen; in the district of his authority he would find yet other compatriots, and he would use them too, trading favors for the extra loyalty assured by the regional tie. Success as governor might lead to yet higher posts in Spain, noble titles and distinctions, the founding or augmentation of a family entail, splendid marriages for the governor's children, and related advantages. Such possibilities were of course in the governor's mind from the beginning, and he steered things accordingly.

These then were the core mechanisms of government, its anatomy and system of reward, the nature of which shaped governmental action decisively. Where the governor had strong backers at court, a large regional following, and wealth and patronage at his command, he could assert himself mightily. Without them he ordinarily could not. In either case, in the absence of strong hierarchies or a truly activist state, quasi-personal characteristics were the determinant. Even the strong governor was more an adjudicator of disputes and allocator of resources than an instigator of 'policies.'

Since selective patronage was so basic, there was little flavor of immorality or corruption associated with it. Yet only rarely do we find it mentioned in public correspondence, except in a hostile way by the governors' enemies; it was after all a phenomenon of the roots rather than of the surface. In the present letter we tap the level of the confidential, as a governor gives his wife at home a frank account of his actions and use of patronage, and advises her how best to please the figures at court and solicit rewards for him.

The governor, Licentiate Vaca de Castro, has appeared before in these pages as the judge expected in Peru to investigate the Pizarrists' execution of Almagro and to divide the jurisdictions

(see Letters 9, 10 and 25). On his arrival he found Pizarro assassinated and Almagro the Younger having seized power. As he rather vaingloriously but not inaccurately asserts, he put down the rebellion and reestablished royal authority with nothing but the king's name, latent Pizarrist strength and his own initiative, and in this letter he is thinking primarily of his rewards for doing so.

Lady:

I know how troubled you will be, now that a Dominican friar named fray Francisco Martínez and an Alonso de Villalobos from Castroverde have arrived there, as I hope by our Lord God they have done in safety, and doubtless you have seen the letters they carried, written the 18th of August of this year of '42, in which I wrote you how I was going to give battle to the traitors don Diego de Almagro and his captains and men, who had usurped the realm from his majesty and killed the Marqués its governor, and you still must not know how it turned out. So I decided to send my man Francisco Becerra, bearer of this, to relieve you, lady, of the worry and let you know that I did battle with them, the most cruel and hard fought that ever was seen, the two sides being as equally divided as they were, and it pleased our Lord and his glorious mother to grant me that day, Saturday September 16, the most glorious victory ever given to any captain general in the world. Although I entered the fighting at the time of danger, for three of the forty who entered with me were killed and others wounded, I came off free, though my sword, clothing and armor were not free of the blood of the enemy. Since the messenger will give you a long account of everything, and I believe Páez is writing of all that has happened to me since I left there, I will say no more here, than beg you to give thanks for it to God our Lord and the glorious virgin our Lady, his mother.

Lady, I have done his majesty a great service in winning him back this realm from such rebels, so many and so well armed, mounted, and gunned, who had the country occupied and intimidated with such and so many desecrations against his

majesty, since they publicly killed his governor and sacked houses and killed many others and seized the country and all the royal revenues, and took over everything, so that when I entered the realm the only town I found on his majesty's side was Quito, 300 leagues from the city of Lima, where those traitors had decided to defend this realm against his majesty, and even take Panamá and Nombre de Dios from him, and they had very good means to do it, me being without a penny (because his majesty had nothing in this realm) and without men, and there were no weapons or horses, since the enemies had stolen everything. Despite all this, and more that the messenger will tell you, I managed things so well and diligently that I found money, men, arms and horses, and what else was needed to conquer and win, as I say, this realm. And since it was thought that the Marqués don Francisco Pizarro had done such a great service in winning this realm from Indians, which was winning it from lambs, that they gave him a marquisate here, and afterwards he lost it all by his own fault and I won it back after it had been lost, and from people of our nation, and such as I have described, I would like to see if we can have his majesty favor me in the things in a memorandum going inside this letter (the messenger carries another like it). For such services and good news it would be nothing to give me all this I ask; it would be more proper for his majesty to give me more than I ask, since I gave him this realm, and for similar things and of less service others have been given principalities. And in these things to be asked that are noted in the memo, do much or little according to how you see that my services here are being received there, and as the opportunities allow; and if you think it suiting to take the trouble of speaking about it to the Comendador Mayor and Secretary Sámano and the Cardinal and the Count of Osorno and the members of the Council of the Indies, then do it, because it will be to our advantage; and in everything seek the aid of the president of the Royal Council, because since I have given his brother a very good encomienda of Indians here, with a very rich silver mine, having found him starving in that poor country of Cali, he has an obligation to do

good in what concerns me. And also seek the aid of doña María de Mendoza, the Comendador Mayor's wife. Since I have taken care to serve them all, it is right that in this way they should reward and pay me; and since I, lady, have exerted myself here and am deserving, it would be well that an effort should be made there to obtain some advantage and that you should insist with them, because when cavaliers perform services like these, it is customary for them to found entails and noble houses.

And though, lady, I am sending along the memorandum of what is to be asked, you must consider, as I said, how people there are viewing my services and things here, and try out what it is possible to get, extending or cutting back according to what you see and what seems best to you and Francisco Becerra and Dr Pero López and perhaps Almaguer; they will say what we would do best to ask for, especially Almaguer. But I, who have seen things here and have served and striven and know that I gave his majesty this realm with my own hand, I know very well that it is little to ask. Dr Pero López may see this letter as far as it touches on these matters, and say what he thinks it best to do.

And when you should go to the house of one of those whom I have mentioned, go in style, on your mule, well accompanied, with a squire and an old and venerable chaplain, and servant boys and pages. It would be well to stay on speaking terms with doña María de Mendoza, and visit her and give her some things, and that way she will do as we wish; and the Countess of Rivadavia, her mother, will help us, because I have served her. All this is understood to be for when the court is in Valladolid; when it's elsewhere, it will be enough for you to write to them all.

Though only a few days ago I saw in a letter that came from Seville, that Diego de Aller and Alonso de Argüello, whom I had sent from here last year and who embarked in Nombre de Dios on the first of April with dispatches for his majesty and for you, had arrived safely in Seville (and may it please our Lord that it is true, for nothing in the world could give me greater pleasure), still I will mention here the substance of what I wrote and sent

by them, and also what I wrote by the friar and Alonso de Villalobos; until I am sure that you have received the letters and what they carried I will not stop mentioning briefly in all the letters I should write what I wrote and sent, as I say.

By Diego de Aller I wrote to his majesty and all the court, and also gave him a memorandum instructing him what he was to do; the father and Alonso de Villalobos carried the same, though fuller and with additions; and Becerra is carrying the same, with what is to be requested now. With all of them I wrote telling of things here and my health, and because, God willing, Becerra will tell you, I will not write it here. I wrote to you by Diego de Aller how I had sent 2,500 ducats from Santo Domingo to pay Juan Navarro, and as I have seen since, by your letters and his and from Francisco de Reloba, that the money arrived safely and was paid, and a little of what Francisco carried was left over, there is no more to say here than to give thanks to God for it.

Also, lady, I wrote you how Diego de Aller was instructed, and after him the friar and Villalobos if he should not have done it, to collect from some merchants in Seville what was lost on the sea in the ship of Pero de Aburto, since they insured it for me; I feel sure that if Diego de Aller arrived, as they say, it will have been done. If not, Villalobos or the father will collect it, and if not, then let Francisco go do it. The bill of insurance remained in the hands of Juan Navarro when I left from Sanlúcar. In Seville Diego de Aller was also to collect 33,000-odd maravedís owed me by a Juan de la Puebla from several hundredweight of hardtack that Carranza sold him in Sanlúcar. Lady, find out what he has done in this matter and collect anything still owing.

Lady, I also wrote you with Diego de Aller how I was sending you by him 5,550 pesos, besides what I gave him and Argüello for themselves, 800 ducats to Diego de Aller and 400 to Argüello for travel, trouble and expense. And I wrote that of the 5,550 pesos, there were to be paid to Hernando Romano 1,500 ducats that he lent me, as you know, when I left there, and also 300 that I wanted him to be given as interest. From the rest

that was left over I said that you should give doña Catalina 1 million maravedís for her marriage, and you should buy a house there. Diego de Aller took the money in bars of a kind of gold that will be worth more there, because it has silver mixed in. Some other trifles that he took beyond this are listed in a memo inside this letter, and the friar and Alonso de Villalobos took the receipts that he made out for all he took, so that they could collect it in case of necessity.

Lady, I also wrote you with Diego de Aller to watch over the studies of our boys and take good care of the things of your house, since you know that without that there is no wellbeing, and to arrange the marriage of doña Catalina, if something of the right nature should present itself, and thus I again beg you to try to attain it. I wrote you almost the same thing with father fray Francisco Martínez and Alonso de Villalobos as with Diego de Aller and therefore there is no reason to repeat it, except that with this letter there is a memo of all they took and that I sent you with them and what Becerra carried, signed with his name. Take strict account of all of them and collect everything and see to its security as I will say farther on in this letter, and also keep the memos safe. So I have made this small profit from the goods I brought with me, because since I took so much with me, thinking it would be necessary here, there was enough left to be sold by a man of mine, and the money comes from that. What you must thank me for are the things of gold alloy, the finest that have been made here; and for doña Catalina I am sending eight pairs of tweezers that are much esteemed, because the ones in Spain are worth nothing compared to these. They are also to be sent to the Countess of Miranda and whoever else you might think best, because I already know that you, lady, don't need them; with them, they say here, the Indian women remove all their body hair, however downy it might be, and the men remove their beards if any grow, because they consider it elegant to have none. Four of them are of gold, not very fine, so that they will be strong, and four of silver.

I trust to our Lord God that all I have sent and now am sending has reached or will reach you safely; may it please him

in his mercy and goodness that it be so, as you and our children there need it, since it suited him that I endure such travail and danger to earn it, with his aid.

In one matter you must take great care and exercise much diligence, and that is that you receive very secretly everything that has come there and should now arrive, so that even those at the house don't know about it, and you keep it secretly outside the house, deposited in some monastery, or where Doctor Pero López should think best; confide in him, because I do believe his grace is to be trusted, or still, if it could be, I would want no one to know about it but you and Jerónimo Vaca, if you think that he will keep quiet. You must pretend poverty, and say that I have sent you nothing but certain monies to pay Hernando Romano and Juan Navarro 4,000 pesos that I borrowed for my voyage, and with that all the rest can be hidden. But you are only to talk of this in case of necessity, if something should be suspected or discovered and it be necessary to give answers and explanations, and for no other reason. This is best because though all put together it is very little, the less the king and his favorites see, the more favors they will do me, and when you answer me about what arrived, it will be enough to say that you received my letters and all that was mentioned in the memos, and the same with the messengers.

When I came here I was empowered by the Comendador Mayor of León to collect his revenues in Peru. Now I am sending him 4,000 pesos; the money is to remain in Panamá to be sent along with his majesty's gold. I was also empowered by Secretary Sámano to collect some debts owed him here; I am sending him 1,000 pesos. It seems good that you should know this and what is being done with it. The rest that I say Becerra is taking is listed in the memorandum going with this, and when you answer about what arrived, it will be enough to say that you received the letter and all that was mentioned in the memorandum, and the same with the messengers.

The wife of a secretary of mine sent along with fray Francisco Martínez and Villalobos some little things, like a hat and a medal, for doña Catalina; she wrote to her and also to you, but

the letters were lost. Answer her as if you received them, and it will be the same.

I've not received letters from you since the one you wrote in July of 1541. Now they tell me that letters are coming from Castile; may it please God that some come from you, and with the good news I desire.

Lady, I am still in good health, though sated with the hardships that this land and war have given me. For eight months I never had my armor off my back, sleeping in it most of the time, because it was necessary in order not to give opportunity to some wretches among my followers, as well as to guard me against the enemies, especially for two weeks before the battle. Even now I can't live carelessly; but all of it is nothing, compared to the pain of your absence. All this of my health and the good success that God has given me and gives me in matters here, I attribute to your prayers and doña Catalina's and the nuns'. God keep it thus, and let us see each other again in health, as we desire. Amen.

If you should think proper to give some of the gold alloy things to doña María de Mendoza, do it, for I'll send plenty, or to the wife of a Councilor of the Indies or to someone else when you see it is necessary and advantageous; do there as you see fit, since it is good to please people.

After this was written I decided to send Carranza along with Francisco Becerra, pardoning the past annoyances, for the greater security of what I am sending, so that if one should fall ill the other would arrive, with the aid of God, and also for the security of the dispatches Becerra is carrying, and so what they take is the responsibility of both; also with this arrangement you will be able to hear of the things here in a more familiar way. And lady, treat Becerra with respect, since he is to manage negotiations at court and all the important matters, though Carranza can help too where needed. I ordered 8 ducats to be given to the nuns; have it done, and if after the other letters you still have not given 50 ducats to Juan de Reloba's father, send it now, since it is owed him for things of his that were sold here after he died.

I am writing to Mr Antonio de Fonseca that if he knows of some good cavalier with a good entail who should be available for marriage, he should write of it to you, so that, if you should think best, proposals could be made.

I will not write what I wrote in another letter, that a cavalier of Sahagún called Per Ansúrez had asked me to write you to do him the favor of having his wife, who is in Sahagún, come to your house to be in your company, and so I wrote to you about it, because besides being from our part of the country and the relative of relatives, he is now captain of my guard and my great servant and a person who loves me faithfully, of whom there are few or none here. If it is not done by the time he arrives, it will not be necessary, but if he should want it to be done, or anything else that suits him, do it. He will have charge of all my affairs; he knows them well and will know how to negotiate them well, and has favor there to do it. Confide everything to him and Becerra; he has been told about keeping everything secret as I wrote above, including what he is taking to give you, which is also listed in another memo with this letter, signed by his name. In matters of security do as he thinks best, for he will act skilfully in this.

I also charged him, if some good purchase should present itself there, to negotiate for it, in his own name. It will be done as seems best to you; he carries a memorandum of things that it seemed to me might be bought now. I say in his name and as if for him, because not so much as a straw should be bought for me and in my name; rather it should be understood that you and I don't have a penny.

I had here a servant, from Villabrajima near Medina de Rioseco, who was in charge of the house and served me well and faithfully; he died, to my great sorrow, leaving a daughter, still a girl, in Villabrajima. I am writing a letter, which goes with this one, to his relatives to take her to our house to serve you, and later I would arrange her marriage, because he entrusted me with it in his will and had served me well. Lady, I beg you to send the letter to the relatives, and if they send her, take charge of her.

If perchance his majesty and those masters and friends of mine there should ordain that I be here longer, which after all, lady, you see would not be bad for us, in order to be able to buy property for a good entail so that memory would remain of our parents and of us, and if you want to send here Pedro de Quiñones or Antonio, do as seems best to you, for if they come with Captain Per Ansúrez, I know that they will be well treated; and if not, do as you think best, because I don't want you to blame me if some other opportunity should present itself.

Nothing else comes to mind to write, except to beg our Lord to guard you and all our sons and daughters, to free us all from evil and let us see each other again in health, as we desire. Cuzco, 28th of November, 1542.

Licentiate Vaca de Castro

Memorandum of what Diego de Aller took to give to doña María de Quiñones, my wife, in Valladolid.

He received and is responsible for 5,550 pesos of 450 maravedís each, in bars of gold of that quality; part of it was worth more because the gold was with silver and assayed by carats.

He also took four emeralds, one in the form of a button set in gold, weighing, with the gold, 2½ pesos, 9 grains.

Another, set in a ring with the gold broken in the middle, in the thin part opposite the setting, all weighing 1½ pesos.

Two other small emeralds of equal size with two golden signs in the middle of the emeralds.

Also two vases, one of silver and gold, weighing 52 pesos, and the other of silver with colored stones on top, weighing 72 pesos.

A two-handled cup of gold without a lid, of fine gold, made by Indians, weighing 73 pesos.

A thread of gold alloy, weighing 18 pesos.

Another thread of gold alloy, dark purple, weighing 5 pesos.

Another small thread of alloy, with turquoise.

A saltshaker, divided into two halves, of fine gold, weighing 15 pesos.

A small chain of fine gold, with a small golden ring having an emerald and a turquoise stone set in it together, weighing 14 pesos.

Diego de Aller took 200 pesos to deliver to Enao, who works for the Comendador Mayor, given him by the royal treasurer of Quito, named Rodrigo Núñez.

He also took another 93 pesos for Enao that a Diego de Torres, citizen of Quito, was sending him.

He also took 80 pesos that the city of Quito was sending to be given to a lawyer at court to aid them in their affairs; he was to give it to Licentiate Hernando Díaz, attorney at court, or if he should be absent or dead, to a Dr Avalos, son-in-law of Licentiate Villa, attorney for accountants at court.

For the above-mentioned things that he took, Diego de Aller left receipts in my possession, signed with his name, which receipts father fray Francisco Martínez and Villalobos took with them; and Becerra and Carranza took another copy.

[1] Published in Spanish in Porras, *Cartas del Perú*, pp. 510-16.

30. Alarm and drastic remedies: A viceroy's view of New Spain

Don Luis de Velasco, viceroy of New Spain, to the emperor, 1553[1]

> . . . There are some measures I will mention here that are necessary and almost forced upon us if this land is not to be lost . . .

If the previous letter was unusually private talk from a governor, in this one we have pronouncedly public correspondence. The general tone of official letters from governors to the crown is simply described: hysteria. Eternal emergency reigns. In don Luis de Velasco's picture, Spaniards may not be able to maintain a presence in Mexico; all elements of the population are on the verge of rebellion; the mines will soon be abandoned for lack of labor; the food supply situation is likened to a state of siege. Can this be the most peaceful and populous Spanish

American colony at the time when discoveries of great silver mines are revolutionizing its economy, a land so plentiful in food and supplies that never an immigrant fails to comment on it? Don Luis is merely using the rhetoric of the genre, which had become so high pitched that only screams were worthy of attention. Both writers and recipients of such letters were perfectly capable of translating the shrieks into exclamation marks, and today's readers must also learn the art. The best way would be to read ten examples of governors' letters from ten different times and places, observing how little the tone, vocabulary and content vary. For that we lack space, but it would be easy to find numerous letters in the best-known documentary collections which are close to this one in substance.

Other standard items here are the crude social stereotypes. Everyone is always idle, Spaniards as well as Indians, and the worst are always the blacks, mulattoes and mestizos. The solution proposed is always the same, mass deportation. (Needless to say, this was never carried out anywhere, nor immigration restricted meaningfully, though it is true that in the very early days expeditions into unpromising areas served as a safety valve with considerable effect.) The viceroy always feels that the Audiencia is insolent, that is, he would rather see it fully subordinated to him than have it act as a countervailing force, as it was meant to. Complaints about salaries, though in fact in a certain sense highly justified, are also endemic in this literature, as are pro forma requests for quick retirement, uttered mainly to reinforce the point.

Governor-correspondents thus generally took the position that impending disaster could be averted only by giving them a free hand (this was the real message, and vast quixotic measures such as deportations, reorganizations of cities, huge fortifications, etc., were usually window dressing). In one matter they changed their tune. When it came to revenue remittances, so important to the crown and to gubernatorial reputations, the governors became optimists. They reported in detail what they were sending and promised much more soon, very much like the merchant-factors of the commercial world when writing to their

seniors in Seville. The closer one comes to matters of routine administration and staffing, the more realistic and knowledgeable one finds the governors. Velasco's proposal of adding criminal judges to the Audiencia is well made. In the matter of collecting the deficit of the deceased royal factor, he is sober reason itself, against the doctrinaire and unrealistic position of the officials in Spain.

The 'distribution' that Velasco refers to as being suggested by the conquerors was their petition for perpetual hereditary rights to their encomiendas, a last-ditch, less than successful effort to maintain the early total encomendero dominance.

Sacred Catholic Caesarean Majesty:

In every ship that has left New Spain I have written to your majesty, giving a long and detailed account of the state of things in the country and what has been done since my arrival, in fulfilment of your majesty's order and instruction, and I have had no reply from your majesty, nor even evidence that my letters have been summarized for you. It is two years and a half since I wrote the first of them; I suspect that the great concerns and wars that have presented themselves have been the reason why your majesty has not had answers sent. May it please God our Lord that it all have as favorable an outcome as we servants of your majesty desire.

Carrying out the new laws and provisions that were given me and that have been sent since has put the land in great trouble and necessity, which every day grows greater because their execution came all at once. Among the Spaniards there is great discontent and much poverty, and among the Indians more laxity and ease than their little constancy will suffer. I am afraid that troubles very hard to remedy are going to come from one side or the other, because the country is so full of blacks and mestizos, who greatly outnumber the Spaniards, and all of whom wish to purchase their liberty with the lives of their masters; this bad breed will join anyone who rebels, whether Spaniards or Indians. In order to preserve this land in the service of our Lord and obedience to your majesty, there are some

measures I will mention here that are necessary and almost forced upon us if this land is not to be lost. May your majesty order these things to be considered and make what provision you see fit; in advising you what I feel and serving faithfully to death I will do my duty. What I would regret more than death would be that the land should be lost while it was my responsibility.

The principal thing your majesty should order to be proclaimed is the distribution that has been suggested by the conquerors and settlers, provided only that the grants your majesty should make them would not give any of them jurisdiction, and provided the tributes were very moderate, of which the encomenderos would give a sixth or a seventh for the support of the churches and monasteries. The friars and priests would be in charge of the administration of the sacraments and the religious instruction of the natives, giving the principal responsibility for this to the prelates and taking it away from the encomenderos. In this way you will discharge your royal conscience, do right by those who have served you, and keep the Spaniards in the country and make it secure. Those who inform your majesty that the land can be held by friars alone, without being defended by Spaniards who have the means with which to serve and something to lose if they don't do their duty, in my view deceive themselves and do not know the natives well, because they are not so firm in our holy faith, nor have they so forgotten the evil beliefs they had in the time of their infidelity, that such great matters should be trusted to their virtue.

Next, your majesty should order that part of the Spanish people, mestizos, and blacks be culled out and sent on some conquest, since there are too many in the land; and if this is not to be done, then order the door shut to Spaniards of any kind, so they will not enter New Spain, and deport the mestizos who could be sent in the ships that go back to Spain, because they are very harmful for the Indians; those who remained would take heed, seeing that some of them were being ejected from the country. Your majesty should order that not so many licenses be given to import blacks, because here in New Spain

there are more than twenty thousand, and they are increasing greatly; there could come to be so many of them that they would put the land in disorder.

Next, your majesty should grant the habit of the Order of Santiago to some cavaliers and gentlemen who have property here in New Spain, those few of them who have merits, because it would be obliging them anew to be faithful vassals, live a virtuous Christian life, and remain firm in your majesty's service; because if the important people remain firm, it will go far toward keeping those who are lower from becoming restless.

Next, let your majesty order that, in addition to the eight Spanish towns that have been settled, four or five more be founded in suitable places, since there are such places where they can be given suitable lands for their sustenance; but this cannot be done unless the Indians help with the buildings and some bits of land are taken from them; there is enough and more than enough for all if they would adapt to each other.

Let your majesty order that all those who have encomiendas live and reside in the bishopric where their Indians are, and have their households in the main cities and towns where the principal churches are established and the prelates reside, so that there can be some proper accounting for them; the way they now live is confused. Mexico City and its surroundings are so loaded with people that food is scarce. The provinces of Michoacan, Colima and Zacatula are very difficult to supply; and the Villa de la Purificación and Pánuco, which are Spanish towns, are being depopulated because part of the land is hot and there are few Indians, and the Spaniards have been forbidden to use even their services, and the tributes have been lowered. I see no other way to keep these Spanish places from being completely emptied of people than that your majesty order that encomenderos live and reside, as I said, in the provinces where they have encomiendas, in the chief towns of the bishoprics, and not in the places of their encomiendas, among the Indians.

In matters of good government and the administration of justice, if the small experience I have does not mislead me, it is

very important that there be three or four criminal judges in the Royal Audiencia here, trained men of the law and persons of confidence, with the same income as the civil judges, and with the powers that the judges in Valladolid and Granada have, among Spaniards as well as among Indians, and between Indians and Spaniards. This would have a great effect, because justice would be done with speed and rigor, which is most necessary to bring calm to the country; the civil judges have so many duties that they cannot attend to criminal cases promptly, and thus crimes are forgotten, or the prisoners die in jail before the judgment reaches them, as sometimes happens.

Next, the civil judges who are appointed should understand from the beginning that they will not hold office for more than five or six years, so that they will not take root in the land nor carry on secret commerce, which is more harmful to the commonwealth than public trading; not that I know that those presently serving have such dealings, but they can have them without it being known, because they do business through intermediaries.

Next, whoever governs here should have fuller powers than your majesty has given to me, because every time I give orders in matters of general administration, they appeal to the Audiencia, and most times the order never takes effect, which is very harmful and gives rise to effrontery from which serious trouble could result. The greatest service I have done your majesty in this office has been to put up with some of these Audiencia judges, who have certainly exceeded the bounds in some things, claiming that they are superior, and if I had not used great moderation and patience, there could not have failed to be great division and confusion in the land. I beg your majesty to remedy this by quickly ordering a review of the Audiencia, so it will be understood how we live and serve, and let more serious persons, of greater experience and conscience, be appointed to the court than some of the ones appointed in the past.

Your majesty would do me a great favor in giving me license, after I am reviewed, to return to die in Spain, where, in order to come and serve as your majesty ordered me, I left wife and

children in much necessity, because I have no enterprises or revenues in this land; truly the salary lacks 3,000 ducats and more of covering what I am forced to spend each year, and so the little property I have is mortgaged and I am in debt; I hope not to have to pay it off posthumously. I beg your majesty to deign grant me a sufficient salary or the license that I ask, before I reach utter ruin, since your majesty always does favors to those who have served and now serve you, and I think I am one of the deserving ones, for the fidelity and care with which I have served for more than thirty years. I find myself old and poor and two thousand leagues from my home and relatives and friends, where I cannot assert myself except through favors your majesty should do me; and since I ask it in order better to serve, it does not seem insolent to ask. Your majesty granted me, when you ordered me to leave the office in Navarre, 200,000 maravedís for life, until such time as something else equivalent should be done for me; I have the habit of Santiago and have professed in the order, and if your majesty were so pleased, you could favor me there.

In the ships of the present fleet I am sending 100,000 pesos from the royal treasury, distributed among ships as your majesty has ordered; they will also carry the equivalent of 1,300,000 ducats belonging to individuals; another fleet will depart in September or October of this year, and another good shipment will be sent.

The mines and all the properties of value here in New Spain are diminishing greatly on account of the abolition of personal services and Indian porters, because without that it is impossible to work mines or supply them with provisions. What horses and other beasts of burden can transport is little, and let no one depend on the Spaniards and blacks and mestizos to make up for the Indians, because they can neither dig ore nor smelt. Let no one make your majesty believe that the mines can be worked without Indians; rather the moment they raise their hands from labor the mines will be finished, unless the Spaniards work them personally, and I doubt that they would do that though they die of hunger. And even if they wanted to do it, they are few

compared to the many people occupied, some in digging the ore underneath the ground, others in washing and separating, others in grinding ore and smelting, others in making charcoal, which are all different trades. May your majesty order consideration of what can be decreed so that the mines will not be abandoned totally, because when the freeing of Indian slaves is finished, which will be soon, there will be great losses in the royal treasury and in individual fortunes, since there is no mine so rich that it can stand being worked by people on daily wages without having twice as much cost as profit.

If the tithes and the fifths continue in future years at the same value as in the past, your majesty will profit in the agreement you ordered made with doña María de Mendoza and with her son the Comendador Mayor in the office of smelter and marker of precious metals, since you gave them 3 million maravedís each year from the House of Trade in Seville, instead of 15,000–20,000 ducats yearly, and however great the diminution might be, there will be no loss.

The late royal factor Hernando de Salazar was found to owe 200,000 ducats or a little less, as I wrote your majesty; seeing that the property he left was not enough to pay 10,000, I thought best to take bondsmen for the deficit, though at long term, which was seven years, of which three have already elapsed. The regent wrote me that your majesty was being consulted as to the collection of the deficit and the acceptance of the bond, that I would be informed of your royal will, and that meanwhile I should collect the deficit. So I would, if there were any estate or any persons against whom to have recourse; but since there are not, I made the agreement and accepted the bond and understood that I had done your majesty a good service in insuring such a good sum of money when it had been lost. It would not be well to touch the small estate that the factor left, which is a house and some other property of little value, because, as it was a condition of the bond that it would be valid only if your majesty should accept it, if the estate of the factor were seized, the bondsmen would be freed of responsibility, and they would give 20,000 ducats to see that

done, so that they could be out of it. May your majesty order that the bonds and the agreement be approved, because otherwise there is no way to collect 10,000 ducats. This is what appears to me to be in your royal service, and I will make no change until I receive further orders.

The regent in conjunction with the Council of the Indies has sent to order me to carry out everything decreed and ordered in the many laws and other new provisions, which is being done, with great resentment among the Spaniards, since it touches all of them in general. Among other things, the Council has declared that it is personal service to have Indians carry tributes belonging to the royal treasury to this city; since the greater part of this tribute is provisions, and carrying them has been forbidden, there is great need in this city, and we can find no means to remedy it. If the Indians do not supply it, no industry or effort of mine nor of the Spaniards will suffice to supply the city even with bread, water, firewood, and fodder for horses, which are our strength in this land. Counting the number of people who generally reside in the city, I find that between Spaniards and Indians, mestizos, blacks and strangers who come on business, there are usually two hundred thousand mouths to feed. Consider how they are to be maintained, when there are not a thousand farmers among them, and the city is surrounded by a lake, if provisions are not brought from outside. Carts and beasts of burden are not enough to do it; it is much that they provide firewood and charcoal, since the Indians were relieved from having to carry that because they considered it a great hardship. As to other provisions, wheat and maize, if it is not done with Indians, this city and the other Spanish cities here cannot be supplied, and let it be understood that at present, as the personal services continue to be removed, there is necessity as great as what people usually suffer in a siege. I do my best to see to the supply, but even so, if the law is to be kept, the Spanish commonwealth will be gravely risked. Let your majesty consider whether it is best to maintain Spaniards here; if so, there is no choice but to give them a land in which they can live and maintain themselves. If this is not to be conceded them, let

your majesty order that they go back to Spain if they can, and not return again. Until I have a reply from your majesty I will temporize with the members of both commonwealths as best I can; I beg your majesty to send me orders promptly as to your pleasure.

May our Lord guard the imperial person of your majesty and increase your realms and principalities. From Mexico City, 4th of May, 1553.

Your Sacred Catholic Caesarean Majesty's faithful servant who kisses your majesty's imperial feet,

Don Luis de Velasco

[1] Published in Spanish in *Cartas de Indias*, pp. 263-9.

31. The concerns of a judge

Licenciate Diego Delgadillo, judge of the Royal Audiencia of New Spain, in Mexico City, to Juan de la Torre, merchant, in Seville, 1529[1]

. . . I know you will be glad I do things for my relatives and friends . . .

The First Audiencia of New Spain, headed by Nuño de Guzmán as President, was dismissed in disgrace not long after its creation for various impolitic actions, but above all for dispensing patronage with too little regard for the rights of the conquerors. Ever since, the First Audiencia has had a consistently bad press with historians. The present personal letter from one of its members indeed demonstrates blatant awarding of office to relatives for profit, as well as the judge's large-scale economic ventures on his own behalf. But in truth, Audiencia members in later times acted quite similarly, though more under wraps and with greater limitations on them, as competing interests grew more numerous and more watchful. When viceroys came to rule in Mexico and Peru, Audiencias there lost some of their patronage (in areas such as Guatemala and Quito, however, the Audiencia under its president was still the governing body and retained full appointive power). Judges of later years tended to limit their visible participation in the economy to real estate

and indirect investment; their favorite means of public penetration into society was the marriage of their children into locally prominent families. Even in the later period high court judges may have continued active business enterprise privately, as don Luis de Velasco (Letter 30) suspected.

Licenciate Delgadillo goes into some detail here about the entourage which judges as well as governors brought with them to the Indies. In doing so he illustrates the toll that disease sometimes took of new arrivals from Spain. And though he singlemindedly takes his judgeship as a business operation, throughout the letter he evinces a liveliness of mind as well as, in the second part, a tangible homesickness for Seville, his friends there, and even his mule, to whom he sends greetings. Delgadillo was no monster, but a complex human being whose ambitions and activities were like those of other government officials of his time. If his outspokenness seems a little unusual, his thoroughness in pursuing his ends was less so, and his manner of using the family tie not at all.

Sir:

From Santo Domingo I wrote to you at length what had happened on my journey until that time, and quite a few adventures there were. If I were to try to tell the details of everything up to today, I believe it would be impossible, because so many misfortunes have come upon me and my little following, that it is a piteous thing. But since God has been so good as to grant health to me and my brother at present, I give Him infinite thanks for everything, and especially for this outstanding favor. You must believe that God greatly blesses those to whom he gives health in this land, because many die the moment they take a fever, as has happened to many who came in this last fleet, and it is the greatest pity in the world to think about.

From Santo Domingo to this country we had the best weather in the world, better than we had had until then, but I never got up from my bed until I saw land. When we reached the port, on the morning of the 6th of November, we put my brother Berrio and Alcalde Lope de Samaniego ashore, and they went

on foot for five leagues, as far as the city of Veracruz, where people were astonished to see them appear on a hill overlooking a river next to the city. When they realized they were people from Castile, whom they were not at all expecting to see then, there was great pleasure and rejoicing, and all the city came out. That night they returned to the ships to sleep, then the next day we disembarked and came into the city, to the great pleasure of his majesty's servants and to the sorrow of others who would not wish to see his name nor officers of justice in the land. We were there twenty days having our gear unloaded and awaiting a reply from our President Nuño de Guzmán, as his majesty had ordered us.

After four days we decided to go hunting for deer, which are plentiful in that area and are caught with greyhounds, like hares back in Spain. There are days when they catch four to six of them with two hounds, not that the deer are small, because they are larger than those back there, nor that they run less, but because there are ten or twenty leagues of plain as flat as a floorboard, and in some places forty to eighty leagues, with grass as high as your knee or higher. And, as I say, while I was going on this hunt half a league from the city, a deer sprang out and, eager as I have always been known to be to distinguish myself and my hounds, and because it appeared near at hand, I ran after the deer until it was tiring, when to avoid trampling the hound my dappled horse fell; I caught a leg underneath and almost broke it. To this day I have a bruised thigh, and I broke a bone in my left arm; I was like dead and thought I was already in the other world, much worse than that time with my wife, God rest her. And so they brought me back and took all the measures that could have been taken in Seville, for there was good provision for everything. They purged me, and I was very ill, but it pleased our Lord God and his blessed mother to give me health. Then when I got better, my companions in office decided that we should come here to Mexico City to join the President at an appointed place. The day that we left we went five leagues, and that night all three of my companions fell ill; Licentiate Matienzo and Maldonado could go no farther except

in litters on the shoulders of Indians. And so we set forth and continued on our way, but they were so ill that we decided to leave them along the way, and Licentiate Parada and I went ahead so that the President would not be waiting for us. When we reached the place where we were to wait, we were there for several days awaiting the President, who was in Texcoco, eight leagues from this city; then the day after my companions arrived, half dead, we decided that we would all four set out for this city. That night Licentiate Parada, who had been very well and strong, fell ill. And so the next day we entered Mexico City to a great reception they prepared for us, and triumphal arches saying *Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini*, but all three of my companions were in litters on the point of death, and even I, the only one on horseback, had my arm in a sling, a picture of grief. Within a week Licentiate Maldonado and Licentiate Parada died, without being heard or seen, and Matienzo and I were left with the work of all, which is surely insupportable.

Besides these misfortunes, my brother Berrio fell ill half way here, and I thought he would die on me, he was so weak, and I no longer expected anything of him. I sent him to Mexico City buried in a litter, as if I had given him up for lost, with Luis de Berrio, my cousin, who came out forty leagues from the city to meet me, and in another litter I sent Velasquito, who died as soon as he reached Mexico City. And in another litter I sent Francisquito, who is emaciated and unhealthy to this day. And in another litter I sent Baltasar de Gallegos, brother of Licentiate Gallegos, who was dying on me along the way; I had found him in Veracruz and brought him with me. My greetings to his brother the licentiate, and tell him Baltasar de Gallegos is well now and has gone, as I strongly urged him to do, to Yucatán with Francisco de Montejo, who is governor there. I brought Santisteban along in a hammock, since he had fallen ill on me in Veracruz, and on arrival here he died. Lope and Rojas got sick on me too, and after I had treated them and spent more than you can believe, they abandoned me. The only ones I have left are my Francisco and Juan the Red, who is the best and most loyal servant I have ever seen, though he too cost me plenty of

money to bring here, for passage and for illnesses. Each bloodletting cost me a gold peso, and a purge ten, and so on.

But all this, and the 280-odd thousand maravedís I paid for freight and loans, is no more to me than a penny, as long as I have my health, because with health you can achieve everything, and all the more so in this country. I have bought one of two slaves that Francisco de Alcázar sent here, at a cost of 165 gold pesos; I could have brought two slaves from back there if I had known they were worth such a price here. And I could have brought my mule along and not had to buy another that I paid 150 pesos for, which is a man's fortune back in Spain. But to remedy all this I have sent four hundred slaves to mine gold, and pleasing God I believe there will be a very good return, and it will lead somewhere, because you know I want it all to arrange marriages for my daughter and your sister. And you may believe that since I have exposed myself so to fortune and strange lands, I will eat mud or do whatever I have to to attain my purpose. I also want you to know that this is the best land warmed by the sun. There is nothing wrong with it but being so far from the Guadalquivir and San Martín and San Andrés, though there is no lack of saints here either, even if they are not to be honored, nor do I intend to observe their feast days nor to fast in their vigils.

Since I know you will be glad to see that I have become a farmer, I will tell you that I have bought sixty cows expected to calve, which is a great property for a man here, and the cows cost 105 pesos a head; from that you can see whether I am a man of deeds or not. I think that God will aid me so that I will profit soon. Pray to God for it, because it will all be for your service.

My brother Berrio has been given the office of alcalde mayor and captain of the town and province of Oaxaca, which is a very good thing and very profitable and honorific, and I believe that with his diligence and the aid of God we will profit greatly there. He kisses your hands a thousand times and will write you. You can read his letter, and listen to Alonso de Herrera, who will give you a very long account of this and of anything else

you should want to know about me. Don Juan Enríquez, brother of don Alonso Enríquez, has been given the office of captain and alcalde mayor of the town of Villarreal and the province of Chiapas, which is a kingdom in itself. Tell milord don Alonso about it, if he is there, and tell him that being as I am Sevillian and his servant and friend, I have done and will do all I can in his service and that of milord don Juan, to favor the increase of his life and honor. They have made my cousin Luis de Berrio captain and alcalde in the province of the Zapotecas, which is a very good thing. As I say, every one of these is a kingdom, and in this one and in my brother's there are great mines of gold and silver. Alderman Barrios is to inspect the province of Oaxaca where Berrio is going, which is a commission of great responsibility and profit. He is to be treated the same as my brother Berrio, because he deserves everything, and I consider him in the same light as a brother. I kiss the hands of his grace Licentiate Infante, and tell him that all three of his brothers who are here are well, and I will do what I can for them, as for my brother Berrio.

I have given you such a long account of these things because I promised you to and I know you will be glad that I do things for my relatives and friends, and also because I am like lovers who don't want to stop writing, and because I know my letters will not give you displeasure. And so that you will think the more of it, I want you to know that every double sheet of paper costs a real. You already know that Almerío borrowed some money from Luis Hernández de Alfaro, with me as his guarantor, and on the sea he was so generous and helpful that my own brother wouldn't have done as much, so we were too careless of him in Santo Domingo. I did for him all I would for a brother; he was cleared of the death of his wife, and he was left much in my debt. And then God ordained that an illness came on him which immediately took away his speech, and the next day he died without confession, the most pitiful death that ever was seen. I took his goods for what he owed for freight and the loans of which I was the guarantor, and I had them auctioned off, which paid the debts, and I believe there will be

some money left over. But since this is written before the verification of the accounts, I will not affirm that anything will be left. He had in his chests here a skirt of black damask, and another of black woolen, and a mantle of serge with silk, which I believe belonged to the lady Mencía de Aguilar. Find out from her, and give her this letter I am writing. And if these skirts are hers, bring proof of it before a deputy there, or before the judges of the House of Trade, and send a power of attorney here to my brother Berrio, or to Alderman Cristóbal de Barrios or Andrés de Barrios his brother, so that it can be collected from me and sent back, which I will do very gladly. I am writing to her to do the same. See to it there that it is done. Or the power could be made out to Rodrigo de Zamora, merchant and citizen of this city; when you see him express my regards and ask him to tell me if there is any way I can serve him, since he knows that I will do it with all good will.

I kiss the hands of his grace the precentor of the cathedral. I am writing him a letter, not as long as I would wish, because I lack the time, and also in order not to fatigue his grace. Always show him my letters, because he will write to Granada to my mother, since they always write back and forth, and inform him of all you know that is done here, because I consider him my patron, and he takes the place of a father for me. Nor am I writing at length to Prebendary Alonso Alvarez; show him this letter. Let all that he should order be done, and tell him I would like to be part of his household, if I could, and that he can find out from Alonso de Herrera about all the things of here. I kiss milady Isabel Ramírez' hands a thousand times and am writing her a letter now. Give it to her, and ask her to read it and answer me. I will also send her something from here, if I can, so that when she sees it she will remember me; if I can send anything, Alonso de Herrera will take it. And tell her that if she stays in my lodging I relinquish it to her, because it comes to her by inheritance and belongs to her by many just titles.

In the letter I wrote to you from Santo Domingo I asked you to send me some books of Erasmus. Send them to me in the first ship for here, and I will pay for everything. I don't want to

send greetings to milady Juana Benítez, because I know she won't receive them. And in order not to fall into shame I leave it aside, to give you news of her husband and spouse, who is well and quite a gentleman and rich; things have gone well for him since we came to this country. I wish him wealth because it will all be for her service. I believe he is writing with these ships.

Give Beatriz Hernández my greetings, even though she should not wish to receive them, and also milady Constanza Hernández, and Espinosa; I know they will be glad to have them, and to such people give as many greetings as they want to hear, and put it down to my account. Give my greetings to Canon Ojeda and kiss his hands; I gave his letter to Juan Ramos, who is very well. At present he doesn't want to go home, because of the signs that he is in the best country there is in the world. He's not in this city, but in the city of Veracruz, the port where blood-letting is so profitable, since they charge a peso for each time, and the people who come there fall over like birds in the daytime. I do beg you to tell me if there is any way I can serve you here; you well know I will do it most willingly.

To our friend the wife of Damián, who lives in the little square of Luis de Saavedra, you must give my greetings, and tell her her husband is very well and a gentleman, and is suing Pedro de Alvarado for 4,000 pesos he owes him. And I believe his suit is just.

I have such desire to see you that I don't want to stop writing, and I go searching around the suburbs toward the lake and running over old memoranda to have something to say, and you must pay me in the same coin.

I kiss the hands of milady doña Violante and Hernando de Baeza and milady Juana de Trejo. I also say hello to my mule, if she is there, and I will never lose my sorrow for not having brought her with me. When we arrived I bought one of the ones that came with us, and it cost me 160 pesos, though mine is worth sixty times more. God knows how glad I would be if she were here; send her to me though it should cost 100 ducats, and if there are few mules being sent maybe the freight will cost less.

Milady María de los Angeles is very well and very beautiful and rich, for women who come here have all that, and property, and much else besides. She sends you a thousand greetings, being here as I write this paragraph. She wants to marry, and will marry very well. So if you are to send any merchandise, let it be women, which is the best business now in this country, and don't worry about her.

Assure the merchants at the cathedral steps that all the women are still alive, except doña Francisca, Alvarado's wife, who died, they say of thirst, because since Alvarado didn't stop over at La Gomera, they ran out of water, and she drank orange-flower water; they say it affected her liver, and she died on reaching the city of Veracruz here in New Spain.

I won't prolong this, because I am tired of writing so much. In the ship of Juan Alvarez, your friend, which is ready to leave after this present one, I will write again, and send something, if there is anything to send. For the rest, my brother Berrio is writing you at length, and I refer you to his letter, because he speaks of matters outside my profession and which I do not understand, so I don't want to meddle in them. I will take anything that is done for him as a favor to me, and anything that I can do to benefit you here I will gladly do.

May our Lord make you as great a lord as you might wish. From this great City of Mexico of New Spain, today, Palm Sunday, the 21st of March, 1529.

At your service,

Licentiate Delgadillo

[1]Published in Spanish, with comment, in Otte, 'La Nueva España en 1529,' pp. 95-111.

32. The bishop and the governor

Fray Francisco de Toral, bishop of Yucatán, to the king, 1567[1]

> . . . Your majesty saw fit to place me here in this land as investigator and look-out (for that is the function of the bishop) . . .

The obligatory rivals of colonial Spanish America were the governor and the bishop (or viceroy and archbishop, or in a lesser Spanish city the corregidor and whoever the locality's senior ecclesiastic might be). As fray Francisco de Toral intimates, the crown, which appointed the bishops, expected them to observe and report on the activities of government officials. Often a newly arriving prelate carried the mission of formally reviewing the governor's management of affairs; bishops and archbishops also served as interim governors and viceroys on occasion. All this, aside from long having been the practice, was based on the fact that bishops were highly placed members of a hierarchy as much within the crown's appointive domain as was the secular government, but quite separate from it. Spanish settlers perceived the situation in the same way. Whenever there was a conflict among them, if one party got the governor's ear, the other would run to the bishop. Disaffected government officials sought alliance with the bishop; dissident ecclesiastical groups (here the Franciscans) with the governor. The constant jockeying between ecclesiastical and secular courts over jurisdictional matters often led to governor–bishop confrontations. Everything tended to play the two off against each other as institutional opposite poles, from which beginning they not infrequently became cordial enemies as well. Inexperienced practitioners of Spanish American history often ascribe conflict of this kind to the irascibility of the individuals, but it was so standard that governors thought nothing of being excommunicated and excoriated from the pulpit.

For all these reasons, criticism of governors takes up much space in the correspondence of bishops with the crown. The

present letter is an unusually pure example, launching after the briefest courtesy formulas into a detailed enumeration of the governor's faults. Though this particular battle seems a bit more entrenched than usual, the complaints registered are among the commonplaces of the literature.

Sacred Catholic Majesty:

I have no attorney or solicitor in your majesty's royal court, because I know your majesty's most Christian disposition, and also because I have nothing to solicit or ask for myself; and thus I say in this letter what I have written in many others, that your majesty's royal conscience is very burdened and aggrieved by don Luis de Céspedes, the governor, so much so that I cannot exaggerate, nor express enough in persuading your majesty to have pity on yourself and us, and take from this land a man so beyond all reason.

And in summary, I say that he has this whole land at the point of death by spreading discord among your majesty's vassals, telling different ones things that have not happened; his intention in this is that they should not be united in love and charity, so that they will not overthrow him. Particularly he has shown this by working to have the cathedral chapter against me, as it has been since he came, and the reason is what I have said. And he has done the same thing with the friars, telling them I want to destroy them, though I work to serve them as much as I possibly can, and he does it all to gain advantage with all of them, to have them on his side, knowing that I will be writing to your majesty the truth, and to obscure and remove my credibility in your majesty's eyes, and so that he will be believed, since they are all united, sending reports and gossip. Since the whole field is his, he does and informs as he pleases.

He has found ways, because I denounced the things the friars did against the natives, to make them bear me great hate for it, and because I wrote to your majesty the facts of the case, and also the case of the Spaniards, whom I asked for tithes to support the ministers of the church. For as I indicated to your majesty, they are dying of hunger, and the divine office is not

held in the mother church, because there is no one to say it. And though I brought your majesty's order of execution and presented it, the governor would not obey it, but convinced the citizens to appeal; and even though that was against all justice and law and in disrespect of your majesty, he got away with it. Since the Spaniards receive these and other similar favors from him, they endorse him, and say and write what he wishes, and the friars do the same, and they even make the natives write things they do not understand. They give them letters already written and make them sign them, and the poor people don't understand them, as natives who have signed without understanding have come to tell me, and I believe the chiefs will be writing to your majesty about it.

The bad personal example that don Luis gives cannot be written down; it will appear when there is a review. One must greatly regret and lament that the person who is in your majesty's place should scandalize simple people with his bad example; he has taught the people here to have dancing parties and masquerades, and lewdness in them; he doesn't go to mass except Sundays and holy days, and even then he often comes late; he goes at night and at suspicious times to lewd houses, and favors the dissolute, and so I cannot do justice in punishing concubinage or other public sins.

He has accustomed the Spaniards to lose their reverence for the prelate and the church, to the point of saying that laymen shall not swear before an ecclesiastical judge without his license, and that the prelate cannot compel them to; and thus many have shown contempt. And to avoid proceeding against him, I let this pass as well as other most important matters, considering that he carries your majesty's staff and is in your place. Your majesty should remedy it quickly.

He will not hear or cooperate with anything that is against what he does. Though one shows him laws, conciliar decrees and even orders of your majesty, he does as he will against all law, without respecting prelate or ecclesiastic, saying he is above all; and thus he has proceeded against ecclesiastics and taken information against them, and this without bringing charges,

but to avenge himself for their having said something against what he wanted. Everything he does is with great anger and fury, not with zeal for justice.

He has done great injuries to many Spaniards and to the natives, oppressing them with personal services to content the Spaniards. It is a great weight on the conscience to see the hapless natives so vexed; I have seen a daughter taken from her mother to serve blacks and mestizos, and even a wife from her husband, and other hardships with the tributes, so that the natives are at the point of despair.

Since your majesty saw fit to place me here in this land as investigator and look-out (for that is the function of the bishop), I advise your majesty what happens, so that you will send the remedy, which should be the proper person, and not letters or royal orders, and let it be soon, for Christianity is being lost, and the temporal order too.

If your majesty thought it best and deigned to entrust the government of this land to Adelantado Pero Menéndez, I believe he could remedy some of the aberrations with his good Christianity and his substance. Not only for spiritual things, but also for the relief of Florida it appears to me that it would be well if it were all under one government, because this land here could supply Florida with provisions and would be guarded and safe from enemies, knowing that it was the Adelantado's responsibility, and thus the citizens would feel secure and the benefit would be general. And let it not be argued that it is too far, because this land has always been governed from even farther away, from Mexico City and from Guatemala, and the soldiers of Florida could rest assured that they would be provided with the necessary from this land until they can grow food there.

Evangelical ministers are needed here to teach the natives the law of God, for there is no one to instruct them. There are about fourteen friars for 150 leagues of inhabited land, and of these there are only three who can preach, and two other beginners; there is need for fifty friars, and some should be well read, for it is a great shame that there are only two who know how to preach to the Spaniards; and it would be well if some

persons of letters and religion came to head the order.

Priests are also needed, persons for benefices, of letters and conscience; yet the tithes are small, and if your majesty does not favor them as you always have with new churches, a church cannot be established in this land. By the love of our Lord, may your majesty provide and remedy it.

I do little good in this country, since I do not know the language, and I am in the worst of health; may it suit your majesty to transfer me to some place where I could be of use. Here I am hated by the Spaniards and the friars; your majesty will know why from whoever comes here to carry out the review. For twenty-five years I have been serving your majesty in the Indies, and have always been loved by all, except since don Luis came. Our Lord be praised for everything. If your majesty delays in sending help, I will come myself to supplicate, even if I have to come as a beggar, for I lack the money to come as a bishop.

May our Lord illumine your majesty and guard you for us with increase of realms and principalities, for the extension of the patrimony of Jesus Christ and of your royal crown. From Mérida in Yucatán, 20th of April, 1567.

Your royal majesty's unworthy chaplain,
Frater Franciscus
episcopus yucatanensis

[1]Published in Spanish in *Cartas de Indias*, pp. 242-5.

33. A bishop's affairs

Fray Juan de Zumárraga, first bishop of Mexico City, to his nephew Francisco de Urquiaga, in Durango, Biscay, 1548[1]

. . . My concern is to carry out my old desire for that hostelry . . .

Bishops shared with all Spanish settlers the attribute of coming from a certain region in Spain. Like governors, they surrounded themselves with a retinue of trusted people, often

their compatriots or relatives, to whom they gave posts of special responsibility and whom they helped in various ways. Our present example is all the more indicative of the trend because Bishop Zumárraga had the reputation of not favoring relatives, which he doubtless did not, unduly, but only within the universally accepted framework of preferring relatives when they were qualified.

An interesting case seen in the letter is that of Sancho García. Zumárraga, at the instance of his nephew (always the nephew) in his home town of Durango, brought García to Mexico, and it was through his favor, he implies, that García became wealthy. With the wealth he returned to Durango and married a relative of Zumárraga's. Now he has become uppity, and the crusty bishop resents it. Zumárraga also mentions a relative now in Mexico, Martín de Urquiaga, apparently a younger brother of the Francisco to whom the letter is addressed, and therefore also the bishop's nephew. Martín is a recently ordained priest. Zumárraga has not given him any great plum in the curacy of the remote mining camp of Sultepec; on the other hand, not every beginning priest already has a chaplaincy in addition to a curacy. Zumárraga is watching Martín, and would be prepared to favor him further, but only, apparently, if he fulfills his promise: 'we will see what can be done.' A grand-nephew, son of the recipient of the letter, was also on his way to Mexico, but died in a shipwreck – something so much in the ordinary run of events that it fails to get prominent mention, and a sentence later when the bishop speaks of consolation, he is no longer thinking of the death of Francisco's son, but of the bad marriage of their relative to Sancho García.

The closest thing to Zumárraga's heart, as his career reaches its end, is an endowment in Durango, a sort of symbolic coming home and perpetuation of his name, much like an entail for non-ecclesiastics. It is a worthy charity, but there would be other charities as worthy as a hostelry in one's home town devoted to receiving weary traveling friars such as one once was oneself. Here, as in the whole letter, Zumárraga shows the depth of his regional roots.

Beloved nephew:

Our Lord be with you. Urtuño de Avendaño, who is always your advocate and intercessor, wrote me from there in Durango always to remember you and your necessity. You may believe that I have not forgotten you and that I have more than enough will to help achieve your contentment; I will not fail to aid you in whatever way I can. At present my concern is to carry out my old desire for that hostelry, and when that is done I will not lack will, as I say. I do implore and charge you to help Urtuño de Avendaño in arranging the income for the hostelry. And since he considers you his friend, you consider him so in return, because he is faithful and of good will. I owe him much and view him as a brother.

As the provincial superior father fray Francisco del Castillo writes me, it appears that Sancho García wants to be the patron. They say he is going to start a lawsuit, maintaining that I made him a donation of the patronship so that he would stay with the wife he has. He didn't deserve her for all the money he took back from here; let him spend that and more, before he should have the patronship, even though the document were valid, and all the more so because it is not, but false, just the way that Juan Ochoa de Egurbide and he saw fit to arrange it, as will be seen. And as St Gregory says, he who is not grateful for benefits received makes himself unworthy of those yet to come. You know well and are a good witness of who Sancho García was and what his worth and potential were before he came here, against my will and through your solicitation and industry – because I knew him already. Now that he finds himself in the house and position of your wife's father, they tell me he has become a Lucifer, and it would be a burden on one's conscience to give more wings to his arrogance. You know how he has treated milady your mother-in-law; now he wants to start a suit against me, and you must have found out by now how he thanks you for what you did for him. Time will show what will happen.

I was greatly sorrowed by the death of your son, coming as he was highly recommended and well outfitted in Jáuregui's

ship, which ran aground; many who were in it died and a great sum of property was lost. We may believe that his soul was saved, and he is better off with God than in Biscay or Mexico City. God knows what He does, and we do not know what is best. I beg your wife to do what she can to console Mariñiguez, and have pity on her for having been given such a poor husband. My greetings to your sisters.

Martín de Urquiaga is able by now to help you marry off your daughters, because, aside from a chaplaincy that pays him 100 ducats, he earns more than 200 at the mines of Sultepec, where he is now. Since starting to say mass he shows much promise. We will see what can be done.

And tell the holy ladies on my behalf that I don't know why they are demanding the money from Urtuño de Avendaño. It was never my intention to have the money given them directly, but to have the income devoted to them so that they could furnish necessities to friars who come as guests. Let them have patience, since in the past they have lived without income, and in the future they will have a certain amount of help, even if they do have to provide for the friars. And since I have done my part, let those there make a good effort to arrange the income promptly, so that I can see this plan carried out before my end. And I charge you to aid Urtuño and the father provincial superior, in whom I place all my confidence. In this you will put me much in your debt.

May our Lord make you fortunate and give you his grace, that we may see each other in paradise. From Mexico City, 26th of April, 1548.

Your fellow in prayer,

Fray Juan, Bishop of Mexico City

[1] Archivo General de Indias, Justicia 1011, no. 2, ramo 2, pieza primera.

34. The Franciscans and the Indians

Fray Pedro de Gante, in Mexico City, to the emperor, 1532[1]

> . . . There are very good scribes and preachers or speakers of great fervor, and singers who could sing in your majesty's chapel choir . . .

Either secular priests or friars could man the ecclesiastical component of the encomienda, taking the chief encomienda town as a headquarters and from there instructing the Indians of the region in Christianity. In the Mexico of the first generation, friars of the mendicant orders were most associated with this function, and of these the Franciscans were preeminent. Arriving in the country first, they evolved methods which the other orders followed by and large, building great monastery churches and cloisters which became the primary public places of the Indian towns and even, since they often contained three or four friars and served a corresponding number of encomienda districts, tended to free the order from too great a local dependence on any individual encomendero. The rural monasteries were satellites of the even larger ones in the cities, above all Mexico City.

In the larger centers there took place the most famous episode in early Spanish American cultural history: a concerted Franciscan effort first to learn Nahuatl, and then using this tool to teach a selected number of Indians the refinements of European culture, including writing, grammatical and rhetorical principles, all the arts and crafts, sometimes even Latin. It is quite hard to get a proper perspective on the success of the program. The achievements are formidable. The monasteries, if they as works of art are considered part of the effort, dominate the Mexican countryside to this day. Literacy in Nahuatl was another result with lasting significance; the first generation of notaries whom the friars taught taught others in turn, so that a self-sustaining Nahuatl literacy and record-keeping continued to flourish in the Indian towns until the end of the colonial period.

But if such were the results, one must wonder if the well-developed Mesoamerican traditions of glyphic-pictorial writing and prolific monumental building were not the most important causative factors. In discussing the general progress of acculturation in central Mexico, one must remember how few people in how few places were involved in such programs, and that the effort slacked off to almost nothing in a generation or two. General acculturation was carried out by the interaction of the Indians with the total Spanish civil population. Spanish artisans in the long run doubtless had much more to do with the spread of European crafts than did the friars, and they often played an essential role in the building of monasteries as well. The differential in speed of cultural change between Mexico and Peru had ultimately to do with things as basic as their respective geographies, the hospitable Mexican plateau allowing the Spaniards to concentrate in the midst of the Indians, whereas with Peru's more extreme topography the capital and the bulk of the Spaniards were on the coast, far removed from the mass of the Indian population.

At any rate, the monasteries, the functioning Indian record-keeping and history-writing, and much else, were unique to Mesoamerica. Let us let Flemish fray Pedro de Gante give the Franciscan view of the program and its success, in the following famous letter.

Sacred Catholic Caesarean Majesty:

I greatly wish that your majesty could be informed of what I am going to say by a letter of my superior, without my having to be so bold as to say it myself and to beg your majesty to condescend to our petition, for though it is pious I am not worthy to ask it. Nevertheless, your majesty, by his license and order I am compelled to do so, and even reprehended for not having told and reported on it before, so that your majesty would have known of it earlier, since it is something so much in the service of God and your majesty. It seemed fitting to my superior that I should be the one to write this, as the person who has most performed the function of Martha in this

connection, and therefore I dare speak to your majesty, believing also that your majesty, removed from personal considerations, will look not at the letter or the insufficiency of him who sends it, but at the substance of what is begged of your majesty and with humility is asked in alms.

Your majesty, I am a lay brother, companion of fray Juan de Tecto, who was father guardian in Ghent when your majesty sent him, along with another friar and myself, to these shores nine years ago, as your majesty may already be aware. Fray Juan de Tecto and the other friar went with the Marqués del Valle don Hernando Cortés to the cape of Honduras, and died on the way back, from the storms and hardships of the journey. In the time since we entered this land, through the work of the Lord I have labored middlingly, as a useless servant, at the conversion and instruction of the natives. My task has been and is to teach them Christian doctrine generally, conveying it to them in their language, at first in Texcoco and Tlaxcala, and for the last six years in Mexico City and the surrounding towns, and other towns farther away, making tours and seeking to destroy the idols and idolatries.

Aside from this and other tasks of different kinds relating to conversion, which would be too long to tell, I have had and have charge of teaching boys of different ages to read, write, preach and sing; since I am not ordained, I have had more time and opportunity for all this. Because of that, and because there is a reasonable ability for these things in the people, fair progress has been made; without falsifying I can say that there are very good scribes, and preachers or speakers of great fervor, and singers who could sing in your majesty's chapel choir, so good that perhaps if it is not seen it will not be believed. To teach and indoctrinate these boys, a school or chapel has been made within the site or enclosures of our house, where continually every day five or six hundred boys are taught.

Next to our monastery we have built an infirmary for the sick among the natives, where besides those who are being taught in the house, others come for treatment, which is a great comfort for the poor and needy, and aid in their conversion,

because they come to know the charity that is practiced among Christians, and are attracted to the faith and to liking us well and conversing with us.

For all these things I always try to seek what alms I can, but they are hard to obtain, since most of the natives are poor. The Spaniards, though they perform charities, have other necessities of their own which they are more obliged to meet. If your majesty would order that this work be entirely yours, you could grant us alms that would relieve us of hardship and satisfy all the necessities of your new subjects and vassals; it would be a great augmentation of our holy faith and very much in the service of God our Lord and in earnest of your majesty's salvation. If your majesty would grant three or four thousand bushels of maize each year, a thousand five hundred for the school and the rest for the infirmary and the patients, that or whatever your majesty should grant would be just and very good and a great example so that the natives will believe that your majesty loves them and considers them your children; and indeed they are recognizing it more every day by the rectitude which they see that now, more than in other times, is being maintained in matters of justice, and they are more favored on your majesty's part and by your command, for these people know how to distinguish the good from the bad, and thus they would wish to be subjects of your majesty alone rather than being distributed among the Spaniards.

Our God preserve your Sacred Catholic Caesarean Majesty in your imperial estate and increase your life and illumine you always to do His holy will. Amen. From Mexico City here in New Spain, the eve of All Saints, year of our Lord 1532.

Chaplain and least vassal of your majesty,

Fray Pedro de Gant

In the infirmary that I mentioned there are always many patients, at times three or four hundred.

[1] Published in Spanish in *Cartas de Indias*, pp. 51-3.

35. The Dominican attack

Fray Andrés de Moguer, in Mexico City, to the Council of the Indies, 1554[1]

> . . . Consider what sort of indoctrination they can give them! . . .

In Spanish American secular society there were conflicts between the first conquerors with their large encomiendas, and later arrivals attempting to get some share for themselves. This was just as true in the ecclesiastical world, and first-comers had just as great an initial advantage. Myths formed around the Twelve, the first party of Franciscans to arrive in Mexico, and the order quickly established itself in the largest towns of the central part of the country. The later-coming Dominicans and Augustinians were forced into relatively peripheral or secondary situations. They resented it, protested, and carried on various kinds of skirmishes until finally, again as in the secular world, some accommodations were made, though overall Franciscan predominance was retained.

The Dominicans were the greatest scourge of the Franciscans, not only because they were second in seniority and strength, but because of the propensities of the two orders. The Franciscans were pragmatic builders, converters and baptizers; the Dominicans, the Order of Preachers, were intellectuals inclined to higher education, thorough preparation, and doctrinaire positions. Thus power politics and conviction coincided in their constant complaint that Franciscan ambition and compromise were leading to the dilution of Christianity through haste; time should be taken to instruct both ecclesiastics and Indians before general application of the sacraments, the ratio of ecclesiastic personnel to Indians should be reduced, etc. All of this both suited the Dominicans' taste, and would hamstring their rivals until they could catch up with them. Very basic human attributes often surface in these debates. Note the portrait of fray Pedro de Gante, so different from his elaborate humility in Letter 34. A childlike Franciscan pride in numbers, and a

responding childlike Dominican jealousy, are prime factors in the continuing debates. Of course these things varied from region to region; in Peru it was the Dominicans who were first and strongest. The characteristics of the orders, however, are relatively universal, and thus the whole Dominican-dominated body in Peru was more doctrinaire, less energetic in building and teaching.

The 'one language' that the Franciscans are criticized for using is of course Nahuatl, and although it is true that there were many languages in New Spain, Nahuatl's widespread use in preconquest times as a lingua franca gives the Franciscan practice much justification.

Very powerful lords:

To the glory of our God and Lord and His honor and with royal favor, we have here in New Spain nineteen houses of friars in Indian towns, with four to six friars in each one, and even in the smallest one two friars, not counting three other houses that we have in the Spanish towns, which are here in Mexico City, in Puebla and in Oaxaca; in these three houses the friars are numerous and there is higher instruction in the necessary sciences, and we teach the faith and good customs that are necessary to instruct and indoctrinate the natives. In these houses we also treat the friars who fall ill in the Indian towns, and punish those who are delinquent because, with our weaknesses, everything is necessary.

Following the counsel of the oldest and wisest, that those who have taken the habit in this country should be taught before they teach, it has been necessary to occupy ourselves in that effort for some time, and during that time the very reverend Franciscan fathers, imitating the holy apostles, have taken and occupied three fourths of the country, though they do not have enough friars for it, because in towns where ten or twelve ministers are needed they content themselves with having one or two. In most places they are content to say a mass once a year; consider what sort of indoctrination they can give them! His lordship the archbishop, wishing as pastor to remedy the

situation and give ministers to his flock, has given some towns to others, but the natives have not been willing to obey them or give them food, on the advice, it is said, of a fray Pedro de Gante, lay brother of the order of St Francis, and the archbishop in annoyance had four or five of them given a lashing in jail, but even then they will not obey him.

We wish you to know that existing, as indeed there exist, such high abilities in the order of Saint Augustine, and in ours of Saint Dominic, and desire to learn these languages, the friars of Saint Francis have occupied a land as large as the Mexican using only one language, where more than two hundred languages are necessary, and they prevent the entry of other friars; this is clear, because the Indians say they want no others than the fathers of Saint Francis, and will not feed those whom the archbishop sends. As it concerns the royal conscience, they should be ordered not to intrude in more than they can accomplish, since we all preach one God and one faith, and not to permit so many souls to go to perdition because they cannot give them sufficient instruction, and to obey his lordship the archbishop as prelate and pastor that he is of all, and for the ministers his lordship assigns to be received, since he was given their governance. And you should write to the provincial superior of Saint Francis who resides here in New Spain, giving him these orders. From Mexico City, 10th of December, 1554.

Your highness' servant and chaplain,

Fray Andrés de Moguer

[1] Published in Spanish in *Cartas de Indias*, pp. 123-4.

36. The Franciscan reply

Fray Toribio de Motolinia, in Tlaxcala, Mexico, to the emperor, 1555[1]

> . . . If Las Casas called the Spanish residents of New Spain tyrants, thieves, robbers, murderers and cruel assailants only a hundred times, it might pass . . .

Letter 35 is the merest hint of the great campaign, carried on above all by Dominican fray Bartolomé de las Casas in thousands of scalding pages, opposing not only the Franciscans, but the encomienda, the conquest, even the very notion of a Spanish civil occupation of the Indies. Renewed again and again in Spain, the debates swirled in one area after another of Spanish America, always after the conquest was well past and a Spanish presence fully established: in the Caribbean in the second decade of the century; in Mexico in the middle decades; and in Peru yet later. The attacking parties were, when not Dominicans, usually lawyers, late-comers, or people still in Spain; the defenders were Franciscans, settlers, sometimes viceroys and governors. Las Casas himself was in Spain far more than in the Indies. In view of this and also considering that former Licentiate Las Casas' favorite genres were the treatise and the brief, not the letter, we include as representative of this kind of invective a well-known letter by Franciscan fray Toribio de Motolinia, defending views much like those of the ordinary settlers to whom most of this volume is dedicated. Fray Toribio, one of the Franciscan Twelve, changed his earlier name of Benavente to a Nahuatl form meaning 'one who is poor or afflicted,' since the Indians are supposed to have uttered the word repeatedly on seeing the Franciscans in their simple habits. Motolinia became one of the principal powers among the Mexican Franciscans, taking his turn in all the more important posts and becoming (as he does not fail to make clear) the best of the first generation of Franciscan writers on Nahua culture and history.

The letter is the product of a thoroughly exasperated man. Having written page on page and brought the letter to a conclusion, Motolinia got notice of yet further infuriating publications by Las Casas, and returned to write almost as much more. One understands the exasperation. The arguments were necessarily deflected ones. The basic Las Casas position, at times at least, was that Indian lives and civilization should be preserved intact at all costs, changed only by voluntary adherence to a well-understood Christianity. Actually, European diseases and techniques alone would have prevented such a result, but few understood this (Motolinia comes close), and in any case it did not make good propaganda. Las Casas found it necessary to blame everything on the evil actions of individuals, to put all emphasis on destruction rather than creation. The Franciscans were not oblivious to the destruction, but had also been creating mightily, as we have seen. Motolinia was at the peak of his career, ready to bask a bit in the extraordinary achievements of himself and his order, and here was someone spoiling it all with unbounded criticism and no recognition.

The great basic Franciscan and settler reply is well stated here: They know nothing, they have done nothing. We have been here, we have done much and learned a great deal; we have built and taught and studied. We are concerned with real problems, from the daily instruction of our flock, through moderation of tributes, to the evangelization of Florida; they care more about arguments than about Indians. The scathing tale of how Las Casas, on doctrinal grounds, would not baptize an extremely desirous and fervent Indian of Tlaxcala gives us the quintessence of the Franciscan perception of the Dominican position. This part of the argument is impressive, if inevitably inconclusive. Motolinia also contests Las Casas' facts, points out that other humans than the settlers have been known to sin, and delights in the existence of a less doctrinaire, more Franciscan-like wing of the Dominicans in Mexico, represented by fray Domingo de Betanzos. Wandering a bit from his points at times, Motolinia is not as sharp a scholastic debater as some, but he does have an excellent grasp of the essentials of the controversy,

as well as of other things.

There is quite a bit more in the letter than vitriol and clash of opinion. Much of what is said on depopulation and Spanish land use is Motolinia's special brand of penetrating common sense. We also have an example of his preaching style in the extended metaphor of the statue and the history of empire. The letter gives the appearance of being a whole year's correspondence, and it contains some staples of ecclesiastic writing not closely related to the controversy, such as petitions for aid for the churches and for more friars to be sent, as well as some 'governor's talk': an overconcern about defense and complaints about the high price and scarcity of food (note that many settlers' letters and even Letter 37 say the opposite).

As Motolinia concludes (for the second time), he presents a portrait, already strongly legendary despite the fact that he himself had taken part in much of the action, of Cortés as a God-sent bearer of Christianity. The Franciscans would long continue to elaborate this theme, deifying their old ally as a pointed way of expressing that the conquest with its accompanying phenomena took place by divine will, and that accommodation to it was the course of reason and morality.

Sacred Caesarean Catholic Majesty:

Grace and mercy and peace *a Deo patre nostro et Domino Jesu Christo.* Three things principally move me to write your majesty this letter, which I believe will be enough to remove some of the scruples of conscience that this Las Casas has proposed to your majesty and the members of your councils, all the more in the things he is now writing and having printed. First I must tell your majesty that when the Spaniards entered New Spain here, it had not been ruled for very long from Mexico City, nor by the Mexica, and the Mexica themselves had won and usurped dominion through war. The first and original inhabitants here in New Spain were a people called Chichimecs and Otomis, who lived as savages and had no houses, but huts and caves in which they dwelt. They neither sowed nor cultivated the earth, rather their food and sustenance were herbs and

roots, and the fruits they found in the fields, and the game they took with their bows and arrows, eating it dried by the sun; nor did they have idols and sacrifices, beyond considering the sun to be God and invoking other creatures. After them came other Indians from a distant land, called Culhua; they brought maize and other seeds, and domesticated fowl; they started to build houses and cultivate the earth and clear the forests, and since they began to multiply and were people of more ability and capacity than the first inhabitants, little by little they became the rulers of this land, whose right name is Anavac or Anauac. After many years had gone by, there came the Indians called the Mexica, who took this name, or were given it, because of an idol and important god they carried with them called Mexitli, also named Tezcatlipoca, and through all this land this was the idol or demon most generally worshiped, before whom a great many men were sacrificed. Through wars these Mexica came to rule New Spain, but the principal dominion was first in the hands of the Culhua, in a town called Culhuacan, which is two leagues from Mexico City, and then later, also through wars, rulership came to rest with a lord and town called Azcapotzalco, a league from Mexico City, as I wrote at greater length to the Count of Benavente in an account of the rites and antiquities of this country.

Your majesty, when the Marqués del Valle entered this land, God our Lord was very offended with it; people suffered the cruelest of deaths, and our adversary the demon was very pleased with the greatest idolatries and most cruel homicides there ever were, because the predecessor of Moctezuma, lord of Mexico, called Ahuitzotzin, offered to the idols in a single temple and in one sacrifice that lasted three or four days, 80,400 men, whom they brought along four streets, in four lines, until they reached the sacrificial block before the idols. And at the time when the Christians entered New Spain, more than ever before there was sacrificing and killing of men before the idols in all the towns and provinces. Every day and every hour they offered human blood to the demons, in all the towns and districts of all this country, aside from many other sacri-

fices and services to the demons that they performed, not only in the demons' temples, of which almost the whole country was full, but on all the roads and in all the houses; all the people were devoted to the service of the demons and the idols. Now these and many other abominations, sins, and offenses made publicly to God and neighbors have been prevented and removed, our holy Catholic faith implanted, the cross of Jesus Christ and the confession of his holy name raised everywhere, and God has brought about a great conversion of people, in which many souls have been saved and are being saved every day; and many churches and monasteries have been built, with more than fifty monasteries inhabited by Franciscan friars alone, not to speak of our monasteries in Guatemala and Yucatán, and this whole country is in peace and justice. If your majesty could only see how the church festivals are celebrated all over New Spain and with what devotion the rites of Holy Week are observed, and all the Sundays and holidays, you would give praise and thanks to God a thousand times. This Las Casas is wrong in what he says, writes, prints and urges. It will be necessary that I tell where his zeal and works lead and what they end in, and whether he aided the Indians or vexed them.

And I humbly implore your majesty, for the love of God: now the Lord has revealed the land of Florida to us, so near to here that from the river of Pánuco, part of this jurisdiction of Mexico, to the great rivers of Florida, where Captain Soto wandered for more than five years, there are no more than eighty leagues, which in our times, and especially in this land, is like eight leagues. The towns subject to your majesty go beyond that river of Pánuco, and there are also many towns between there and the river of Florida, so that the distance is even less. For the love of God, your majesty, take pity on those souls, have compassion and sorrow for the offenses against God being committed there, and prevent the idolatries and sacrifices being performed there to the demons; order, with the greatest speed and in the best way available to you as the anointed of God and captain of his holy church, that the holy gospel be preached to those Indian infidels. Not in the way ordered by Las Casas, who

gained nothing more than 2,000 or 3,000 pesos in costs to your majesty for providing and outfitting a ship in which some Dominican fathers went to preach to the Indians of Florida with the instructions he gave them. The moment they touched land half of them were killed, right at the port, before reaching the town; the others went fleeing back to the ship and came here to tell how they had escaped. But your majesty need not spend much, nor send much from Spain, beyond your order, and then I trust in God that a great spiritual and temporal gain will ensue. Here in New Spain are all the means required, because there are experienced friars who, given orders, will obediently go and expose themselves to all risks to help in the salvation of those souls; also there are many Spaniards here, and horses and livestock. All the survivors of Soto's company who came here, and there are quite a few of them, wish to go back there because of the goodness of the country. And to have people leave here would be very good for this land because of the many idlers here whose trade is to think and do evil. And this is the second thing that I, poor person that I am, implore your majesty on God's behalf.

The third thing is to beg your majesty, for the love of God, to order the learned men of your councils and the universities to look and see if the conquerors, encomenderos and merchants here in New Spain are in the proper state to receive the sacrament of penitence and the other sacraments without issuing a public document before a notary and giving their sworn word. Las Casas affirms that without these and other legal acts they cannot be absolved, and he sets so many scruples before the confessors that all that is lacking is to send them to the inferno. It is necessary that the High Pontiff be consulted in this matter, for what will it help those of us who have baptized more than three hundred thousand souls each, and performed an equal number of marriages, and confessed another great multitude, if because of having confessed ten or twelve conquerors, they and we are to go to perdition? Las Casas says that everything the Spaniards have here is evil gain, though they should have acquired it through enterprise; there are many

farmers and craftsmen here, and many others who make a living by their work and sweat. And so that what he says or prints may be better understood, may your majesty know that about five or six years ago I was ordered by your majesty and your Council of the Indies to collect certain confessionals that Las Casas left here in New Spain, handwritten, among the friars. I sought out all those to be found among the Franciscans and gave them to don Antonio de Mendoza, your viceroy, and he burned them, because they contained false and scandalous statements. Now, in the last ships to reach New Spain, there have arrived the same confessionals in print, which has caused a great outcry and scandal throughout the land, because many times he gives the conquerors, encomenderos and merchants the names of tyrants, robbers, violaters, ravishers and thieves. He says that always and every day they are oppressing the Indians; he also says that all the tributes from the Indians have been and are being taken evilly, unjustly and tyrannically. If that were so, a fine state your majesty's conscience would be in, since your majesty draws from half or more of the most important towns and provinces of New Spain, and the encomenderos and conquerors have only what your majesty orders them to be given. And as far as the Indians receiving moderate tribute quotas, and being well treated and looked after, through the goodness of God today they almost all are; and as to justice and religion being administered to them, that is what is being done. Even so, this Las Casas maintains what he has said, and more; his principal insult or insults are to your majesty, and he condemns the learned men of your councils, often calling them unjust and tyrannical. And he also insults and condemns all the men of the law that there are and have been in all New Spain, whether ecclesiastic or secular, and your majesty's Audiencias and their regents. Certainly the Marqués del Valle, and Bishop don Sebastián Ramírez, and don Antonio de Mendoza, and don Luis de Velasco, who governs now with the Audiencia judges, have ruled and governed both commonwealths, Spaniards and Indians, very well, and continue to. Surely, for the bit of canon law that Las Casas studied, he dares too much; his confusion appears great,

his humility small. He thinks that all err and he alone is right, because he also makes this statement, which follows word for word: 'All the conquerors have been robbers and ravishers, the most qualified in evil and cruelty that there ever have been, as is manifest to the whole world.' All of the conquerors, he says, without making a single exception. Your majesty already knows the instructions and orders that those who go to new conquests carry and have carried, and how they work to observe them, and are of as good life and conscience as Las Casas, and have a more upright and holy zeal. I am amazed that your majesty and those of your councils have been able to bear for so long with a man so vexatious, unquiet, importunate, argumentative and litigious, in a friar's habit, so restless, so poorly bred, insulting, prejudicial and troublemaking. For fifteen years I have known Las Casas, since before he came to this country. He was going to Peru, and not being able to stay there, he was in Nicaragua, and was not calm there for long, and after that he was among the people of Oaxaca, where he felt as little repose as in the other places. After he came to Mexico City he was in the Dominican monastery, but he soon had enough there too and went back to wandering and going about with his tumult and unrest, always writing indictments of other people, seeking out the crimes and bad things that the Spaniards had committed through this whole land, to exaggerate and make worse the evils and sins that have occurred. In this he seemed to do the work of our adversary, though he thought himself more zealous and more just than the other Christians, including the friars; but he had hardly anything to do with religion here. Once he was talking to some friars and told them what he did was little, that he had not endured as much nor spilled his blood, and that the least of them was a greater servant of God, and watched over souls and virtue and religion more than he, by far. All of his affairs have been with some troublemakers who tell him things to write, agreeable with his impassioned animosity against the Spaniards, to show how much he loves the Indians, and that he tries to defend and favor them more than anyone else, though here he spent very little time at it, except loading them down and

fatiguing them.

When Las Casas was still a simple friar, he came once to Tlaxcala, bringing behind him twenty-seven (or was it thirty-seven?) Indian porters, whom they call *tamemes* here. At that time some bishops and prelates were examining a bull of Pope Paul concerning marriage and baptism, and we were then forbidden to baptize adult Indians. One Indian had made a three- or four-day journey to be baptized, and had demanded baptism again and again; he was very well prepared, catechized and instructed. Then I and other friars greatly begged Las Casas to baptize that Indian, because he came from so far, and after a great deal of begging he made many conditions of preparation for the baptism, as though he knew more than anyone; for certainly the Indian was well prepared. When he finally said he would baptize him, he put on a surplice with its stole, and three or four of us friars went with him to the door of the church, where the Indian was waiting on his knees. Then I don't know what came over him, but he didn't want to baptize the Indian after all, and left us and went away. At that I said to Las Casas: 'How is this, father, all this zeal and love that you say you have for the Indians is exhausted in loading them down and going around writing about Spaniards, and vexing the Indians, since your grace loads down more Indians than thirty friars? And since you won't baptize or instruct an Indian, it would be well if you would pay those that you so load down and tire out.' At that time, as I said, he had either twenty-seven or thirty-seven Indian bearers, I can't remember the number exactly, and most of what those Indians carried was indictments and writings against Spaniards, and trifling knick-knacks. And when he was going back to Spain to become a bishop, he had 120 Indians loaded down, without paying them anything. And now he is trying to get the Council of the Indies to order that no Spaniard here could have Indians carry loads for him, even if they are well paid, as is done everywhere now. And all the Spaniards demand now is three or four Indians to carry their food and bedding, since they are no longer available along the roads.

After this, Las Casas always went about troublemaking and

representing the affairs of important personages; but all he negotiated in Spain was to return as bishop of Chiapas. Since he failed to carry out what he had promised here that he would work for, father fray Domingo de Betanzos, who knew him well, wrote him a long letter, which everyone knew about, in which he told him in so many words how all his life he had made trouble and noise, and what mischief and damage he had caused wherever he went, with his reports and his indiscreet zeal, and especially how he had been the cause of many scandals and deaths in the land of Peru. And being there in Spain now, he has not ceased to do the same, feigning to do it from zeal for the Indians. When someone writes him a letter from here, not always truthfully, he shows it to your majesty or your councilors, and on account of one individual thing that they write him, he solicits a general decree, and disturbs and destroys the government and the commonwealth here. This, then, is what comes of his zeal. When he came as a bishop and arrived in Chiapas, seat of his diocese, the citizens received him, as being sent by your majesty, with much love and all humility; they took him to his church under a canopy of honor, and lent him money to pay the debts he brought from Spain. Then within a very few days he excommunicated them, imposed fifteen or sixteen laws and conditions for confessions, and left them and went his way. Referring to this, Betanzos wrote him that the sheep had turned into goats and that he was such a good carter he had put the cart before the oxen. Then he went to the kingdom of Verapaz, of which he had said that it was a grand thing with infinite people. This land is near to Guatemala, and in going about inspecting and instructing there I have come very close to it, since it is only two days' journey away, and it is not a tenth of what they have said and represented there in Spain. There are single monasteries here in Mexico which instruct and serve ten times as many people as there are in the whole realm of Verapaz, and the bishop of Guatemala is a good witness to it. I saw the people, unimpressive and sparser than others. Afterwards, Las Casas returned to his troublemaking and came to Mexico to ask the viceroy's license to return to Spain; and

though it was not given to him, he did not fail to go without it, leaving his flock and the souls entrusted to him without recourse, Spaniards as well as Indians.

There would be reason, if reason were enough for him, to make him return here immediately, so he would stay with his flock even two or three years; since he is more holy and wise than all the bishops there have ever been, and he says the Spaniards are incorrigible, he could work with the Indians and not leave everything ruined and abandoned. Four years ago some friars passed through Chiapas and saw how, on Las Casas' orders, they were refusing to absolve the Spaniards who requested confession, even when on the point of death, and there was no one to baptize the Indian children who requested it in the towns, though the friars whom I mentioned baptized many. Las Casas says in that confessional of his that the encomenderos are obliged to instruct the Indians entrusted to them, which is true, but in saying further on that they have never dreamed of doing it, he is wrong, because many Spaniards have instructed their Indians, in person or through their employees, the best they could, and many others, when there were not enough friars, have put secular priests in their towns; almost all of the encomenderos have obtained friars to take to their towns, where they can give instruction and administer the holy sacraments. There was a time when some Spaniards wanted neither priest nor friar near their districts, but now for a long while many Spaniards have sought friars, and their Indians have built monasteries and maintain them in their towns, and the encomenderos provide the friars with food, clothing, and ornaments. It is no wonder that Las Casas doesn't know about it, because he never sought to know the good, only the bad, and he never settled down here in New Spain, nor learned the Indians' language, nor deigned to apply himself to instruct them. His function was to write indictments, to condemn the sins that the Spaniards have committed everywhere; this is what he enlarges upon, and surely this alone will not carry him to heaven. What he writes thus is not all certain nor very well established, and if one looks and notes the sins and atrocious crimes that have occurred in

the city of Seville alone, and which the officers of justice have punished in the last thirty years, one will find more crimes and evil deeds, and worse ones, than everything that has happened in all New Spain ever since it was conquered, which was thirty-three years ago. One of the things in this whole land that arouses the most compassion is the city of Chiapas and its province, which since Las Casas went there as bishop, has been destroyed in the temporal and the spiritual, he so inflamed everything. Please God that it not be said of him that he left his souls in the hands of the wolves and fled, *quia mercenarius est et non pastor, et non pertinet ad eum de ovibus.* When some bishop gives up his episcopate, leaving the church that he received as a spouse, where he has a great obligation and bond, greater than with a profession of lower estate, as seen in the great solemnity with which it is given, why then, to leave and abandon it there must be the greatest cause, and where there is not, such a resignation had better be called apostasy, apostasy from the high and perfect episcopal estate, rather than anything else. If it were for reason of very great illnesses, or to enter a very strict monastic retirement, never again to see human beings or mundane affairs, even then we do not know if such a bishop would be very secure before God; but in order to make oneself a solicitor at court, and to solicit, as he now does, that the Indians demand him as Protector! When the letter in which he asked for this was seen in a congregation of Franciscans, they all laughed at it, nor could they think what to say and respond to such delirium. There in Spain he will not be seen with a letter from a chapter or congregation of Franciscans, while he asks them here to send him money and affairs. Who could think well of such things? I believe your majesty will abhor them as a clear temptation of our adversary, for the unrest of yourself and others. Your majesty ought to order him to be shut up in a monastery so that he would not cause greater evils; if not, I am afraid he will go to Rome and be the cause of perturbation at the Roman court.

As to the overseers, tribute-collectors and miners, he calls them executioners, soulless, inhuman and cruel. And granted

that some have been greedy and of ill repute, certainly there are many others who are good Christians, pious and charitable, many of them married and of good life.

The same will not be said of Las Casas as of St Lawrence, who for giving half of his burial place to the body of St Steven was called the polite Spaniard. Las Casas says in that confessional that no Spaniard in this country has acted in good faith concerning the wars, nor the merchants either, for having brought them merchandise to buy; and by this he judges people's hearts. Likewise he says that no one bought and sold slaves in good faith, but he is wrong, since for many years they were bought and sold in the squares with your majesty's brand, and for some time many Christians acted bona fide and in invincible ignorance. He also says that to this day they are still oppressing the Indians, which also goes against your majesty. Well I remember some years ago, after your majesty sent don Antonio de Mendoza, the lords and nobles of this land assembled and solemnly, voluntarily renewed their obedience to your majesty, finding themselves in our holy faith, free of wars and sacrifices, and in peace and justice. Las Casas also says that of everything the Spaniards have, there is nothing that is not stolen; in this he insults your majesty and everyone who has come here, those who brought property with them as well as those who have bought and acquired it justly, and he dishonors them in writing and in print. Are the Spanish nation and its prince then to be thus insolently defamed, so that tomorrow the Indians and other nations may read it? And he also says that in all these years there has never been a just conquest or war against Indians. God provides the things to come, and he alone knows them, or such persons as his divine majesty should wish to reveal them to; now Las Casas in the things he says wants to be a soothsayer or prophet, but he will not be a true prophet, for the Lord says: this gospel will be preached in all the universe before the end of the world. Thus it is your majesty's mission to give haste to the preaching of the holy gospel through all these lands, and with those who will not willingly hear the holy gospel of Jesus Christ, let it be by force, for here one can apply

the proverb 'better good forced on you than bad you desire.' By the word of the Lord, he who finds treasure in the field should sell it all forthwith and buy the field; and now without giving a great deal your majesty can buy and acquire this treasure of precious pearls that cost the very rich price of the blood of Jesus Christ, because if your majesty does not favor this, who is there here who can or may gain the precious treasure of souls that are scattered over these fields and lands? How can Las Casas say that all the tributes are and have been wrongly taken? We see that when they asked the Lord if tribute should be given to Caesar or not, he answered yes. If we look at how the rule of the Roman empire came to be, we go back to find that first the Babylonians, in the time of Nebuchadnezzar the Great, took the kingdom of the Assyrians by war, and that empire endured, according to St Jerome, more than 1,300 years. This kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar was the golden head of the statue that he himself saw, according to the interpretation of Daniel, Ch. 2, and Nebuchadnezzar was the first monarch and head of empire. Afterwards the Medes and Persians destroyed the Babylonians in the time of Cyrus and Darius, and this kingdom was the chest and arms of that same statue; there were two arms, that is, Cyrus and Darius, and the Persians and the Medes. Afterwards the Greeks destroyed the Persians in the time of Alexander the Great, and this kingdom was the statue's metal abdomen and thighs. Such was the resonance of this metal that it was heard through all the world, except in this land, and the fame and fear of the great Alexander grew until it was written: *soluit terra in conspectu eius.* And when he had conquered Asia, the people of Europe and Africa sent ambassadors who went to Babylon to wait on him with gifts and give him obedience. Afterwards the Romans subjugated the Greeks, and they were the statue's feet and legs of iron, which consumes and erodes all metals. And afterwards the stone that was cut from the mountain without hands cut down and diminished the statue of idolatry, and this was the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

During the rule of the Roman emperors, the Lord said that tribute should be given to Caesar. I will not try to decide

whether our wars are more licit than theirs, or which is the more licit tribute, theirs or ours; let your majesty's councils decide. But note what the prophet Daniel says in the same chapter: that God alters the times and the epochs, and changes kingdoms from one rule to another, because of sins, as is seen in the land of Canaan, which God gave to the children of Israel with great punishments of the Canaanites, and later he gave the kingdom of Judea to the imperial Romans for sins and the death of the son of God. I appeal to your majesty on behalf of the fifth kingdom, that of Jesus Christ, signified by the stone cut from the mountain without hands, which is to fill and occupy all the land, and of which kingdom your majesty is leader and captain. Let your majesty order everything possible done so that this kingdom may be fulfilled and widened, and the gospel will be preached to these infidels, or to those nearest, especially those of Florida, who are here at our door.

I would like to see Las Casas persevere for fifteen or twenty years in confessing ten or twelve sick, ailing Indians daily, and an equal number of healthy old ones who never confessed before, and see to many other things, many of them spiritual, concerning the Indians. A fine thing it is that there in Spain, to show his zeal, he says to your majesty and those of your councils: So-and-so is no friend of the Indians, he is a friend of the Spaniards; do not believe him. May it please God that he manages to be a friend of God and of his own soul. What he is concerned about there is harm done to the Indians, or lands the Spaniards request here in New Spain, or livestock rights granted them prejudicial to the Indians. This is no longer the time that was, because now he who does harm worth two pesos pays four, and he who does harm worth five pays eight. As to giving lands, your majesty could very well grant excess, empty or untilled lands to Spaniards who are settled and want to apply themselves to farming the land, when it is without prejudice to others. Since for the past ten years there has been great mortality and pestilence among the Indians, there are far fewer of them; even where there has been the least loss, two thirds are gone, in other places four fifths, in others seven eighths. For this reason there

are excess lands in many places, aside from the uncultivated land and the war grounds that they left unplanted. These were fields that they left between one province and the next, between one ruler and the next, where they came to make war on each other, as, before they entered the faith, they did continually, because almost all the people they sacrificed to the idols were taken in the wars, and for that reason they thought more of capturing one than of killing five. They did not farm these lands, and there is room there. When there is just need, your majesty might make grants there, if the Indians have not by now occupied and cultivated some of them; your majesty could grant them with less prejudice than others, indeed with none at all.

As far as the stock farms are concerned, almost everywhere the stock which were doing damage, especially the horses and cattle, have been removed, not for lack of large fields, but because they were running untended; since they were not gathered in at night to sleep in pens, they ran everywhere and did damage. But now they have been assigned times for summer pasture, when they are to enter and leave, with penalties for not complying, for here by the goodness of God there are officers of justice to see to these things, and also other people who are as concerned about it as Las Casas. For sheep or goats, there are fields and lands everywhere; even very near to the great city of Tenochtitlan-Mexico City, there are many enterprises for livestock of all kinds, both large and small. Likewise near to the cities of Puebla and Tlaxcala, and in the towns of Tepeaca and Tecamachalco, in all these towns and their districts there are great fields and pasture grounds where great numbers of livestock can graze without harm, especially sheep and goats; after all, at home in Spain they often graze near the grainfields, and the owners pay for any damage they do. Here there are many vacant lands and large fields where far more animals than now exist could run; whoever says different either does not know about it or has not seen it. The province of Tlaxcala alone is ten leagues wide, in places eleven, and fifteen to sixteen leagues long, measuring over forty around; the province of Tecamachal-

co is nearly the same size, and many other towns have many vacant lands, because the Indians occupy less than a fifth of the districts. And since livestock are so advantageous and necessary, and both Spaniards and Indians use them, cows and oxen as well as horses and the other kinds of stock, why not grant out something that exists in excess and let the animals graze in peace, since it is for the good of all?

And since many Indians are now using horses it would be well for your majesty to order that license to have horses be given only to the principal lords, because if the Indians get used to horses many of them will become good riders and in time will want to equal the Spaniards. This advantage of having horses and cannon is very necessary in this land, because it gives force and advantage to few against many. Let me tell your majesty that all New Spain here is deserted and abandoned, without any defense or fortress at all against the dangers, discords and wars that our enemy and adversary forever wishes and tries to raise up among us; defense is needed though it were only because we are here in an alien land, and there are many blacks, who at times have conspired to rebel and kill the Spaniards. There is no better situated place in New Spain to build a fortress than the city of Puebla, where it could be done at less cost because of the many good materials available, and it would mean security for the whole country.

The towns to which your majesty owes most in all New Spain here are Texcoco, Tacuba and Mexico City, because each of these was a kingdom, and the ruler of each had ten provinces and many towns subject to him. Besides this, among these principalities were distributed the tributes of a hundred and seventy provinces and towns, and each of the rulers was no small king. These lords, as soon as the Christians arrived and challenged them to receive the faith, gave obedience to your majesty, and Texcoco and Tacuba aided the Spaniards in the conquest of Mexico. The other lords of the land still have and possess their principalities, and pay tribute to your majesty because you are their king and lord and because you administer religious instruction, sacraments and justice to them, and keep

them in peace; your majesty gives them more than you receive from them, even if Las Casas will not believe it. But the lords of Texcoco, Tacuba and Mexico had some of the hamlets subject to their main towns taken away and distributed to others. They would be content if your majesty would order some small or medium-sized town to serve the ruler of Texcoco, and the same for the ruler and town of Tacuba.

This as to temporal matters; as to matters of the spirit, these souls cry out for ministers. Since many friars have left Spain for these lands, and continue to every day, let your majesty send some of the many friars in Flanders and Italy who are servants of God, learned, desirous of coming to these parts and working in the conversion of infidels. There have been friars of those nationalities in this land, and to this day there are still some servants of God who have given a very good example and worked much with the natives. Besides this, the main church of Mexico City, the metropolitan, is very poor, old and patched together; it was built only provisionally, and that twenty-nine years ago. It would be right for your majesty to order its construction to begin and favor it, since it is the head, mother and mistress of all the churches of New Spain. And your majesty should order that this church and the other cathedrals of New Spain each have a town to serve it, as they did before; there would be no encomiendas put to as good a use in all New Spain. They have much need of such towns, to help repair, maintain, clean and adorn the churches and the houses of the bishops, which are all poor and indebted. Shoemakers and blacksmiths have held encomiendas here, and still do; the churches need them much more, since they are without income and have very little.

I say all this with desire to serve and inform your majesty of what I have felt and seen of this land in the course of thirty years since we came here by your majesty's order bearing the bulls and briefs of Leo and Adrian which your majesty had solicited. The Cardinal of Santa Cruz, fray Francisco de Quiñones, and father fray Juan Clapión, may God rest him, were to come here and bring the bulls. Of twelve of us who came here

to begin the conversion of these people, there are only two now left alive. May your majesty receive this letter in the spirit in which I write, and let it be valued only as far as it conforms to reason, justice and truth. I remain, as least chaplain, praying to God that his holy grace always dwell in your majesty's blessed soul, so that you always do his holy will. Amen.

After what I said above, I saw and read a treatise that Las Casas composed on the subject of the Indians enslaved here in New Spain and on the islands, and another one concerning the opinion he rendered on putting the Indians in encomiendas. He says that he composed the first on commission of the Council of the Indies, and the second by your majesty's order. No human being of whatever nation, law or status could read them without feeling abhorrence and mortal hate and considering all the residents of New Spain as the most cruel, abominable and detestable people there are under the sun. This is the effect of writings that are done without charity, that proceed from a spirit alien to all piety and humanity. I am out of touch with the climate in old Spain, because it has been more than thirty years since I left it, but I have often heard from people just coming from Spain, pious friars and Spaniards who are good Christians and God-fearing, that they find here more Christianity, more faith, more practice of the holy sacraments, and charity and alms to the poor of all kinds, than in old Spain. May God pardon Las Casas for so gravely dishonoring and defaming, so terribly insulting and affronting these communities and the Spanish nation, its prince, councils, and all those who administer justice in your majesty's name in these realms. And if Las Casas will confess the truth, I ask him to bear witness what numerous and large donations he received here, and with how much humility people suffered his overbearing temperament, and how many persons of quality entrusted many important affairs to him, and when he offered to keep faith with them, gave him large sums, though he hardly fulfilled a thing of what he promised. The servant of God fray Domingo de Betanzos, among others, complained of this in the letter already mentioned.

It should have been enough for Las Casas to give his vote and opinion on what he felt about giving encomiendas of Indians to Spaniards, and to put it down in writing, without printing so many insults, slanders and vituperation. It is well known what a sin it is to defame one person; more to defame many, and much more to defame a commonwealth and nation. If Las Casas called the Spanish residents of New Spain tyrants, thieves, robbers, murderers and cruel assailants only a hundred times, it might pass, but since he calls them that a hundred times a hundred, aside from the little charity and less pity that he shows in his writings, and aside from the insults, wrongs and affronts that he makes to everyone by speaking thus to your majesty in that treatise, there would be much reason for him to adopt moderation and speak with some tincture of humility. Of what advantage and edification can words be that are said without pity or humanity? Surely little. I don't know why it is that Las Casas should want to condemn a hundred for what one person does, or attribute to a thousand what ten committed, and defame everyone who is or has been here. Where have so many good people been condemned for a few bad ones? If the Lord had found ten righteous men in the time of Abraham and Lot, he would have pardoned many. Because in Seville and Córdoba there are some thieves, murderers and heretics, are the inhabitants of those cities all evil thieves and tyrants? Mexico City-Tenochtitlan and the other cities and towns of New Spain have not shown less loyalty and obedience than they, which is the more to be appreciated the more distant they are from the king.

If the things Las Casas writes were true, certainly your majesty would have great reason to complain of all those you have sent here, and they would be worthy of great punishments, the bishops and prelates, who would all be obliged to lay down their responsibilities and appeal to God and king to conserve their flocks. Yet we see that the good bishops of New Spain persevere in working at their tasks and duties, hardly resting day or night. And your majesty would have grounds to complain of

the judges and presiding officers that you have appointed to Audiencias everywhere, with high salaries; in New Spain alone there are Audiencias in Mexico City, New Galicia, and Guatemala, and all of these sleep soundly, content to have resting on their consciences so many sins of others as Las Casas says. (Your majesty is not so careless or inattentive as Las Casas would have it, nor do you neglect to penalize and punish those who do not keep faith with you. A thing worthy of note is the punishment that your majesty ordered given to an Audiencia that had hardly taken office, when the judges were imprisoned in Spain and the president, the governor of New Spain, was here in the public jail for more than a year, and then went to Spain to finish paying for his guilt.) And your majesty should also be indignant with the councils of New Spain, those of the churches as well as those of the cities, since all are appointed by your majesty to rule and care for your vassals and towns, if they do not do what they should. And your majesty would have the same complaint of the friars of all the orders whom your majesty sends here with much cost and work bringing them from the provinces of Spain, with orders to erect monasteries, giving them chalices and bells, and some have received valuable ornaments. With reason your majesty could say, why are they all like voiceless dogs, allowing the land to be destroyed without barking or crying out? But no, instead almost all are at their tasks, doing what they should.

When I found out what Las Casas had written, I was unhappy with the royal council for allowing such a thing to be printed. Later, on consideration, I saw that it was printed in Seville at the time when the ships were about to leave, like something surreptitious and underhanded. I believe that God permitted it so that people would know and respond to Las Casas' opinions, though with more moderation and charity than his writings deserve, so that he would be converted to God and give satisfaction to all those he has harmed and falsely defamed, and so that in this life he could do penance; also so that your majesty might be informed of the truth and might know the services that Captain don Hernando Cortés and his companions have performed, and the great loyalty, surely worthy of reward, that New Spain has always shown your majesty. And your majesty may be sure that the Indians of New Spain are well treated, and they pay less tribute and tax than the farmers of old Spain, each in his own fashion. I will not say this of quite all the Indians, because there are a few towns where the tribute quota was set before the great pestilence and whose tributes have not yet been modified. Your majesty should order these quotas to be revised. Today the Indians understand their quotas very well, and will not pay a penny more under any conditions, nor does the encomendero dare ask for a cacao bean more than is in his quota, nor will his confessor absolve him without restitution, and the officers of justice will punish him if they find out about transgressions. That neglect and oppression that Las Casas so often mentions do not exist here because, glory be to God, there has been much care and zeal here among the preachers, and vigilance among the confessors, and, in those who administer justice, a spirit of obedience to execute what your majesty orders concerning the good treatment and defense of the natives of this land; in all truth, what I say is so.

During the last ten years the natives of this land have diminished greatly in number. The reason for it has not been bad treatment, because for many years now the Indians have been well treated, looked after and defended; rather the cause has been the great diseases and plagues that New Spain has had, so that the natives continue to decrease each day. God knows the cause; his judgments are many and hidden from us. Whether or not the great sins and idolatries that took place in this land cause it, I do not know; nevertheless I see that those seven idolatrous generations that possessed the promised land were destroyed by Joshua, and then the children of Israel populated it in such a fashion that when David counted the people, he found 800,000, counting only strong men fit for war, in the ten tribes, and in the tribe of Juda and Benjamin 500,000. And afterwards, in the time of King Asa, 580,000 warriors from the two tribes took part in the battle that Zara gave to the king of the Ethiopians, and the land was so populated that one reads of

over 150,000 citizens in the city of Jerusalem by itself; now in all that kingdom there are not half as many citizens as there once were in Jerusalem alone.

As to the cause of that destruction, or that of this country and the islands, God knows it. Your majesty and the Catholic Monarchs of holy memory have ordered all the measures and remedies humanly possible, but human council and human power have not been enough to remedy it. It is a great thing that so many souls should have been saved, as they continue to be, and that so many evils, idolatries, homicides and great offenses against God should have been halted and prevented. What is very important at present is that your majesty should provide stability for this land, for as it now is, it suffers greatly. Your majesty has already received sufficient information and you know what is best; in your majesty's councils there are many reports adequate for establishing stability quickly, which will be in the service of God and your majesty. It is needed by both commonwealths, Spaniards and Indians. As in Spain for the conservation of peace and justice there are garrisons, and in Italy an army, and on the borders always men of arms, it should be no less so in this country. Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of this land, used to say: 'If this land is not given stability, it cannot last long – ten or twelve years, dragging things out painfully; but if things go quickly, it will not last that long.'

This whole country is extremely expensive to live in and short of foodstuffs, which used to be very abundant and cheap, and if people were poor at least they had enough to eat. Now among the poor and indebted Spaniards there are many idle people hoping for the least occasion in the world to rob the natives, because they say that the Indians are rich, and the Spaniards poor and dying of hunger. Your majesty can readily see what can happen in a land that has its king and government two thousand leagues away, and that stability here is more necessary for the Indians than for the Spaniards. I will not go further into the reasons, to avoid prolixity, and I know that your majesty has the good will, knowledge and experience to give stability to this land; there is no lack of prayers that God

give you his grace. I am confident that you will do the right thing and that with what your majesty should decide, God will be served and this land saved.

In the treatise that this Las Casas or Casaus printed, he errs, among other things, principally in three: that is, in the manner of enslavement, in the number of slaves, and in their treatment. As to enslavement in New Spain, he gives three ways of doing it, none of which is as he writes. It is easy to see that he knows little of the rites and customs of the Indians of New Spain. In that book I wrote, in the 4th part, in Chs. 22 and 23, one will find eleven manners of enslavement, which are the ones we gave to the bishop of Mexico City. Three or four of us friars have written of the antiquities and customs of the natives here, and I have what the others wrote. Since it cost me more work and time, it is no wonder that I should have compiled and understood it better than others. Las Casas also writes of enslaving Indians during wars, and wastes a great deal of paper on it, and here too it is seen that he knows little of what went on in the wars of the natives, because they did not make slaves in wars nor ransom any of the captives they took in them, but kept them all to sacrifice, for generally speaking these were the people sacrificed all through this land. Very few were sacrificed except those taken in war, for which reason the wars were continuous; to do their duty to their cruel gods and to solemnize their festivities and honor their temples, they went about everywhere making war and assaulting people in order to sacrifice them, offering hearts and human blood to the demons, in which many innocents suffered. There seems to be no small cause to make war on the oppressors and killers of the innocent, who with screams and clamoring asked God and man for succor, since they suffered death so unjustly. As your majesty knows, this is one of the reasons for which war may be waged. And they had the custom that if one of the lords or noblemen taken in war escaped, the very people of his town would sacrifice him, but if he was a man of low estate, called a *macehual*, his lord rewarded him with gifts of cloth. This and the rest of what went on in the wars appears in the same book, in the 4th part, Chs.

14, 15 and 16.

As to the number of slaves, on one page he writes that 3 million were enslaved, on another page 4 million. The places and provinces where Las Casas says all this happened are Mexico, Coatzacoalcos, Pánuco, Jalisco, Chiapas, Guatemala, Honduras, Yucatán, Nicaragua, the coast of San Miguel, and Venezuela. It would be well if he also put, even just out of humility, the coast of Paria and Cubagua, since he was there, and would tell how it went with him there. Almost all the places he puts are here in New Spain; I have added up the provinces and places where he says enslavement took place, making larger rather than smaller estimates (to avoid length I will not go into detail), and all together it does not make 200,000. And showing this number to others who have experience and have been here longer, they assure me that there were 150,000, or not over 100,000; I myself believe there were 200,000. As to the number of 3 million, it is 2,800,000 too high, and the number of 4 million is 3,800,000 too high. So it is with many of the exaggerations with which Las Casas greatly troubles your majesty's conscience and badly injures and dishonors his fellow men in print. This number of slaves is something that could be established by examining your majesty's record books of the taxes you received.

As for treatment, I speak for New Spain, where almost all have been set free. According to my understanding, there may be about a thousand Indian slaves left in the world, and these are being liberated daily, so that inside a year there will hardly be one left in the land. Your majesty did all that was needed to free them when you ordered that owners of Indian slaves should prove they had been enslaved justly, which was almost impossible, and indeed by law the contrary should have been the case; yet what your majesty ordered was best, because very few were properly enslaved. Las Casas says that in all the Indies there was never just cause to enslave a single person; how does he know? He himself says that he is not acquainted with Mexico City and its surroundings, so it is no wonder he should know little about it. He was in this land about seven years, and of those he spent five pressing causes. There have been friars in New Spain who

have gone from Mexico City to Nicaragua, 400 leagues, and in not two towns the whole way did they fail to preach, say mass, give instruction, and baptize children and adults, few or many. So the friars here have seen and know a bit more than Las Casas about the good treatment of slaves. The officers of justice and the friars as preachers and confessors (for there were Franciscans from the beginning, and later came those of other orders) have always taken great care that the Indians, especially the slaves, should be well treated and instructed in Christian doctrine and knowledge of God, the principal worker of all good. Before long the Spaniards began to instruct their slaves and bring them to the churches to be baptized, instructed and married, and Spaniards who did not do this were not absolved. For many years now the slaves and servants of Spaniards have been married *in facie ecclesiae*, and I have seen many, here in the region of Mexico City, and in Oaxaca and Guatemala and other places, who were well married and good Christians, living in their houses with their children and their personal property. It is not right that Las Casas should say that service to Christians is heavier than a hundred towers, and that the Spaniards esteem the Indians less than the beasts or the manure in the squares. It seems to me a great load on his conscience to dare say such a thing to your majesty; and speaking with the greatest temerity, he says that the service that the Spaniards take from the Indians by force, being insufferable and most rigorous, exceeds the tyrannies of the world, equaling that of the demons and surpassing that of those who live without God or law.

Such a thing should not be said. God deliver me from anyone who would say such a thing! The branding iron for slaves, the one called of your majesty's trade, arrived here in New Spain the year of 1524, in the middle of May. As soon as it reached Mexico City, Captain don Hernando Cortés, who was governing at the time, met in the Franciscan monastery with the friars and men of letters who were there in the city, and I was present. I saw that the governor was sorry the iron had arrived, and he opposed its use; when he could do no more, he placed limits on the license that came with it to brand slaves. The enslavement

beyond the limitations occurred in his absence, when he had left for Honduras.

And as to those who murmur against the Marqués del Valle, God rest him, and who try to blacken and obscure his deeds, I believe that before God their deeds are not as acceptable as those of the Marqués. Although as a human he was a sinner, he had the faith and works of a good Christian, and a great desire to employ his life and property in widening and augmenting the faith of Jesus Christ, and dying for the conversion of these gentiles. He spoke of this with much spirit, as one to whom God had given this gift and desire, and had placed as the unique captain of this land of the Occident. He would confess with many tears and receive communion devoutly, putting his soul and property in the hands of his confessor, to order and dispose of all of it as was necessary to relieve his conscience. And thus in Spain he sought out very learned confessors, with whom he ordered his soul and made great restitutions and large charities. God visited great afflictions, travails and illnesses on him to purge his guilt and purify his soul; I believe that he is a child of salvation, and that he has a larger crown than others who denigrate him.

After he entered New Spain, he did much to bring the Indians to an understanding of the true God and to have the holy gospel preached to them. He told them that he was your majesty's messenger in the conquest of Mexico, and while he went about this land, he tried to hear mass every day, observed the fasts of the church, and fasted on other days out of devotion. God furnished him two interpreters in this land: a Spaniard named Aguilar, and an Indian woman named doña Marina. Through these he preached to the Indians and informed them who God was and who their idols were, and thus he destroyed the idols and all the idolatry he could. He tried to tell the truth and be a man of his word, which was greatly to his advantage with the Indians. The banner he carried was a red cross on a black field, in the midst of some blue and white flames, and the device said: 'Friends, let us follow the cross of Christ, and if there is faith in us, in this sign we will conquer.' Whenever he

arrived at a place, he immediately raised a cross.

It was a marvelous thing what energy, spirit and prudence God gave him in everything that he undertook in this land. Very much to be noted are the daring and strength that God gave him to destroy and throw down the principal idols of Mexico City, which were statues over fifteen feet high. Clad in heavy armor, he took a bar of iron and raised himself up so high that he managed to hit the head and eyes of the idols. When he was about to bring them down, the great lord of Mexico, Moctezuma, sent him a message not to dare touch his gods, because he would kill him and all the other Christians forthwith. Then the captain turned to his companions with much spirit and half weeping, said to them: 'Brothers, for all we do for our lives and interests, now let us die here for the honor of God and so that the demons will not be worshipped.' And he responded to the messages that he wished to place his life at stake, and he would not stop what he had begun; that those were not gods, but stones and images of the demon, and let them come ahead. And though there were only 130 Christians with the governor, and the Indians were without number, God and the spirit they saw in the captain so struck them with terror that they dared not stir. When the idols were destroyed, he put an image of Our Lady there.

At that time there was a lack of rain and the maize fields were drying out; the Indians brought many dry stalks of maize and told the captain that if it didn't rain they would all perish of hunger. Then the Marqués gave them confidence, saying they would pray to God and St Mary for rain. He asked all his companions to prepare themselves, and that night they confessed to God and implored his mercy and grace; the next day they went out in procession, and the captain received communion at mass. And though the sky was clear, suddenly there came such a torrent that before they could reach their lodgings, which were not very distant, they were all drenched. This was a great edification and preachment to the Indians, because from then on it rained regularly and was a very good year. Whenever the captain had opportunity, after giving the Indians news of

God, he would tell them to consider him their friend and the messenger of a great king in whose name he came, and that on his behalf he promised them they would be loved and well treated, because the king was a friend of the God that he preached to them.

Who has loved and defended the Indians of this new world like Cortés? He often admonished and begged his companions not to touch the Indians or their things, and though the land was full of maize fields, there was hardly a Spaniard who dared to pick an ear of maize. Because a Spaniard named Juan Polanco entered an Indian's household near the port and took some clothing, he had him given a hundred lashes; another, named Mora, who took a turkey from peaceful Indians, he ordered hanged, and if Pedro de Alvarado had not cut the rope, his life would have ended there. Because two blacks of his took two blankets and a turkey from some Indians, he ordered them hanged, at a time when there was nothing else of such value as blacks; he had another Spaniard publicly disgraced because he lopped off the branches of a fruit tree and the Indians complained. He wanted no one to touch the Indians nor to have them carry loads, under penalty of 40 pesos. The day I disembarked, coming from the port toward Medellín, near where Veracruz is now, since we were on a stretch of sand and in hot country, and the town was three leagues distant, I asked a Spaniard who had two Indians with him to have one of them carry my cloak for me, but he dared not do it, affirming that they would fine him 40 pesos, and so I carried the cloak on my back the whole way. Where war could not be avoided, Cortés asked his companions to defend themselves as best they could without striking back, and when they could not help it, he said that it was better to wound than to kill, and that a wounded Indian inspired more fear than two left dead on the field.

The Marqués always had rivals and opponents in this land, who tried to obscure the services he did God and your majesty, and there was no lack of enemies there in Spain either. If it weren't for them, I know your majesty would always have had special affection and love for him and his companions. Through

this captain, God opened the door for us to preach his holy gospel, and it was he who caused the Indians to revere the holy sacraments and respect the ministers of the church. Since he is now deceased, I have gone to this length to defend his life in some measure.

May the grace of the Holy Spirit always dwell in your majesty's soul. Amen. From Tlaxcala, 2nd of January, 1555.

Humble servant and least chaplain of your majesty,

Motolinia, fray Toribio

[1] Published in Spanish in *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonización de las antiguas posesiones españoles en América y Oceanía,* VII, pp. 254-89, and elsewhere.

37. The petty administrator

Bartolomé Pérez Guillermo, deputy governor of Zinapécuaro, Mexico, to his nephew Gregorio Sánchez de Moscoso in Calzadilla de los Barros, Extremadura, 1577[1]

> . . . and the main thing is, she comes of very important parents . . .

We conclude Part III with two letters from lower members of the governmental and ecclesiastic hierarchies. The writers seem more immersed in the society and economy of their immediate surroundings than in their respective organizations, and they reveal themselves in most aspects as settlers like any others. In both cases the famous nephew in Spain is a central figure, as so often in the messages of settlers in Part II: in this letter, soon to arrive; in the next, fervently hoped for.

Not only did the encomenderos have to learn to share the economic exploitation of their districts with other Spaniards, they also soon saw their informal jurisdictional-administrative dominance there challenged by representatives of the civil administration entering the countryside. Sooner in some areas, later in others, but eventually almost everywhere, there came to be officials stationed outside the Spanish cities, appointed for short terms, to administer justice locally and collect royal trib-

utes from the gradually increasing number of Indian towns which were placed directly under the crown rather than in encomiendas. With various titles, from the resounding *corregidor*, through *alcalde mayor*, perhaps the most common term, to the more modest *teniente (de gobernador)* as in the present case, these administrators had their seats in the largest Indian towns of jurisdictions containing on the order of five encomiendas or so. Though among the lowest direct appointees of viceroys or governors, they did have staffs, consisting of some constables, secretaries and retainers.

Like the estates of the non-encomenderos, the institution of the alcalde mayor was a manifestation of the thickening Spanish web, a congeries of interests and counterinterests no longer so easily dominated by a few individuals. And just as the encomenderos found advantages in the economic invasion of their territories, and long retained a more subtle kind of dominance, so they did in the sphere of rural government. Part of the pressure to appoint alcaldes mayores came from the old need of the governors for patronage, for meaningful posts to give the followers they brought from Spain. Corresponding pressure existed on the part of the encomendero families, a quickly multiplying group. Only the eldest son could inherit the encomienda; something else had to be found for the others, and a post as alcalde mayor was one solution, though a temporary one. Thus we see two principal types in local administration. First, the outsider, a governor's man, often directly from Spain, indebted from his trip, wanting a quick profit to wipe out the debt and to save something for himself during his brief term in office. Second, the insider, usually belonging to one of the encomendero families of the area. Particularly in smaller or poorer jurisdictions, nothing is more common than to see younger brothers and uncles of the local encomenderos taking turns as alcalde mayor. Either way, the encomenderos retained great influence. With their junior relatives this is clear, but they also, being permanent and deeply rooted, had the advantage over temporary outsiders, who needed the encomenderos' help to make a success of their economic ventures. Even the staffs of the alcaldes mayores were

often long-time residents of the area, having long since made their accommodation with the local powers.

Bartolomé Pérez Guillermo seems to be a mixture of the two types. He is an outsider who has chosen the way of the insiders. He is fairly new from Spain, apparently from a family associated with the lower levels of law enforcement (his nephew is constable in their home town), and he most likely came to be appointed through the viceregal machine – he certainly makes much of the fact that the viceroy forwarded him a letter. He may have been one of the few who decided not to aim for quick wealth and then leave the area, not to push textile or hide production or to speculate with the king's maize; notice his indirect criticism of those who do. At least, unlike most outsiders, he has chosen to take root and ally himself closely with the encomienda families. The Juan Velázquez de Salazar whom he praises so highly was one of New Spain's greatest encomenderos, and part of his grant was close to Pérez Guillermo's jurisdiction, if not within it. Pérez Guillermo has now married into Velázquez de Salazar's household, and is the next thing to his dependent. He suggests that his nephew actually enter the encomendero's service. Note also the typical distinctions in title among the women involved. Pérez Guillermo is very proud of his new wife's connections and background, and indeed her surname has a good ring; but she is not a *doña*, and the encomendero's wife most emphatically is.

The reader may think it strange that Pérez Guillermo speaks of the Augustinian order as being the most powerful, when we have previously spoken of the priority of the Franciscans in Mexico. The statement is to be taken as applying to the locality. Zinapécuaro is in the west, in Michoacán, near such great Augustinian establishments as Yuriria and Cuitzeo.

Very magnificent sir:

On the last day of September of this year of '77 I received by way of his lordship the viceroy your letter written May 28. It gives me great joy, as reason requires, to know that you want to come to this land just to see me. Certainly my spirit has long

desired to see someone from home here in this land; only a son of Andrés López, who used to live on the corner of the street of the Martyrs, has come here, to a province they call Zacatecas. And also Juan Nicolás, son of Cristóbal Sánchez, who used to live next to the square, came to this country looking for a brother of his called Benito Martín; it was he who told me of this son of Andrés López, and also that you are now chief constable of the town, and that my brother Alonso Pérez is a widower and in hardship since he has no one left there but milady sister Ana Domínguez and Teresa Alonso. I don't know why my brother Mr Alonso Pérez doesn't write, since I wrote him. If he is in need, then let him come along with you to this land, and I will give him enough from what I have to live in great honor, because I have no one here I can trust to send money by, and there in Spain money often doesn't reach the right destination, and for this reason one can't send it.

I have arranged here for you to come very comfortably in the fleet that will sail the year of '78, as you say in your letter. It chances that a very important cavalier named Juan Velázquez de Salazar is there in Castile now, having left here to go to the court as a representative of New Spain; he is a person who can do much and is worth much, in that country as well as this, and he has more than 10,000 or 12,000 pesos in yearly income from vassals. Milady doña Ana de Esquivel, his wife, is writing to tell him to bring you back in his service, to do me a favor. I am also writing myself to Mr Juan Velázquez, asking his grace to do me the favor of taking you into his service to bring you to these shores. So as soon as you see this, leave immediately to seek him out, and try in every way to see him and speak to him and offer yourself for his service, because he is a very important cavalier, and for his great goodness he is highly considered there in Spain; he will be at the court or in Seville. And if perhaps you and my brother Mr Alonso Pérez come, I am writing him to do me the favor of lending you 100 pesos for the trip, and I will pay him back as soon as you get here. And milady doña Ana de Esquivel is writing the same also, and since her grace is writing, I think everything will be all right, since she is very much my

patroness and wishes me well.

The Lord saw fit to take from this present life my wife Isabel Ponce, God rest her soul, who left me two children, one of them a boy, the other a very pretty girl. I married again in the household of milady doña Ana de Esquivel here. I wanted to tell you this so you would understand that there is obligation on the part of Mr Juan Velázquez to take you into his service, and if you come in that way you will gain a great deal, because serving him will oblige him to do what he can for you in this country. I married a young lady of great honor, of very noble parents, since she has three brothers who are friars, two of them Augustinian, who are the ones who are powerful here and have much at their command, and the other one is Dominican, all three very important people. And thus you see that I married very much to my advantage, my wife being so noble and so well related. She sends you her greetings, because she saw the letter you wrote me, and read it, since she knows how to read and write, and is sagacious, and the main thing is, she comes of very important parents, may they be in God's heaven, for they are dead now. Her father was named Cristobal Pérez Lozano and her mother Catalina de Contreras, and my wife's name is Isabel Pérez de Lozano.

I never did get the letter that you say you sent me by a canon of Michoacán.

My brother-in-law Mr Rodrigo Ponce sends greetings, and also milady Ana Vanegas, my mother-in-law, and another sister of my late wife, called Ana Vanegas too.

I have done everything possible to have this letter go to you by way of a dispatch-boat his lordship the viceroy is sending to Spain, because he was the one who channeled your letter to me, since I am at present his majesty's lieutenant in this town of Zinapécuaro and in another called Ucareo; there must be about eight leagues of jurisdiction. I have been here for more than three years, and I even was when I last wrote, but didn't care to write you about it, and wouldn't now either if there weren't the occasion that his lordship the viceroy did me the favor of sending me your letter. And I am well liked hereabouts, since I am

more proud of my honesty than of the profit I can gain from the office. There are many things I could write you about this land, but I will mention only one, which is that here men who know how to work and give themselves to virtue make a living, and those who don't, don't. There are as many vagrants here as there. What causes it is the great luxuriance of the land, because wherever a man goes he will find someone to feed him, though it is true that things are getting tighter than they used to be.

I greet those gentlemen my brothers and cousins and relatives, and beg them to write me by you. May our Lord guard your very magnificent person and raise your estate as both you and I, your uncle, desire. From this town of Zinapécuaro, the 6th day of the month of October of 1577.

Your uncle kisses your hands,

Bartolomé Pérez Guillermo

[1] Published in Spanish, with comment, in Otte, 'Die europäischen Siedler.'

38. The parish priest

Bachelor Francisco de la Calzada, in Potosí, to his sister María de la Calzada in Valencia de Don Juan, Old Castile, 1577[1]

> . . . The priests and friars who have a nephew whom they can trust are very rich . . .

Bachelor Calzada gives us in this letter a good object lesson in the economic situation of the secular clergy. The regular orders had general funds, endowments and estates which could shield friars from overt individual activity for economic gain. But secular priests were practically free agents, with no institutional support, and Calzada is not exaggerating much when he says their salaries were 'not enough for drinking water.' Even to maintain himself in the style the community expected, much less to save anything for retirement, a priest had to have supplementary sources of income. One of the best such sources was a chaplaincy, paying the priest from an endowed fund for saying periodic masses on behalf of the patron. These plums, however,

went largely to relatives of the encomenderos and other prominent local people who endowed them. Priests in the countryside commonly worked for their encomenderos as trusted, high-level managers or inspectors, and also began to acquire estates of their own; in towns they invested in whatever was most likely to show a profit, whether commerce, real estate, or here, mines. They ordinarily received certain supplies and labor from the Indians in addition to their salaries, from the same source as encomienda tribute, and indeed the encomenderos were long responsible for seeing that they got it. The products and services were often not of a kind they could use directly; instead they sold the products and employed the labor on their estates. In this way they acquired capital for more lucrative enterprises within the Spanish sector of the economy. These additional emoluments are the 'rations' that Calzada refers to as being worth 2,000 pesos a year, far more than the salary proper, and that the viceroy has taken away. This measure, had it stuck, would have been the death of Christianity in Peru; but it did not, and rural priests especially continued receiving their rations, in Peru as elsewhere, until the end of the colonial period.

Calzada's ambition is to buy a refining mill using 'this new invention of mercury.' Even at Potosí the richest deposits, those which could be exploited through smelting, were not inexhaustible. By this time they had become depleted, and the introduction (hardly invention) of the amalgamation process was making possible a new boom, greater and longer lasting than the original one. To operate his mill Calzada would need help, not so much because it would be unbecoming in an ordained priest to manage a mill personally, as because his basic position is that of priest to a parish, and there is no reason to think that he neglected his mission. The post, after all, generated the capital for his enterprises.

Secular priests were just that, secular. They had to be and were expected to be. The tendency extended to friars as well, as Calzada hints. Therefore it is natural that Calzada should be concerned very much with the question of whether to return to Spain or retire in Peru, the same as other settlers. And if he

seems a little crass in looking forward to not having to 'go about instructing Indians, which is surely a great travail,' this is after all a remark made within the family, and if we think about it, implies a sustained effort on Calzada's part.

Dear sister:

Since I have been in this realm of Peru I have written many letters, over fifteen of them, to you and to my nephew Próspero de Viso. And I have received only two from you, and one from my nephew, which I so prize and guard that they will accompany me when I return to Spain, if God permits.

I have always begged you to get my nephew Pedro de la Calzada started on his way here, since it would be greatly to my advantage and his. He has been so missed that if he had come I wouldn't be surprised to see us on the road to Spain within two years, because Potosí is more prosperous now than it has been since the world began. With this new invention of mercury, there are many men I know who less than three years ago were penniless and 3,000 or 4,000 pesos in debt, and now some of them have 50,000 pesos, others 40,000, and others who came only two years ago have 10,000 or 12,000 pesos.

The priests and friars who have a nephew whom they can trust are very rich, both groups of them. And those of us who have no one to trust have nothing but our parish salaries; there we spend more than we earn. This viceroy has done us a bad turn by reducing our salaries and removing our rations, all of which was worth over 2,000 pesos, and allowing us only 600 pesos of assayed silver, which is not enough for drinking water. If we don't devise other businesses or dealings, we can't outfit ourselves to go to Spain; but anyone who has someone to help him can leave very quickly. If my nephew had come, I would have bought him a mercury mill, that is, where silver is extracted through mercury, and with that, in less than two years we could leave with 6,000 or 7,000 pesos each. As it is, I don't know when I will be able to leave, because I am involved in spending so much in this and that endeavor that though I wish to cut down, I can't.

I was about to send three or four bars of silver, worth 1,500 ducats there, but here we have heard such bad news of everything in Seville being taken for the king, that I decided not to. And many who were about to leave for Spain are staying for the same reason. Also some tell of such misfortunes of wars and successions and many other troubles, that it clips the wings of men who want to go to Spain. Many buy properties and possessions and marry here, intending not to see Spain again. I don't know what I will do. Surely my desire is to die not here, but where I was born. If I am to go, it will be within three years, even if I take only 4,000 or 5,000 pesos with me. If I decide to stay, I will buy a very good farm or *chácara*, with a vineyard of 10,000 or 12,000 stocks and many trees, Castilian and local, that will support me when I want to retire and rest, and not go about instructing Indians, which is surely a great travail. But, as I said, if I can I would rather go to Spain, because I am very gray and fat, and this life is hard on me.

I beg you always to write me and advise me of the health of yourself and all your household, of my nieces and nephews, and all the news you get about things there and about our relatives. Here I have been told that Rodrigo de la Calzada's wife is dead, and also his son, the oldest, Antonio de la Calzada. I was greatly grieved that we are diminishing this way. I have heard nothing of our relatives the canons of León and Astorga. Keep me posted on everything.

I stay well, praise our Lord. Luis Alvarez, son-in-law of Luis del Cerro, is here in Potosí, and is applying himself to earning a living from mercury. Licentiate Gómez Hernández, brother-in-law of Licentiate Flores, is corregidor here. He is a citizen of Arequipa, and is very rich. He would like to know of his nephews, and whether Licentiate Flores is alive. Nothing else presents itself. Our Lord, etc. From Potosí, 15th of January, 1577.

Milady sister, your least brother kisses your hands,

Bachelor Francisco de la Calzada

[1] Published in Spanish, with comment, in Otte, 'Die europäischen Siedler.'

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The texts of the letters of this volume are of course translations. They are as accurate as we can devise, but they are cast in a colloquial American English meant to speak to the present rather than to be rigorously literal or quaint. We feel we have taken few liberties, but, for example, Spanish has a way of running on indefinitely without either mentioning the grammatical subject or losing the clarity of reference, and in such cases we have not hesitated to supply an intended name more often than in the original. We have also expanded where appropriate, as in rendering *fundición* as 'melting down of gold.' Perforce we have altered the categories of the originals, whether for simple lack of true English equivalents, for clarity, or in accordance with twentieth-century scholarly conventions, as in our blanket use of 'encomienda' when the originals have both *encomienda* and *repartimiento*, and indeed the latter more frequently than the former. For the purposes of strict scholarly investigation, or simply for the reader interested in learning as much as possible about the categories of thought, level of education, and subtleties of style of the writers of the letters, there is no substitute for close perusal of the originals. It is in fact our hope that readers will be encouraged to search out original texts, not only of the letters we publish here, but of many other comparable ones. To that end we offer a list of some relevant publications. All of the items under Otte's name contain comment as well as letters, much of it considerably more detailed and technical than what we have presented here for a more general audience. The two most substantial of Otte's collections, with the most extensive explanatory material, are 'Die europäischen Siedler' and 'Cartas privadas de Puebla,' from which many of our selections are taken.

We also list some publications with mainly public and official correspondence. Of these the *Cartas de Indias* has served us most as a source. And since our ultimate interest is not merely in letters per se, but in using fresh, individual, intimate material on human lives as a means to grasp broader patterns and trends, we list some recent works of social history which contain a strong biographical element. Among these, Lockhart's publications on Peru contain further details and background on several of the writers of the letters in this volume.

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Susan Migden Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

class. On the whole there was little expression of gender solidarity. Elite (white) women punished female domestic slaves with sadistic cruelty. Female slaves and other servants stole from their mistresses, or spread malicious gossip about them. Indian and black women fought over control of local market stalls. Women complained about other women's behavior and testified against each other in court. Nonetheless, we have occasional glimpses of empathy and depth of feeling between women of different social and racial groups, especially between those who lived under the same roof – often as mistress and slave or mistress and servant. In addition, there was a range of cross-class, all-female spheres or social networks in colonial Latin America. Women were linked together through their socializing in the street, in their homes and in church, by commercial dealings, by relating together over food or children. These affective ties were reflected in small loans in life and testamentary gifts in death.

To the degree that colonial women exercised power, much of it was informal and tended to take place within the homes. Women of all racial and social groups spent much of their lives in the home, either their own or that of their mistresses. Although women were not secluded (except for those in convents), most of their tasks were tied to caring for children, preparing food, and maintaining the household. Only women of middle and lower social groups left their homes to work, but many of the tasks they performed were extensions of the work done at home. Because the Iberian culture saw physical work as socially degrading, and believed that women moving about freely were morally suspect, work brought few social or economic rewards.

Although there was a slight shift in the view of women and a new interest in improving their education as a result of the Enlightenment, society continued to see women's roles in terms of color and social position. While some women participated in riots, uprisings, and revolts, they never addressed any issues relating specifically to the female gender nor did they demand any improvement in the feminine condition. Early-nineteenth-century independence movements would do little to change the power, position, or perception of women. Only with the increasing economic development and social ferment of the late nineteenth century would women in Latin America begin to question their colonial traditions.

Documents

1. Letter of Maria de Carranza, wife of a textile mill owner, in Puebla, to her brother Hernando de Soto in Seville, 1589.

Desired and beloved brother of my heart:

I have never had a reply to the many letters I have written you, except one, and it gave me great joy to know of the health of yourself and my sister-in-law and my nephews, whom I hope our Lord someday lets me see, as I desire. My husband Diego Sanchez Guadalupe was no less happy than I, though for him as well as for me, after our having so desired it, and having put so much into sending to call you here, it would be a greater happiness to see you; yet you want to stay there in that poverty and need which people suffer in Spain. I ask you for the love of God to spare me such pain from your absence, and yourself such necessity, when I have the means to give you relief. Do be sure to come quickly now, and don't make your children endure hunger and necessity. I would have sent money for your trip, but since I have had no reply to my letters, I didn't dare. Go to Ronda and collect the rent from my houses, and if you wish to, mortgage them and take four or five years' income in advance; I leave it to your discretion. And invest all except what you need for travel in fine cloths, in Rouen and Dutch linens; be sure you do it yourself, and don't trust it to others.

Be aware that anyone who brings children must come very well prepared; six hundredweight of hardtack will be enough, but better have over that than under, and make it yourself, since you know how. And buy four cured hams from Ronda, and four cheeses; twelve pounds of rice; chickpeas and beans, rather too much than too little; all the spices; vinegar and olive oil, four jugs of each; jerked beef and mutton, plenty

of it and well dressed; and as much linen and woolen clothing for you to wear as you can bring, because here it is very expensive.

Do everything in your power to bring along with you two masters of weaving coarse woolens and carding, for they will profit us greatly, and also a candlemaker, who should be an examined journeyman and good at his trade. Buy their provisions and make a contract with them from the day they sail, and I fulfill whatever you agree to; I will pay their passage and any debts they have when they arrive. And you can do all this much better than I could. Your brother-in-law Diego Sanchez Guadalupe, to whom you owe more than to me, shares my desires; to make me happy he would have gone there himself, and I tempted to let him for the sake of you and my sister-in-law and my nephews, but in order not to be left here alone and because he is an older man, I didn't let him go.

Tell the sister of my soul to consider this letter hers; how is it that her heart doesn't melt like mine for us to see each other? I understand that she is the reason you haven't come, yet she is the one who loses and has lost in not enjoying a land where food is plenteous and she can give me a good old age. I ask here, since it is in her own favor, to come quickly and make my old age happy with her arrival and that of my longed-for nephews.

Cristobal de Velasco, my brother-in-law, was here, and I gave him hospitality which he enjoyed considerably, but then he went to Panama and left me disconsolate in his absence, and I will not be satisfied until he comes back. Our Lord fulfill my desires, so that you can find relief, and I happiness.

I greet Aunt Ana de Ribera and Aunt Ana Ruiz, and when you come here, leave them where you can send them some presents, money and other things to help them, because we owe it to them, since they are sisters of our mother. Diego Sanchez Guadalupe is not writing because he is tired of sending letters and peevish that you don't answer, so he only gave permission for me to write. Maybe I will have more luck than he has had. I am sorry that so much is necessary for your own redemption.

I will send you power to collect on the property in Ronda or sell it, and I do not send it now because I am now sure it will reach your hands, for I think that if my letters had arrived, I would already have had some letter from you to enjoy. And if you decide not to come with this fleet because you aren't outfitted yet, write me, and give the letter to

Francisco Lopez de Olmos to be directed to the house of Alonso de Casas in Puebla. Trusting our Lord will give me this happiness, I and mine continue in our hope, and we greet my sister-in-law and my beloved nephews. And as to my beloved daughter Mencia Gomez, I have reserved a very rich marriage for her. May God arrange it for his holy service as I wish. From Puebla, 2nd of October, 1589.

Maria de Carranza

James Lockhart and Enrique Otte, *Letters and People of the Spanish Indies: Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 135–138.

2. Grant of an encomienda by Pedro de Valdivia, the conqueror of Chile, to his mistress, doña Inés Suárez, 1544.

You, doña Inés Suárez, came with me to these provinces to serve his Majesty there, undergoing toil and fatigue as much because of the length of our overland journey as for some encounters which we had with Indians, and hunger and other hardships suffered before arriving where we founded the city of Santiago de Chile. These things were difficult for the men to survive, and so much more so for a woman as delicate as you. In addition to this, when the Indians rose up and besieged this city, and were almost about to carry it off, your good efforts and work was part of the reason that they were not successful, for all the Christians in the city were fighting so hard against the enemy that they forgot about the Indian chiefs who were imprisoned which was the main reason that the Indians had come to force their release. And you, stealing your courage, ordered that the chiefs be killed, which was the reason that most of the Indians stopped fighting and left the city when they saw that their leaders were dead. And it is certain that if they had not died and had instead been freed, there would not be one Spaniard alive in the entire city today, and Spaniards throughout the land would only be able to survive with much effort. And after the death of the chiefs, with masculine verve you went out to enhearten the Christians who were still fighting, curing the wounded and inspiring the healthy, giving them all encouraging words, which was one of the reasons that, with your words in their ears, they went to where a large number of Indians were usually encamped and defeated them, and then the said

Indians came to this city and they took whatever you had without leaving you any clothing nor anything else, and you lost a large amount of gold and silver.

C. R. Boxer, *Women in Iberian Expansion Overseas, 1415–1815: Some Facts, Fancies and Personalities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 113–114.

3. An English Jesuit describes the women of Mexico City. **

To the by-word touching the beauty of the women I must add the liberty they enjoy for gaming, which is such that the day and night is too short for them to end a primera when once it is begun; nay, gaming is so common to them that they invite gentlemen to their houses for no other end. To myself it happened that passing along the streets in company with a friar that came with me that year from Spain, a gentlewoman of great birth, knowing us to be chaperons (so they call the first year those that come from Spain), from her window called unto us, and after two or three slight questions concerning Spain asked us if we would come in and play with her a game of primera.

Both men and women are excessive in their apparel, using more silks than stuffs and cloth. Precious stones and pearls further much this their vain ostentation. A hat-band and rose made of diamonds in a gentleman's hat is common, and a hat-band of pearls is ordinary in a tradesman. Nay, a blackamoor or tawny young maid and slave will make hard shift, but she will be in fashion with her neck-chain and bracelets of pearls, and her ear-bobs of some considerable jewels. The attire of this baser sort of people of blackamoors and mulattoes (which are of a mixed nature, of Spaniards and blackamoors) is so light, and their carriage so enticing, that many Spaniards even of the better sort (who are too prone to venery) disdain their wives for them.

Their clothing is a petticoat of silk or cloth with many silver or golden laces, with a very broad double ribbon of some light color with long silver or golden tags hanging down before, the whole length of their petticoat to the ground, and the like behind. Their waistcoats are made like bodices, with skirts, laced likewise with gold or silver, without sleeves, and a girdle about their body of great price stuck with pearls and knots of gold (if they be any way well esteemed of). Their sleeves are broad and open at the end, of holland or fine China linen, wrought

** **Note by Dr. Myrup**: The re erence here to the author being a esuit riest is in error. Thomas Gage as a Dominican riest during his time in Me ico (1 2 1 3). nd by the oint in time hen he ublished this account, he actually as living in England here he had renounced Catholicism and converted to nglicanism in 1 2.

some with colored silks, some with silk and gold, some with silk and silver, hanging down almost unto the ground. The locks of their heads are covered with some wrought colf, and over it another of network of silk bound with a fair silk, or silver, or golden ribbon which crosseth the upper part of their forehead, and hath commonly worked out in letters some light and foolish love posy. Their bare, black, and tawny breasts are covered with bobs hanging from their chains of pearls.

When they go abroad, they use a white mantle of lawn or cambric rounded with a broad lace, which some put over their heads, the breadth reaching only to their middle behind, that their girdle and ribbons may be seen, and the two ends before reaching to the ground almost. Others cast their mantles only upon their shoulders, and swaggerers-like, cast the one end over the left shoulder that they may the better jog the right arm, and shew their broad sleeve as they walk along. Others instead of this mantle use some rich silk petticoat to hang upon their left shoulder, while with their right arm they support the lower part of it, more like roaring boys than honest civil maids. Their shoes are high and of many soles, the outside whereof of the profaner sort are plated with a list of silver, which is fastened with small nails of broad silver heads. Most of these are or have been slaves, though love have set them loose, at liberty to enslave souls to sin and Satan. And there are so many of this kind, both men and women, grown to a height of pride and vanity, that many times the Spaniards have feared they would rise up and mutiny against them. The looseness of their lives and public scandals committed by them and the better sort of the Spaniards were such that I have heard those who have professed more religion and fear of God say often they verily thought God would destroy that city, and give up the country into the power of some other nation.

Sin and wickedness abound in Mexico, yet there are no more devout people in the world toward the Church and clergy. In their lifetime they strive to exceed one another in their gifts to the cloisters of nuns and friars. Some erect altars to their best devoted saints, worth many thousand thousand ducats; others present crowns of gold to the pictures of Mary, others, lamps; others, golden chains; others build cloisters at their own charge; others repair them; others at their death leave to them two or three thousand ducats for an annual stipend.

Among these great benefactors to the churches of that city I should wrong my history if I should forget one that lived in my time, called Alonso Cuellar, who was reported to have a closet to his house laid

with bars of gold instead of bricks, though indeed it was not so, but only reported for his abundant riches and store of bars of gold which he had in one chest standing in a closet distant from another, where he had a chest full of wedges of silver.

This man alone built a nunnery for Franciscan nuns, which stood him in above thirty thousand ducats, and he left for the maintenance of the nuns two thousand ducats yearly, with obligation of some Masses to be said in the church every year for his soul after his decease.

It is ordinary for the friars to visit the devoted nuns, and to spend whole days with them, hearing their music, feeding on their sweetmeats, and for this purpose they have many chambers which they call locutorios, to talk in, with wooden bars between the nuns and them, and in these chambers are tables for the friars to dine at, and while they dine the nuns recreate them with their voices. Gentlemen and citizens give their daughters to be brought up in these nunneries, where they are taught to make all sorts of conserves and preserves, all sorts of needlework, all sorts of music, which is so exquisite in that city that I dare be bold to say that the people are drawn to their churches more for the delight of the music than for any delight in the service of God. More, they teach these young children to act like players; and to entice the people to their churches, they make these children act short dialogues in their choirs, richly attiring them with men's and women's apparel, especially upon Midsummer Day, and the eight days before their Christmas. These are so gallantly performed that there have been many factious strifes and single combats – some were in my time – for defending which of these nunneries most excelled in music and in the training up of children. No delights are wanting in that city abroad in the world, nor in their churches, which should be the house of God, and the soul's, not the senses' delight.

The gallants of this city shew themselves some on horseback, and most in coaches, daily about four of the clock in the afternoon in a pleasant shady field called la Alameda, full of trees and walks, somewhat like unto our Moorfields, where do meet as constantly as the merchants upon our exchange about two thousand coaches, full of gallants, ladies, and citizens, to see and to be seen, to court and to be courted. The gentlemen have their train of blackamoor slaves, gallant liveries, heavy with gold and silver lace, with silk stockings on their black legs, and roses on their feet, and swords by their sides. The ladies also carry their

train by their coach's side of such jet-like damsels as before have been mentioned for their light apparel, who with their bravery and white mantles over them seem to be, as the Spaniard saith, "mosca en leche," a fly in milk. . . .

At this meeting are carried about many sorts of sweetmeats and papers of comfits to be sold, and for relish a cup of cool water, which is cried about in curious glasses, to cool the blood of those love-hot gallants. But many times these meetings sweetened with conserves and comfits have sour sauce at the end, for jealousy will not suffer a lady to be courted, no, nor sometimes to be spoken to, but puts fury into the violent hand to draw a sword or dagger and to stab or murder whom he was jealous of.

J. Eric S. Thompson, ed., *Thomas Gage's Travels in the New World* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 68–74.

4. Last requests of Juana Guancapamba, 1767.

In the name of God Amen. I, Juana Guancapamba, sick of body but sane of mind, draw up these requests to ease my soul, and when God our Lord is ready to take me from this life, that my body be buried in the parish of San Sebastian, next to the Holy Water font, and that the priest accompany my body with the cross on high and that two masses be said for me, one a sung mass and the other a mass recited with my body present. . . .

And I hereby leave half a plot of land, which I own and inherited from my sister, Isabel Criolla, deceased, to be sold to pay for my funeral. . . .

I owe 12 reales to Madalena, the Indian pulpera [storeowner] in Espinosa and I here order that this be paid.

I owe 4 reales to Marica. I order it be paid.

That half a real be given as charity to Saint Sebastian.

That another half real be given to the Virgin of Gracia.

And that if any money be left over, it be saved for me, to be used for the prayers on the anniversary of my death.

I have served as steward [Priosta] of the Confraternity of San Sebastian for ten years. . . .

I am a member of the Confraternity of the glorious San Salvador. I ask that they accompany my body [in the funeral] with their banner.

I have been a member of the Confraternity of the Virgen de los Remedios. I ask and beseech the officers that they accompany my body with their banner and candles.

I have been a member of the Confraternity of the glorious Saint Nicolas. I ask the officers that they accompany my body as is their regular custom.

I have been a member of the Confraternity of the Virgin del Rosario and I ask that they accompany my body as is their regular custom.

Miguel Guapriana and his wife owe me 2 reales.

Magdalena Cortes owes me 1 real. I ask that it be collected.

And the wife of Ornillo owes me 1 real.

Anton Cuerdar owes me half a real.

And the Obanda woman owes me half a real. I ask that it be collected.

And Juan Sanchez owes me one real. I ask that it be collected.

I don't remember owing anything else to anyone nor having anyone else owing me. If anything else come forward, pay it.

I leave three small old pots and two jars and two hens and six Guinea pigs. All this may my son Francisco Elias have and enjoy with my blessing.

The house in which I have lived for the last 60 years belongs to Francisco Chas, for it belonged to his parents. I have no interest in it as it is publicly known.

This account to serve as a last will and testament was drawn up on 13 May 1657, in the presence of Jacinto Mendez Ramos, notary and Domingo Guarniso. Witnessed by Francisco Mendez Ramos.

Archivo Nacional de Historia, Quito, Tierras, 1765, caja 85, cited in Alfonso Anda Aguirre, *Indios y negros bajo el dominio español en Loja* (Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala 1993), 69–71.

5. Letter from the Countess de Galve to the Duchess del Infantado y Pastrana, Marchioness del Cenete. Mexico City, 28 May 1693.

Most excellent lady,

My lady, sister-in-law, and lifelong friend, in the last packet boat I wrote you and now I do so again because of the great pleasure I take in it and also for the news I wish to have of your health. I shall be happy if it is as good as I wish and if it is the same with my brother-in-law

and nephews, whose hands I kiss. My husband places himself at your feet. I remain to serve you in everything, though very ill, because the recurrence of my illness has caused me headaches to severe that I am prevented from writing in my own hand. You will therefore excuse its being written in someone else's hand. Now, I shall go on to tell you that I am sending the money, as you have ordered me, by don Pablo Vizarrón. You can rely on him whenever you want to send something. I am very pleased to have successfully served you, and by what you tell me about my not sending you something that may break.

For this reason, no pottery is coming. I am only sending you an image of [the Virgin of] Guadalupe, painted from the original, since you are so devoted to the Lady, and some chocolate. I shall be happy if it is to your liking. With that, you will not notice that the fans I am sending you are not very good. Since the boat from China did not come this year, nothing was to be found. You will thus pardon the insignificance of the gift. When I come, I shall try to bring some of the best.

I wish the day had already arrived when we might see one another in that court. In the meantime, do not fail to order me, since you know I am very much yours. May Our Lord protect you, my lady and sister-in-law, the many years I wish. Mexico City. 28 May 1693.

My love, here is the list from the raffles, if it would please you to entertain yourself reading it and so that you will know that I am a businesswoman. The money I asked for is being used for the cacao so that don Pablo Viazarrón can sell it and send you an accounting. Because he is my husband's agent and a very reputable man, I sent it to him, saying that he should do what you order him to. I shall be pleased if you like this arrangement, since that is my wish. I am as always, and there is nothing new here. Everything is quiet.

Most excellent lady, your sister-in-law and surest friend kisses your hands.

Gelvira

Most excellent lady duchess, the Duchess del Infantado y Pastrana, Marchioness del Cenete, my lady, sister-in-law and friend,

Record of the pieces of crystal sent to be sold with the highest prices at which they could be appraised, which serve as a guide for the raffle (although with some variation)

A small worked cup decorated with red and green enamel, appraised at 80 pesos.

Another cup with a tiny decoration at the tip of its base, appraised at 74 pesos.
A small, smooth crystal shield with a gilt base and handles, appraised at 64 pesos.
A small, worked dicebox without any decoration, appraised at 120 pesos.
Another dicebox with a lid and handles, with some decoration, appraised at 100 pesos.
A goblet from Carmona [Spain] with base, appraised at 200 pesos.
A water jug with gilt handle and base with some inlaid pearls and rubies, appraised at 100 pesos.

A round flask with gilt, black enamel mouth, appraised at 12 pesos.
Another, more flat-nosed crystal flask, appraised at 10 pesos.
A crystal cask without a lid, appraised at 10 pesos.
Another little crystal cask with a lid to one side, appraised at 10 pesos.
Three small crystal cases without decoration, appraised at 23 pesos each, which comes to 72 pesos.

A round, flat-nosed, decorated crystal box, appraised at 14 pesos.
A long, decorated crystal box, appraised at 12 pesos.
Inside the box, another small worked crystal box with small black enamel metal springs and four turquoises, appraised at 26 pesos.
Another decorated crystal box in the form of a heart, appraised at 16 pesos.

A tiny crystal chestnut, appraised at 12 pesos.
Two small crystal casks with taps, appraised at 20 pesos.
A crystal globe, appraised at 14 pesos.
A blue, decorated crystal box, appraised at 10 pesos.
A crystal egg-shaped card with merlon-shaped decoration on which a San Antonio is painted, appraised at 40 pesos.
A pair of drop earrings in the form of eagles with rubies, appraised at 260 pesos.
Another crystal box in the form of a star, appraised at 16 pesos.
An aventurine cask with tap, appraised at 8 pesos.
A small aventurine ark with filigree metal springs, appraised at 10 pesos.

A small aventurine cask, with top decorated with blue enamel and two little chains, appraised at 20 pesos.

The pieces of crystal and aventurine are worth (so it seems) 1,330 pesos according to the appraisal. What resulted from the raffle was 1,479 pesos, so that the amount was increased by 139 pesos above the appraisal.

Meredith D. Dodge and Rick Hendricks, eds., *Two Hearts, One Soul: The Correspondence of the Condesa de Galve, 1688–96* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), 139–143.

6. Letter from the Countess de Galve, vicereine of Mexico to her brother, the marquis de Távara. Mexico City, 5 June 1696.

My brother and love of my life and heart:

On the occasion of my husband's dispatching this packet boat, I tell you how excited I am to have received two letters from you. The most recent is from 28 June. Because you are well, all else is less important. I deeply regret that you are still stuck in that remote corner. I trust in God that we will all soon be able to hold our heads high.

God has seen fit for us to see one another with this fleet. I assure that I am mad with joy. Through the way is difficult and very dangerous, I have no fear; rather my desire is to get on with it. I believe our departure from here will be around the first of May and from Veracruz around the middle of June.

I trust in God that we shall see one another this year. For this reason, I do not plan to write at length. We are very hurried, as much to dispatch this packet boat as to make the preparations for our journey. We shall see each other and speak of the nine years here that we have not seen one another.

Here I want to say that the death of Brigida [de España, a chambermaid] is a shame. She married, and not to my satisfaction. She gave birth to a girl and died during childbirth. I have the child in my home and am struggling to understand her. She is more than a year old, and I have to carry her nursing. She is as ugly as can be, but very much the joker.

There is nothing new here to tell you about. If there is, it will be

when my husband leaves office. I shall carry this news to you there, but what I shall not take is my maidservants.

There is a great rush to marry. One young woman you do not know married, as did one from my chamber. Two others are about to marry. One is doña Manuela [Rojo, a lady-in-waiting in the Galve household], and I greatly regret it because she will remain here. When we see each other, we shall speak of many things. I ask God that we achieve this. May his majesty protect you for me, love of my life, as is so necessary to me.

She who loves you most and is yours until death.

Meredith D. Dodge and Rick Hendricks, eds., *Two Hearts, One Soul: The Correspondence of the Condesa de Galve, 1688–96* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), 156–157.

7. *Teresa de Aldao y Rendón v. Carlos Ortiz de Rozas* for having reneged on his promise to marry her, Buenos Aires, 1746.

How is it that Carlos Ortiz de Rozas spoke the same or similar words [a promise to marry her] when before beginning to court her he knew from various people that a captain of this garrison had previously taken her honor [had sexual relations with her], having given her his word and paper [that is after promising to marry her by oral and written promise]. At the same time Ortiz also knew, because of the complaint filed by her mother or someone else in her family before don Domingo Ortiz de Rozas who was then governor of this province, that don Juan Bautista Agüero, don Pedro Cueli, and Basilio de Pesoa had been exiled from the city because at an unseemly time of night they were found in the house of don Jacinto Aldao. Therefore the defendant should not have given his word of marriage to such a worldly woman, nor should his reputation have permitted it, for in proposing marriage to her he would be obligated, as a man of honor, to fulfill his promise."

Archivo de la Curia Ecclesiatica (Buenos Aires), Legajo 17, Expediente 25, Autos seguidos por D. Jazinto de Aldao en causa de Da. Francisca de Aldao, su hija contra el capitán D. Carlos Jasinto de Rosas, sobre la palabra de casamiento y demas . . . , reproduced in Raul A. Molina, *Historia de los divorcios en el período hispánico* (Buenos Aires: Fuentes históricas y genealógicas argentinas, 1985), 161.

8. Accounts of Carmen Bajo Convent, Quito, 1749–1753.

Money received by the prioress:

Income from annuities [*censos*]	9,812 p 2 r
Weekly money from the haciendas	3,290 p
Gentlemen who have paid for the honor of marching in a procession with the key to the Holy Sacrament:	
Don Bartolomé Pinto	200 p
Don Juan Antonio de Ochoa	100 p
Don Clemente Sánchez	100 p
Payment for expenses of 3 noviates	300 p
A gift from the bishop	113 p
Loan from judge don José Quintana	2,666 p 5 r
A gift from the judge for an ornament	707 p 6 r

During the past four years the administrator of the haciendas has turned over the following funds:

From the sale of old cows	9 p 3 r
From the sale of 7 fanegas [c. 1.5 bushels] of beans and oats	9 p 7 r
One arroba [c. 25 pounds] of sugar	4 p
One arroba of rice	
From the sale of 9 fanegas of oats	11 p
4 arrobas of sugar for the festival of Our Lady of Carmen at 4 pesos per arroba	16 p
Another arroba of sugar	4 p
In milk	9 p 3 r
Another 4 arrobas of sugar	16 p
Plus another 5 arrobas of sugar	20 p
40 pesos in silver	40 p
One hundredweight of rice	
1 arroba of fish	

Brought from the haciendas:

90 fanegas of corn from Caspigazi
225 large bags of potatoes from Caspigazi
925 mule-loads of charcoal

36 fanegas of beans
5 fanegas of beans
3 fanegas of common vetch [*alverja*]
490 cheeses from Aychapicho
605 large bags of potatoes from Aychapicho
2 fanagas of sweet-pea flour
2 fanegas of oats
14 fanegas of wheat flour

Expenses 1749–1753:

Rations for the nuns for 4 years	8,567 p 5 r
Black sackcloth for each nun's habit	550 p
Fine flannel for 4 tunics for each nun	321 p 5 r
Flannel	163 p 6 r
Printed cotton cloth	160 p 7 r
Three and a half pieces of cambric from Cambrai for veils	42 p
Coarse shirting for the servants	64 p 5 r
Rope-soled shoes	146 p
Salary and tips for the servants	157 p 2 r
Payment to 3 sacristans	153 p
Salary to the washerwomen	60 p
For the barber	48 p
For the harp maker	48 p
To the pharmacy for the purchase of 4 bottles of almond oil	411 p
Other pharmacy charges	140 p 4 r
4 feast days [*fiestas*] in honor of Our Lady of Carmen	336 p 2 r
4 feast days in honor of Saint Joseph	206 p 2 r
4 feast days in honor of Saint Teresa	304 p 5 r
Money given to beggars	48 p
4 plenary indulgences [*jubileos*] for the 40 Hours	95 p 1 r
4 plenary indulgences for the Holy Trinity	24 p
Holy Week expenses	140 p
Masses and musicians when the Virgen of Quinche and the Virgen of Guápulo were here	19 p

Bulls for the servants	14 p
Benzoin, civet and other supplies to make cakes or lozenges	170 p
Gifts to the gentleman who marched with the key, to the priests for the talks during Advent, Lent, and religious spiritual exercises	80 p
For the burial of Sister Juana de Dios and the masses in honor of her family and benefactors	121 p
The chaplain's salary	1,880 p
48 mules	828 p
Wax	2,153 p 3 r
Wine	26 p
1 misal	30 p
Gold and silver thread, silk, embroideries, and other material to make flowers and other odds and ends to make scapularies and ribbons	120 p
Repairs made by various artisans	145 p
1 serving bowl of china and some Talavera plates	12 p 6 r
Adornments for an image	12 p
Payment for the wreath of Our Lady of Carmen and the diadem of Saint Joseph	34 p
Sale of the old mostrance to don Bernabé Enríquez and with that silver 4 silver eagles and their coats of arms and 4 small pitchers were made	400 p
Total	18,243 p 5 r

Archivo del Carmen Bajo, Quito, Cuentas de la Madre Francisca María de la Madre de Dios y San Miguel, 1749–1753, legajo 17, reproduced in María del Carmen Luna Tobar, *Historia del Convento del Carmen Bajo* (Quito: Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, 1997), 88–91.

9. Letter of Victoria Antonia de Pesoa to her husband, the merchant Fernando Maseira, absent in Paraguay for three years, Buenos Aires, 1754.

My dearest husband Fernando de Maseira,

Dear husband my soul will be most happy if this letter finds you in perfect health. Your son and I are here to serve you although we always feel the weight of your absence. As the years of your absence grow longer, so too does this sentiment. I am only sustained by the hope that God who gives us life give me that we will soon see each other again, and that this will be soon. I didn't send you a letter in the boat because I wasn't sure when it was leaving. I rather send this to you with the priest Don Simón, who will also tell you about everything that has befallen me here. If it hadn't been for Don Juan Arias, we would have lost our house and our servants, for everything was about to be auctioned off. Don Juan Arias has been like a father to me, and I live giving thanks to him. He and my brothers hid our stuff. Doña Sabina has finally been repaid, and you shouldn't worry any more. I will send you the shirts in the next boat if you send me money with which to buy Brittany linen. Don't forget that I have five people to dress, that counting myself we are six, and that we also have to eat. Joaquín sends you word of his little mulatto slave named José Gaspar who was born on 24 December 1753, and who is more beautiful than Manuel. I'm sending you the measurements for the doors and windows that you asked for; you can read the little pieces of paper in which each one is wrapped and will understand where each one is. And try to return as soon as posssible because we are now a large group of people and we have no house to live it. And Joaquín is not learning to read, although I have him in school because I am in the country as much as I'm in town. And about your request that I prevent my father from working on the corner property that you sold him, I haven't done it so that he doesn't think I'm ungrateful, for they are going to begin to build and because we have enough room. My father is fine, although suffering with the shame of my brother's, Fernando, being in jail. Don Bartolo Galban will tell you all the details.

Everyone here at home is fine and we all send you our regards and hope that God protects you for many years. Buenos Aires. 25 January 1754.

Your wife who esteems you and would like to see you.

Vitoria Antonia de Pesoa

[In the margin]

Stop fooling yourself for no one gives us anything free of charge. Don Bartolo has given me nothing for free.

Carlos Mayo and Amalia Lotrubesse de Diaz, *Cartas de una mujer porteña (siglo XVIII)* (La Pampa, Argentina: Universidad Nacional de la Pampa, 1983), 14.

10. Letter of doña Manuela Camacho y Pinto to her lover Don Manuel Bustillo, Cochabamba, 1789.

My most beloved friend of my soul, delight of my sorrow, I received your letter this morning, my love, brought by José Manuel, in which you speak of your health and the hardship that you are suffering. Don't be silly. Don't allow yourself to die or to come to grief over such trifling difficulties. I, who am a woman, could do that, but I haven't and I'm as fresh as a lettuce because it's nothing to me, so great is the love I have for you. I have no other desire but to love you more and more and that you be true to me. So, my love, don't become despondent or worry. They're not going to take me to be tortured and even if they do, they can't accuse me of murdering anyone or of falsifying money, but only that I love you. Yes I love you and I'm true to you and you must have courage and be strong in your love for me and do more to endure all this as I'm doing. And have patience because the day will come, my love, when everything will be better. . . . I don't trust Losada or Maldonado or little Diego because they are all in league with each other, and you shouldn't trust anyone either because the friend who seems to be the most loyal is your enemy. . . . And so I commend you to God, my joy, my heart, my soul, my consolation, and my most beloved master. I commend you to God with whom I remain. I ask that you be guarded many years so that you can comfort me and that we be given the delight that we want as soon as possible. Your true lover wants to be with you and to kiss you. Manuela Camacho loves Manuel Bustillo until death. . . . Goodbye my love.

Archivo General de la Nación (Argentina), Criminales, Legajo 33, Número 6, IX-32-4-5, cited in Susan Migden Socolow, *The Bureaucrats*

of Buenos Aires, 1769–1810: Amor al Real Servicio (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), 200–221.

11. Deposition given by Maria Santos Narvona against Nicolás Bazán, 1798.

Nicolás Bazán, having been accused by Atanasio Pasos of abusing his wife, María Santos Narvona, the latter declares that ". . . while her husband was absent in the settlement of Nonogasta, Nicolás Bazán came into her house and said to her 'come mount up behind me, let's go to the woods,' and she answered him 'I don't want to go with you, for I am not your wife nor your lover, and if I was when I was single, I no longer am,' and Bazán answered, 'who took this right away from me?' and she responded, 'God and my husband Atanacio'; and then Bazán repeated, 'Didn't I tell you that we were going to mount, because now you're getting me angry, for you did it before and you'll it again'; and she answered 'I already told you that I don't want to,' and hearing this Bazán became furious and he gave her a good slap, telling her again, 'Mount, because I'm now very angry,' and she again repeated that she wasn't going to do it because he wasn't her husband, and she slid off the horse, although he grabbed her by the hair, and having gotten away from him with much effort, she hid behind a loom for weaving hemp, and he came after her, chasing her, with her running around the said loom in order to escape from him because he was after her with a knife in his hands trying to stab her in order to overtake her and rape her, and seeing herself under such a violent attack, she fled toward the kitchen, but he beat her to the door and he grabbed her by the arm, dragged her out of the house up to his horse, and forced her to mount, although she still resisted, taunting him by asking when they would marry, and he told her that she had better mount up because if she didn't do it right now he would take her out and tie her up where everyone would see her; under this threat she got on the horse while he held onto her arm so that he could drag her along, but then a woman who is her neighbor came out, and Bazán went away, and later thinking that she was free of any danger, she went out to the vineyard to gather firewood [with] two children, and when the said Bazán realized that she had gone to the vineyard adjoining the property of Felipe Castro, jumping over a fence which he had and coming upon her, he grabbed her by the arm and said to her that if you don't want to mount up

behind me, I'll make you walk to the woods, where you are going to repay me for the times that you betrayed me when you were single, and she answered 'I don't owe you anything,' and then Reducindo Carabajal screamed 'here comes the Alcalde and the priest,' and he answered, 'It doesn't matter to me for I do whatever I like,' and, saying this, he took her into the woods close to the vineyard, and he told her that he was going to cut off her head or her ears and, her hair, and, saying that, he took out this knife, grabbed her by the hair and, trying to cut it off, twisted the wrist of the child who was with her and, in addition to these violent acts, he wounded her on her shoulder with a small slash, telling her that he was giving her an example of what he could do, and to this she repeated that she was not his wife nor his lover, and if she had been his lover before, she wasn't anymore, and in spite of his threats, she escaped and beat him to her house, and back in her house she shouted that because of that devil I've wasted the whole afternoon, but after a while the said Bazán returned to her house, and he said to her 'If you don't do what I want, I'm going to take you out in front of everyone and force you to mount on that duck and they continued to have words until the said Bazán went on his way still threatening her with cutting her ears.'"

Archivo General de la Nación Argentina, Sala IX, Tribunales, Leg. 180, Exp. 28, fs. 2, cited in Eduardo R. Saguier, "Las contradicciones entre el fuero militar y el poder político en el Virreinato del Río de la Plata," *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 56 (June 1994), 72–73.

Catherine Joy McKnight and Leo Garofalo, eds., *Afro-Latino Voices: Narratives from the Early Modern Ibero-Atlantic World, 1550-1812* (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 2009).

Part III
Religious Beliefs and Practices

Religion was perhaps the most contentious sphere of cultural difference between Africans and Iberians. By 1502, Muslims and Jews who had not converted to Christianity were expelled from Spain, and converts and heretics under suspicion were punished by an active Inquisition. Religion and nationality built the foundations for racial differentiation and the social subordination of non-Christians. Africans were considered pagans who could be evangelized and saved, a purpose used to justify their enslavement, but when they continued to practice pagan beliefs or mixed them with Christianity, the Church felt threatened and prosecuted them as sorcerers, witches, and idolaters.

In times of high tension, colonials leveled accusations of witchcraft against Afro-Latinos as a social group out of fear of this more populous racial "inferior"; such fear may have played into the prosecution of Paula de Eguiluz (Chapter 11). In the Caribbean, Afro-Latinos were often caught between Catholic and Protestant worlds or navigated this European conflict to their advantage, as did many *Maroons* who aided Protestant pirates in their attacks on Spanish cities and wealth. In a contrary move, two *Beafada* men, slaves of a Cartagena woman who had been captured by a Dutch citizen and taken to the English colony of Providence Island, sided with Catholicism and gave informative and condemnatory accounts of the island's Puritan life to the Spaniards in Portobelo (Chapter 12).

Not all Catholic clergy thought alike, and, in the tradition of Saint Thomas Aquinas, Dominicans often saw pagan religious experience as preparation for Christian salvation. Perhaps this attitude provides some explanation for the survival in Sor Teresa Chicaba's as-told-to biography of syncretic elements of African religious belief, including a vision of a Holy White Lady in her West African homeland (Chapter 13). Many African religious societies in the Americas secretly sustained *transculturated* religious practices, but they could also proclaim orthodox Christianity to elevate themselves above other African *nations,* as did the leaders of the Confraternity of Saints Elesbão and Iphigenia in Rio de Janeiro, claiming superiority over the heathen *Angolans* (Chapter 14). All these stories show Afro-Latinos who adopted Catholicism continuing to live between religious worlds. Their stories allow glimpses into the ways that religion was a cultural space of transformation and a means to personal and communal survival and social standing.

11

The Witchcraft Trials of Paula de Eguiluz, a Black Woman, in Cartagena de Indias, 1620–1636[1]

Sara Vicuña Guengerich

Between 1623 and 1636, Paula de Eguiluz, a woman of African descent whose mother was of the *Biáfara* caste, was tried three times for witchcraft by the Inquisition in Cartagena de Indias on the northern coast of what is now Colombia. Paula was born on the Caribbean island of Santo Domingo but grew up serving different masters in Puerto Rico and Cuba. Her final master was Juan de Eguiluz, the royal treasury's accountant (*contador de la Real Hacienda de Su Majestad*) of the mines of El Cobre in Santiago del Prado, Cuba.[2]

In 1620, Juan de Eguiluz took over the copper mines as a private contractor and settled there with his household. Arriving with him from Havana were his daughter Doña Paula de Eguiluz, his slave Paula de Eguiluz, and other servants. The enslaved black population of Santiago del Prado at that time consisted of 205 males and 110 females (Díaz, 33).[3] Unlike several other female slaves of El Cobre, Paula de Eguiluz was a slave who dressed well and who was given permission to visit her friends in Havana from whom she learned spells to entice potential lovers. During the years prior to her arrest in Santiago del Prado, she was publicly known as a sorceress. The key suspicion that led to her arrest was that she had killed an Indian woman's child by means of witchcraft.

In 1623, Paula was accused of witchcraft (*brujería*), divination, and apostasy (declarations contrary to Church doctrine). In September of that year, the Inquisition prosecutor in Cartagena de Indias, Domingo Vélez de Asas y Argos, requested that the Inquisition authorities arrest her in Cuba, seize her goods, and transport her to the secret jails of the Cartagena Inquisition.[4] Paula de Eguiluz arrived in Cartagena in 1624 not yet informed of the specific charges she faced, because of the secrecy with which the Holy Office conducted the inquisitorial proceedings. Eleven witnesses had accused Paula of numerous offenses, among them causing the death of an infant by sucking her navel,[5] transforming herself into a goat, appearing and vanishing in different places without leaving a trace, and selling love spells.

[1] See Map 5.

[2] These rich mines constituted one of the most important enterprises in the Caribbean in the early seventeenth century because they provided for the needs of the Crown's artillery.

[3] For a history of the ownership of this mine and the slaves who worked it, see Díaz and Chapter 8 of this volume.

[4] According to Medina (108), the Inquisition tribunal in Cartagena de Indias built nine new cells to imprison their new offenders; among them was Paula de Eguiluz.

[5] A common indictment in witchcraft trials in Europe as well as in Spanish America was infanticide by vampirism (Henningsen, 27).

Her alleged crimes fell into the categories of sorcery and witchcraft, which the Church condemned. According to Colombian historian Diana Luz Ceballos Gómez (86–90), the Cartagena Inquisition distinguished between the application of the terms *hechicería* (sorcery) and *brujería*. *Hechicería* was the label given to an individual who used spells and remedies for both good and evil purposes, often with the aid of natural materials. With its European, Amerindian, and African origins, *hechicería* often used magic to help a person attract a mate or resolve spousal conflicts. Conversely, *brujería* was a label that defamed an entire group or category of people. A witch —a *bruja*—was thought to reject God and the sacraments and instead worship the devil and observe the witches' Sabbath.[6] Consequently, *brujería* represented a much more serious charge.

Although Spanish inquisitors were much more concerned with maintaining religious orthodoxy than they were with prosecuting witches per se, the discourses of race and ethnicity were fused with those of witchcraft and thus brought the attention of the Inquisition to accusations of witchcraft among non-European racial groups. Africans and their descendants used a variety of charms, talismans, and rituals to bring themselves luck and to protect themselves from various maladies; hence, their practices were suspected of being the work of the devil (Sweet, 164–75). Charges of witchcraft and heresy were common among the African-descent communities.

From 1610 to 1660, more than four hundred people were tried by the Inquisition in Cartagena de Indias. Sixteen percent of the accused, imprisoned, and punished were classified as blacks and eleven percent as slaves. About thirty percent of the accused, including blacks transported from the Caribbean islands, were tried for witchcraft, sorcery, and divination (Splendiani, Sánchez Bohórquez, and Luque de Salazar). Paula de Eguiluz was counted among the fifteen black women enslaved and free accused of being a witch and having made a pact with the devil (Blázquez, 215).

The documents in this chapter belong to the dossier of Paula de Eguiluz's first trial, which in its entirety includes 111 folios. This documentation reveals the peculiarities of inquisitorial procedures such as the initial denunciation of the offender by the familiars and professional informers of the Inquisition, the confiscation of property, the refusal to divulge the reasons for arrest, the three warnings (*amonestaciones*), the formal accusation of the prosecutor, the permission to obtain legal help for the victim, and the conclusion of the case with the victim's sentence and punishment (Kamen, 164–97). Paula de Eguiluz's first trial was composed of a series of *audiencias* or hearings, at which the prosecution and defense made their respective depositions of witnesses, and a series of interrogations carried out by the inquisitors in the presence of a notary.

The victim's confessions, such as Eguiluz's, in witchcraft trials offer a unique, if partial window into the life, religious beliefs, and supposed crimes of women of African descent. Paula's narrative, for example, employs a discursive strategy that speaks of a *transculturated* notion of Catholicism and upholds African cultural religious beliefs and practices often punished by the Church. Her confessions reveal her limited knowledge

[6] The witches' Sabbaths or *aquelarres* were supposedly assemblies where witches gathered on the eve of the festivals of the Christian year to commit themselves to the devil (Henningsen, 71).

of Christian doctrine; yet, they expose her devotion to the Virgin. They disclose her herbal cures to heal the ill as well as her potions to attract men. Most interestingly, they bring to light the shared cultural practices and social and kin affiliations of the African-descendant communities in the colonial period.

When both prosecution and defense completed their duties, Paula's case concluded with her acknowledgment that the devil had persuaded her to follow him. However, she repented of her sins and pled to be reconciled with the Church, which was the fate of the majority of the penitents in the Spanish Inquisition (Kamen, 185). Following the basic inquisitorial procedure, Paula appeared in an *auto de fe*,[7] wearing the penitential robe or *sambenito*.[8] She abjured publicly while receiving two hundred lashes, and she was ordered to serve in the city hospitals for one year.

Once reconciled with the Church, Paula remained in Cartagena de Indias as a free woman (*negra horra*), having obtained her *manumission* during the period of her first trial. After completing her sentence in the city hospital, she continued practicing love-related magic (*arte de bien querer*), spells, and healing, from which she obtained an income. In 1632 and again in 1636, the Inquisition of Cartagena de Indias tried Paula under new witchcraft charges. Her second and third trials highlighted the offenses from the first, adding only a few new accusations. In these new trials, Paula was accused of having made an explicit pact with the devil, conjuring the souls of purgatory to attract men, and initiating several women—white, black, and of other *castas*—into the witches' sect (*la secta de las brujas*).

After repeatedly hearing in her trials the highly doctrinal discourse of the Church's accusations, Paula altered her testimony and explanations, which previously had been rooted in an oral popular culture. Understanding that the Inquisition classified her African beliefs and practices as heretical, Paula began to rework her narrative according to Catholic discourse. Her testimony shifted from a total denial of all the charges to the acknowledgment of her herbal healing, to which she gave Christian purposes.

As this did not satisfy the inquisitors' demands, Paula provided further confessions about her pact with the devil in which she admitted having committed aberrant sins. By the end of her third trial, not excerpted here, she provided the most symbolic images of witchcraft. She redefined the biblical concepts of the devil to provide a *transculturated* vision of the Catholic beliefs. As Paula de Eguiluz spoke with her inquisitors, and as her oral expressions were filtered through the bureaucratic discourse of the Inquisition, she left a narrative in which it is possible to hear her voice as she exercises agency in her own defense.

[7] Literally an act of faith. It was a public expression of penance for sin and hatred for heresy (Kamen, 185).

[8] The *sambenito* was usually a yellow, penitential garment displaying one or two diagonal crosses; the penitent was condemned to wear it as a mark of infamy (Kamen, 186).

Primera causa de Paula de Eguiluz, *negra horra* reconciliada por bruja, 1624[1]

[Paula de Eguiluz aparece por primera vez frente al inquisidor: 25 de mayo de 1624]

En la *audiencia* de la tarde de la Santa Inquisición de Cartagena, a 25 días del mes de mayo de 1624 años, estando en ella el señor Inquisidor Doctor Agustín de Ugarte Saravia, por su mandado fue traída de las *cárceles secretas* una mujer *morena* de la cual fue recibido juramento en forma debida de derecho. Y so cargo de él prometió de decir verdad así en esta *audiencia,* como en todas las demás que con ella se tuvieren hasta la determinación de su causa. Y que guardará secreto de todo lo que viere y entendiere. Y habiéndole preguntado cómo se llama, de dónde es natural, qué edad y qué estado tiene, dijo que se llama Paula de Eguiluz, natural de la ciudad de Santo Domingo de la isla Española.[2] Que al presente es esclava de Juan de Eguiluz, *alcalde mayor* de las minas del cobre, que son junto a la ciudad de Santiago de Cuba donde habrá cuatro años que está. De edad que dijo ser de treinta y tres años—poco más o menos. Y habiéndosele dicho que el *alcalde* ha hecho *relación* que ha pedido *audiencia,* que pues está en ella diga para qué la ha pedido.

Dijo que la ha pedido para declarar lo en que se halla culpada. Y habiéndola mandado que lo declare dijo que se acusa de un pecado de incesto. Que le cometió habiendo conocido carnalmente a dos hombres que eran parientes el uno de otro; no sabe en qué grado. Y que así mesmo se acusa de haber dado crédito a algunos sueños como fue que habiendo soñado una noche que venía ganado del Báyamo al Cobre, donde [Paula] estaba. Vio a la mañana cómo venía ganado de Barajagua, y entonces dijo a los que estaban presentes:—Mira si el sueño que yo soñé si no salió verdad. Ya vino ganado de Barajagua.—Y representándosele que veía a una persona, le sucedió verle otro día. Y en otras ocasiones sin haberlo soñado decía lo que veía y se alababa de que lo soñó. . . .

Ídem. Dijo que estando [Juan de Eguiluz] su amo malo de calenturas y andando ésta preguntando por algún *remedio* para quitárselos, Juana Gerónima, mujer soltera y española que vive en el Juan aconsejó a ésta que tomase unas cascarillas de naranjas que se ponen en el monumento [el sepulcro] y que con un huesito de muerto y un poco de romero lo pusiese en el dicho monumento y otro día lo moliese todo junto. Y de aquellos polvos le diese en vino al dicho su amo y que con eso se le quitarían las calenturas. Y [Paula], con el deseo que tenía de que su amo alcanzase salud lo quiso hacer y el dicho su amo no se lo consintió.

Y por ser dada la hora cesó esta *audiencia.* Y *amonestada* la rea, fue mandada llevar a su cárcel. Y habiéndosele leído esto que ha dicho dijo estar bien escrito. Y por no

[1] Records of the three Paula de Eguiluz trials are preserved in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid. These documents are also available online through the Portal de Archivos Españoles (PARES). Procesos de fe de Paula de Eguiluz, Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Inquisición 1620, exp. 10.

[2] In the margin, *Edad 33 años.*

First Trial of Paula de Eguiluz, Accused of Witchcraft and Reconciled with the Church, 1624

[Paula de Eguiluz Appears for the First Time before the Inquisitor: May 25, 1624]

In the afternoon hearing of the Holy Inquisition of Cartagena on May 25, 1624, the Lord Inquisitor Doctor Agustín de Ugarte Saravia being present, a dark-skinned woman was ordered to be brought from the secret jails. Her oath was taken as required by law, under which she swore to tell the truth and to keep in secret what was revealed in this hearing as well as in the rest of the hearings until the resolution of her case. The inquisitor asked her name, origin, age, and status, to which she answered that her name was Paula de Eguiluz and she was originally from Santo Domingo in Hispaniola.[1] She said that at the present she was the slave of Juan de Eguiluz, administrator of the mines of El Cobre near Santiago de Cuba where she had been living for four years. She said she was about thirty-three years old. She was told that the *alcalde* reported her request for a hearing and now that she has one she should state why she requested it.

She said she requested it to declare her guilt. And having been told to declare it, she admitted the sin of incest, which she committed by carnal knowledge of two men who were relatives, but she does not know how they are related. She also accused herself of believing some of her dreams, such as the one she dreamed about some livestock that came from Báyamo to El Cobre, where she was at that time. The next morning, she saw livestock coming from Barajagua. Then she told everyone, "See how my dream came true: the livestock did come from Barajagua." Also, whenever she dreamed about a person, she happened to see this person the next day. Many other times she talked about what she saw without having dreamed it but bragged that she had dreamt it. . . .

Item. She said that one time her master [Juan de Eguiluz] had a high fever and she was looking for a remedy to heal him. Juana Gerónima, a single Spanish woman who lives in Juan[2] advised her to take some of the orange peels, place them on a grave and mix them with a little bit of ground bones from a dead person, along with rosemary leaves, and put them on the grave. Then the next day mix all that with wine so her master would drink it and become well. Paula did as indicated because she wanted her master to feel better; however, her master did not allow it.

And because of the hour, the hearing ended. The inquisitor admonished Paula and sent her back to her prison. Before she left, the scribe read the content of this document, and she said it was recorded correctly. The inquisitor Agustín de Ugarte Saravia

[1] A note in the margin reads, "Age: thirty-three years."

[2] This might be the name of a street or a neighborhood in colonial Havana. There are references to other geographical locations throughout the document that have masculine given names.

saber escribir lo firmó el señor inquisidor, el Doctor Agustín de Ugarte Saravia. Ante mí Luís Blanco de Salcedo, secretario.

[La segunda *audiencia:* 4 de julio de 1624]

En la *audiencia* de la mañana de la Sancta Inquisición de Cartagena—a cuatro días del mes de julio de 1624 años—estando en ella el señor inquisidor Doctor Agustín de Ugarte Saravia . . . fuele dicho [a Paula] que dé su genealogía. Y haciéndola, dijo que —como dicho tiene—nació en la ciudad de Santo Domingo en casa de Diego de Leguízamo de quien era esclava su madre Guiomar, *negra* de *casta biafara.* Y que no sabe quién fue su padre ni tiene noticia de sus abuelos paternos ni maternos ni de los demás transversales y colaterales. Y sólo conoce a dos hermanas que tiene en la dicha ciudad de Santo Domingo llamadas Ana y Juana. Que la Ana es libre y la Juana esclava de Antonio de Jaques en la dicha ciudad de Santo Domingo, adonde ésta estuvo hasta edad de trece años. Que por deudas que el dicho su amo debía [a] Juan Nieto, *criollo* de la dicha ciudad, se hizo pagado en ésta y otras de la deuda que a él se le debía. El cual la vendió después a Iñigo de Otazo que la llevó a Puerto Rico adonde en su poder estuvo cuatro años, al cabo de los cuales su mujer no gustó de que [Paula] estuviese en casa por tener celos de ella. E hizo que el dicho su marido la enviase a la Habana adonde la compró Juan de Eguiluz, el amo que hoy tiene, en cuyo servicio ha estado todo el demás tiempo hasta que fue presa por este Santo Oficio.

Preguntada si es cristiana bautizada y confirmada, dijo que es cristiana bautizada y que ha oído la bautizaron en [la] ciudad de Santo Domingo—en la iglesia *mayor.* Y que la confirmó don Fray Agustín Dávila, arzobispo de aquella ciudad. Y que oye misa ordinariamente los domingos y fiestas y confiesa y comulga cuando lo manda la Santa Madre Iglesia. Y que cumplió con ella en la cuaresma pasada en las dichas minas del cobre y la confesó y comulgó el padre Góngora.

Signose y santigüose; dijo el Padre Nuestro y el Ave María y el Credo y la Salve Regina. Y dijo los mandamientos de la ley de Dios todo bien dicho. Dijo no saber los artículos de la fe. Preguntada si sabe leer y escribir etc., dijo que no sabe leer ni escribir y que no sabe quién tenga libros prohibidos.

Fuele dicho que se le hace saber que en este Santo Oficio no se acostumbra prender a nadie sin tener bastante información de que haya hecho, dicho, y cometido o haya visto hacer, decir, y cometer a otras personas alguna cosa que sea, o parezca ser, en ofensa de Dios, nuestro Señor, y de su bendita madre la Virgen Santa María, y contra su santa fe católica y ley evangélica que tiene, predica y enseña la Santa Madre Iglesia Católica Romana; o contra el libre y recto uso y ejercicio del Santo Oficio. Por tanto, pues [Paula] debe entender que con la dicha información está presa.

Primera amonestación

Y así se le amonesta . . . y encarga recorra la memoria y diga enteramente la verdad de todo lo que se sintiere culpada o supiere que otros lo estén, sin encubrir de sí ni de ellos cosa alguna y sin levantarse a sí ni a otros falso testimonio, porque haciéndolo así, su causa será despachada con la brevedad y misericordia que haya lugar. Donde no, se ha de hacer *justicia.* Dijo que ella ha dicho la verdad y no tiene más que decir. Y con tanto siendo *amonestada* la rea fue mandada volver a su cárcel. . . .

signed Paula's name because she did not know how to write. All this was done in my presence. I, the secretary Luis Blanco de Salcedo.

[The Second Hearing: July 4, 1624]

In the morning hearing of the Holy Inquisition of Cartagena—on July 4, 1624—the Lord Inquisitor Doctor Agustín de Ugarte Saravia being present . . . [Paula] was told to relate her genealogy. And complying, she said that as she has stated, she was born in Santo Domingo in the house of Diego de Leguízamo, who was her mother Guiomar's master. Her mother was a black slave of the *Biáfara* caste. She never knew her father or her grandparents on either side. She only knew that she had two sisters, Ana and Juana, living in Santo Domingo and that Ana is free and Juana is Antonio de Jaques' slave in Santo Domingo, where Paula lived until the age of thirteen. Her master at that time gave her and other slaves to Juan Nieto, a *Creole* living in that city, as a payment for a debt. Juan Nieto, she said, sold her to Iñigo de Otazo, who took her to Puerto Rico, where she stayed as his slave for four years. After that, Otazo's wife, jealous of her, demanded that her husband send Paula to Havana, where her current master Juan de Eguiluz bought her, and she served him until the Holy Office arrested her.

Asked if she was baptized and confirmed in the Catholic faith, she responded that she is a baptized Christian, and she has heard she was baptized in the city of Santo Domingo, in the main church, and that the archbishop of Santo Domingo, Don Fray Agustín Dávila, confirmed her. She also that said she hears Mass on Sundays and feast days, and that she confesses and takes communion on the days the Holy Church commands, and that she did so this past Lent in the El Cobre mines, and that Padre Góngora received her confession and gave her communion.

She made the sign of the cross, correctly recited the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Salve Regina, and the Ten Commandments. She said she did not know the Articles of the Faith. Asked if she knows how to read and write, she responded she does not and she does not know who might possess prohibited books.

The inquisitors told her that the Holy Office does not arrest anybody without having enough information that this person has done, said, or committed or has seen someone else do, say, or commit acts that are or appear to be an offense against our Lord God or His blessed mother, the Holy Virgin Mary, or against the Holy Catholic Faith and the law of the Gospels, which is preached and taught by the Holy Mother Roman Catholic Church or against the free and right exercise of the Holy Office. Therefore, Paula should understand that she has been arrested because this Holy Office has received such information about her.

First Admonition

So she is admonished . . . and instructed to search her memory and to tell the whole truth of what she feels guilty for or what she knows of the guilt of others, without hiding anything and without giving false testimony. If she does so, her trial will be settled quickly and mercifully. Otherwise, justice will be done. She said she has told the truth and has nothing else to confess. And having been admonished, the defendant was sent back to her prison. . . .

[Acusaciones del fiscal del Santo Oficio: 11 de julio de 1624]

En la *audiencia* de la mañana de la Santa Inquisición de Cartagena, a 11 días del mes de julio de 1624 años, estando en ella el señor inquisidor Doctor Agustín de Ugarte Saravia. . . .

Fuele dicho que se le hace saber que el fiscal la quiere poner acusación. Que antes que se la ponga le estará bien decir la verdad. Donde no, se oirá al fiscal y se hará *justicia.* Dijo que ha dicho la verdad y no tiene más que decir. Y luego pareció presente el *licenciado* Domingo Vélez de Asas y Argos, fiscal de este Santo Oficio, y presentó esta acusación firmada de su nombre. Y juró en forma que no la ponía de malicia sino por ser verdad lo contenido en la dicha acusación, la cual es del tenor siguiente. . . .

Parezco ante Vuestra Señoría y criminalmente acuso a Paula *negra* de Eguiluz, natural de la ciudad de Santo Domingo de la isla Española y al presente esclava de Juan de Eguiluz, *alcalde mayor* en las minas del cobre que son junto a la ciudad de Santiago de Cuba, presa en las *cárceles secretas* de esta Inquisición. . . .

[PRIMERA ACUSACIÓN]

1 Digo que siendo [Paula] cristiana bautizada y confirmada . . . usando de todas las gracias e inmunidades, privilegios y exenciones e *indulgencias* de tal cristiana; con poco temor de Dios y en gran daño de su consciencia, condenación de su alma, y menosprecio de la *justicia* de este Santo Oficio ingrata a tanto bien ha cometido delitos contra nuestra santa fe católica, haciendo muchos hechizos y supersticiones, mezclando cosas sagradas con profanas, invocaciones de demonios con quienes ha tenido *pacto* y seguido la secta de los brujos. Y [ha] procurado saber las cosas futuras y que dependen del *libre albedrío* del hombre; atribuyendo a la criatura lo que sólo se debe al Creador.

[SEGUNDA ACUSACIÓN]

2 En prueba de lo cual, esta rea, el año pasado de 1623, por el mes de agosto con poco temor de Dios y de su conciencia, habiendo cierta persona parido una criatura—por el dicho tiempo estaría [Paula] en cumplimiento del *pacto* y alianza que tiene hecho con el demonio de hacer y cometer semejantes delitos—habiendo tomado la dicha criatura en los brazos y desenvuéltola, la chupó por el ombligo. Y le hizo todo el mal que pudo. De suerte que se conoció que [Paula] lo había hecho así por estar buena la criatura antes que esta rea la tomase, como por la pública voz y fama que tiene de bruja y hechicera, como esta rea lo es, de que vino a morir la dicha criatura luego. . . .

[CUARTA ACUSACIÓN]

4 En prueba de su mal vivir y proceder y poca cristiandad, esta rea se fue a una iglesia en compañía de cierta persona—habrá cuatro años poco más o menos—estando su amo Juan de Eguiluz malo. Y detrás del *coro* comenzó a escarbar con un palo en una sepultura. Y de ella sacó dos pedacitos de huesos de muerto y los llevó muy escondidos.

[Accusations of the Prosecutor of the Holy Office: July 11, 1624]

In the morning hearing of the Holy Inquisition of Cartagena on July 11, 1624, the Lord Inquisitor Doctor Agustín de Ugarte y Saravia being present. . . .

Paula was advised that the prosecutor of the Inquisition wishes to accuse her and that it behooves her, first, to tell the truth. Otherwise, the prosecutor will be heard and justice will be done. She said she has told the truth and has nothing else to say. Then Domingo de Vélez de Asas y Argos presented the following accusation, signed in his name, and he swore in due form that he did not have evil intent, but because it was the truth. His accusation is the following: . . .

I come before Your Lordship and criminally accuse the black woman Paula de Eguiluz, imprisoned in the secret jails of the Inquisition, who was born in Santo Domingo in Hispaniola . . . and is currently the slave of Juan de Eguiluz, the superior officer of the copper mines near Santiago de Cuba. . . .

[FIRST ACCUSATION]

1 I state that [Paula], being a baptized and confirmed Christian . . . enjoying the mercies and immunities, privileges, and exemptions and indulgences of this state, without fearing God, harming her conscience, condemning her soul, and with little regard for the justice of this Holy Office, ungrateful for such mercies, has committed crimes against our Holy Catholic Faith. She has used spells and believed superstitions, mixing sacred objects with profane ones, calling on the devil, with whom she has a pact, and joining the witches' sect. And she has tried to foretell things that depend on the free will of man, attributing to human beings what belongs solely to the Creator.

[SECOND ACCUSATION]

2 [I offer] as proof, that last year in August of 1623, this defendant established a pact with the devil for whom she had to commit crimes, without fear of God or her own conscience. When a certain person[3] had given birth, Paula took the newborn in her arms and uncovered her belly to suck the life out of her through her navel,[4] and she did all the harm that she could. And it was known that Paula did so, because the child was well before she took her in her arms, and because it is public opinion and well known that she is a witch and sorcerer and the child ended up dying. . . .

[FOURTH ACCUSATION]

4 I offer as proof of her evil life and behavior and insincere Christianity that the accused went to a church with a certain person one day—about four years ago—because her master Juan de Eguiluz was ill. She started digging in a grave with a stick and took a couple of pieces of bone and carried them off secretly. And she said to the certain

[3] The words "a certain person" (*cierta persona*) are used to hide the identity of a witness, to maintain the secrecy demanded by the inquisitorial process.

[4] Witches were sometimes thought to kill their victims by sucking that person's nose, ears, eyes, mouth, or navel so he or she would bleed to death (Splendiani, Sánchez Bohórquez, and Luque de Salazar, 140).

Y dijo a la dicha persona que había ido con ella que aquello era para dar salud al dicho su amo. Los[3] molió con unas cáscaras de naranjas y romero y los hizo polvos. Y [los] amarró en un paño o papel con una cinta colorada de los cuales usó y hizo sus hechizos y embustes esta rea.

[SEXTA ACUSACIÓN]

12 Y ansí mesmo estando [Paula] en la dicha ciudad de la Habana en compañía del dicho Juan de Eguiluz, su amo—habiéndose [él] enojado con ella y queriéndola dar con una catana[4]—esta rea se le desapareció de delante. Y se arrojó por una ventana abajo donde había mucha cantidad de piedras que era fuerza se lastimase. De lo cual no recibió esta rea por entonces lesión alguna—de que se lo hizo con la alianza y *pacto* que tiene con el demonio—en esta ocasión le sirvió de librarla de que no le recibiese. . . .

[OCTAVA ACUSACIÓN]

8 Y así mismo fue público en las dichas minas que esta rea estuvo presa por la *justicia ordinaria* por la grande fama y publicidad que había que era bruja. Y estando presa en el cuerpo de guardia envió cierta persona por ella para castigarla. Y esta rea dijo a los soldados, que a su cargo la tenían, que no la dejasen llevar por cuanto ella estaba presa por un grave delito que había cometido de haber muerto a una niña, como se lo imputaban. . . .

[DOCEAVA ACUSACIÓN]

12 Y ansí mesmo esta rea ha usado de ciertos palillos y cabellos del hombre con quien ha tenido sus *deshonestidades.* Y usado de ciertas aguas sacadas de la yerba curia. Y todo ello lo ha traído metido en una bolsilla de tela blanca como si fueran reliquias, o a lo menos dando muestras de ello. Y así mesmo las ha puesto en la cama debajo de las almohadas. Y usando de la misma raíz de la yerba curia para sus embustes—con lo cual se ve clara y evidentemente que esta rea está dejada de la mano de Dios, Nuestro Señor, y apartada de su sancta fe católica y entregada a la servidumbre y esclavitud del demonio. Y aunque por Vuestra Señoría ha sido *amonestada* muchas y diversas veces diga y confiese enteramente la verdad, no lo ha querido hacer; antes callándola se ha perjurado. . . .

. . . Suplico a Vuestra Señoría que habida mi *relación* por verdadera. . . . y la dicha Paula de Eguiluz haber cometido los dichos delitos de que por mí es acusada, condenándola por ellos en las *mayores* y más graves penas que de derecho lugar haya. . . . Y que siendo necesario, la susodicha, sea puesta a cuestión de tormento en que esté y persevere. Y en su persona se repita hasta que enteramente diga la verdad, sobre [lo] que pido *justicia.* Y juro en forma y para ello el Santo Oficio de Vuestra Señoría imploro. El *licenciado* Domingo Vélez de Asas y Argos.

[3] *Los huesos.*

[4] A coarse, heavy object or heavy cavalry sword with a curved blade and a single cutting edge.

person who had gone with her that it was to cure her master. She ground [the bones] into a powder together with orange peels and rosemary leaves. Then she put this mixture in a piece of cloth or paper and tied it with a red ribbon to use them for her spells and deceits. . . .

[SIXTH ACCUSATION]

6 And likewise, when Paula was still living in Havana with her master Juan de Eguiluz, he got upset at something she did and wanted to hit her with a saber, but Paula disappeared before his eyes. She threw herself through the window and fell on a rocky spot, where she should have been injured, but she received no injuries—which indicates that she did this with the alliance and pact she had with the devil—on this occasion he kept her from harm. . . .

[EIGHTH ACCUSATION]

8 And likewise it was public knowledge in the mines that this defendant was imprisoned by order of the trial court [*por la justicia ordinaria*] because it was commonly held that she was a witch. And while she was imprisoned at the guardhouse, a certain person sent for her to punish her. And this defendant told the soldiers who were charged with her keeping that they should not let her be taken away as she was imprisoned for a serious crime that she had committed, that of killing a child, as was imputed to her. . . .

[TWELFTH ACCUSATION]

12 And likewise, the accused used twigs and hairs from a man with whom she had committed indecent acts and has extracted liquid from the *yerba curia.*[5] Mixing all these things, she put them in a little white bag as if they were relics, or at least pretending they were. Then she put this mixture underneath his pillow. And using the root from the same *yerba curia* for her deceits, wherefrom it is evident this woman has departed from Our Lord God and our Holy Catholic Faith and has surrendered herself to the servitude and slavery of the devil. And although she has been admonished by Your Lordship many and various times to confess the whole truth, she has refused to do it and has silenced it, committing perjury. . . .

. . . Therefore, I humbly ask Your Highness to take my word as the truth and that Paula de Eguiluz be condemned to the greatest and most serious punishments that the law allows. . . . And that if it is necessary, she be tortured. And the torture be repeated until she confesses the whole truth regarding the matter for which I request justice. This I swear according to form and request from Your Lordship's Holy Office. Domingo Vélez de Asas y Argos, prosecutor of the Inquisition.

[5] Possibly an herb called *Justicia pectoralis* or carpenter bush.

Y así presentada y leída la dicha acusación, fue recibido juramento en forma de derecho de la dicha Paula de Eguiluz. Y so cargo de él prometió de decir y responder verdad a la dicha acusación, la cual siéndole vuelta a leer capítulo por capítulo, respondió a ellos [los capítulos] en la forma siguiente:

[Respuesta a la primera acusación]

Capítulo 1° . . . Dijo que es la contenida en la dicha acusación y que ella no es bruja ni ha hecho hechizos ni tiene *pacto* con el demonio; que [las acusaciones] son [de] enemigos que la quieren mal.

[Respuesta a la segunda acusación]

Capítulo 2° Dijo que es testimonio y que lo que pasó es que Leonor de Estrada, *vecina* de Ana María, [le] llamó cuando estaba parada en la calle y le dijo que entrase en casa de la dicha Ana María que estaba gritando porque se le moría una niña que tenía. Y habiendo entrado la quiso ésta dar el pecho. Y viendo que no podía mamar la mandó la dicha su madre que la desfajase [a la niña] y mirase el mal que tenía.[5] Y ésta [Paula] lo hizo y vio que tenía aumentada la barriga. Y por consolar a la madre la dijo que no sería nada. Y la enseñaron el ombligo que le tenía bueno. Y ésta dijo que lo mirase y calentándole un pañito con alhucema y romero se le aplicó a la barriga y tornó a fajar la dicha criatura. Y se le entregó a la dicha su madre. Y al punto se fue ésta a su casa y no vio más a la dicha criatura. Y todo lo demás contenido en el dicho capítulo es falsedad y se lo levantan todos [los que] la quieren mal de muerte porque su amo la quiere bien y la ven bien vestida. . . .

[Respuesta a la cuarta acusación]

Capítulo 4° . . . Dijo que se refiere a lo que dicho tiene. Y que Juana Gerónima la mandó que tomase un hueso de muerto y un poco de romero y una cáscara de naranja de las que hubiesen estado en el monumento. Y que hecho polvos lo diese a su señor a beber en un poco de vino para quitalle[6] las cuartanas. Y que en dándoselo se lo dijese para que con el asco de haber tomado cosa tal vomitase. Y es verdad que ésta lo quiso hacer, mas habiéndolo comunicado con su señor—como él la riñó y no quiso —lo dejó ésta. Y no fue por el hueso aunque con el dicho propósito había dicho al sacristán que aquello le habían dado por *remedio* para su señor, y diciendo el dicho sacristán que de la iglesia no se podía sacar hueso de muerto la mandó que la pidiese al ermitaño un pedacito, mas ésta no lo hizo. Y niega lo demás contenido en el dicho capítulo. . . .

[Respuesta a la sexta acusación]

Capítulo 6° . . . Dijo que es verdad que su amo [la] quiso castigar . . . porque había salido de casa sin su licencia. Y temiendo el castigo, [Paula] se echó desde el corredor

[5] It appears that the mother, Ana María, asks Paula to help her ill child by removing her wrappings and looking at her abdomen.

[6] *Quitarle.*

After hearing the accusation, Paula de Eguiluz swore to respond and tell the whole truth. Each chapter was read to her again, to which she responded in the following way:

[Response to the First Accusation]

Chapter 1 . . . She said she has already responded to this one and that she is not a witch and has not used spells. She said she does not have a pact with the devil either and that these accusations were made by enemies who hate her.

[Response to the Second Accusation]

Chapter 2 She said that her testimony is that one day when she was standing on the street, Leonor de Estrada who was Ana María's[6] neighbor called her inside because Ana María's daughter was dying and she was crying desperately. When Paula entered that house, the mother wanted to breastfeed the baby, but the girl was unable to feed. So, Ana María told Paula to unwrap the swaddling cloth to find out what was going on. When Paula did so, she saw that the baby's belly was swollen, but in order to calm her, she told Ana María not to worry about it. [She and Leonor] showed the mother the baby's navel, which was fine. Then Paula told her to look at the navel, and, warming a cloth infused with lavender and rosemary,[7] she applied it to the baby's belly and wrapped her up again, and gave her back to her mother. And immediately after that, Paula went home and did not see the baby again. And everything else in this chapter of the accusation is false, and they are accusations of people who hate her because her master loves her and they see her well dressed. . . .

[Response to the Fourth Accusation]

Chapter 4 She said that the accusation refers to what she has already declared. Juana Gerónima told her to prepare a mixture made from a dead person's bones and a little rosemary and orange peels that have been on the grave and to give it to her master in a drink as a remedy for his fever. She was supposed to tell him what he was drinking so he would throw up. She said she had the intention to do so, but after she told her master about it, he told her off and did not allow her to do it. Though Paula did not get the bones, she still told the sacristan that she had been given these instructions as a remedy for her master and, telling her that she could not take a dead person's bone from the church, the sacristan said she should go to ask the hermit for a little piece. However, she decided not to go. She denies the rest of the charges in this chapter.

[Response to the Sixth Accusation]

Chapter 6 She said that her master did want to punish her . . . because she left the house without his permission. And fearing the punishment, she threw herself from the

[6] Elsewhere identified as "Ana María india."

[7] *Alhucema,* or lavender, as well as rosemary leaves were used as natural remedies to heal injuries.

de su casa que cae a la mar. Y no se hizo mal por caer en el agua; si bien tuvo el brazo del lado de que cayó entumecido por mucho tiempo. Y niega lo demás, que es falso. . . .

[RESPUESTA A LA OCTAVA ACUSACIÓN]

Capítulo 8° Dijo que lo que pasa es que como la levantaron el testimonio de que ella había muerto la criatura y chupádola, y lo anduvieron diciendo por las dichas minas, enojado su señor y confiado de que era mentira dijo que no había de quedar así este negocio. Que si ella lo había hecho que lo pagase y que si no, que se lo había de pagar quien se lo había levantado. Y así él propio hizo prender a ésta y ponerla en el cuerpo de guardia. Y estando allí sucedió que el dicho su amo fue a Cuba a ver al gobernador. Y queriendo doña Paula, su hija [de su amo], en su ausencia castigar a [Paula] porque tenía amistad deshonesta con su padre—y queriendo que la sacasen del dicho cuerpo de guardia para esto—con temor de castigo al tiempo de querer sacarla, es verdad que dijo [Paula] a los soldados y al teniente que cómo querían hacer aquello, estando ésta presa por lo que estaba. Con lo cual la dejaron. Mas todavía la hizo castigar allí la dicha doña Paula. Y esto es la verdad y niega lo demás contenido en el dicho capítulo. . . .

[RESPUESTA A LA DOCEAVA ACUSACIÓN]

Capítulo 12 . . . Dijo que se refiere a lo que dicho tiene y confiesa también que muchos días de fiesta dejaba de ir a la iglesia y oír misa, mas que no era por falta de fe porque es verdadera cristiana, sino porque estaba cocinando y ocupada en otras cosas de casa. Que como estaban todas a cargo de ésta no podía descuidar de ellas.

[RESPUESTA A LA DECIMOTERCERA ACUSACIÓN]

Capítulo 13° Y al remate de la acusación dijo que se haga lo que fuere de *justicia.* Y que no se ha perjurado sino dicho la verdad. Y habiéndosele leído lo que ha respondido a la acusación del fiscal, dijo estar bien escrito. . . .

[Nombramiento de un abogado para Paula]

El Señor inquisidor mandó dar traslado a la rea de esta acusación y sus respuestas para que la trate y comunique con uno de los *letrados* que dan a defender semejantes causas en este Santo Oficio que son los *licenciados* don Pedro de Silva y don Francisco de Betancur. Que vea a cuál de ellos nombra por su abogado. Y la dicha Paula *negra* nombró por su abogado al dicho don Francisco de Betancur. El Señor inquisidor le hubo por nombrado y dijo que lo mandara llamar. Y con tanto *amonestada* la rea fue llevada a su cárcel. Ante mí, Luís Blanco de Salcedo, secretario.

[Confesión que hace el 15 de julio de 1624]

En la *audiencia* de la mañana de la Santa Inquisición de Cartagena a 15 días del mes de julio de 1624 años . . . fue traída de su cárcel la dicha Paula *negra.* . . .

hallway of her house into the sea. And she was not hurt because she fell into the water, although her arm on the side she fell on was numb for a while. She denied the rest of the charges, saying everything was false.

[RESPONSE TO THE EIGHTH ACCUSATION]

Chapter 8 . . . She said her master got upset because everybody in the mines was saying that she had killed a child and sucked the baby's belly. Certain that this was a lie, he said that things should not be left as they were. If she had done as she was accused, then she should pay for her deeds, and if not, those who raised the false testimony should pay. So it was her master who had her arrested and placed in the guardhouse. While Paula was incarcerated, her master had to go to [Santiago de] Cuba to talk to the governor. Taking advantage of his absence, Doña Paula de Eguiluz [his daughter] wanted to punish Paula because she was having indecent relations with her father. Doña Paula demanded Paula's release in order to punish her, but Paula, seeking her self-preservation, told the soldiers and the lieutenant that they should not release her because of the nature of the crimes for which she was imprisoned, and they let her stay. However, Doña Paula still ordered them to punish her inside the jail. She said all this was true and she denied the rest of the charges in this chapter. . . .

[RESPONSE TO THE TWELFTH ACCUSATION]

Chapter 12 . . . She said she refers again to what she has already declared. She confesses that on many holy days she did not attend church or hear Mass, not because she lacked faith—she is a true Christian—but because she was busy cooking and taking care of her household duties, for she was in charge of all of them and could not neglect them.

[RESPONSE TO THE THIRTEENTH ACCUSATION]

Chapter 13 And to the final accusation, Paula said that justice should be done, and she denied she committed perjury but in everything has told the truth. Then the scribe read her responses to the prosecutor's accusations and she said all of them were correct. . . .

[Attorney Appointed for Paula]

The Lord Inquisitor ordered that Paula be given her written responses so she might discuss them with one of the attorneys who defend these types of cases in the Holy Office, who are *licenciados* Don Pedro de Silva and Don Francisco de Betancur. Paula was to choose one of them as her attorney. She chose Don Francisco de Betancur as her attorney. The Lord Inquisitor then accepted him as nominated and ordered him called. Paula was admonished and sent to her prison. Before me, Luís Blanco de Salcedo secretary.

[Confession: July 15, 1624]

In the morning hearing of the Holy Inquisition of Cartagena on July 15, 1624 . . . the black woman Paula was brought from her prison. . . .

Dijo que ha pedido [*audiencia*] para decir [que] se ha acordado que habrá como un año que habiendo—y luego dijo que habrá más de dos años—que habiéndola castigado su señor por ciertas barras de jabón que faltaban y habiéndola descalabrado, llegaron ciertas personas a él y le dijeron cómo [Paula] estaba descalabrada. A que respondió [Juan de Eguiluz],

—¡Mas que la lleve el diablo el alma!—Y oyéndolo [Paula] dijo con impaciencia,

—¡Mas que me lleven todos los diablos juntos y más!—[Y] se fue a la huerta de la dicha casa. Y estando debajo de un ciruelo oyó una voz que la dijo,

—¡No me llamaste!—[7] Y volviendo [Paula] el rostro a ver de quién era aquella voz, la tornó a decir,

—Prométeme algo y vendré todas las veces que me llamares.—Y luego la pidió que le prometiese el *huelgo,*[8] que entendió [Paula que] quería decir el alma. Y le respondió,

—¡Que el *huelgo* no!—Y la dicha voz la dijo,

—Pues dame y ofréceme las uñas.—Y callando ésta volvió a decir la dicha voz,

—Pues dame de lo que comieres.—Y [Paula] dijo,

—¡Eso sí yo te lo daré!—Entendiendo . . . que estaba hablando con el demonio. Y habiéndose ido a casa y olvidada de lo que había pasado con el demonio, como de allí a una hora, tomó una caña dulce para comer de ella. Y habiendo comenzado a comerla al segundo bocado, al apretar con los dientes la caña doliéndole uno, arrojó la dicha caña. Y dijo,

—¡Ofrézcote al diablo!—Y acordándose entonces de lo que había pasado con el demonio se levantó luego a buscar la caña y no la halló.[9] . . .

[Sigue una larga confesión sobre tratos con el demonio.]

[Y] tornó a decir el demonio:

—Mira, si quieres algo, mejor es que te vayas por ahí conmigo.—Y apareciéndosele luego en figura de mujer con una saya de muy larga que le arrastraba pidió a [Paula] que le diese el alma. [El diablo le dijo] que Aquél no la quería, diciéndolo por Dios, que no se acordaba de ella. Y que lo echase de ver en que cuando le llamaba no venía como él [el diablo] a ver lo que quería y favorecerla. Y engañada [Paula] con los ofrecimientos que le hizo de que la favorecería en todas ocasiones y la llevaría consigo y le daría todo cuanto hubiese menester [Paula] le ofreció el alma y dijo:

—Yo te la doy.—[10] . . .

Y [Paula dijo que] el diablo la andaba persiguiendo a cada paso. Y confiesa que cuando entregó su alma al demonio, [él] la ofreció que la daría todo lo que hubiese menester. Y le hallaría todas las veces que le llamase y tuviese mohína y enojo. [Y Paula] le dio crédito. Y esto fue lo que la movió a condescender con lo que la pedía de que le

[7] In the margin: *Pacto explícito con el demonio.*

[8] Breath.

[9] A long line in the margin marks this section with the notation *Le ofreció la caña dulce.*

[10] In the margin: *Ofrecida el alma al demonio.*

She said she has requested [the hearing] to tell something else she has remembered: that about a year ago—and then she said that it was about two years ago—her master having beaten her because he was missing two bars of soap, and having injured her, certain people told him she was injured, to which he responded,

"May the devil take her soul!" Paula heard him and said, annoyed,

"May all the devils and more take my soul!" Then she went to the garden and sat down under a plum tree. While sitting there she heard a voice saying,

"You did not call me!"[8] Paula turned her head to see who it was and heard the same voice again saying,

"Promise me something, and I will come every time you need me." Then this voice demanded her breath, which [Paula] understood to mean her soul. She responded,

"I will not give you my soul!" And the voice said,

"Well, then give me and offer me your fingernails." And when [Paula] was silent, the voice said again,

"Then, give me the food you eat," to which she said,

"Yes, I will give you that!" She then understood . . . she had been speaking with the devil. And having gone home and forgotten what had happened with the devil, about an hour later, she was eating a piece of sugar cane. And on the second bite, one of her teeth hurt and she threw the sugar cane away. She said,

"May the devil take you!" And then remembering her promise to the devil, she got up and looked for the sugar cane but could not find it.[9]. . .

[There follows a lengthy confession regarding the devil.]

[Paula concludes thus:]

Then, the devil said, "Look if you want something, you had better follow me over there." He appeared to her later in the figure of a woman wearing a red skirt that was so long it dragged. He asked Paula to give him her soul, telling her that God did not even remember or love her because every time she called on Him, he never came as the devil did to see what she wanted and to favor her. And deceived by [the devil's] promise to always help her and to give her everything she needed. Paula offered him her soul saying,

"I will give it to you."[10]. . .

Then Paula said the devil pursued her at every step. She confessed that when she gave her soul to the devil, he offered to give her everything she needed, and that he would find her whenever she called, or when she was upset or angry and she believed him. And this is what moved her to give in to his demand for her soul, which she now

[8] In the margin: "Explicit pact with the devil."

[9] A long line in the margin marks this section with the notation, "She offered him her sugar cane."

[10] In the margin: "Her soul offered to the devil."

ofreciese el alma, de que le pesa de todo corazón y pide [a Nuestro] Señor la perdone tan grandes culpas y yerros. Y a este Santo Oficio que la dé penitencia con misericordia. . . .

[El treinta de noviembre de 1624, el señor inquisidor Agustín de Ugarte Saravia declaró a Paula de Eguiluz hereje apóstata, idólatra, y bruja y le dio la sentencia descrita en la introducción a este capítulo.]

regrets very much and asks Our Lord to forgive her for these dreadful sins and errors, and requests that this Holy Office give her a merciful punishment . . . .

[On November 30, 1624, the Lord Inquisitor Agustín de Ugarte Saravia declared Paula de Eguiluz a heretical apostate, an idolater, and a witch and gave her the sentence described in the introduction to this chapter.]

12

A Spanish Caribbean Captivity Narrative: African Sailors and Puritan Slavers, 1635[1]

David Wheat

Between Iberian and Protestant Worlds: Africans on the Spanish Main

In 1630, English Puritans colonized Providence Island (called Santa Catalina Island in Spanish sources) located slightly more than one hundred miles off the Caribbean coast of Nicaragua. Following unsuccessful efforts to cultivate profitable commodities for export, the colony turned to *privateering* and slave trafficking in the mid-1630s; its location in the western Caribbean gave northern European *privateers* a solid base from which to prey upon Spanish shipping. Less than a decade after the Dutch *privateer* Piet Heyn famously captured Spain's entire silver fleet, authorities in Cartagena de Indias[2] determined to eliminate this new threat.

The Puritan colony resisted attacks by Spanish forces in 1635 and 1640 but finally fell in 1641 (Kupperman). Enslaved Africans—as both profitable commodities and capable laborers who would enable either of the European powers to reinforce their efforts to colonize the Caribbean—were at the heart of the conflict. Each side sought to obtain them, but in notably different fashions: whereas Spanish authorities and would-be slave owners relied on Portuguese slave trade networks to supply enslaved laborers directly from Africa, English and Dutch newcomers sought to obtain Africans by preying on Iberian shipping and slave traffic in the region (Heywood and Thornton, 4–38).

Africans also occupied a central position in this imperial contest in a literal sense, as seen below. The same individual Africans were physically present on both sides of the religious–political frontier. The document presented here highlights the experiences of one extraordinary group of African sailors based in Cartagena who were captured by Dutch pirates in 1634 and resold to the English colonists on Providence Island. After experiencing slavery in two entirely different cultural environments, several of these men evidently preferred the former, and they managed to escape back to the Spanish-American mainland. In addition to indicating contrasts between Africans' position in the colonial Spanish Caribbean, on the one hand, and in the early Anglophone Atlantic, on the other, these testimonies demonstrate enslaved Africans' ability, literally and figuratively, to navigate them both.

[1] See Maps 5 and 13.

[2] Presently a major port and tourist destination in Colombia, in the colonial era Cartagena was the principal port city on the Caribbean coastline of South and Central America, a region known to contemporaries as *Tierra Firme* (or in English, "the Spanish Main"; Sauer, 1–4).

Within the larger structures of Spain's early modern empire, strategically located seaports along the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico—the same ports frequented by our African protagonists—played critical roles as maritime hubs and centers of commerce. Heavily fortified during the late sixteenth century, Cartagena de Indias, Havana, Veracruz, and Nombre de Dios/Portobelo represented the principal stops along the *Carrera de Indias,* the ocean route that linked the *metropole* to its American colonies by means of annual convoys of Spanish galleons and merchant ships.

Simultaneously, these circum-Caribbean port cities served as major slave markets and redistribution centers for the transatlantic slave trade. Registered in Seville, Portuguese ships sailed to various African ports—Luanda, *Cabo Verde,* Cacheu, Arda, and *São Tomé*—transporting thousands of African captives to the Americas via the Caribbean. Cartagena de Indias in particular stands out as Spanish America's primary slave trade entrepôt during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. According to one official report that almost certainly failed to account for additional contraband slave trafficking, one hundred slave ships landed over 17,500 Africans in Cartagena during the years 1615–1623 alone ("Certificaçion").

Too hot and humid for most Spanish emigrants, these low-lying Caribbean seaports and their hinterlands had been populated largely by Africans and people of African descent, both free and enslaved, since the late sixteenth century. Although Amerindian groups maintained a visible presence in the region, disease and conquest had drastically reduced the Caribbean's indigenous populations during the early colonial period. By 1634—one century after the city was founded—urban Cartagena de Indias contained a population of approximately fifteen hundred *vecinos* (i.e., heads of household), including "*mulatas* and freed blacks" (Córdoba Ronquillo).

This estimate did not include the seaport's fluctuating "floating population" of sailors, passengers, slaves, merchants, and others passing through. Nor did it include scattered Iberian *mayordomos* (overseers) living on rural or semirural farms and ranches, nor groups of *encomienda* Indians concentrated in several small villages. By far the most understated segment of Cartagena's population, however, comprised enslaved Africans and *Afrocreoles,* who made up the demographic majority. In 1621, Cartagena's governor estimated that black slaves in Cartagena and its province numbered around twenty thousand (Del Castillo Mathieu, 238–41). Given conflicts of interest, different parties had ample reason to either downplay or exaggerate the size of Cartagena's black slave population; estimates from the mid-1630s range from 12,000 to "over 25,000" (Wheat).

Slave labor in early colonial Latin America is most often associated with sugar mills and silver mines; yet the African sailors discussed below would have been unfamiliar with these forms of slave labor. In Caribbean port cities such as Cartagena, enslaved black populations worked at a wide variety of tasks that ensured the maintenance and defense of the urban seaport and the provision of its populace.

Enslaved men and women were commonly rented out by their masters for wages garnered as cooks, laundresses, street vendors, nurses, domestic servants, porters, oarsmen, and town criers. Clergy, carpenters, caulkers, stonemasons, cobblers, and butchers alike either owned slaves or rented them. Operating fortresses built by royal slaves, local garrisons relied on support personnel consisting of African stable hands, janitors,

cooks, and musicians. Enslaved Africans served in capacities ranging from seamstresses to warehouse guards, from shipwreck salvage crews to button makers.

Outside the urban center, literally thousands of black farm workers raised livestock and food crops, particularly corn, yucca, and plantains. For example, corn grown by slave farmers in the village of Tolú was loaded on boats or rafts and then transported to Cartagena on vessels staffed by enslaved crews.

In addition to connecting Cartagena with these *estancias* (farms or ranches), boats powered by black sailors and oarsmen regularly plied the coastal and riverine passages, which allowed communication and trade between Cartagena and Santa Fé de Bogotá, capital of the New Kingdom of Granada.[3] Originally, Amerindians had been forced to provide labor for an organized system of canoe transportation known as the *boga;* but in the late sixteenth century, indigenous paddlers were replaced almost entirely by enslaved Africans and *Afrocreoles.* Enslaved boatmen and sailors also served on privately owned merchant vessels, as will be seen in these 1635 testimonies.

Though born in West Africa, the two Spanish-speaking *Beafada* men who testified in May 1635 in Portobelo were familiar with the world described above. As slave sailors, they knew the waterways of Cartagena's province and various ports of the southern Caribbean and Central America. In some respects, their Caribbean environment resembled the Guinea-Bissau region they had left behind.[4] On both sides of the Atlantic, they observed local economies oriented toward coastal and riverine commerce heavily reliant on canoes for transportation of food crops and commodities.

Furthermore, Iberian—especially Portuguese—merchants, mariners, exiles, and missionaries had been present on the Upper *Guinea* Coast since the mid-fifteenth century. Interactions between Iberians and West African societies over the following two centuries had created *Luso-African* populations that excelled as intermediaries, interpreters, and slave procurers; *Luso-Africans* often became merchants in their own right.

Like other West African groups in the region, many of the *Beafadas* captured, condemned, or sold into slavery in Spanish America may have already been exposed to Catholic traditions, and they may have already been familiar with Portuguese or with the Afro-Portuguese language, *Crioulo.* As indicated by their testimonies in Portobelo, Francisco *Biáfara* and Juan *Biáfara* spoke Spanish very well, and they knew how to present themselves as devout Catholics. Their high level of acculturation to the Iberian world may be attributed to evangelization efforts conducted in Cartagena, but their African background may have given them significant advantages in the Spanish-American colonial world as well.

The Testimonies of Juan *Biáfara* and Francisco *Biáfara*

The testimonies below are taken from court proceedings initiated when an unusual group of shipwrecked slaves and northern European deserters were delivered to the governor of Portobelo for questioning. In April 1635, Francisco Fernández Fragoso,

[3] The *Nuevo Reino de Granada* roughly corresponds in territory to what is now Colombia.

[4] For more information on *Beafada* communities and their environment in precolonial Africa, see Brooks; Hawthorne; and Rodney. See also Map 13.

a Spanish resident of the city of Granada, Nicaragua, found an Englishman plodding along the shoreline. Unable to speak Spanish, the stranger dropped to his knees, held up his hands, and placed them behind his head. Saying only "*Negro, negro,*" he pointed toward the mouth of the San Juan River, less than one league, or roughly two and a half miles, distant.

During dinner, and throughout the whole evening, Fernández could make out nothing more than "Catalina" and "*negros,*" with the foreigner always pointing in the same direction. The following day, Fernández set out with two companions, each armed with a portable firearm called a harquebus, and with five Indians armed with bows. Arriving in two canoes at the mouth of the San Juan River, they found four Spanish-speaking African men, and a young pock-faced "Englishman." As soon as Fernández arrived, the black men jumped up, saying "Señor, we are peaceful! We are slaves owned by the widow of Amador Pérez, a citizen of Cartagena! We are the ones who were stolen by a Dutchman eight or nine months ago, from our mistress' frigate which was laden with wine, bound for the River Magdalena!"

And thus begins our story. Interviewed by government officials, each member of the motley group offered detailed testimony of their captivity, of collusion and escape, and of sickness, shipwreck, and murder. Along with their African co-workers, Francisco *Biáfara* and Juan *Biáfara* had been on Providence Island for approximately seven months, from October 1634 to April 1635. Questioned closely by Spanish officials, Francisco *Biáfara* and Juan *Biáfara* offered detailed descriptions of the island's location and fortifications. They attempted to recall every ship they had seen visit the island and the goods and passengers carried on board, including a handful of Indians brought from the island of San Andrés. They listed the island's livestock and mention potatoes and corn grown for local consumption and tobacco cultivated for export.

With the possible exception of their assertion that "there were no other blacks on the island" other than their companions, the details they provided corroborate not only each others' accounts but also information gleaned from English sources.[5] "Félix Beles," or rather Philip Bell, served as governor of Providence Island from 1630 to 1636. He had been governor of the Bahamas until 1629 and would take up the same post in Barbados in 1641. The man described below as "Captain Alfero," better known as Daniel Elfrith, admiral of Providence Island, had been a corsair operating in the Caribbean for the previous two decades. He was also Bell's father-in-law, and at one point Elfrith was reprimanded for inviting "Diego el *Mulato,*" a famous Havana-born corsair who sailed under the Dutch flag, to visit the island. Lieutenant William Rous, who appears here as "Captain Rus," was captured by the Spanish and briefly held captive in Cartagena, where he spoke with the itinerant priest Thomas Gage in 1638.

Francisco *Biáfara* and Juan *Biáfara* provided several troubling details without any prompting by Spanish officials. Both men voluntarily reported various "heresies" they had witnessed while on the island, including Bible readings, rosary stomping, and sermons delivered by a married preacher. Likewise, both mentioned that Francisco *Biáfara* was asked to marry an Indian woman who wore a red blanket for a skirt. Employing

[5] See especially Kupperman.

Amerindian and African words commonly used in Caribbean Spanish of the time, both described English houses as *buhíos,* and Francisco *Biáfara* compared the small English forts on Providence Island to *palenques.* Their detailed account given in May 1635 surely helped to instigate the first Spanish assault on Providence Island two months later.

Significantly, these court proceedings constituted the only known account of daily life on Providence Island other than a diary kept by Governor Nathaniel Butler during the final years of the colony's existence. The entire document consists of twenty-six folios and opens with a brief report by Francisco Fernández Fragoso explaining his discovery of four Africans and two northern Europeans camped out at the mouth of the San Juan River.

The following declarations given by deponents Francisco *Biáfara* and Juan *Biáfara* are reproduced below, along with a very brief joint statement by Damián *Carabalí* and Gerónimo *Angola,* both of whom essentially confirm Francisco *Biáfara's* testimony. Two northern European men who had escaped Providence Island alongside the Africans, and who now likewise found themselves questioned by Spanish authorities in Portobelo, gave additional testimonies with the aid of an interpreter. A man identified only as "Herbatons" was a forty-year-old soldier from London, England. A twenty-three-year-old Flemish man, "Juan Yons," claimed to have deserted the English colony because he had grown weary of eating potatoes. Both claimed to be Catholic.

By the early seventeenth century, although Africans' roles in the English Atlantic colonies such as Providence Island were only beginning to materialize, Africans and Iberians had been interacting for over a century in the Americas and for nearly two centuries in Africa and southern Europe. We cannot know the genuine motives that drove these two *Beafada* men, along with several of their colleagues, to escape back to slavery in the Spanish Caribbean, if that was indeed their actual intention. It is clear, however, that their familiarity with Catholicism and their ability to speak Spanish meant that *ladino* Africans such as Francisco *Biáfara* and Juan *Biáfara* were able to maneuver within the Spanish system to a far greater degree than the northern European deserters who accompanied them.

Información hecha cerca de la población que [torn] el enemigo inglés en la Isla Santa Catalina, por el capitán Juan de Ribas, *alcalde mayor.* Portobelo, 9 mayo 1635[1]

[Declaración de Francisco *Biáfara*]

En la ciudad de Portobelo en nueve días del mes de mayo de 1635 años, el señor *capitán* Juan de Ribas, *alcalde mayor* y *capitán a guerra, teniente de capitán general* por Su Majestad para la dicha averiguación e información, hizo parecer ante sí a un *negro* de los que manifestó y trujo Francisco Fernández Fragoso, del cual Su Merced recibió juramento y lo hizo por Dios y la cruz en forma de derecho. Y so cargo de él prometió de decir verdad. Y preguntado cómo se llama, de qué *nación* es, y cuyo esclavo, y qué edad tiene, y en qué ejercicio/oficio servía a su amo, dijo que se llama Francisco, y que es de *casta Biáfara* y esclavo de doña Mariana de Armas Clavijo, viuda del *capitán* Amador Pérez, *vecina* de la ciudad de Cartagena de las Indias, y que la dicha su ama tenía un barco del trato del Río Grande [de la Magdalena], en el cual este declarante andaba por marinero juntamente con Pedro *Folupo,* Gerónimo *Angola,* Damián *Carabalí* y Juan *Biáfara.* Y venían en el barco otros esclavos y por arráez Francisco Rodríguez español, y que yendo a hacer viaje al Río Grande [de la Magdalena] cargado el barco de vino, lo cogió un navío de holandeses, y a todos los esclavos compañeros deste declarante se los llevó a la isla que llaman de Santa Catalina, habiendo dejado en Santa Marta al piloto Francisco Rodríguez a cuyo cargo iba el dicho barco que se llamaba Nuestra Señora del Rosario, habrá ocho meses poco más o menos.

Preguntado qué tamaño tendrá la dicha isla y si es baja o alta y qué tantos días tardó en llegar desde donde le robaron a ella, dijo que la dicha isla es alta y montuosa y que le parece tendrá de bojeo diez u once leguas; y que tardó en llegar a ella siete días desde donde le robaron, que fue en Zanba.[2]

Preguntado cómo se llamaba el *capitán* que los robó, dijo que se llamaba el *capitán* Juan y que era flamenco y que sería hombre de cincuenta años, hombre pequeño de cuerpo, y que no traía más de catorce hombres en un navío y era de dos cubiertas.

Preguntado en qué conformidad los dejó en la dicha isla de Santa Catalina, si fueron o no vendidos y a quién, y si tiene noticia en qué cantidad, dijo que fueron once los esclavos que llevaba del barco de su ama y todos eran suyos. Y como llegó con ellos

[1] Ministerio de Cultura, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Audiencia de Santa Fe 223, no. 34, fols. 5r–15v.

[2] "Canba" in the original. Possible scrivener error for Çanba, modernized as Zanba.

Inquiry carried out by Captain Juan de Ribas, *Alcalde Mayor,* into the Population that [torn] the English Enemy on the Island of Santa Catalina. Portobelo, May 9, 1635

[Declaration by Francisco *Biáfara*]

In the city of Portobelo on the ninth day of the month of May 1635, Captain Juan de Ribas, *alcalde mayor* and *capitán a guerra, teniente de capitán general* for His Majesty, for this investigation summoned to appear before him a black man from among those presented and brought by Francisco Fernández Fragoso, from whom His Mercy received his oath, which he swore by God and the cross as required by law, and by which he promised to speak the truth. And asked to state his name, his *nation,* and whose slave he was, and his age, and in what office he served his master, he said that his name is Francisco, and that he is of the *Biáfara* caste, and the slave of Doña Mariana de Armas Clavijo, widow of Captain Amador Pérez, *vecina* of the city of Cartagena de Indias. She owned a boat employed in traffic along the Río Grande [de la Magdalena],[1] on which Francisco *Biáfara* worked as a sailor alongside Pedro *Folupo*, Gerónimo *Angola,* Damián *Carabalí,* and Juan *Biáfara.* Other slaves were also on the boat, and its *arráez* [captain] was a Spanish man named Francisco Rodríguez. While making a trip to the Río Grande, with the boat loaded with wine, the boat was seized by a Dutch ship. All the slaves on board, Francisco *Biáfara*'s companions, were carried to the island called Santa Catalina. The pilot Francisco Rodríguez, who had been in charge of the boat named Our Lady of the Rosary, was left in Santa Marta about eight months ago more or less.

Asked what size the island was and whether it is low lying or high and how many days it took to arrive from where he was stolen to the island, he said that the island is high and mountainous, and that it seemed to be about ten or eleven leagues in circumference. It took seven days to reach the island from where he was stolen, which was at Zanba.[2]

Asked the name of the captain who stole them, he said that his name was Captain Juan and that he was Flemish, approximately fifty years old, and small in stature. He brought no more than fourteen men in a ship with two decks.

Asked in what state the captain left them on the island of Santa Catalina, whether they were sold or not, to whom, and for what price, he said that eleven slaves were taken from Mariana de Armas Clavijo's ship, all eleven belonging to her. Upon arriving

[1] Primary commercial artery from Cartagena toward Santa Fe de Bogotá.

[2] According to Francisco *Biáfara,* their boat was captured by Dutch *privateers* at Zanba, a small port located along present-day Colombia's Caribbean coast, just south of Santa Marta. The port of Zanba is mentioned in Francis (51). The boat's Spanish pilot was promptly left ashore in nearby Gaira (Gayra). "Gaira" appears on a map in Navarrete (17). Both locations appear in a travel account dated 1519, published in Urueta (54).

los fue vendiendo el *capitán* Juan Flamenco al gobernador de la isla que llaman *Capitán* Beles. Compró a este declarante y a otros compañeros por 26 libras de tabaco y un puerco cada uno.

Preguntado si hay otros *negros* en la dicha isla, dijo que no hay más de sus compañeros.

Preguntado qué gente de guarnición y vecindad hay hoy en la dicha isla, dijo que habrá como doscientos hombres, diez o quince poco más o menos, y algunos muchachos y cosa de veinte mujeres y que hoy su gobernador que como ha dicho se llama *Capitán* Félix Beles y otros dos capitanes de infantería con su *alférez* y dos banderas que se llaman de *Capitán* Rus hombre mozo robusto y el otro *capitán* Alfero. Y que no traen espadas ni dagas y que todas las armas [son] de arcabuces, mosquetes, y piezas cajas de guerra.

Preguntado qué fuerzas tienen y con qué artillería y qué guardia tienen de día y de noche en las fuerzas, dijo que tienen nueve fuertes pequeños como de *palenques,* algunos en los cuales tienen a dos y a tres y a cuatro y a cinco piezas, todas de hierro colado, algunas dellas en cabalgadas y otras en el suelo atravesadas en maderos; que estos fuertes están a cargo de los dos capitanes y de otras personas; y que el puerto principal es una bahía, y en la bocana della tiene en cada uno de los fuertecillos que ha dicho, y otro de la boca paradentro, y otro junto de la casa del gobernador que tiene una pieza. Y los demás fuertes están de la banda de afuera y que en una parte que estará poco más de una legua está un fuerte en que se hace guardia; que deste es *capitán* el *Capitán* Rus.

Preguntado si los vio meter la guardia ansí en lo poblado como en alguna de las dichas fuerzas, dijo que no, porque todas las armas las tienen en un *buhío.* Y este declarante las vio muy de cerca y están muy mal tratadas.

Preguntado qué labranzas tienen, dijo que siembran tabaco en gran cantidad y pequeñas sementeras de maíz y muy grandes de patatas; que éste es el mayor sustento que tienen; y que crían gallinas y ganado de cerda; y tienen tres vacas y dos toros para hacer *casta;* y que la tierra no tiene ningunos puercos de monte.

Preguntado si la isla tiene muchos ríos y quebradas de aguas, dijo que tiene muchas quebradas y manantiales de muy buenas aguas y que en toda ella se coge mucho pescado y tortugas.

Preguntado qué navíos ha visto llegar a este dicho puerto y de qué *naciones,* dijo que habrá tres meses poco más o menos que llegó a la dicha isla un navío de ingleses de tres cubiertas cargado de ropa, zapatos, *aguardiente* y cerveza, muchas bayetas y listones, y otras cosas; y vendió a trueco de tabaco. Y dejó algunas personas de él y mujeres y se llevó algunos ingleses de la tierra. Y habrá poco más de un mes que se fue de allí. Y que antes deste navío grande vino otro *patache* pequeño cargado de cerveza y otras cosas.

Preguntado si hoy tienen algún navío en el puerto, dijo que no tienen de suyo ninguno; y que antes desean tener uno para que salga de corso, porque esta voluntad la entendió este declarante del suegro del gobernador.

Preguntado qué forma tuvo para huirse de la dicha isla y con quién salió della y en qué embarcación, dijo que este declarante se convocó con Pedro *Folupo* y Gerónimo *Angola* y Damián *Carabalí* y Damián *Biáfara* y con seis ingleses; que estando para

[at Santa Catalina], captain Juan Flamenco sold them. The island's governor, named Captain Beles, bought Francisco *Biáfara* and several other companions for twenty-six pounds of tobacco and one pig each.

Asked if there are other blacks on the island, he said that there are none other than his companions.

Asked what kind of military force and civilian population are currently on the island, he said that there are approximately two hundred men plus or minus ten or fifteen, some boys, and perhaps twenty women. At present, the island is governed by Captain Félix Beles, as mentioned earlier. Two infantry captains with their lieutenant and two regiments are named Captain Rus, a robust young man, and another captain, Alfero. They carry neither swords nor daggers, and their arms consist entirely of harquebuses, muskets, cannon, and war drums.

Asked what forts they have, and what artillery, and what guard they keep by day and night in the forts, he said that they have nine small forts like *palenques,* some of which have two or three or four or five pieces of ordnance all of cast iron, some mounted on supports and others on the ground laid across wooden frames. These forts are under the care of the two captains and other people. The principal port is a bay, and there are several little fortresses along the bay's entrance, and another inside the mouth of the bay, and another next to the governor's house with one cannon. The other forts are on the outer coast, and in one place a little more than one league away is a fort where watch is kept, under the command of Captain Rus.

Asked if he saw them keep watch over the settlement or in some of the forts, he said no because all their arms are kept in one *buhío.* Francisco *Biáfara* saw them from up close, and they are very poorly maintained.

Asked what crops they have, he said that they sow great quantities of tobacco, small plots of maize, and very large plots of potatoes, which are their main sustenance. They raise chickens and swine, and have three cows and two bulls to breed; the land has no wild pigs.

Asked if the island has many rivers and streams, he said that there are many streams and springs with very good water and that all over the island fish and turtles can be caught.

Asked what ships he has seen arrive at the island's port and from what *nations,* he said that about three months ago, an English ship with three decks arrived at the island carrying clothing, shoes, *aguardiente* [liquor] and beer, many fabrics and ribbons, and other things and sold them in exchange for tobacco. The ship left some people and women behind and took some local English people away. The ship left the island about one month ago. Before this big ship, another *patache* had arrived carrying beer and other things.

Asked whether they had a ship in the island's port at present, he said that they had no ship of their own, though they desired to have one in order to embark on corsair raids; Francisco *Biáfara* understood this to be the wish of the governor's father-in-law.

Asked in what manner he escaped from the island and with whom he left and in what type of vessel, he said that he, Francisco *Biáfara,* joined with Pedro *Folupo,* Gerónimo *Angola,* Damián *Carabalí,* and Damián *Biáfara,*[3] and with six Englishmen who were

[3] Error (committed by scrivener?); should read "Juan *Biáfara.*"

partirse en una *chalupa* que era del gobernador, les dijeron,—Si queréis ir a vuestra tierra, que ésta no es para vivir, nos iremos,—Y este declarante los embarcó en su compañía. Y vinieron a parar a la boca de San Juan más de diez días, porque en dos días tomaron la tierra firme. Y después vinieron costeando hasta la boca de San Juan donde en ella habían ya dejado atrás la barca porque se la hizo pedazos la mar.

Preguntado si vinieron con él y los demás *morenos* sus compañeros seis ingleses, cómo no llegaron más de dos, dijo que su compañero Pedro *Folupo* a[l] segundo día de navegación murió en tierra, que era su *capitán* y que en el puerto de San Juan, Juan Inglés que es mozo robusto le dijo a este declarante:—Sabed que quieren caer sobre vosotros estos ingleses y mataros.—Este confesante y sus compañeros estuvieron con cuidado aquella noche. Y que otra noche, viendo que se lo volvió a decir, embistieron con ellos con unos palos y mataron uno y los tres huyeron. Y aunque los buscaron otro día no los hallaron. Y esta noticia dio este declarante y sus compañeros al maestre Francisco Fernández Fragoso a quien hallaron en la boca de San Juan, el cual los halló ranchados. Y que estos dos ingleses siempre se aunaron con este confesante y sus compañeros, y así pudieron salvar las vidas. Y que habrá cosa de veinte días que fueron hallados del dicho Fragoso y los trujo a esta ciudad.

Preguntado si en alguna ocasión le oyó tratar en la isla a los ingleses y holandeses que estaban en ella de alguna armada, dijo que al *capitán* Juan, que es el que los robó, le oyó decir que para el año que viene vendría de su tierra con dos grandes y nuevas, recorriendo esta costa de Portobelo, y a cargar en ella de tabaco. Y así mismo hace saber a Su Merced cómo en la dicha isla no se le consentían traer cruces ni rosarios, antes se las quitaron y pisaron. Y que en ella tienen un *buhío* donde se juntan a la predicación, donde en ella los veía juntar muy de ordinario. Y que en desembarcándose del trabajo, todos toman un libro ansí los hombres como las mujeres y niños. Y esto es lo que vio y alcanzó a ver y entender de toda la dicha isla.

Preguntado si fue o vio ir alguna embarcación de la isla Santa Catalina a la de San Andrés, dijo que él ni ninguno de sus compañeros no salieron de la dicha isla, más de que en el tiempo que él y sus compañeros estuvieron en ella, vieron ir en una *tartana* de vela latina a la isla San Andrés, y otras por tortugas de donde trujeron una india y dos indios; que los indios le decían a este declarante se casase con la india, la cual venia vestida de una manta colorada hecha saya. No tuvo otra noticia de las dichas islas. Y esto es lo que sabe y la verdad, so cargo del juramento hecho, con que se afirmó y ratificó. Y que es de edad de 28 años poco más o menos. No firmó por no saber, el cual yo el *escribano* certifico y doy fe que es persona *ladina* en la lengua española, y que todo lo aquí contenido ha dado por razón capaz y suficiente respuesta a lo que le ha sido preguntado y a otras preguntas que fuera desta materia el señor *alcalde mayor* le hizo, y Su Merced lo firmó.

[Declaraciones de Damián *Carabalí* y Gerónimo *Angola*]

Y Su Merced del señor *alcalde mayor* le preguntó si los demás sus compañeros sabrán declarar y dar razón como él la ha dado, dijo que no los tiene por tan *ladinos* como él.

about to leave in a *chalupa* belonging to the governor. The Englishmen told them, "This place is no way to live; if you want to go back to your land, we're going"; and thus Francisco *Biáfara* embarked in their company. In two days' time, they reached the mainland and then traveled along the coast. After more than ten days, they reached the mouth of the river San Juan,[4] where they stopped and left behind their boat, which had been badly damaged by the sea.

Asked why only two Englishman arrived, because six had originally left the island with him and the other *morenos,* his companions, he said that after their second day at sea, his companion Pedro *Folupo,* who was his captain, died on land. In the port of San Juan, Juan Inglés, a robust young man, told Francisco *Biáfara,* "You must know, these Englishmen plan to attack you all and kill you." Francisco *Biáfara* and his companions took care that night, and on a different night, because they were warned again, they fought the Englishmen with clubs and killed one; three others fled and were nowhere to be found the next day. Francisco *Biáfara* and his companions reported this news to Master Francisco Fernández Fragoso, who found them camped out at the mouth of the San Juan. The remaining two Englishmen were always loyal to Francisco *Biáfara* and his companions, and so their lives were saved. About twenty days ago, they were discovered by Fragoso and brought to this city [Portobelo].

Asked if at any time he overheard the English and Dutch on the island mention a fleet of ships, he said that he overheard Captain Juan, who stole them, say that the following year he would come from his land with two large, new ships, to comb this coast and to load them with tobacco. Also, Francisco *Biáfara* notifies Your Mercy that they did not allow him to wear crosses or rosaries on the island, rather they were confiscated and stomped on. On the island, they had a *buhío* where they gathered to hear sermons and where he saw them gather very regularly. Returning from work, they all held a book, men, women, and children, and this is what he saw, and was able to learn regarding the whole island.

Asked if he undertook or witnessed any voyage from Santa Catalina island to San Andrés [island], he said that neither he nor any of his companions left the island. During the time they were on the island, they saw a *tartana* with lateen sails cross over to San Andrés, and to other islands, for turtles. The ship brought back an Indian woman and two Indian men. The Indians suggested to Francisco *Biáfara* that he should marry the Indian woman, who came dressed in a red blanket worn as a skirt. He had no other news of these islands, and this is what he knows and is the truth, under charge of the oath given, which he affirmed and ratified. He is more or less twenty-eight years of age. He did not sign because he did not know how. I, the scribe, certify and attest that he is a *ladino,* who speaks the Spanish language well, and that he has provided capable, sufficient answers to the questions asked and to other relevant questions posed by the *Señor alcalde mayor,* and His Mercy signed it.

[Declarations by Damián *Carabalí* and Gerónimo *Angola*]

And His Mercy the *Señor alcalde mayor* asked Francisco *Biáfara* if his other companions knew how to declare and give testimony as he had given. Francisco *Biáfara* said

[4] The San Juan River forms the eastern boundary between present-day Nicaragua and Costa Rica.

Y que así Su Merced vea que llamándolos ante sí, y presente este declarante, vean éste su dicho y por él sigan cerca de lo que ha declarado y preguntas que a él se le han hecho, si tienen algo más que declarar. Y luego Su Merced hizo parecer ante sí a Damián *Carabalí* que por su aspecto parece de treinta y cinco años, y a Gerónimo *Angola* que por su aspecto parece de treinta años, y dellos recibió juramento y lo hicieron por Dios y la señal de la cruz en forma de derecho; y prometieron de decir verdad. Y habiéndoles leído las preguntas desta declaración fecha por Francisco *Biáfara,* a cada una dellas dijeron, vista la respuesta y declaración que en cada una dellas hace el dicho Francisco *Biáfara,* dijeron que el susodicho ha satisfecho y declarado toda la verdad, y lo que en cada una dellas pasa. Y ellos lo han *visto* ser y pasar ansí como lo declara, y ellos siendo necesario hacen la misma declaración. Y en algunas cosas en que por no ser tan *ladinos* dudaron, las confirieron sobre el tiempo y vinieron a estar en lo declarado. Y en esta conformidad Su Merced del dicho señor *alcalde mayor* les tomó estas dos declaraciones, y todo lo mandó poner por *auto,* fe, y diligencia que la firmó. Y por ser tarde reservó para mañana diez deste mes tomar la declaración a Juan *Biáfara* por ser muy *ladino.* Juan de Ribas ante mí Juan de Medina Bejarano *escribano* público.

[Declaración de Juan *Biáfara*]

En la ciudad de Portobelo en diez días del mes de mayo de 1635 años, el señor *Capitán* Juan de Ribas, *alcalde mayor* y *capitán a guerra, teniente de capitán general* en ella por Su Majestad, para la dicha información y averiguación fue al hospital de San Sebastián desta ciudad y hizo parecer ante sí a un *negro,* del cual Su Merced recibió juramento por Dios y la cruz; y él lo hizo y prometió de decir verdad.

Preguntado cómo se llama, de qué *nación* es, y qué oficio, y cuyo esclavo, y qué edad tiene, dijo que se llama Juan *Biáfara* y que es esclavo de doña Mariana de Armas Clavijo, viuda del *capitán* Amador Pérez, *vecina* de la ciudad de Cartagena de las Indias, y que él la servía de su marinero en un barco nombrado Nuestra Señora del Rosario del trato del Río Grande de la Magdalena, el cual iba por marinero juntamente con Pedro *Folupo,* Gerónimo *Angola,* Damián *Carabalí,* y Francisco *Biáfara;* que éstos están hoy en esta ciudad, porque los demás a cumplimiento a once esclavos están hoy en la isla de Santa Catalina. Y que iba por arráez Francisco Rodríguez, y que yendo a hacer su viaje los robó un inglés en un navío grande de que venía por *Capitán* Juan Nata, el cual echó en Santa Marta en Gayra al piloto y compañeros españoles. Y de allí los llevó con el barco y la carga, que lo más era vino, a una isla que llaman de Santa Catalina, y tardó en hacer el dicho viaje siete días, y llegaron a ella la nao grande y el barco y que esto habrá poco más de ocho meses.

Preguntado en qué conformidad los dejó el *capitán* inglés que los robó en la isla, dijo que la dicha isla está poblada de holandeses e ingleses, y a ellos los vendió el *capitán* inglés por veinte manojos de tabaco o libras de él y por un puerco, y a este precio los

that he did not take them to be as *ladino* as himself, but that even so, if summoned to appear before His Mercy with Francisco *Biáfara* being present as well, if they were shown his testimony, His Mercy would see whether they offer similar answers to the same questions and whether they have anything else to declare. And then His Mercy summoned to appear before him Damián *Carabalí,* who appears to be thirty-five years old, and Gerónimo *Angola,* who appears to be thirty years old. From them he received an oath sworn by God and the sign of the cross as required by law, and they promised to tell the truth. Having read to each of them the questions asked of Francisco *Biáfara* and his answers, they said that Francisco *Biáfara* had satisfied and declared the full truth of what happened in each question, and that they had seen events unfold exactly as he had declared, and that if necessary they would make the same declaration. And not being as *ladino* [as he], they had doubts about some things, and conferred about the time and finally agreed on what had already been declared [by Francisco *Biáfara*]. And with this agreement, His Mercy the *Señor alcalde mayor* accepted these two declarations from them and ordered that everything be duly recorded and certified, and signed it. And because it was late, he left for tomorrow, the tenth of this month, the declaration of Juan Biáfara, because he is very *ladino.* Signed by Juan de Ribas before me, Juan de Medina Bejarano, public scribe.

[Declaration by Juan *Biáfara*]

In the city of Portobelo on the tenth day of the month of May 1635, the *Señor* Captain Juan de Ribas, *alcalde mayor* and *capitán a guerra, teniente de capitán general* of Portobelo on His Majesty's behalf, for the report and investigation went to the hospital[5] of San Sebastián in this city and summoned to appear before him a black man, from whom His Mercy received an oath, sworn by God and the cross, and Juan *Biáfara* promised to tell the truth.

Asked his name, his *nation,* his profession, and whose slave he was, and his age, he said that his name is Juan *Biáfara* and that he is the slave of Doña Mariana de Armas Clavijo, widow of Captain Amador Pérez, *vecina* of the city of Cartagena de Indias. He served as her sailor on a boat named Our Lady of the Rosary, engaged in river traffic along the Río Grande de la Magdalena. He worked as a sailor alongside Pedro *Folupo,* Gerónimo *Angola,* Damián *Carabalí,* and Francisco *Biáfara,* who are today in this city [Portobelo]; the remainder of the crew of eleven slaves are presently on the island of Santa Catalina. The boat's *arráez* was Francisco Rodríguez. During the course of their journey, they were stolen by an Englishman on a large boat, commanded by Captain Juan Nata, who left the pilot and his Spanish companions in Gayra in Santa Marta. From there, he took them with the boat and the cargo, which was mostly wine, to an island called Santa Catalina. The trip took seven days, and they reached the island in a large ship and the boat, and this happened a little more than eight months ago.

Asked in what manner the English captain who stole them left them on the island, he said that the island is peopled by Dutch and English, to whom the English captain sold them for twenty sheaves, or pounds, of tobacco and for one pig. At this price they

[5] The word "hospital" can refer to either a shelter for the sick or a shelter for the poor.

dejó vendidos al gobernador y capitanes, y que a este declarante lo compró el gobernador de la dicha isla, y a Francisco *Biáfara* y a Gerónimo *Angola* y a Pedro *Folupo.*

Preguntado si hay otros *negros* en la isla, dijo que no halló ningún *negro* en la isla.

Preguntado qué gente de guarnición hay hoy en la dicha isla y si supo o entendió qué tanto tiempo ha que están poblados en ella, dijo que le parece que habrá más de doscientos hombres que toman las armas y algunos muchachos y cosa de veinte mujeres, y hay gobernador que se llama Félix Beles y otros dos capitanes de infantería, y con dos banderas y sus *alférez,* y quel un *capitán* se llama Rus, hombre mozo robusto, y el otro el *capitán* Alfero, y que no traen de ordinario espadas y que todas sus armas que son mosquetes y picas, las tienen con las cajas de guerra, pólvora, y balas en un *buhío* grande junto a la casa del gobernador. Y allí junto della tienen un *buhío* grande donde se juntan muy de ordinario a la prédica, que ésta les hace un inglés mozo casado, y que cuando dejan el trabajo traen sus libros los hombres, niños, y mujeres. Y le quitaron a este declarante y sus compañeros el que no trujesen cruces ni rosarios, porque todos son herejes y que por fuerza los llevaban a su prédica, mas que no la entendían ni la querían saber por ser como este declarante cristiano y sus compañeros.

Preguntado qué fuerzas tiene y con qué artillería y guardia tiene de día y de noche las fuerzas, dijo que no vio más de cinco fuerzas pero que de su compañero Francisco *Biáfara* supo que había nueve, y que las que vio están a la boca del puerto paradentro y una junto de las casas del gobernador. Y que hay una fuerza en una punta donde tienen el atalaya de adonde hacen señal cuando parece vela con una pieza y luego toman las armas. Y que los castillejos que vio son bajos como plataformas de cuatro y de tres piezas cada una, unas en carretones y otras sobre palos.

Preguntado si los vio meter la guardia ansí en lo poblado como en las fuerzas, dijo que no.

Preguntado qué labranzas tienen, y qué tamaño tendrá la isla, y si tiene agua de ríos que corran, y si hay en ella puercos de monte, y si es abundante de pescado y otras plantas diferentes de frutas, dijo que siembran grande sementera de tabaco que lo benefician en rollo, y mucha patata, que es lo más que comen, y que las comen crudas los más. Y que el maíz es poco, y crían gallinas, y tienen tres vacas y dos toros para hacer crianza. Y que no tienen puercos de monte, y que hay algunos plántanos. Y que la isla es alta, montuosa y que tiene de largo más de cuatro leguas y diez de bojeo. Y que el puerto es bahía grande fondable aunque tiene peñascos, y en cada punta tiene su castillo, y mucha agua que corre y la atraviesa, y grandes manantiales, y el agua buena de beber.

Y preguntado que después que está en la isla, qué navíos han llegado a ella, y qué trajeron de mercadurías y gente, y qué llevaron, y de qué *nación,* dijo que vino un navío grande de Inglaterra cargado de cerveza, *aguardiente,* y otras cosas. Y que dejaron gente y cargaron de tabaco a trueco de lo que trujeron. Y que este navío trajo mujeres, y habrá poco más de un mes que se fue. Y antes había venido un *patache* cargado que también dejó gente y cargó de tabaco a trueco de lo mucho que trujo de mercadurías.

were sold to the governor and captains, and Juan *Biáfara* was purchased by the island's governor along with Francisco *Biáfara,* Gerónimo *Angola,* and Pedro *Folupo.*

Asked if there are other blacks on the island, he said that he found no other black on the island.

Asked what military force is currently on the island and if he knew or understood how long the island had been occupied, he said that it seemed to him there were roughly over two hundred men capable of bearing arms, and some boys, and approximately twenty women. There is a governor named Félix Beles and another two infantry captains with two regiments and their lieutenants. One captain is named Rus, a robust young man, and the other captain is named Alfero. They normally do not carry swords, and their arms consist of muskets and pikes, which are stored with the war drums, powder, and ammunition in a large *buhío* next to the governor's house. Nearby they also have a large *buhío* where they gather very regularly to hear sermons given by a young, married Englishman. When they finish their work, the men, children, and women all bring books. And they took away the crosses and rosaries brought by Juan *Biáfara* and his companions because they are all heretics. Juan *Biáfara* and his companions were forced to attend the sermons, but they neither understood nor wanted to know because they are Christians.

Asked what forts they have, with what artillery, and what guard they keep by day and night in the forts, he said that he saw no more than five forts, but that his companion Francisco *Biáfara* found out that there were nine. Those that Juan *Biáfara* saw are inside the mouth of the port, and one next to the governor's houses, and there is one fort on a point where they have a watchtower where they make signals with a cannon when a sail appears, and then they take up arms. The fortifications he saw were low, like platforms, with four or three pieces of ordnance each, some mounted on large wagons and others on wooden frames.

Asked if he saw them keep watch in the settlement as they do in the forts, he said no.

Asked what crops they have, and what size the island is, and if it has running water or rivers, and if there are wild pigs on the island, and if there is an abundance of fish and a variety of fruit-bearing plants, he said that they sow great quantities of tobacco, which they prepare in rolls, and many potatoes, which is what they mainly eat, and they mainly eat them raw. There is little corn, and they raise chickens, and they have three cows and two bulls for breeding. They have no wild pigs, but there are some plantains. The island is high and mountainous, more than four leagues wide and ten leagues in circumference. The port is a great bay with good anchorage, though it has some rocky outcroppings, and at each end there is a castle. There is much running water that crosses the island, and large streams, and the water is good to drink.

And asked what ships arrived on this island while he was there, and what merchandise and people they brought, and what they carried away, and the ships' nationalities, he said that a large ship from England arrived laden with beer, *aguardiente,* and other things. They left people on the island, and loaded tobacco in exchange for what they had brought. This ship brought women and left the island a little more than one month ago. And previously, a *patache* had arrived, which also left people on the island and loaded tobacco in exchange for many goods that it brought.

Preguntado si tienen allí algún navío grande o pequeño para salir en él a hacer mal, dijo que no tienen ninguna embarcación sino *chalupas* con que salen a pescar y con que se sirven en la población de otras cosas. Y que el inglés que los robó allí dijo que había de venir el año que viene con navíos grandes para recorrer estas costas. Y que al suegro del gobernador oyó decir que había enviado a comprar un *patache* para correr las costas de Cartagena y Chagres, el cual es un hombre pequeño y viejo.

Preguntado qué forma tuvo para huirse de la dicha isla él y sus compañeros, y si tiene noticia si hay por allí otras islas pobladas ansí ingleses como indios, dijo que muchas veces oyó decir generalmente a los ingleses que allí cerca estaba una isla la cual llaman San Andrés, y que estaba poblada de indios. Y vio que con un barquillo de vela latina salieron a pescar tortugas, y las trujeron y una india y dos indios. Y que los indios dijeron a Francisco *Biáfara* su compañero se casase con la dicha india, vino vestida con una saya de manta colorada, y quedan en la isla. Y que se corresponden con los ingleses de San Cristóbal según se lo oyó tratar. Y que viéndose que estaban entre infieles acordaron de huirse, y para ello se convocaron este declarante y Francisco *Biáfara* y Gerónimo *Angola* y Damián *Carabalí* y Pedro *Folupo,* que era su *capitán,* de huirse, y no pudieron sacar a los demás compañeros que son Martín *Balanta,* Andrés Jolufo, Francisco *Angola,* Juan *Angola,* Baltasar *Folupo,* Cristóbal *Arará* que estos se quedaron allá. Y hecho el concierto para huirse, bajaron a la playa donde estaba una barca grande de un *alférez,* de la cual se servía el gobernador. Y estando para embarcarse, hallaron en la playa seis ingleses, y todos se convenieron en huirse. Y así se embarcaron, y al cabo de dos días con sus noches reconocieron tierra firme, habiendo navegado con vela. Y de allí vinieron costeando, y su compañero y *capitán* Pedro *Folupo* enfermó y enfureció y murió en tierra. Y viniendo costeando la mar se les rompió la barca. Y salieron a tierra todos, y fueron a dar a la boca de San Juan del desaguadero de Nicaragua junto a la boca de Taure al cabo de días, donde Francisco *Biáfara* entendió de un inglés llamado Juan que está en esta ciudad, que los cuatro ingleses querían matarlos de noche. Y así se velaron y otra noche, por salvar las vidas, dieron en ellos y mataron el uno entre todos a palos, y los tres se huyeron y aunque los buscaron no los pudieron hallar. Y esta noticia dieron al arráez Francisco Fragoso, porque llegó otro día, de cómo había sucedido con su fregata, que hizo diligencia de buscarlos y no los halló. Y como este declarante y sus compañeros viesen gente cristiana y embarcación se agregaron a él, el cual los trajo en su fregata dándoles de comer a esta ciudad con los dos ingleses que siempre fueron con ellos leales.

Fuele preguntado si supo oyó decir en la dicha isla si esperaban alguna armada de Holanda o Inglaterra para estas partes, dijo que nunca supo tal, más de tan solamente en esta razón trató públicamente el *capitán,* que era flamenco, y él que le robó, que para el año que viene como ha dicho vendría con dos naos nuevas a esta costa y dicha isla a vengar el haber cogido un navichuelo de flamencos, que el general don Antonio

Asked if they have any ship on the island, large or small, to go out and do evil, he said that they do not have any vessel except *chalupas,* with which they go out to fish and which serve the settlement for other things. And the Englishman who stole them said that he would return the next year with large ships to scour these coasts. And Juan Biáfara heard the governor's father-in-law, a small and older man, say that he had sent to purchase a *patache* that he would use to travel along the coasts of Cartagena and Chagres.

Asked in what manner he and his companions fled from the island, and whether he knew of other islands in the area peopled by English or Indians, he said that many times he overheard the English say that nearby was an island that they call San Andrés populated by Indians. He saw that they went out in a small boat with a lateen sail to fish for turtles, and they brought back turtles and an Indian woman and two Indian men. And the two Indian men suggested to his companion Francisco *Biáfara* that he marry the Indian woman, who came wearing a red blanket as a skirt. And the English stay on the island [of San Andrés], and from what he has overheard, they communicate with the English on San Cristóbal [Saint Christopher] Island. And seeing that they were among infidels they agreed to flee, and for this purpose Juan *Biáfara* joined with Francisco *Biáfara,* Gerónimo *Angola,* Damián *Carabalí,* and Pedro *Folupo,* who was his captain. They were unable to bring out the other companions, who were Martín *Balanta,* Andrés Jolufo, Francisco *Angola,* Juan *Angola,* Baltasar *Folupo,* and Cristóbal *Arará,* who remained on the island. Having agreed to flee, they went down to the beach where there was the large boat belonging to an officer, which the governor used. Just as they were about to embark, they found six Englishmen on the beach, and they all agreed to escape together. And thus they embarked, and after sailing for two days and nights, they saw the mainland. From there they came along the coast, and his companion and Captain Pedro *Folupo* grew sick and crazed and died on land. And traveling along the coast, the sea broke the boat. They all went ashore, and after several days chanced to arrive at the mouth of the San Juan River, which drains from the [lake] of Nicaragua, near the mouth of the Taure River. Francisco *Biáfara* learned from an Englishman named Juan who is here in this city that the four Englishmen wanted to kill them at night. So they kept guard, and on another night, in order to save their lives, they attacked the English and killed one between them by blows. And the other three fled and could not be found. They reported this news to the *arráez* Francisco Fragoso, who arrived on a different day with his frigate, who looked for them and did not find them. And seeing Christian people in a vessel, Juan *Biáfara* and his companions joined them. And feeding them, Francisco Fragoso took them in his frigate to this city, along with the two Englishmen who always had been loyal to them.

Asked if he knew of, or had heard anyone on the island talk of waiting for a fleet from Holland or England bound for these parts, he said that he never overheard anything regarding this topic, except that the Flemish captain who stole him publicly declared, as mentioned [in the question], that the following year he would return with two new ships to this coast and to the island, to take revenge on general Don Antonio de Oquendo, who had captured a small ship full of Flemish men near the coast of Havana. He had heard nothing more. And that which he said and declared is the truth,

de Oquendo cogió en las costas de la Habana, y no otra cosa. Y que lo que ha dicho y declarado es la verdad, y todo lo que ha sabido *visto* y entendido y ha pasado en esta razón, en la cual so cargo del juramento que fecho tiene, se afirmó y ratificó. Por su aspecto parece ser hombre de más de 35 años. No firmó por no saber. Firmólo el señor *alcalde mayor* Juan de Ribas ante mí, Juan de Medina Bejarano *escribano* público.

and everything that he knew and saw and understood and happened in this case, and this he affirmed and ratified under the oath taken. By his appearance, he seems to be a man over thirty-five years old. He did not sign because he did not know how. The *Señor alcalde mayor* Juan de Ribas signed before me, Juan de Medina Bejarano, public scribe.

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The Saint's Life of Sister Chicaba, c. 1676–1748: An As-Told-To Slave Narrative[1]

Sue E. Houchins and Baltasar Fra-Molinero

An Early Biography of an African Woman

The *Compendio de la Vida Ejemplar de la Venerable Madre Sor Teresa Juliana de Santo Domingo* (Salamanca, 1752) written by Father Juan Carlos Miguel de Paniagua was one of the earliest, if not the first, biographies of an African woman written in a modern European language. The *Vida* is the hagiography, a saint's life, of Sor Teresa de Santo Domingo (c. 1676–1748), an African *tertiary* nun who lived in a Spanish convent during the first half of the eighteenth century.

Although authored by the priest Paniagua, this text represents collaboration between an African woman and her Spanish biographer. The *Vida* is a hybrid text in which Chicaba, who is the subject of the hagiography, participates in the writing of the narrative by telling her story to the biographer. The *Vida* is a precursor to the African American as-told-to slave narratives of the nineteenth century.

The *Vida* tells the story of a remarkable Black woman who escaped slavery by exhibiting her extraordinary holiness. Sor Teresa attained a reputation for sanctity and healing, exercised some small power within the religious community that never accepted her in the upper ranks of its social hierarchy, and managed to publish her autobiography through the narrative of a priest writing in the third person. Her oral history was transcribed, edited, published, and disseminated to the Americas and throughout the Black Atlantic as a model of religious perfection for other Africans and people of African descent.[2]

Chicaba's Life Story According to Paniagua

Her biographer, Paniagua, claimed that Chicaba, or Sor Teresa, was the youngest daughter of the King of *La Mina Baja del Oro,* somewhere in the coastal area of eastern Ghana,

[1] See Maps 4 and 14. Sue E. Houchins thanks the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation for the Career Enhancement Fellowship that supported her research on this project at the Women's Studies in Religion Program at the Harvard Divinity School during 2007–2008.

[2] See Paniagua's prologue to the *Compendio de la Vida* and his *Oración fúnebre* in honor of Sor Teresa, published a few months after her death. In 1757 a heroic poem in Sor Teresa's honor was written in manuscript form in Zaragoza, the *Vida de la venerable negra.* The only known copy is at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in New York City. The *Vida* itself was published twice, in 1752 and 1764, which is a testimony to its popularity. The excerpts in this anthology correspond to the 1764 edition.

Togo, and Benin.[3] Her captors concluded that she was a member of an important family because of the jewelry she was wearing when kidnapped. Her given name, *Chicaba,* meaning "golden child" or "divine gift," suggests that she was a member of the Ewe people, one of the ethnic groups of the region.[4] Following the Catholic custom with slaves, she was baptized upon capture and given a new, Christian, European name: Teresa.

Enslaved at the age of nine, Teresa/Chicaba was brought to Spain and purchased by the Marchioness of Mancera, Juliana Teresa Portocarrero. During his tenure as viceroy to Mexico, the Marchioness' husband had been a protector of the Mexican writer Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. As a member of the retinue of this aristocratic household, Teresa developed an unusually intense spiritual life that in time became her key to freedom.

Upon her death in 1703, the Marchioness emancipated Teresa in her will with the request that she enter a convent, for which the mistress had bequeathed her a small but not insignificant annuity. The fact that Teresa was mentioned in the will twice indicates that this was less an imposition than an act of her own will.[5] After being rejected by several other religious communities, Teresa entered the Dominican *tertiary* convent of La Penitencia in Salamanca a year later. Her race and skin color put her at a disadvantage in the highly stratified social hierarchy of Spanish monastic houses. The community accepted her only in a marginal status, as a servant to the other nuns.

Her low status notwithstanding, admission to La Penitencia was an official mark of Chicaba's civil freedom. Although her monastic cell might not have been very different from the quarters she inhabited during her enslavement and monastic life continued to limit her mobility, she was free. The papers she signed attesting to her act of profession as a Dominican *tertiary* also documented her freedom, and the convent was an institution that lived by these papers.

In spite of this inferior status, Teresa/Chicaba's acts of charity, mystical experiences, and fame as a healer or miracle worker moved the Dominican Order soon after her death to initiate the process of beatification for which Paniagua's writings were

[3] What Father Paniagua calls *La Mina Baja del Oro* corresponds to the coastal area east of *Elmina* Castle, which was called *La Mina del Oro* by the Portuguese since 1482.

[4] Spelled both Chicaba and Chicava by the hagiographer, the name is a compound word in Ewe, from *shika* or *sika* (gold) and *va* (to arrive), meaning "the gold has arrived" or the "Golden Child is here."

[5] Testamento de Juliana Teresa Portocarrero, Meneses y Noroña, Marquesa de Mancera, otorgado el 10 de abril de 1703. 13977 fol. 135v. "Iten, después de los días de mi vida quiero y es mi voluntad que Teresa Juliana del Espíritu Santo, mi esclava, quede libre enteramente, y la ruego por lo mucho que la he querido, se entre religiosa en el convento de Santa Ana que antiguamente estuvo sujeto a los Padres Dominicos de la ciudad de Murcia y hoy está sujeto al obispo de dicha ciudad de Murcia. Y para su entrada se le dé de mis bienes todo lo necesario, y también todo lo necesario para su profesión. Iten, mando a Teresa Juliana que hoy es mi *criada* y esclava y la dejo libre en profesando de religiosa se le dé de mis bienes cincuenta *ducados* cada un año, para los gastillos y otras cosas que se le pueden ofrecer durante su vida."

an important step.[6] The text of the *Vida* claims to be making frequent references to Teresa's autobiographical writings, some of which appear in the book as direct quotations.

The *Vida* recorded that Teresa/Chicaba enjoyed special favor with her mistress, who might have educated her as some European women did with their slave companions—especially those who entered the household as children. Therefore, it is entirely possible that this young woman learned to write enough to prepare her to undertake the customary projects of elite religious women: recording her spiritual life and writing religious poetry. Had she been illiterate, Paniagua would surely have noted it and would have chosen a different strategy for conveying her voice in the hagiography.[7]

With the exception of an autographed letter by Sor Teresa preserved in the Convent of Las Dueñas in Salamanca and her signature at the bottom the document certifying her act of profession in June 1704, no other papers written by Sor Teresa Chicaba are known to exist.[8] In both documents, however, one can observe clear and firm handwriting, a sign of someone accustomed to using a quill pen with a certain frequency. The handwriting suggests a person who might well have produced the diary or notes her biographer used to produce the story of her life.

Hagiography and "As-Told-To" Life Stories: Two Related Genres

The *Vida* is an example of a hagiography, which is commonly defined as a life or legend of a saint. The genre "includes accounts of persons regarded as holy or exemplary in their own time, even if they were not formally canonized" (chapters 9 and 10).[9] In the words of Caroline Walker Bynum, saints are "socially constructed," and their legends are "[f]ashioned and authenticated in a complex relationship between clerical authorities and the adherents who spread the holy person's reputation for virtues and miracles" (page x).

[6] Beatification is a formal ecclesiastical process resulting in permission to a local population of faithful to venerate a Christian martyr or someone who in life had a reputation for sanctity and miracles. Two portraits were also commissioned and painted of Sor Teresa with the aim of helping to disseminate her fame as a saint. One of them is displayed in the small museum created in her honor by the nuns of the convent of Las Dueñas of Salamanca, together with other documents and material testimonies of her life. The other remains in a deteriorated state in the Museo Provincial of Salamanca. For a commentary on these two portraits, see Fra Molinero.

[7] The lives of several illiterate black slave nuns were recorded by clergy in Spain (Magdalena de la Cruz), Mexico (Esperanza), and Brazil (Rosa Egipciaca). See Contreras; Gómez de la Parra and Ramos Medina; and Mott.

[8] The Dominican convent of Las Dueñas in Salamanca is where Sor Teresa Chicaba is buried now. During the occupation of Salamanca by Napoleon's troops in 1810, the convent of La Penitencia, where she lived, was demolished. The nuns took Sor Teresa's remains with them as a precious possession together with several objects that belonged to her that had become relics as well as her autographed letter and the document certifying her act of profession. All these items are preserved now in the convent of Las Dueñas, a more aristocratic institution than La Penitencia at the time she lived in Salamanca.

[9] For a view of sainthood outside the Catholic Church, see Wyschogrod.

Hagiographies, therefore, are profoundly political. Paniagua's *Vida* is an example of an even more hybrid genre. Part hagiography—itself a bricolage of forms—and part as-told-to (auto-)biography/spiritual narrative, it is an instance of *pentimento,* or layered narrative, in which Chicaba's unique worldview and sometimes radical intent peeks through the surface of her biographer's prose. As a result, Paniagua's representation of Chicaba's story exhibits its dual origins, African and European.

The priest was not Sor Teresa's confessor. He obtained the materials—both written and oral—for the hagiography through interviews with Sor Teresa Chicaba in the fall of 1748, during the last months of her life. If the manuscripts Paniagua claims to have consulted existed, Sor Teresa would be the first African-born woman known to us to have written in a modern European language.[10]

If read as the oral history of an ex-slave, however, the *Vida* bears a striking resemblance to another genre, the dictated biographies and spiritual narratives of freed African people or ex-slaves in the United States of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century. They are sometimes called "as-told-to slave narratives." The *Vida* would be the first example of this type of slave narrative in the Catholic tradition.

Spiritual narratives, the Protestant first cousin of the Catholic mystical autobiography and its sibling hagiography, were the genre from which the slave narrative evolved. First-person conversion accounts by Blacks of religious justification and sanctification lay "the necessary intellectual groundwork by proving that [Blacks] . . . were as much chosen by God for eternal salvation as whites" (Andrews, 7). Upon the foundation of this theological argument for racial equality, slave narratives made the case for emancipation—legal, political, and economic freedom for Americans of African descent. The first of these narratives, a dictated as-told-to spiritual autobiography, contains an abduction story strikingly similar to Sor Teresa Chicaba's.[11]

Race and Ethnicity in a Holy Woman's Life and *Vida*

Present-day readers may well question why an emancipated Black woman slave would choose a cloistered religious life. However, in Spain and the rest of the Catholic world of Europe and the Americas, female convents were sites of relative spiritual and intellectual freedom and of sexual safety as compared to the alternative of a secular life as a single woman. In France, a slave named Pauline Villeneuve avoided being sent back to the Caribbean by professing as a nun, a decision her Benedictine order successfully defended (Harms, 6–11). In Spanish America, this relative freedom operated both for white and Black women, although the case of women of African descent has received much less attention.

Race was an obstacle to Paniagua's producing a text that would support a case for an African woman's beatification; Blacks were not suitable subjects of Catholic

[10] Úrsula de Jesús is the first woman of African descent known to date to have been credited with writing/dictating her spiritual autobiography. She lived in Lima in the first part of the seventeenth century (see van Deusen).

[11] Joycelyn Moody traces this evolution in a book-length study of African American women's spiritual narratives (see Belinda; Moody).

hagiographies. Sainthood required nobility of lineage and birth from a legitimate marital union. Black slaves, lacking both, were not deemed adequate candidates for sainthood. The ideology of the era made the language of hagiography inadequate in this situation; the *Vida* needed to represent Chicaba's race positively against the contemporary negative discourse that was decidedly anti-Black.

Since the Middle Ages, the devil was represented in Spain as a Black man, and Black men appeared in demonic visions of many Spanish and Spanish-American nuns since the sixteenth century, including Saint Teresa of Avila herself. *Guinea* or Western Africa was seen as a region close to hell (see Olsen). A close reading of the narrative reveals a conflict between the dominant ideology of the day—beliefs sanctioning slavery and racial inequality that Paniagua might have upheld—and an attempt to find textual space for resistance, principles of gender and racial equality that Chicaba might have asserted.

The description of Chicaba's parents and siblings as members of her country's royalty stands in tension with their Blackness and Africanness, but it serves to mitigate Chicaba's abject status as a slave by asserting her exceptional pedigree. However, Teresa/Chicaba's rejection by several convents that would not accept a Black in their community—not even as a lay sister—was testimony to the impossibility of her claims of legitimacy and high lineage to completely displace the negative aspects of the doctrine of *limpieza de sangre,* or blood purity, that prevailed in her time.

In addition, most Spaniards ascribed to the belief in a symbolic relation between skin color and paganism. The eighteenth-century reader of this hagiography/spiritual narrative would have understood that slavery was the fortunate and providential intermediate step through which Africans "transmigrated" on their Christian journey to paradise. That is, the public instinctively justified the capture and bondage of Black people as the means of expunging the moral stain inscribed as color across their bodies.

Thus, the exemplary depiction of Teresa/Chicaba's religious orthodoxy, grasp of Catholic apologetics, sanctity, and compassion in her encounter with a fellow slave simply identified as the "Turkish girl" is an attempt on the part of the priest and the subject of the story to problematize this ideology that demonized Blacks. Allegedly, the Muslim woman became a weapon Satan attempted to wield against the innocent Chicaba.[12] But Teresa's sanctity shielded her from the murderous attacks instigated by the devil.

When the assaults ceased, Chicaba befriended her assailant, who confided that a Catholic priest had seduced and abandoned her, thereby turning her against Christianity. She had adamantly refused to convert despite the efforts of "many spiritual and learned men"; however, "Grace" chose instead a lowly Black slave woman, Teresa/

[12] There is documentary evidence that there were Muslim slaves in the *Mancera* household, as attested by the sale of two Muslim men by the *Marquis of Mancera* a few years before Chicaba's arrival to his home (Archivo Histórico de *Protocolos Notariales* de Madrid, 11.410 fol. 79, February 6, 1677).

Chicaba, as an instrument of salvation (chapter XIII, not anthologized here). A reader in eighteenth-century Spain would have marveled at the unique sanctity that enabled Teresa/Chicaba to prevail where European men had failed. The power of the incident resides in the stark opposition of categories of difference, race and gender: whiteness versus Blackness and men versus women.

Because Teresa/Chicaba was probably the last living witness to this episode in her life, she might have had some part in this representation of her unusual spiritual and intellectual superiority. In addition, occasionally her Blackness is transformed in the narrative into a mark of divine choosing; for instance, during her journey to enter the convent in Salamanca, a blind man recognizes her skin color simply by touching her.

For the most part, slavery and the condition of Blacks under it were not a significant issue in the moral discussions of Paniagua's time. By 1685, the Council of State advised King Carlos II, in response to radical *Capuchin* friars Francisco José de Jaca and Epiphane de Moirans' denunciation of slavery in the Americas, that the enslavement of Blacks was a matter of practical convenience and economic necessity for Spain (Pena González, liii). But the *Vida* betrays a conflicted view of slavery.

The prose exhibits stress when it describes the indignities and mistreatment of the slave Teresa/Chicaba. Yet, it cannot or will not condemn the institution of slavery that was the root cause of it. In other words, Chicaba's race becomes a site of this contradiction at salient points in the narrative. The mistreatment of Teresa/Chicaba by white servants of the *Mancera* household becomes an uncomfortable indictment of white racial violence that goes unpunished, and it becomes deflected in the text. On one occasion, Chicaba was thrown into the pond in Madrid's Retiro Park by some person first recognized as the Marquis but later reidentified as the devil himself.

This narrative revision cautiously absolves members of the Marquis' staff by displacing the crime into the demonic realm. The *Vida*'s narrative has to editorialize on these anecdotes that originate in Chicaba's conversations and papers in an attempt to present racial obstacles as a form of divine trial.

The *Vida* occasionally reveals interventions or narrative resistance to slavery. For example, immediately following the story of Chicaba's "gentle" kidnapping or abduction in Africa by a celestial being clothed like a Spaniard is the harrowing tale of her attempt to throw herself overboard only to be snatched from certain death by the intervention of a Holy White Lady, a syncretism of an African water deity and the Blessed Virgin. Further the protagonist described how, while still in the *Middle Passage,* phantasmal blackbirds followed the slave ship. This vision or hallucination that the text attributes to satanic intervention is similar to the delirium recalled by other captives subjected to unbearable thirst and in a slave ship's hold (see Kiple and Higgins).

A modern audience alert to the double voice of the *Vida*'s narrative might detect Chicaba's voice in the assertion of her Africanness through the recollection of these events. The insistence on remembering her own African name and those of her relatives, as well as the insistence on her royal origins, might indicate an early form of racial consciousness. The framing of her mystical experience as beginning in Africa with the

White Lady also implies an attempt to assert Africa as the place where her Christian spiritual quest originated prior to her abduction.

As evidenced by the anecdotes she must have related to Paniagua, the *Vida* appears to make a constant effort to construct and maintain Teresa/Chicaba's racial identity, her Africanness. Thus, in the aforementioned episode of her near drowning in the pond at the Retiro Park, when she experienced her submersion in the waters of El Retiro's pond as a journey back to her homeland—as *sankofa*—the text asserts that a return to her native land is a voyage to Africa, where she once enjoyed freedom and agency. The submersion/journey represents her as a diasporic African subject. She is someone who is aware of her African origins and ancestry as well as the historicity of her enslavement and social condition once she attains legal freedom.

The preservation of Sor Teresa/Chicaba's memories of Africa and her awareness of racial difference is exemplified with great originality in biblical exegesis in an unusual piece of convent poetry quoted in the *Vida* and attributed to Chicaba. In the poem, Jesus is depicted as a polygamist. The poem in chapter XXXV uses the biblical story of the competition between Mary and Martha to criticize the monastic hierarchy among *choir* nuns, lay sisters, and others. The unusual depiction of Christ as "go[ing] out with other women" seems to attest to the collaboration—oral or written—of Chicaba in the composition of the *Vida.*

One can argue that Paniagua's quotes from her spiritual autobiography, no matter how doctored, are more likely to have originated from her writings than not. Although such quotations cannot be accepted as faithful copies of the original text using today's standards of authenticity, they are marked in italics in the *Vida.* This was a typical practice in religious literature to mark the divine inspiration of the words of the subject of the hagiography. Among all the quoted passages in the narrative, the poem portraying Chicaba's spiritual jealousy of Christ most likely is a faithful representation of her voice.

The poem is striking in its interpretation of the story of Martha and Mary (Luke 10:38–42). In conventional Church exegesis, Martha and Mary are contrasting, hierarchical examples of contemplation and action in the Christian soul, which are translated to the relative status of nuns in a community. Sor Teresa/Chicaba combines the traditional representation of both women and applies their story to her own case.

Catholic theology has been at pains to explain away the idea of a polygamous Christ, the logical consequence of his mystical marriage to many nuns. The feeling of jealousy, which Paniagua rationalizes as a manifestation of Sor Teresa/Chicaba's intense love, might be a reflection of her lived experience in the convent. In the convent, she was relegated to the symbolic status of a "lesser wife," as indicated by the manual labor required of her. In this regard, the recrimination might well be a complaint against some perceived injustice visited upon her by the other sisters. The tension between Martha and Mary in the biblical story might point toward this interpretation.

Sor Teresa/Chicaba's life is worthy of study as an extraordinary woman among other exceptional nuns in Spain and the Americas during the early modern era: Saint Teresa of Ávila, Sor María de Agreda, and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. Feminist scholars

have been indispensable in discovering texts and establishing the importance of these early women writers. However, Black women remain invisible in most scholarly essays and monographs in spite of the abundant evidence of their presence as devout Catholics. Chicaba's case makes clear the importance of race in the analysis of the lives of monastic women in Spanish and Spanish-American convents.[13]

[13] Jodi Bilinkoff studies the anti-Jewish racial tension around the Carmelite reformation in sixteenth-century Spain. Racial relations between nuns of Spanish descent and *mestizas* and indigenous nuns are receiving increasing attention (see Bilinkoff; Myers; Rubial; and Sampson Vera Tudela).

[Vida Ejemplar de la Venerable Madre Sor Teresa Juliana de Santo Domingo][1]

Capítulo I

A poca costa y menos trabajo suelen lograr las plumas que se emplean en escribir vidas y acciones de los héroes descubrir los padres, *patria,* deudos y parientes, pero en la del sujeto desta no puede con tanta facilidad correr la pluma porque lo incógnito de la tierra, lo distante de su clima escasea más y más en su distancia las noticias. Y a no haberlas dado la misma Madre Teresa, de todo punto se hubieran escondido a nuestros ojos; porque muertos los que la trajeron en su nave, fallecido los Marqueses de Mancera, todos sus *criados* y familia, *patria* y padres de Teresa se hubieran quedado en la región del olvido, y sólo por su rostro, anduviéramos rastreando su nativo suelo. Éste fue en la *Guinea.* El año, según más ajustada cuenta, de 1676. Ignórase el día en que salió esta feliz criatura a gozar la vida común, pero no el que fue escogida entre millares de la mano poderosa para crédito de su Divina Providencia.

Es la *Guinea* una de las más dilatadas y vastas provincias que en sí contienen los anchurosos términos de la África. Divídese en varios reinos, gobernados cada uno por sí solo. El de la *Mina Baja del Oro* es de los principales. Y aquí fue donde salió a luz esta dichosa niña, de tan ilustre prosapia que sus padres ceñían la corona, teniendo en pacífica posesión el cetro y mando de toda aquella tierra. El nombre de su padre le borró el tiempo de su memoria. Sólo conservó impresas las señales de su cuerpo, facciones y cara: *Era mi padre*—dice en su *relación,* que esta Venerable hizo de su origen—*un hombre corpulento, grueso y de cejas muy pobladas.* Su madre se llamaba Abar, igual al padre en calidad y nobleza. Tuvo la Venerable Madre tres hermanos, mayores que ella; el uno llamado Juachipiter, Ensu el segundo, Joachín el tercero. Estos tres precedieron al nacimiento de esta mujer insigne, a quien luego que nació la pusieron en su lengua el nombre de Chicaba. Para alegría pues de sus padres, gozo de sus hermanos y consuelo del reino todo nació esta infanta, a quien criaron con el cuidado y amor que, ya por niña o ya por última, correspondía a tan querida prenda.

Son los habitadores todos de la *Guinea* de un color atezado y *negro* como advertimos frecuentemente en los que vienen a nuestros países y nos informan historias de mucha autoridad. Siendo color con que a todos los de aquella región matizó sabia la naturaleza, ni a los padres y hermanos de la niña ni a la niña misma podía faltar esta gala. Mas aunque tan obscuros sus aspectos eran mucho más *negros* sus ánimos.

[1] For this anthology, we use Paniagua, *Compendio de la vida.* Spelling and punctuation of the Spanish original have been modernized except in those cases where there is a difference in pronunciation, as in the word *baptizar,* where the original is preserved instead of the modern *bautizar.*

[Exemplary Life of the Venerable Mother Sor Teresa Juliana de Santo Domingo]

Chapter I

Authors of the lives and deeds of heroes exert little effort and face even less difficulty finding out parents, country, family members, and other relatives of their subjects. But in the present case, our pen does not flow so easily. The unknown character of her native land and the remoteness of that region make information about her scarce. Had it not been for Mother Teresa herself, who supplied these details, they would have remained completely concealed from us. After the passing of those who brought her in the ship, as well as the Marquis of Mancera and his wife, all their servants and the rest of their family, Teresa's land of origin and parents would have been forgotten. Only the color of her face would be left to trace her back to her native land. She was born in *Guinea* in 1676, according to the closest estimate. We do not know the day this fortunate creature saw the light of life. We know, though, that she was chosen among thousands by the Powerful Hand and for the glory of Divine Providence.

Guinea is one of the most extensive and vast provinces contained in the huge confines of Africa. It is divided into several kingdoms, each one governing itself independently. The Lower *Mina* off the *Gold Coast* [*La Mina Baja del Oro*] is among the most important ones. That was where this happy girl was born to a most illustrious family. Her parents were reigning princes. Their scepter ruled all that land in peaceful dominion. Time erased her father's name from her memory. She only remembered the shape of his body and the features of his face: *My father was*—she says in the account [*relación*] this venerable woman made of her origins—*a man of large and broad body, and with very thick eyebrows.*[1] Her mother was called Abar and was as important as her father in lineage and nobility. The venerable mother had three brothers, all of them older than she: one was called Juachipiter, Ensú was the second, Joachin, the third one. They all preceded this outstanding woman in birth. When she was born, they called her Chicaba in their language. This princess was born to be a joy to her parents and brothers and a consolation to the entire kingdom. Either because she was a girl or because she was the youngest, all care was lavished on her as if she were a precious jewel.

All the inhabitants of *Guinea* are of a dark, black color, as we frequently observe of those who come to our countries or read from histories of the greatest authority. Because such is the color with which wise nature painted all those from that region, parents and brothers and the girl herself could not help being adorned in the same fashion. However dark was their complexion, even darker was their situation. In their

[1] Father Paniagua uses italics only for quotations that he wants us to accept as being directly taken from Sor Teresa Chicaba's own writings. Otherwise, he represents the imagined speech of Chicaba and all other characters in a variety of typographical forms, and not always consistently.

Adoraban ciegos al lucero de la mañana. Para sus cultos y sacrificios ni usaban ni tenían templos, sino que previniendo la estrella salían muy temprano a adorarla. Vigilia superflua, cuando en el mismo salir a buscar la luz se quedaban con más densas y opacas tinieblas. En sus días festivos salía el *pueblo,* Rey y Reina con toda su familia, según el rito de sus bárbaras ceremonias, epilogadas en doblar la rodilla, y en humilde obsequio hacer a la estrella la salva. Cultos que duraron hasta que el celo de los misioneros *capuchinos,* entrando estos últimos años, lograron plantar la bandera de la fe y desterrar las sombras de la idolatría. [pp. 1–2]

[Sin poder aceptar que el lucero del alba fuera la fuerza creadora de todo, Chicaba emprendió una búsqueda personal que tomó la forma de caminatas contemplativas fuera de su palacio. La gente la reconocía como regalo divino con poder para curar a las personas enfermas.]

Capítulo III

. . . Salió entre otras al campo una mañana con la corta comitiva de algunas *criadas.* Divertidas éstas algún tanto por la campiña, dejaron sola a la Chicaba cuando de repente se vio asaltada de bárbara tropa que, enemiga de su *nación* y de su padre, hicieron presa en la inocente para destrozarla. Exhaladas las *criadas,* que desde lejos vieron el peligro de su señora, entran por la ciudad dando voces. Llegan a Palacio en tropel confuso y en pavorosos ecos publican su peligro. El padre, tan animoso como pronto, salió al campo a tiempo tan oportuno que, animosos con su presencia, los vasallos que a las voces habían concurrido, a valentía de sus brazos destrozan y ahuyentan los bárbaros enemigos, y recuperando su más querida prenda, la restituyen a su padre festivos, dándose el parabién de haber, bien arriesgados, conseguido el triunfo y asegurados todos en la niña su consuelo. . . . [p. 7]

Capítulo IV

. . . Un día pues, bastante distante de ellos [los *criados*], llegó a una fuente cristalina y embelesada, según su costumbre, vio lo que vio, pues ella sola se lo supo. Sucedió lo que dijo, porque no pudo excusarlo; dirélo con las mismas palabras que un *director* suyo lo atestigua.—En una de estas estaciones—habla de lo mucho que andaba Teresa

blindness, they worshipped the morning star.[2] They did not use temples for their worship and sacrifices. Instead, as soon as they saw the star, they came out of their houses very early to adore it. What a superfluous vigil that was, because in the very act of seeking out the light, they remained in thicker and denser darkness. During their feast days, the people accompanied the king and queen and all their family. Following the customary ritual of their barbarous ceremonies, they bent their knees in humble recognition and sang praises to the star. These rites lasted until the zeal of the *Capuchin* missionaries, entering these lands not long ago, succeeded in planting the banner of the True Faith and banishing the shadows of idolatry.[3]

[Unable to accept the morning star as the creator of everything, Chicaba started on a personal search that took the form of contemplative walks in the meadows outside her palace. The people acknowledge her as a divine gift and a healer.]

Chapter III

. . . She went out one morning like any other with a reduced retinue of some female servants. Enjoying themselves for a while across the field, they left Chicaba alone. Suddenly she found herself assaulted by a barbarous army sent by an enemy of her *nation* and her father. They took her prisoner in order to tear her apart. The maids, anguished and seeing from afar the danger into which their lady had fallen, burst into the city shouting. They reached the palace in a confused melee; and with cries of alarm, they announced the peril. The father, as courageous as he was prompt to action, left for the field just in time, and his vassals, who had come at the call of the maids' voices, took courage with his presence. With valiant arms, they shatter and rout the barbarous enemies. After recovering her father's most precious treasure, they brought her back to him in celebration. They congratulated one another for having achieved this triumph because, though they had taken great risks, the girl's life assured their solace. . . .

Chapter IV

. . . One day, distancing herself from them [her retinue] a good while, [Chicaba] arrived at a fountain of crystal waters. Completely taken by it, as was her custom, she saw what she saw, for she alone knew about it. What she said happened, happened; and she could not avoid it. I will tell about it in the very words that one of her *spiritual*

[2] The morning star, or Lucifer (Latin "bringer of light") has been interpreted since Saint Jerome (*To Eustochium* 22.4) as a reference to the devil. Thus, Chicaba's people were worshippers of the devil. Paniagua shows the tension between the moral and the biological discourse on blackness of his time.

[3] This is historically inaccurate. An attempt was made by a *Capuchin* mission in 1658 sent by Spain, which produced a catechism in the Ewe language (see Labouret and Rivet; Law; and Olabiyi). Attempts were made by the bishops of *São Tomé* to send missions to the Kingdom of Benin and Whydah. *Capuchins* were very active in the Christian kingdom of Kongo around the time of its demise in 1688 (see Brásio; Thornton).

para conseguir su ansia—la baptizaron estando al pie de una fuente y pusieron el nombre de Teresa, que después la dieron también cuando la baptizaron en el Puerto de Santo Tomé [*São Tomé*].—Hasta aquí su *director.* Quién fue el ministro, ni lo dice ni lo explica, pero habiendo sido el lance cierto, que fuese un ángel no lo dudará el docto, pues en todo el reino entonces no había quien pudiese administrárselo. Desde este suceso volvió Teresa con algún consuelo, con algunas noticias de quién era el Dios que buscaba; pero como aún niña no parece le quedaron tan impresas que bastasen a sosegarla sus antiguas ansias, con que no omitió repetir sus diligencias. Y así continuó en buscar a quien, aunque ya tenía, aún la parecía ignoraba. Quiso este Dios para ella oculto darla algún claro diseño. Era él por quien en amantes ansias suspiraba. Apareciósela, pues, niño tierno en los brazos de María Santísima. Atónita Teresa con la vista de objeto tan peregrino, se quedó en dulce embeleso, clavados los ojos en Señora y Niño, apacible éste cuanto hermoso para excitarla a que tomase con más atención las señas de su persona. Tenía en las manos pendiente una cinta tan resplandeciente como vistosa. Con ella blandamente tocaba la cabeza de Teresa y al quererla ésta coger retiraba el Niño su mano con gracia, de suerte que ella no podía alcanzarla. Repitió el Niño algunas veces la diligencia, Teresa el afán de poseerla, aunque nunca logró el tocarla, y al cabo de un buen rato que duró este místico prodigioso juego, poniendo Madre e Hijo sus benignos ojos en la niña, se huyeron a su vista quedando Teresa, aunque de edad tan corta, combinando especies en su fantasía. La hermosura de la Señora, la gracia y dulzura del Hijo, lo blanco de sus rostros, siendo todos los que ella había visto tan atezados, fueron a su entendimiento tan perspicaz como agudo, aunque en pueriles años, eficaces incentivos para su ansia y su deseo de acabar de conocer este Dios encubierto y oculto. Finalizado el prodigio se volvió con los suyos, a quienes no descubrió parte alguna del portento. Sólo a su hermano, pasados algunos días, para sosegar su envidia, le dio tal cual, aunque obscura, alguna noticia. [pp. 9–10]

Capítulo VI

. . . Tan confiado como seguro de que se observarían en punto de la custodia de su hija sus órdenes y preceptos caminaba con sus hijos el padre de Teresa a tomar posesión de sus nuevas agregadas provincias. La madre, atenta a cumplir y ejecutar la ley del Monarca en cuya observancia ella tanto interesaba como era la seguridad de su propia hija, hecha vigilante Argos, no la consentía apartarse de su compañía. ¿Pero de qué sirven diligencias humanas contra disposiciones divinas? Cuatro días duró este vigilante amoroso cuidado, ocasionando el mismo amor el descuido que desconsolada su madre lloró por tanto tiempo. Burlado pues el estudio de la madre—el cómo sólo Dios lo

directors used to testify about it.[4] "In one of these pauses"—he talks about how far Teresa walked to reach the object of her burning desire—"they baptized her as she stood by the fountain, and they gave her the name of Teresa, which later on she was given again, when she was baptized in *São Tomé.*" Her *spiritual director* says no more. Who administered the sacrament, he does not say, nor does he explain. Any learned person will have no doubt that this happened indeed. An angel must have done it because, at that time, there was no one in the entire kingdom yet who could have baptized her. After this incident Teresa returned more reassured, with more knowledge of the God for whom she was looking. However, as she was yet a child, this knowledge does not seem to have impressed itself enough on her to quench her long-felt desire. She did not stop going about the same business and continued looking for the One Whom she still did not know, even though she had Him within her. This God, so hidden to her, wished to show some clear sign that He was the one she sighed for with loving pain. He appeared to her as a tender Child in the arms of his Holy Mother. Teresa, stunned by the sight of such an uncanny vision, remained motionless in sweet contemplation, her eyes fixed on the Lady and Her Child, who was as peaceful as He was beautiful. Therefore, Teresa could understand better who He was. He had dangling from His hands a ribbon, as bright as it was pretty. He touched Teresa's head with it softly; and when she tried to take it, the Child withdrew His hand with grace, so that she could not reach it. The Child repeated this action a few times; and Teresa [repeated] her gesture to grab it, but she could never touch it. This mystical and miraculous game lasted for a while, after which, the Lady and Her Son cast their benign eyes on the girl and disappeared from her sight. In spite of her young age, Teresa was left with all sorts of thoughts stirring in her imagination: the beauty of the Lady, the grace and sweetness of Her Son, the whiteness of their faces, when all she had ever seen were dark—these things became powerful incentives for her quick and alert understanding, despite her youth. She wanted to find out once and for all who this God was who was hiding under cover. When the marvel ended, she went back with her people. She did not reveal any part of the wonder to anyone. A few days later, she gave her brother alone some information, although vague, to calm his envy.

Chapter VI

. . . With the confidence and security of knowing that his orders and rules regarding the custody of his daughter would be observed to the letter, Teresa's father went off with his sons to take possession of his newly amassed provinces. Her mother was equally alert to enforce and execute the monarch's decree, because it was of utmost importance to obey it and thus ensure her daughter's security. Like a new Argos,[5] she would not allow Chicaba to leave her company. But what is human purpose in the face of divine decision? This loving vigilance and care lasted four days. The same love was the occasion for a lapse, which her mother would lament for a long time with

[4] A Roman Catholic nun often seeks guidance about her spiritual life from a priest who meets with her outside the sacrament of penance or confession. The director is seldom her confessor.

[5] Argos is a Greek mythological figure that has one hundred eyes.

sabe—frustrada la vigilancia de las guardas, pudo salir Teresa de su casa y ausente de ella se dio priesa a caminar a su amado prado a ver si en él o en la fuente lograba volver a ver aquella Señora con aquel Niño blanco que tan del todo había robado su afecto; y viendo que no hallaba en él el imán de su cariño, embebecida en su ansia, se apartó tanto de su corte y casa que no acertando a volver a ella, ignorando el fin de tan largo camino, tan sofocada del sol cuanto cansada de su trabajo, se sentó a la sombra de un árbol.

Defendida con ella de los ardores del sol, limpió el sudor de su rostro. Aliviada del cansancio, se quedó Teresa, aunque niña y en una soledad desierta, tan sin susto ni pavor alguno que llevada de lo que a su propia edad convenía, quitándose las *manillas* tan preciosas como ricas, empezó a jugar con ellas con tanta quietud y serenidad como pudiera en su propia Casa. . . . [p. 14]

. . . Al pie de un árbol dejamos a Teresa, cuando a la orilla del mar surgió una nave española y entonces, de improviso, la asió de un brazo un joven gallardo, llevándola también todas sus joyuelas. Arrimóla a la orilla del mar y descubriéndola los de la nave, sin ver al que la conducía porque éste se hizo invisible a sus ojos, saltó uno de ellos a tierra y embarcándola en la nave se hizo ésta el mar adentro, sin tratar de más intereses y negocios. Teresa, con el ansia de verse alejar de su tierra, con las lágrimas y fatiga que la ocasionaba verse entre gente extraña, estaba a los umbrales de la muerte ya por la pena y congoja ya por la sed que la ahogaba. Gemía sin consuelo; hacían cuanto podían por acallarla los del navío, pero como las lágrimas procedían más de la sed que la fatigaba que de otra cosa alguna, aunque tantas la afligían, no la acallaban porque ignoraban lo que quería. Acaso vio un vaso de agua y abalanzándose a él presurosa pudo así satisfacer su ansia, hallando en ella la restauración de su vida. Refrigerada y satisfecha la fueron poco a poco acariciando y ella recuperándose algo del susto, pero no sin el ansia de volver a su tierra a la presencia de sus queridos padres. Afligíala el no saber nadar, pues en esta habilidad y destreza, aunque tan niña, la parecía podía libertarse de esclavitud tan penosa. Y viéndose negada a este consuelo hizo, según después aseguró ella propia, este pueril discurso:—la nave, cuanto más se aleja, va más contra la corriente, conque saltando yo en el agua, corriendo como corre hacia mi tierra, sus mismos raudales me han de llevar a ella.—Como lo pensó lo quiso poner por obra pero al tiempo de ejecutarlo se la apareció una Señora que en su majestad y grandeza descubría bien claro era la misma que vio en la fuente dichosa, allá en su *patria.* Enjugó con apacible mansedumbre sus lágrimas, aquietó sus ansias con sus caricias, dejándola libre de todo punto del cariño que a su *patria* abrigaba en su pecho y la llevaba al más lamentable naufragio. [p. 16]

[Es bautizada en Santo Tomé y de allí viaja a España. El demonio ataca el barco en que la transportan en forma de pájaros negros. Desembarca en Cádiz. Vive en Sevilla algún tiempo y finalmente es regalada al rey Carlos II. Éste a su vez se la entrega al Marqués de Mancera y su mujer.]

inconsolable tears. Stealing herself away from her mother's watch—how she did so only God knows—and fooling the vigilance of the guards, Teresa was able to leave the house. Once out, she hurried toward her beloved meadow, where she hoped to see by the fountain the Lady with the white Child who had captured her affection so completely. When she could not find the compass that attracted her love, she was overtaken by her passion and continued walking far away from her household and court. Unable to find her way back and unaware of what was at the end of such a long road, suffering in the heat of the sun and fatigued after such travail, she sat down under the shade of a tree.

Protected by the shadow from the sun's fierce heat, she wiped the perspiration from her face. Finding relief and rest, Teresa, although a child and in such desert solitude, remained unafraid, completely without fear. Doing what was appropriate for her years, she took the beautiful and precious bracelets [*manillas*] off her wrists and started playing with them. She was as calm and serene as if she were in her own house. . . .

. . . We left Teresa resting under a tree, when a Spanish vessel appeared on the shore. Suddenly a gallant young man grabbed her by the arm with the jewels she was wearing. He took her closer to the seashore, and those on the ship noticed her but did not see the man who was leading her. He was invisible to their eyes. One of them jumped overboard and carried her to the ship. The vessel took to the high seas without tending to any other concern or business. Teresa was frightened to see that they were taking her far from her land. With tears in her eyes and frightened to see herself among strange people, she was on the brink of death. Sadness and distress suffocated her, together with thirst. She moaned helplessly, and all the crew tried everything they could to quiet her. But the tears were caused more from her overwhelming thirst than from any other concerns, although so many of these gave her grief. Yet no one could calm her because they did not know what she wanted. By chance, she saw a glass of water, and thrusting herself toward it quickly, she was able finally to quench her thirst. [Chicaba] had restored herself to life, feeling refreshed and more at ease, when [the crew] began to comfort her, and little by little she started to recover from her fright, but not from the anguish of yearning to return to her land and to the company of her dear parents. It distressed her not to know how to swim because she thought that with this ability and skill, even though a small child, she might liberate herself from such painful slavery. Seeing herself denied this remedy, she reasoned childishly to herself, as she later explained: "*The vessel is sailing farther away against the current. If I jump into the water, it will take me to my land, because its waves go in that direction.*" As she finished her thought, she tried to put it into action. But as she was about to execute it, a Lady appeared to her whose majesty and grandeur made it clear that she was the same one she had seen on the happy occasion of the fountain back in her motherland. The Lady dried her tears with peaceful calm, and she also calmed her distress with her caresses. With this she completely freed Teresa from the affection for her motherland that she nurtured in her bosom and that had almost brought her to a most lamentable drowning.

[She is baptized in São Tomé. From there she is taken to Spain. The devil in the form of blackbirds attacks her ship. She arrives in Cadiz and lives in Seville for some time. Finally she is presented to King Carlos II of Spain, who in turn gives her to the Marquis and Marchioness of Mancera.]

Capítulo X

. . . Mandó la marquesa una tarde a las *criadas* saliesen con su *negrita* al lícito desahogo de un decente paseo. Obedeciendo la orden de su ama, se encaminaron al sitio del Buen Retiro, donde en la variedad hermosa de fuentes, jardines y estanques pasasen más divertida la tarde. Al declinar ésta se arrimaron todas al estanque grande y puestas en su repisa, unas en pie, otras sentadas, divertidas todas con el suave bullicio de las aguas, notaron un hombre que en las exteriores señas parecía el *mayordomo* del marqués. Acercóse a ellas, lo que no extrañaron, pues le tenían por de casa, y sin hablar palabra se llegó a Teresa, que bien descuidada estaba en pie a la repisa del estanque; y el fingido *mayordomo* al impulso de un puntapié precipitó a Teresa en las aguas. Asombradas todas de acción tan irregular en sujeto tenido por doméstico, atónitas al ver a Teresa en el peligro, pasmadas sin saber cómo ocurrir al fracaso, se quedaron confusas un grande espacio de tiempo. Bastante a que el agua privase a Teresa de la vida, a no tener consigo el amparo divino, con el cual bajo de las ondas, decía, estaba tan gustosa, como allá en el pradito de su tierra. Recuperadas las compañeras de su asombro y confusión, conferían entre sí propias el *remedio;* y hallándose atajadas por todos caminos para dárselo, se volvían llenas de dolor y llanto, cuando estaba Teresa bañándose debajo de las aguas de placer y contento. A pocos pasos que dieron, antes de salir del Buen Retiro, encontraron a un joven tan gallardo como bien dispuesto, que informado del motivo de sus lágrimas, las obligó cortés a que volviesen con él al puesto. Reconoció el sitio por donde Teresa había caído y sin más diligencia que ponerse a la orilla, reverente el agua, puso en sus manos a Teresa, tan alegre, contenta y festiva, tan sin humedecerse la ropa como si no hubiera caído en el agua. Entrególa a las compañeras, las que preocupadas de gozo de ver restituida a su querida Teresa, tuvieron tan poco cuidado de saber quién era el joven como antes con el susto de saber qué se había hecho y por dónde se había ido el que al arrojarla al agua habían tenido por el *mayordomo.* [pp. 25, 26]

[Después de pasar su juventud en la casa del Marqués y la Marquesa de Mancera, Teresa recibe su libertad y entra en un convento de Salamanca, luego de varios intentos fracasados en otros, por razón del color de su piel.]

Capítulo XIX

. . . Confirieron las religiosas entre sí la materia, y hechas cargo las más de la conveniencia que a su convento tendría joya tan especial, más por su virtud y ajustada vida

Chapter X

. . . One afternoon the marchioness sent all the maidservants, including her little black girl, out for a walk, a decent and licit diversion. They obeyed the mistress' orders, and they went to the site of the Buen Retiro.[6] They planned to entertain themselves among its variety of beautiful fountains, gardens, and pools. As the sun was setting, they all approached the big pool and climbed onto its ledge. Some were standing on it, and others were sitting, and all were distracted by the soft noise of the waters, when they saw a man who looked by all the external signs to be the Marquis' *mayordomo.* He approached them; and they did not think anything of it, because they saw him as a member of the household. Without a word, he went near Teresa, who was standing on the ledge unaware of his presence. The false *mayordomo* kicked Teresa into the water. They were all taken by surprise by such an unusual action in an individual they all considered a fellow member of the household. They were astonished at Teresa's danger and were paralyzed because they did not know how to handle the disaster. They remained confused for a long while. It was long enough for the water to have taken Teresa's life, were she not sheltered by Divine protection. She said that under the waves she was as contented as she had been in the little meadow back in her homeland. Once her companions recovered from the surprise and confusion, they started to discuss among themselves a solution; but they could not find any means to help her and they turned toward home in sorrow and tears. At the same time, Teresa was playing under the water with pleasure and contentment. A few steps away before leaving the Buen Retiro, they found a gallant and well-disposed young man. They informed him of the reason for their tears, and he obliged them to take him to the site. He recognized the place where Teresa had fallen in. The young man made no more effort than to stand by the shore, when the water placed Teresa reverently into his hands. She appeared happy, gay, and joyful as if she had never fallen into the water, and her clothes were not wet. He returned her to her fellow servants. They were so busy with their joy at seeing their dear Teresa restored to them that they neglected to ask who the young man was, just as in their fright, they had forgotten to find out what had happened to the one they believed to have been the *mayordomo* or where he had gone.

[After spending her youth in the house of the Marquis and Marchioness of Mancera, Teresa receives her freedom and enters a convent in Salamanca, after several failed attempts in other places due to her skin color.]

Chapter XIX

. . . The nuns conferred among each other about the matter. Most of them had realized how opportune it would be for the convent to have such a special gem, more for

[6] The Buen Retiro was on the grounds of today's most popular urban park in Madrid. It had been used in the past by the kings of Spain as a place of retreat. It was in Paniagua's time that the park was opened to the public, but not in Chicaba's time in Madrid. It may have happened that the household of *Mancera,* a member of the Council of State, had privileges from the king to use the Buen Retiro.

que por otra circunstancia, estaban casi resueltas a admitirla. Cuando noticiosa de lo que pasaba una señora de la más calificada nobleza de España, que negada a lo esclarecido de su linaje vivía religiosa pobre en el mismo convento, no acertando a negarse a sí propia la que, generosa, lo había dejado todo, impidió la entrada y admisión de Teresa con el vano pretexto de ser *negra* la pretendiente:

—¡Una *negra,* decía, en mi convento! No en mis días; no está fundada esta casa para *negras.* Y así, señoras, pongan fin a la plática, pues para que no tenga efecto pondré todas las diligencias posibles.—Y como señora de tan relevantes prendas, de tan superior y calificada nobleza, hubieron de callar y convenir todas las otras, quedándose Teresa excluida por *negra.* Bien lo sintió después la misma que impidió la entrada, pues a pocos años que sobrevivió al suceso, noticiosa de la virtud heroica que resplandecía en Teresa, arrepentido ya su vano pundonor de no haberla admitido por *negra,* envidiaba en las de la Penitencia su dicha y acierto, según ella se explicó repetidas veces. . . . [p. 51]

[Teresa es admitida como terciaria en el convento de La Penitencia en Salamaca a pesar de la oposición inicial del obispo.]

Capítulo XXII

. . . Concluida la función se retiró el Ilustrísimo, pasmado del fervor que Teresa había mostrado cuando la vistió el hábito, dejando a los concurrentes y familia no menos atónitos de la devoción de la *negra* en su apetecida entrada y dicha conseguida, terminándose así esta plausible función. Ya tenemos a Teresa en el puerto a que tantos años ha dirigió la proa; ya vimos cómo, contentas y alegres, la recibieron a la puerta las religiosas. Pero otra comunidad invisible a los concurrentes, a la *negra* notoria, la recibió a la puerta reglar y con agrado. Notó Teresa al entrar en el convento a cada lado dos *coros* de monjas, que juntos componían cuatro. Mirólos con atención y al principio no dio crédito a sus ojos porque discurrió acaso que turbados le multiplicaban los objetos. Siguieron procesionalmente al *coro* las cuatro filas conformes y ya Teresa notó con más atención las dos que sobresalían pero sin inquietarse su alma. Antes bien, con gran quietud y sosiego advirtió en cada una el rostro y semblante, y que la causaban un júbilo indecible. A todas las veía con la modestia y compostura correspondiente al acto en que estaban y la vida que tenían. Pero en las dos sobresalía mucho más que en las otras la afabilidad sin afectación, la compostura exterior sin átomos de hipocresía, la alegría de sus caras tanto más distinta de las otras cuanto las sobresalientes poseían ya la dicha que no las podía faltar. Las otras, mezclado su gozo con tantas causas cuantas pueden en esta vida interrumpir su dicha. Las dos hileras, en fin, de religiosas que Teresa vio y notó de más eran las religiosas ajustadas que en este mismo convento

her virtue and righteous life than for any other benefits. They were almost resolved to admit her. A lady belonging to the highest nobility in Spain heard the news of what was going on. She had renounced her high birth and lived as a poor nun in the same convent. She had given up everything, yet she could not give up her own pride, so she barred Teresa's admission. Her vain pretext was that the postulant was black.

"A black woman!" she said, "In my convent! Not in my day. This house was not founded for blacks. So, ladies, stop the talking because I will do everything within my power to stop this from happening." And because she was a lady of such high standing and superior nobility, all the others had to be silent and agree. Teresa was excluded for being black. The same person who barred her admission later lamented her mistake. A few years after this event, she heard news of the heroic virtue that shone from Teresa. The lady was remorseful that her vain pride had made her reject Teresa for being black. She envied the nuns in La Penitencia for their fortune and good sense, as she explained repeatedly.[7]. . .

[Teresa gains admission as a tertiary *in the convent of La Penitencia of Salamaca.]*

Chapter XXII

. . . Once the ceremony came to an end, the bishop left. He was astonished at the piety shown by Teresa when he gave her the habit. All present, including his family, were no less astonished by the black woman's devotion. She had achieved her desired admission and gained her happiness, and this felicitous ceremony came to an end. Now we have Teresa in the harbor to which she had directed her sail for so long. Now we have seen how happily and joyfully the nuns received her at the door. But another community, invisible to those present yet noticeable to the black woman, received her with pleasure at the door of enclosure. As she entered the convent, Teresa noticed two *choirs* of nuns on each side. Together with the living ones, they were four. She looked at them carefully. At first, she could not believe her eyes. She thought that maybe her eyes were confused and she was seeing double. The four lines proceeded toward the *choir.* Paying closer attention now, Teresa noticed that two of them were more conspicuous than the others. Her soul was not disturbed; and in the midst of great calm and peace, looking at each of their faces and expressions, she felt an indescribable joy. She saw them behave with the modesty and composure that was appropriate to the ritual they were enacting and the life they led. But in these two rows every detail stood out much more than in the others. She saw cordiality without affectation, external composure devoid of the least atom of hypocrisy, and a joy in their faces that was markedly different from the rest because they were already in possession of that joy that will never disappear. The others' joy was mixed with many other things that could serve as obstacles to true happiness. The two extra lines of nuns that Teresa saw were those who had led virtuous lives in the convent and had found eternal rest in the Lord.

[7] The convent of Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia of Salamanca, commonly called *La Penitencia,* belonged to the Dominican Order.

habían hallado en el Señor su reposo. Éstas, pues, por especial ordenación divina, en forma y figura visible la recibieron a la puerta y acompañaron a la función sagrada de tomar el hábito. De este suceso debimos el informe a Teresa, que ella misma, dando señas a las que vivían de las facciones y rostro de las que habían fallecido antes que entrase en el monasterio, acreditando lo particular de este suceso, dejan espacioso campo al discurso para venerar, no inquirir, los secretos del Cielo. [pp. 60, 61]

[Teresa ayuda a algunas mujeres pobres a pagar la dote *para entrar en el convento.]*

Capítulo XXXIV

. . . Así sucedió a una religiosa, la que cumplido su año de aprobación, se halló tan sin dinero cuanto abundante y copiosa de deseos de asegurarse por medio de los tres votos en el puerto religioso. Afligíase sobremanera, porque ni ella ni las demás sabían quién la sacaría del aprieto y no hallaban más *remedio* que fiar a la dilación del tiempo que las sacase de su ahogo. Había Teresa corrido desde el principio con todo lo necesario para que la novicia entrase. Y fiada de la Divina Providencia, puestas en Dios sus esperanzas, prosiguió en las prevenciones necesarias a la función de su profesión religiosa. Fuése a matar unas gallinas que habían de servir para la función del día siguiente y añadió con gracejo,

—Estamos ya en la víspera, ¿y vuestra merced se está con esa flema?—

Respondió la religiosa,—¿Y qué haremos con matar las gallinas si no puede ser la función mañana, por faltar lo principal y no sabemos de dónde ha de salir?—

A que Teresa volvió a decir,—Vuestra merced, señora, mate las gallinas, que mañana sin falta ha de profesar la novicia.—

Duro se le hizo a la religiosa el creerlo pero el suceso, arguyendo su falta de fe, acreditó lo mucho que a Dios le agradaba la esperanza de Teresa. A la mañana siguiente, sin falta, acudió a visitar a Teresa una persona de las muchas que la buscaban, quien liberal y piadosa puso en poder del convento cuanta *dote* faltaba a la novicia, conque sin salir del día hubieron de servir las gallinas porque en el mismo hizo su profesión religiosa. Así, a costa de prodigios, acreditó la Divina Omnipotencia lo mucho que se prendaba de la esperanza de esta su querida Esposa. [pp. 97, 98]

Capítulo XXXV

. . . Ansiosa su alma de mantener en sí y las de todas las criaturas racionales la divina gracia, inquirió diligente de su Celestial Divino Dueño el medio para conseguirlo; y oyó se le respondía de este modo:—*Sentía*—dice—*dentro de mi corazón que le amasen mucho mucho.*—Y Teresa con todo su corazón, potencias y sentidos le amó mucho mucho y por eso adelantó tanto.—*Yo que no sé,*—prosigue la Venerable—*qué es amar a Dios ni cómo darle gusto, sólo me parece a mí que le gustará el que en todo trate la verdad un corazón velador y siempre asido sólo a las cosas de su gloria, desterrando cosas terrenas en toda criatura, mirando sólo al Criador y siendo sólo el Señor suyo, alma, vida y*

These nuns, following a special command from God, came to receive her at the door in visible form and shape, and they accompanied her to the sacred ceremony of investiture. We owe this information to Teresa herself. Indeed, she told those still alive about the faces and particular features of those nuns who had already died before she had even entered the convent. Taking this incident into account, we have enough evidence to venerate her and not to question Heaven's secrets.

[Teresa helps poor women pay their dowries.]

Chapter XXXIV

. . . This is what happened to a nun, who after her postulant year found herself as short of money as she was rich and abundant in her desire to secure the harbor of religious life through the three vows.[8] She was very upset because neither she nor the others knew who could get her out of the predicament. Their only remedy would be to hope that the passage of time would play to her advantage. From the beginning, Teresa had covered all the expenses for the novice to be admitted. Trusting Divine Providence and putting all her hope in God, she proceeded with all the preparations necessary for the ceremony of religious profession. She went to kill two hens for next day's feast and said in good humor,

"We are already on the eve, and you are so tepid?"

The nun answered, "And what do we gain by killing the hens if the ceremony will not take place tomorrow because I lack the *dowry.* Where is it going to come from?"

To which Teresa said again, "Madam, you go and kill the hens; tomorrow the novice will profess without fail."

The nun had a hard time believing this. But her lack of faith served to show how much God was pleased by Teresa's hope. The next morning without fail, a person like many others who sought Teresa came to visit her. Liberal and pious, this person gave the convent all that was necessary for the novice's *dowry,* so before the end of the day the hens were served up, because that same day the nun made her profession. In this way and through a miracle, Divine Omnipotence showed how much He cherished the hope of His beloved spouse.

Chapter XXXV

. . . Her soul was eager to keep divine grace within itself as well as within the souls of all rational creatures. With that end, she promptly asked her Celestial Divine Spouse how to achieve this. She heard the following response: "*I felt*—she says—*inside my heart that everyone should love Him very much.*" And Teresa loved Him very, very much indeed, with all her heart, strength, and senses; and that is why she progressed so much in charity. "*I do not know*—the Venerable one goes on—*what it is to love God, or how to please Him; but it seems to me that He likes an attentive heart to be truthful in everything. The heart should be attached only to those things that pertain to His Glory, casting*

[8] All religious women took vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience.

corazón, sin dejar cosa libre fuera de Su Majestad. Bien sé conocerlo, mas el hacer falta.— Así te parecía a ti, Teresa, pero no faltaba en ti la ejecución de lo mismo que sentías y conocías. Y si faltaba, ¿a qué fin aquellas ansias de—te quiero, te quiero, te quiero,— en que, agitado del mismo amor tu pecho, prorrumpiste en ocasión que sin poderte contener te lo llegaron a oír? ¿A qué fin, si no sabías amar, aquellos celos que te ocasionaba la ausencia de tu Esposo?

Tiene el fino amor no sé qué punta de celos que, al paso que son pregoneros fieles de lo activo de su volcán, son exploradores de la afición más intensa. Celoso algún poco de nuestra Venerable vimos en el capítulo XXIX al Amor Divino, cuando la majestad de Cristo la reprendió aquel leve descuido de admitir en su *celda* a los religiosos que fueron a decir misa al convento. Señal clara la amaba, pues así la celaba cuidadoso; y el amor de Teresa para con su Dueño, queriendo acreditarse de encumbrado, tuvo también su poco de celos, que la obligaron en alguna ausencia de su Dueño a prorrumpir en los siguientes versos, en los que la falta de artificio pudo ser industria del amor para representarse sin medida:

Ay, Jesús, dón te has ido,
que un instante no puedo
verme sin tigo.
Ay, Jesús de mi alma,
dónde te has ido,
que parece no vienes,
y te has perdido.
Ay, Jesús ¿qué diré yo?
si os vais con otras,
¿que haré yo?
Clamaré, lloraré
hasta ver a Dios,
y si no, y si no,
morir de amor.
Y ya lo digo,
pues estoy tan sola,
que no has venido
Y si estás con otra,
ya yo lo he visto;
a María y Marta
las has querido.
¡Ay Jesús! dónde te hallaré yo,
pues tan tonta me tiene,
cuando te tengo:
Adiós, adiós, amor,

away from itself all worldly things and creature comforts. The heart should look at the Creator alone, as the Lord is the only thing the heart can call its own. Soul, life, and heart must spare nothing for His Majesty. I am well aware that I know this, but it still needs to be done." That is how it seemed to you, Teresa, but you did not hesitate for a moment to do what you felt and knew. If you think that you did not do enough, what then was all that eagerness of "I love you, I love you, I love you," which on occasion burst from your chest, shaken uncontrollably by that very love? People heard it. If you did not know how to love, why were you so jealous when your spouse was absent?

Fine love has a certain element of jealousy that is both a faithful proclaimer of how active this volcano is and serves as a harbinger of the most intense affection. In chapter XXIX, we saw the Divine Lover a bit jealous of our venerable one when the Majesty of Christ reprimanded her for that slight lapse of admitting to her *cell* the priests who had said Mass at the convent.[9] This was a clear sign that He loved her because He was very jealous. Teresa's love for her Master wanted to take credit for its elevated nature by also being a little jealous. After one of her Master's absences, this jealousy made her exclaim spontaneously the following verses. The lack of artifice in them could well have been the ploy of a love expressing itself without restraint:

Oh, Jesus, where are you gone?
I cannot stand a moment
without seeing you.
Oh, Jesus of my soul,
where are you gone?
It seems you are not coming back
and you are lost.
Oh, Jesus, what shall I say?
If you go out with other women,
what shall I do?
I will wail, I will cry
till I see God,
and if not, if not,
I will die of love.
And because I am so lonely
I say
that you have not come.
And if you are with someone else,
I have seen it before:
Martha and Mary,
you have loved them.
O Jesus, where shall I find you?
I feel giddy
when I have you.
Good-bye, good-bye, love,

[9] The constitutions of cloistered orders prohibited direct contact between men and women. Only extern sisters and laypersons were allowed to socialize with visiting priests without the barrier of the iron grille between them.

adiós, Señor,
adiós, corazón,
no más, no más,
no más.

De estos versos consta con evidencia lo uno, que el amor hace poco sufrido al amante, cuando el amor de Teresa impaciente se queja de que tarda su Esposo, y de que otra alma se le detiene. Lo otro, lo bien que sabía ejecutar Teresa los actos de amor, cuando ella se lamenta:—bien sé conocerlo, pero hacer, falta.—

Tan fuertes eran los ímpetus del Amor Divino que ardía en el pecho de esta feliz alma que, sin poder contener lo pesado de su cuerpo a lo ágil del espíritu, le arrebató éste más de una vez tras sí, elevándola del suelo. Fueron pocas las veces que así la vieron porque ella se ocultaba y recataba cuanto podía, pero ya hubo vez que sin que ella lo entendiese, lograron verla a impulsos de su amor transportada del todo en su Celestial Divino Dueño, resplandeciente el rostro, bañada de luces la *celda,* gozando a sus solas soberanas dulzuras. Este amor fino labró tanto dentro de su corazón y pecho que a impulsos suyos sentía dentro de él lo que la Majestad Suprema no quiso fiar a otra pluma que la suya, porque ella sola podía dar un rasgo de lo mucho que sentía:—*En este dolor*—habla de un dolor que sentía en su corazón tan extraordinario como explica el suceso—*se me da a entender que está el Señor dentro de él siempre. Por esta razón, si me enojo, o en otra manera de no conformarme, este dolor se me quita. De manera que es dolor grande cuando tengo el corazón sereno y quieto. Es ardor cuando el afecto sube con exceso a desear el cumplir con las obligaciones que debo; y no digo bien, que no es exceso lo que es razón. Me abraso, me quemo, diera voces, pero las doy dentro de mí.*—

Y aún fuera de ti las diste sin poderte contener, alma dichosa. ¿Ésta es la que conocía el amor pero no le practicaba? ¿Ésta la que no ignoraba sus actos pero no los ejercía? ¡Oh mi Dios! y qué suave eres para quien te busca y te ama. Acábelo de explicar concluyendo el suceso Teresa propia:—*Tan grandes son*—dice—*los dolores que tengo en el corazón que por dentro siento se me cubre de sudor. Yo no sé explicarme más que esto; Su Majestad se lo dará a entender a V[uestra] R[everencia], pues quisiera manifestar todo lo que no alcanza mi corta explicación*—. Hasta aquí su pluma y aquí en este punto se abate y encoge la mía, porque recela no la abrase—si bien más feliz entonces—tanto incendio y tanta llama. Haga el docto reflexión sobre esta maravilla, que aunque tiene semejantes en la historia eclesiástica, no por eso deja de ser estupenda. Todas las obra Dios para nuestra enseñanza. [pp. 100–102]

good-bye, Lord,
good-bye, heart,
no more, no more,
no more.

These verses are evidence that love makes the lover intolerant. Teresa's love complains impatiently about her Spouse's tardiness and that another soul detains Him. On the other hand, they express how well Teresa carried out the office of love when she laments, "I am well aware that I know this, but it needs yet to be done."

The impulse of divine love burning in this happy soul's breast was so fierce that the heaviness of her body could not contain the agility of her spirit. Her spirit lifted her up in rapture more than once, raising her off the ground. People saw her in this state only a few times because she hid herself and kept it as secret as she could. Once, however, they were able to see her without her noticing them. Impelled by her love, she was completely transported in her Celestial Divine Master, her face was resplendent, her *cell* was bathed in light, and she enjoyed her royal favors in solitude. She stitched this fine love to her breast and heart so securely that she felt deeply what His Supreme Majesty allowed no other pen but hers to tell.[10] No one but she could express even the slightest trace of what she felt: "*In this pain*—she speaks of an extraordinary pain that she felt in her heart—*I come to understand that the Lord is inside my heart always. Therefore, if I get upset, or I am not in conformity with Him, this pain goes away. So it is very painful when my heart is serene and calm. It becomes burning when my love rises excessively to the point of wishing to fulfill all my duties and obligations. But I am not saying it right, because it is not excessive, because it is reasonable. I am burning, I feel I am searing, I would shout aloud, but I scream inside myself.*"

And you shouted out too, oh fortunate soul, because you could not contain yourself. Is this the same person who knew love but did not practice it? Is this the same woman who accused herself of knowing how to love but not loving enough? Oh my God, and how tender You are with those who seek and love You. Let Teresa finish the explanation of the event: "*The pain I feel in my heart is so great,*" she says, *"that inside I feel as if it is covered in sweat. I do not know how to explain myself except in this manner. His Majesty will help Your Reverence understand everything I would like to say but cannot in this short explanation.*" So her pen wrote, but here is also where mine recoils from the fear of being seared by so much fire and flame, though I would be the happier. Those who are learned may reflect on this marvel, that although Church history records similar cases, hers is nonetheless magnificent. God performs these works to teach us.

[10] This is internal evidence that she must have written about this experience herself.

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The *Regent,* the Secretary, and the Widow: Power, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Confraternity of Saints Elesbão and Iphigenia, Rio de Janeiro, 1784–1786[1]

Elizabeth W. Kiddy

Black *Nações* and Their Confraternities in Eighteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro

In 1763, Rio de Janeiro became the capital of the colony of Brazil. Rio de Janeiro had risen in prominence during the mining boom in the neighboring captaincy of Minas Gerais, and it had quickly grown to be a bustling port city with a diverse population of Europeans, people of mixed descent, Brazilian-born blacks, and Africans from many different regions, both slave and free (Karasch, *Slave Life*). As in other cities in Spanish and Portuguese America, a wide range of confraternities served to organize this diversity in Rio de Janeiro and shape the religious and social life of the city.

Confraternities were Catholic lay religious associations organized around fidelity to a saint or a particular devotion; they fulfilled both religious and nonreligious functions within society.[2] Confraternity activities were often part of the domain of the street and included collecting alms, taking care of the bodies and souls of the deceased members, and both hosting and participating in feast day celebrations. Many Africans and their descendants, both slave and free, enthusiastically participated in the confraternity system, organizing their own devotions and engaging in the same sorts of activities that all confraternities sponsored.[3]

Black confraternities tended to divide along "ethnic" lines in Rio de Janeiro in the late eighteenth century. Portuguese and African inhabitants recognized these divisions, and they called them *nações* or *nations,* which can be understood to correspond roughly to what today are called "ethnicities" (Karasch, "Minha *nação,*" 128). Different *nations* distinguished themselves with different clothing, hairstyles, and even scarification, and, in many cases, they would retain the language, foods, and devotional practices of their remembered homelands.

The main division among African groups, recognized by the Portuguese and the Africans, was between *Angolans* from West Central Africa and mostly transported from the ports of Luanda and *Benguela,* and *Minas* who left from four main ports west of the Volta River in the Bight of Benin. Both of these terms collapse a wide variety of different ethnicities, some of which are elaborated in the document below (Kiddy, *Blacks of the Rosary,* 43–49). Many Africans from both of these large regions became fervent Christians but practiced a Christianity that mixed, to varying degrees, with African traditions.[4] Much of the devotion of the African Christians, as well as their ethnic rivalries, came to be expressed through the confraternity system.

[1] See Maps 2 and 6.

[2] See also Chapters 6 and 10.

[3] For some works on black brotherhoods in Brazil, see Kiddy, *Blacks of the Rosary;* and Soares, *Devotos.*

O Diálogo: The History of a Confraternity Dispute

It was in this context that the *"Diálogo"* was written.[5] Africans who had splintered from the Confraternity of Saints Elesbão and Iphigenia wrote this "Dialogue" in order to tell their side of the story of the conflicts that precipitated the break with the confraternity. Francisco Alves de Souza, the protagonist of the "Dialogue," was a freed black man from the *Maki* Kingdom on the *Mina Coast* (Bight of Benin).[6] Souza moved to Rio de Janeiro from Bahia, the port city for the vast sugar-growing region in the northeast of Brazil, in 1748, and joined the congregation of *Mina Maki.* The "Dialogue" relates the circumstances under which he became the *regent* of that congregation, which was a subgroup within the confraternity of Saints Elesbão and Iphigenia.

Several other main characters appear in the story. Souza's fellow interlocutor, and the foil for his story, is Gonçalo Cordeiro, also a *Maki,* who had been Souza's friend from infancy. The antagonist of the story never speaks, nor is she named—she is referred to only as "the widow."[7] The widow was the wife of the recently deceased king of the congregation Captain Ignacio Gonçalves do Monte.

After his death, the widow surreptitiously had herself crowned queen of the congregation, keeping not only the power, but also the much contested safe with its contents and other belongings of the congregation. The main narrative thrust of the "Dialogue" is the escalating conflict between the two factions, one led by Souza and Cordeiro, the other by the widow. In the selections below, the other characters who speak include the bailiff's secretary, who arrives to compel Souza by law to assume the post of *regent,* and elders of the confraternity, notably Luiz Rodrigues Silva.

The original document, which is more than twice as long as the selections presented here, is excerpted in a way that preserves the action of the story. The entire text is, in fact, primarily in the form of a dialogue, which moves chronologically forward in time from 1784 to 1786. The dialogue format is not uncommon in sixteenth- to eighteenth-century Portuguese literature, especially religious works that used either dialogues or plays to help to convert non-Christians.[8] The dialogue form was also used, at least once, in a pamphlet in Portugal in the eighteenth century to argue for the

[4] On the concept of African Christianity, see Thornton.

[5] The scholar who has worked most thoroughly with this document is Mariza de Carvalho Soares. Her work is an indispensable reference for anyone studying this document.

[6] Soares identifies *Maki* as the Mahi, a people who inhabited the region that neighbored the Kingdom of *Dahomey* in the north ("Can Women Guide and Govern Men?" 81–82).

[7] Soares identifies the widow as a *Coura* woman, from a region far inland from the Bight of Benin, who appears in her husband's will as Victoria Correa da Conceição ("Can Women Guide and Govern Men?" 80–81).

[8] Soares discusses these forms in relation to this "Dialogue" ("Apreço e imitação," 111–15).

abolition of slavery.[9] Perhaps some of these pamphlets also circulated in Brazil. Even with these examples, however, it is unclear where the creators of this "Dialogue" got the idea to tell their side of the story in this format.

Within the text itself, few clues indicate when one day has ended and another begins; in fact, these transitions are indicated only occasionally, by an opening comment asking, "Who is knocking on the door?" At times, it is also difficult to know where the "Dialogue" is taking place, but it seems the two main locations are Souza's home and the meeting room in the Church of Saints Elesbão and Iphigenia. The "Dialogue" is punctuated by two legal documents—the *termo* (entry) written to inaugurate Souza as *regent* and the statutes of the Congregation of the Devotion of the Souls in Purgatory. Both of these represent important legal documents for confraternities and serve as evidence of the legality of the actions of Souza and his compatriots.

Power Relationships in Black Confraternity Life

The "Dialogue" offers a unique look into three important relationships of power in confraternity life. First, the "Dialogue" demonstrates the ties between this congregation of blacks and the civil authorities of the city and the Portuguese state. In order to force Souza to accept the position of *regent,* his compatriots wrote a formal petition. Souza agreed to become *regent* only after he was visited by the bailiff and almost dragged before the magistrate as a result of this petition.[10]

The last part of the "Dialogue" is dominated by the lawsuit that the congregation brought against the widow and the news that Souza had lost the lawsuit. Souza and his group appealed to the *Relação,* or high court, but the court only confirmed the sentence. Finally, Souza was brought before the viceroy, together with the king of the rosary, to defend himself against the widow's claims that he was the leader of an uprising—a serious accusation against a black in eighteenth-century Rio de Janeiro.[11] In a strongly democratic retort, Cordeiro rejected the ruling, saying that Souza was *regent* by the will of the people and only that will had force.

Second, the "Dialogue" exposes power relationships within the confraternities and between different groups of Africans in the city of Rio de Janeiro. The largest conflict appears between the *Angolans* and *Minas.* The *Angolans,* who outnumbered *Minas* in Rio de Janeiro at the time the "Dialogue" was written, are presented in the "Dialogue" as the African "other," barbarians who did not know how to act in a civilized manner and gave all Africans a bad name. This conflict exposes the reality that Africans from vastly different regions did not see each other as a single people but as competing

[9] I refer here to the anonymous mid-eighteenth-century Portuguese pamphlet discovered by Charles R. Boxer that was a dialogue about slaves and slavery between a Portuguese lawyer and a Brazilian miner (see Boxer).

[10] Souza refused to accept the title of king although that was the title used by his predecessor, Captain Ignacio Gonçalves do Monte. Instead, he insisted on adopting the title of regent. His reasoning for this change is elaborated in the "Dialogue" itself.

[11] The black kings and queens of the rosary brotherhoods were important figures in many colonial cities in Brazil (Kiddy, "Kings, Queens, and Judges").

groups interacting within the unequal slave society of colonial Brazil. The "Dialogue" also highlights the story of the division between different groups from the *Mina Coast* and their eventual split into their own congregations. Despite these internal divisions, the *Angolans* remain the true "other."

Third, the document is not as much about ethnic differences as it is about a conflict with a woman who decided to take power and defend her right to that power. The document includes repeated diatribes against women, who were "disturbers of the peace and tellers of tales." Part of this antipathy certainly comes from the particular conflict with "the widow" in which Souza and his compatriots find themselves. In a more general sense, however, the "Dialogue" brings up interesting questions about the role of women and the extent of and limits on their power in the black confraternities to which they contributed significant sums of money (Soares, "Can Women Guide and Govern Men?" 80–81).

The document invites a careful reading between the lines of gender expectations as well as a history of Afro-Brazilian women's agency through the widow's perspective, which is presented here only through the eyes of her antagonists. In the end, the Portuguese state supported the widow's bid for power, and, two years later the congregation of *Mina Maki,* with Souza as their *regent,* began its own confraternity dedicated to Our Lady of Remedies.

[*O diálogo:* Regra ou estatutos que usarão os pretos *minas* com seus nacionais no Estado do Brasil][1]

Entre locutores:

Francisco Alves de Souza, *Regente* da mesma *nação*
O Alferes Gonçalo Cordeiro, secretário da mesma . . .

[Souza resiste ser regente, e a viúva do antigo rei conserva o poder]

CORDEIRO: . . . Ontem me disse *VM* que me não podia na ocasião dar resposta, o que agora espero.

SOUZA: Qual resposta?

CORDEIRO: De ser nosso *regente* e fazer caridade com os vivos e sufragar as almas dos mortos. . . .

SOUZA: Senhor Cordeiro, agora acho-me mais aliviado das minhas paixões, e por essa razão mais desembaraçado para lhe perguntar quem foi a origem ou causa, de meter em cabeça de *VM* e dos mais outros parentes para me quererem eleger por *regente* desta congregação ou *adjunto,*[2] quando entre *VMs* não faltam sujeitos qualificados de capacidades, inteireza, verdade, juizo, e não a mim que não tenho esses predicados?

CORDEIRO: É boa teima do homem, não vi outro igual, estar a maquinar em uma coisa a tanto tempo, que mais parece impertinência que outra coisa. Já disse a *VM* na história do primeiro capítulo o que lhe havia de dizer, e como agora me puxa pela língua sou obrigado a tornar-lhe a dizer que nós não queremos a outro senão a *VM,* porque no tempo do primeiro *regente,* que era o Capitão Ignacio Galvez do Monte, já *VM* governava e além disso, quando o dito esteve doente da moléstia em que faleceu, mandou chamar a *VM* em sua casa, aonde lhe encomendou e entregou essa regência, que não desemparasse esta sociedade e caridades feitas aos nossos nacionais, e *VM* o prometeu assim o havia fazer, sendo testemunhas aqui presentes se achavam Luiz Rodrigues Silva, Antônio da Costa Falcão, e Rosa de Souza de Andrade, e outras pessoas de crédito.

SOUZA: Não há duvida que assim foi, mais agora me dizem que a viúva do dito Monte depois que enterramos o marido que faleceu em 25 de Dezembro de 1783, passados 14 dias a tempo que estive doente de uma erisipela, mandou convocar os nossos nacionais, como é costume quando o marido estava vivo, e os ordenou que ia a Igreja dos gloriosos Santos Elisbão e Efigênia e no seu consistório a tirar esmola pela

[1] Regra ou estatutos, por modo de um diálogo onde se dá notícias das caridades, e sufrágios, das almas, que usam os pretos *Minas,* com seus nacionais no Estado do Brasil, especialmente no Rio de Janeiro por onde se hão de regerem, e governam, fora de todo o abuso gentílico, e supersticioso, composto por Francisco Alves de Souza, preto e natural do Reino de Maki, um dos mais excelente & potentados daquela oriunda Costa da *Mina.* Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Seção Manuscritos 9, 3, 11, fols. 1, 12–14, 16–26, 29–36, 38, 41–44.

[2] Throughout the manuscript, *adejunto.*

[The Dialogue: Rules or Statues That Are Practiced by the *Mina* Blacks and Their Kinsmen in the State of Brazil][1]

Between the speakers:

Francisco Alves de Souza, *Regent* of the *Maki nation*
Second Lieutenant Gonçalo Cordeiro, secretary of the same *nation* . . .

[A Reluctant Souza Resists the Regency While the Deceased King's Widow Holds onto Power]

CORDEIRO: . . . Yesterday you said you could not give me a response, so now I am waiting for it.

SOUZA: What response?

CORDEIRO: Whether you will be our *regent* and be charitable toward the living and pray for the souls of the dead. . . .

SOUZA: Senhor Cordeiro, I find myself now less burdened by my passions, and thus more unencumbered to ask you what the reason is that you and the others want to elect me as *regent* of this congregation although among you there is no lack of qualified people with whole, true, and just capabilities, when I do not have these qualities?

CORDEIRO: What obstinacy. I have never seen anything like it. To scheme for so long about one thing, it seems more like impertinence that anything else. I already told you in the first part [of this dialogue] what I have to say, and now you force me to say again that we do not want any other leader than you, because in the time of the first *regent,* Captain Ignacio Gonçalves do Monte, you already governed, and when he was mortally ill he called you to his house and gave the regency to you, so that the association of our kinsmen, and its charity, would not be forsaken—and you promised to do it. Luiz Rodrigues Silva, Antônio da Costa Falcão, and Rosa de Souza de Andrade, and other credible people who are here now witnessed that promise.

SOUZA: I do not doubt that what you say is true, but now they tell me that after Monte's death on December 25, 1783, and during the time I was away for fourteen days when I was sick with a skin infection [*erisipela*], his widow convoked our kinsmen and ordered them to go to the meeting room of the church of the Glorious Saints Elesbão and Iphigenia to ask for alms for the soul of her dead husband. And she had secretly taken measures beforehand with some of her faction, if it is permissible to say

[1] Rules, or statutes, in the form of a dialogue in which the charity and almsgiving of souls is discussed, practiced by the *Mina* blacks and their kinsmen in the state of Brazil, especially in Rio de Janeiro, where they must rule and govern themselves far from any heathen and superstitious abuses, composed by Francisco Alves de Souza, black and from the Kingdom of *Maki,* one of the best and most powerful of the region of the *Mina Coast.*

alma do dito falecido seu marido. E prevenindo-se ocultamente, com alguns de seus parciais, se é lícito assim o dizer, e apanhando a todos incautamente, no dito consistório, fez pôr uma coroa na cabeça dizendo que era rainha com tal sutileza que todos lhe estranharam este modo de proceder e fugiram dela no mesmo dia, porque não eram só ordenação de *maki,* que lá se achavam, senão tudo o que diz ser da Costa da *Mina* e de outras *nações,* que se admiraram de tal tragedia, tudo obra de um *crioulo* bahiano que se acha em sua casa depois da morte de seu marido. E veja *VM* se é ou não abuso e superstição e essa é uma das causas porque tenho teimado que não quero, porque conheço que a viúva não faz gosto que eu o seja sem seu consentimento.

CORDEIRO: Tudo isso são traços do demônio para perverter esta tão boa caridade, assim foi, mais quem consentiu, e aprovou essa eleição?

SOUZA: Eu não sei, pois *VM* bem sabe que estava doente naquela ocasião, mal podia saber dessa tragédia se me não contaram pessoas fidedignas zelosos do bem comum.

CORDEIRO: A viúva o que deve fazer, é cuidar no governo de sua casa, e cuidar em fazer bem à alma de seu marido, cumprindo com o que manda o testamento do dito seu esposo, e não se meter no que lhe não importa. E se ela fez essa coisa não foi por vontade de todos, pois *VM* bem sabe que esse nosso *adjunto* consta de mais de 200 pessoas, entre homens, e mulheres. Não me consta que se fizesse a ela *regenta,* porque havia de ser por eleição e vontade de todos os de *adjuntos,* e nem mulher pode ocupar semelhante cargo maiormente em governar, e reger a homens. . . .

[A congregação obriga a Souza ser *regente,* por meio da justiça]

SOUZA: Olha que batem à porta.

CORDEIRO: Quem é pode entrar que a porta está aberta. Oh, é o Senhor Luiz Antônio Ribeiro de Campos, *escrivão* do meirinho das cadeas que procura a *VM,* não sei para o que.

SOUZA: O que . . . *escrivão* do meirinho que negócio tem comigo? Estou perdido que quererá.

CORDEIRO: Não sei, agora veremos. Entre Senhor, senta-se.

SOUZA: Guarde Deus a *VM.* Quem procura *VM,* meu Senhor?

MEIRINHO: Ao Senhor Francisco Alves de Souza.

SOUZA: Para servir a *VM.* Aqui me tem a sua ordem.

MEIRINHO: Venho aqui notificar a *VM* por requerimentos que fizeram ao Senhor Doctor Juiz de Fora Luiz Rodrigues Silva, Alexandre de Carvalho, e José da Silva e outros pretos *minas* maquinos para *VM* ser seu *regente* e adminstrador dos sufrágios[3] das

[3] There are irregularities in spelling throughout the text. Although many of these can be attributed to nonstandardized spellings in eighteenth-century Portuguese, others jump out as true spelling errors. There are also problems with number agreement and gender agreement in adjectives and nouns. These irregularities may have been, in large part, because the scribe probably was not a native Portuguese speaker and may also have been self-taught. In these cases, the irregularities either have been noted or the correct form has been put in brackets in the text. In the example footnoted here, *sufrágios* is spelled *sufragaçõens* throughout the manuscript.

so, and, taking everyone by surprise, in the meeting room, had them put a crown on her head, announcing that she was queen with such guile that everyone thought her manner of proceeding was strange and ran away from her the same day, because she called not only the *Maki* to go there but people from all over the *Mina Coast* and other *nations.* And everyone was astonished by such a calamity. It was all the work of one *crioulo* from Bahia[2] who was in her house after the death of her husband. And consider yourself whether or not this is abuse and superstition, and this is one of the reasons that I have insisted that I do not want [to be *regent*] because I know that the widow does not want me to be without her consent.

CORDEIRO: All of this is the plotting of the devil to pervert this good charity, but who consented to and approved this election?

SOUZA: I don't know, but as you know I was sick on that occasion, so I would not have even known about this tragedy if worthy and zealous people hadn't told me about it.

CORDEIRO: What the widow should do is to govern her own house and take good care of the soul of her husband, fulfilling what his last will and testament commands and not meddling in other people's business. And if she has done this, it is not by the will of all of the people. As you well know, this congregation consists of more than two hundred people, men and women. I see no proof that she has been made *regent,* because that would have to be by the election and will of all the people, and what is more, no woman can occupy this position, which is to govern and rule over men. . . .

[The Congregation Brings in the Law to Force Souza to be *Regent*]

SOUZA: Someone is knocking on the door.

CORDEIRO: You can come in, the door is open. Oh, it's Senhor Luiz Antônio Ribeiro de Campos, secretary of the bailiff who is looking for you. I don't know why.

SOUZA: What the . . . secretary of the bailiff, what business does he have with me? I am at a loss to know what he might want.

CORDEIRO: I don't know, but we will see—enter, sir, and have a seat.

SOUZA: May God keep you. Who are you looking for, sir?

BAILIFF: Senhor Francisco Alves de Souza.

SOUZA: At your service.

BAILIFF: I have come to notify you of the formal petition that Luiz Rodrigues Silva, Alexandre de Carvalho, and José da Silva, and other *Mina* Makino blacks made to the honorable magistrate,[3] requesting that you be their *regent* and administrator of the

[2] A *crioulo* was a Brazilian-born black. Bahia refers to the city of Salvador in the captaincy of Bahia. It was the first capital of Brazil and the center of the sugar-growing economy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It had an active slave trade, but after gold was found in Minas Gerais (see Map 6) in the early eighteenth century and the capital of Brazil was moved to Rio de Janeiro in 1763, many slaves, free blacks, and others moved south to find more economic opportunities. Salvador was also home to Souza before he moved to Rio de Janeiro.

[3] Juiz de Fora: a magistrate named by the Portuguese Crown when there was no district court judge available.

almas dos seus nacionais e caridades com os vivos, e que se *VM* não quizer, que venha de baixo de vara a sua presença como se vê do despacho do ministro.

SOUZA: O que tão apertada hora é esta! Passe *VM* a fé e que debaixo de vara não vou falar ao ministro?

MEIRINHO: Sim Senhor, passarei a fé e que é a seguinte:—Certifico que eu citei ao suplicado Francisco Alves de Souza na forma desta petição como nela se contem e manda e declara, e pelo mesmo supplicado me foi dito que não tinha dúvida aceitar o dito cargo. Em fé de que passei a presente. Rio de Janeiro 9 de Março de 1784. O *escrivão* do meirinho das cadeas, Luiz Antônio Ribeiro de Campos.—

SOUZA: Há mais alguma dúvida?

MEIRINHO: Não Senhor da parte de *VM* está concluído, mas faz me fazer outra diligência que vem incluida na mesma petição.

SOUZA: Qual será a diligência que lhe falta?

MEIRINHO: Em notificar a viúva do Capitão Ignacio Galvez do Monte para entregar um cofre com sua caixa, a onde se guarda o[s] dito[s] pertencentes a esta congregação junto com os mais trastes e livros, que dizem os pretos que é da mesma congregação por serem comprados com dinheiro de finta que entre eles deram, e que já lhes tinham pedido, e que a dita viúva a não quer entregar dizendo que ele [Monte] é seu marido. Isto é o que me disseram os pretos.

SOUZA: Enquanto assim pouco me importa isso.

MEIRINHO: Adeus Senhor. Fiquesse em boa paz que isso não há de ser nada.

SOUZA: Adeus Senhor Luiz Antônio. . . .

CORDEIRO: Eu não disse a *VM* que haviam obrigar para ser nosso *regente?* E *VM* entrou a teimar tanto, que deu lugar a chegar as coisas nestes termos.

SOUZA: Em que termos chegou?

CORDEIRO: De ser obrigado; e não se podia passar sem isso.

SOUZA: Eu bem sabia o que havia suceder. . . . Eu lhe prometo que quando me derem a posse de *regente,* de o fazer secretário para também participar do trabalho já que tanto fala.

CORDEIRO: Pois me faz grande *peça* em fazer-me secretário da regência.

SOUZA: Nao lhe pareça *VM* e os mais Senhores que isso será brinquedo.

CORDEIRO: Ponhasse *VM* pronto para no dia treze de março que o havemos de vir buscar para se lhe dar posse na igreja dos gloriosos Santos Elesbão e Efigênia no seu consistório, como é costume e estilo conservado entre nós outros[4] pretos *minas.*

SOUZA: Mais que pronto estou. É necessário um livro para o *termo,* e o mais direi ao depois.

[4] An expression that most likely means "us" or "we."

alms and prayers for the souls of their kinsmen, and of charity for the living, and if you do not want the position I will have to take you under guard to see the minister, as you see in the dispatch.

SOUZA: Such short notice! You can register that under guard I will not go speak to the minister.

BAILIFF: Yes, sir, I will register the following: "I certify that I subpoenaed the supplicant Francisco Alves de Souza with this petition, which contains both an order and declaration, and by the same supplicant it was said that 'I, without a doubt, accept the said post.' In verification of which I enacted the present [document]. In Rio de Janeiro on the ninth of March 1784, the bailiff, Judge Antônio Ribeiro de Campos."[4]

SOUZA: Is there any more doubt?

BAILIFF: No sir, your part is finished; but I have to take care of other business included in the same petition.

SOUZA: What business is that?

BAILIFF: I must notify the widow of Captain Ignacio Gonçalves do Monte to turn in the safe where the money of the congregation is kept, together with other articles and books. The blacks of this congregation told me that these things belong to the congregation because they were bought with their contributions and alms; so they requested the safe be returned, but the widow does not want to return it, saying that he [Monte] is her husband. That's what the blacks told me.

SOUZA: As far as that goes, it is of little importance to me.

BAILIFF: Goodbye, sir. You can feel at ease; this matter will not be a problem.

SOUZA: Goodbye, Senhor Luiz Antônio. . . .

CORDEIRO: Didn't I tell you that we would obligate you to be our *regent,* but you were so stubborn that things had to come to this point.

SOUZA: What point is that?

CORDEIRO: That you would be obligated and that you would have no other option.

SOUZA: I knew what had to happen . . . I promise you that when I am inaugurated as *regent,* I will make you secretary so that you can participate in the work that you talk so much about.

CORDEIRO: You would honor me greatly by making me secretary to the *regent.*

SOUZA: You [Cordeiro], and all of you present, do not think that this will be a game.

CORDEIRO: Be ready on the thirteenth of March, because we will come to get you so that you can be inaugurated in the meeting room of the church of the glorious Saints Elesbão and Iphigenia, as is customary and in the style preserved among us *Mina* blacks.

SOUZA: I am more than ready. It is also necessary to have a book for the official entry and with a record of what I say thereafter.[5]

[4] This document, as well as the other documents embedded in the dialogue, are copies of historical documents.

[5] Confraternities were supposed to keep books, which were then subject to oversight by state authorities. In order to make them legal, all important acts, as well as minutes of meetings, were

CORDEIRO: Está tudo pronto. Vamos que os pretos estão à espera no consistório. . . .

SOUZA: Deus guarde a *VMs* todos na sua santa paz, assim como disse o Senhor aos seus discípulos quando lhes apareceu depois da sua sagrada ressurreição pondo-se no meio deles, e disse—a paz de Deus esteja convosco: *pax vobis.*—

TODOS: Ele venha em nossa companhia para nos proteger e reger como desejamos. Estamos aqui mais de quarenta pessoas para lhe darmos a posse.

SOUZA: Quais são os irmãos maiores desta congregação?

CORDEIRO: Aqui estão Alexandre de Carvalho, José Antônio dos Santos, Luiz Rodrigues Silva, e José da Silva, todos *forros,* pessoas entre nós de maior gravidade, que estão prontos para dar posse a *VM* com toda a deferência e gravidade.

SOUZA: Tenho tomado a posse e Deus me queira dar saúde e juízo, para os reger, com sossego e quietação para sufragar-mos as almas dos nossos parentes, fazendo caridades aos vivos para maior honra de Deus, e salvação das nossas almas.

CADA UM: Viva! . . .

[A história da irmandade dos *minas* makinos no Rio de Janeiro]

SOUZA: Desde o princípio desta terra em que entraram a conduzir os pretos de África que vêm da Costa da *Mina* e de *Angola,* e pela[s] desumanidades de alguns senhores que os compravam todas as vezes que adoeciam de moléstias incuráveis, e envelheciam, os deitavam fora, a morrerem de fome e frio nus por estas praias sem ter quem os mandassem enterrar, se a Santa Casa da Misericórdia os não mandassem buscar para os enterrar com aquele zelo e caridade que costuma, aí ficariam os cadáveres com o sua invalidez.[5] E por esta razão introduziram os pretos entre si a fazerem este *adjunto* ou corporação a fim de fazerem bem aos seus nacionais, a saber que a *nação* que morrer seus parentes tirar esmolas para o[s] sepultar e mandar-lhe dizer missas por su[a] alma e os que forem pobres acudir-lhe[s] de tempo em tempo com a sua contribuição.

CORDEIRO: Ainda faltam algumas circunstâncias.

SOUZA: Não costume a tomar o recado ao pé da porta porque ainda o não acabei.

CORDEIRO: Perdoe-me que cuidei lhe tinham esquecido e por isso lhe a lembrei.

[5] In the manuscript, *seu inalvidez* or *seu individez.*

CORDEIRO: Everything is ready. Let's go because the blacks are already waiting in the meeting room. . . .

SOUZA: May God watch over all of you in His Holy Peace, just as his son said to His disciples when He appeared to them after His Holy Resurrection, placing himself among them, and saying, "May the peace of God be with you: *pax vobis.*"

ALL: May He come into our company to protect and rule us, as we desire it. We are here with more than forty people to inaugurate you.

SOUZA: Who are the elders of this congregation?

CORDEIRO: Here are Alexandre de Carvalho, José Antônio dos Santos, Luiz Rodrigues Silva, and José da Silva, all freed blacks and the ones among us with the most authority, who are ready to inaugurate you with deference and gravity.

SOUZA: I have been inaugurated, and may God grant me health and wisdom to rule you with calm and peace, to pray for the souls of our kinsmen, giving charity to the living for the greatest honor of God and the salvation of our souls.

EVERYONE: Viva! . . .

[The History of the *Mina Maki* Confraternity in Rio de Janeiro]

SOUZA: The blacks created this group, or corporation, because ever since the beginning of this land, they [the Portuguese] forcibly brought African blacks from the *Mina Coast* and *Angola,* and some of the masters who bought the Africans were inhumane. When the blacks fell ill with incurable diseases or when they became aged, these masters just threw them away and [left] them to die of hunger and cold, naked on the beaches without having anyone to bury them unless the Santa Casa de Misericórdia sent to bury the bodies with their zeal and charity.[6] Otherwise the abandoned corpses would just lie there. And for this reason the blacks themselves created this group, or corporation, in order to do good for their kinsmen, to let the community know when one of them died, to collect alms in order to bury them, and to order masses for their souls, and so that those who were poor could be assisted from time to time with a contribution.

CORDEIRO: We are still missing some details.

SOUZA: Don't be in such a hurry, as I have not yet finished.

CORDEIRO: Excuse me, I thought that you had forgotten and so I reminded you.

to be entered into a book that was kept by the organization's secretary. Most confraternities had a book with their statutes (see below), accounting books, a book recording new members, and a book of meeting minutes or books with the certifications of masses celebrated for the souls of the dead.

[6] The Santa Casa de Misericórdia, literally "the Holy House of Mercy," was the confraternity designated by the Portuguese Crown to have the monopoly on burials in the Portuguese Empire. Although other confraternities also had their funeral biers and buried their dead, by law the Santas Casas actually had the right to control burials. They also were in charge of hospitals throughout the empire.

SOUZA: Não me esquecerão por certo.

CORDEIRO: Tenha a bondade de os continuar.

SOUZA: Sim Senhor continuo, e pelo contrário os pretos de *Angola* não só tiram esmolas para enterrar os seus parentes que morrem senão a rojaram com indecência tomar os cadáveres que vão na tumba da Santa Casa da Misericórdia para os pôr nas portas das freguesias a tirar esmolas dos fieies, para os enterrar com cantigas gentílic[a]s e supersticios[a]s[6] como levo dito no primeiro capítulo; porém informando-se disso o meretíssimo Senhor Juiz do Crime desse mau procedimento que os tem mandado prender e castigar. E por esta razão cuidam os senhores brancos que todos os pretos usam do mesmo que praticam esses indivíduos.

Em 1748 que cheguei a esta capital vindo da cidade da Bahia, achei já esta congregação ou corporação de pretos *minas* de várias *nações* daquela costa a saber *dagomé, maki, iano, agolin, sabaru*—todos de lingua geral—com muita união tendo por rei da tal congregação a um Pedro da Costa Mimoxo, também da mesma *nação.* E depois que faleceu êste, nomearam para existir no mesmo cargo o Clemente de Proença, com o mesmo título a que exerceu a muitos anos. E continuando o tempo começaram os pretos elegeram[7] as *nações* umas com as outras, buscando preferências de maiorias, ao que deu ocasião a que as *nações maki, agolin, iano, sabaru* saírem do jugo de *Dagomé* escandalizados e afrontados de alguns ditos picantes que os *dagomés* lhes diziam, procuraram fazer o seu rei e com efeito o fizeram na pessoa do Capitão Ignacio Gonçalves do Monte no ano de 1762 por ser verdadeiro *makino,* e este foi o primeiro que fez *termo* e endireitou e aumentou esta congregação. . . .

CORDEIRO: O que quero é a continuação da história.

SOUZA: Eu a continuo. Com o discurso do tempo se apartaram também as referidas *nações* que estavam com a de *maki, agolin, sabaru* cada um fazendo seu rei à parte até faleceu o dito Ignacio Goncalves em 25 de dezembro de 1783, e como *VMs* me obrigaram judicialmente para tomar posse. E jamais deram a primeira coisa que requero: é de não haver nesta nossa corporação o nome de rei.

TODOS: Pois *VM* nos governa e nos administra, e lhe temos cortesia como a nosso pai, o como o havemos de tratar, se isto já vem dos primeiros fundadores.

SOUZA: O viesse de onde[8] viesse, porque não tenho culpa dos erros dos primeiros fundadores e nem sou culpado nisso, digo que esse distintivo não se use mais porque não; é desonante nos ouvidos de quem os ouve este nome de rei, porque faz pertubar a boa harmonia e *devoção* que temos com os nossos próximos, devendo de dar outro título que condigna com a nossa profissão.

TODOS: Que título poderemos dar?

SOUZA: [O] de *regente*[9] [é] nome próprio para o feito que fazemos.

[6] In the manuscript, *gentílicos e supestertiçiozos.*

[7] In the manuscript, *a lezingarem.*

[8] In the manuscript, *viesse da donde viesse.*

[9] In the manuscript, *A de regente.*

SOUZA: I certainly have not forgotten.

CORDEIRO: Have the kindness to continue.

SOUZA: Yes, Sir. [Our practices are] contrary to those of the blacks from *Angola,* who not only collect alms to bury their deceased kinsmen but have the indecency to drag the cadavers that are going to the tomb of the Santa Casa [through the streets], placing them at the doors of their parishes in order to request alms from the faithful, to bury them with heathen and superstitious songs as I mentioned in the first chapter [of this dialogue]. However, when the most worthy criminal magistrate investigated this bad behavior, he imprisoned and punished them. And this is the reason that whites think that all of the blacks engage in the same practices as these individuals.

In 1748 I arrived in Rio de Janeiro from the city of Bahia, and I found this congregation already in existence, made up of *Mina* blacks from various *nations* from that coast, such as *Dagome, Maki, Iano, Agolin, Sabaru*—all who used the lingua franca[7]—and they were united under their king, Pedro da Costa Mimoxo, who was also from that *nation.* After he died they named Clemente de Proença to occupy that position, which he held for many years. As time went by, the blacks began to elect leaders of the *nations* among themselves and search for the preferences of the majority. Then there came the time when the *nations* of *Maki, Agolin, Iano,* and *Sabaru* left the rule of *Dagome,* scandalized and affronted by some of the sharp words that the *Dagomes* had said to them, and decided to name their own king, which they did with the person of Captain Ignacio Gonçalves do Monte in 1762, because he was a true *Makino* and he was the first that was entered officially into the book, and who improved and augmented this congregation. . . .

CORDEIRO: What I want is a continuation of the story.

SOUZA: I will continue it. With the passage of time, the other *nations* also distanced themselves—*Maki, Agolin,* and *Sabaru* each named their own king until the death of Ignacio Gonçalves on December 25, 1783, when you obligated me, using the law, to assume this position. And you never gave me the first thing that I requested: that this corporation never use the title of king.

ALL: But you govern and administer us, and we treat you like a father as we should, and moreover, the title comes from the original founders.

SOUZA: It comes from where it comes from, but I am not responsible for the mistakes of the founders, nor am I responsible in this matter. I am saying that this title will not be used anymore because it is dissonant in the ears of those who hear it, because it causes disruption in the harmony and devotion we have with those close to us. We must give a title that is suitable to our devotion.

ALL: What title can we give?

SOUZA: The title of *regent* is the appropriate one for what we are undertaking.

[7] Mariza de Carvalho Soares identifies these names with the West African villages of *Agonli, Dassa,* Za, and *Savalu* ("Can Women Guide and Govern Men?" 85). Because these groups all came from the same region around the Bight of Benin, they had a common trading language, a lingua franca, that was used there and that could also be used in Brazil.

TODOS: Estamos contente[s], mas *VM* nao há de nos tirar o nosso direito, e nem o nosso regalito, que a tantos anos estamos de posse.

SOUZA: Qual é o direito que *VMs* dizem estão de posse?

TODOS: De não tirar os nossos postos, e nomes que a imitação dos *fidalgos* do nosso Reino de *Maki,* se usa entre nos outros a fim de distinguir o maior do menor; do *fidalgo* a mecânico e haver respeito entre uns e outros.

[Souza nomea a nova liderança]

SOUZA: Tudo se há de fazer com boa harmonia e ordem sem ofender pessoa alguma. O que *VMs* querem é que lhe dê os títulos assim como se dá cá na terra dos brancos não é isso?

TODOS: Sim Senhor.

SOUZA: Pois como me deram posse e faculdade para tudo já os nomeio aqueles mais zelosos e caritativos que dão de sim esperança de servirem bem à congregação.

TODOS: Atento estamos com boa vontade a ouvi-lo.

SOUZA: Está aí Luiz Rodrigues Silva?

SILVA: Senhor aqui estou pronto para obedecer ao Senhor *Regente.*

SOUZA: Levante aí a mão do Senhor Gonçalo Cordeiro.

SILVA: Para que posto?

SOUZA: Para secretário desta congregação.

TODOS: Viva o nosso *regente!* Viva o Senhor Secretário que Deus o conserve por muitos anos para fazer bem a sua obrigação.

SOUZA: A José Antônio dos Santos, para *jacobû de atoqquem* que é o mesmo que cá duque, é o primeiro conselheiro com a primeira chave do cofre.

TODOS: Muito bem feito está! Viva e viva!

SOUZA: Alexandre de Carvalho, para *eceçûm valûm,* que é como cá duque, 2° do conselho, com a segunda chave do cofre.

A Marçal Soares, *alolû belppôn lifoto* que é como cá duque, e 3° conselheiro com a 3ª chave do cofre.

A Boaventura Fernandez Braga, *acolû cocoti de daça* que é como cá também duque, 2° secretário e quarto conselheiro com a chave de dentro.

A José Luis, *ajacôto chaûl de zá,* que é como cá marquês de tal parte, e é do conselho o quinto.

ALL: All right, but you should not take from us what is our right and our pleasure, that we have had for so many years.

SOUZA: What is the right that you say you have?

ALL: To not rid ourselves of our positions and titles that are an imitation of the nobles of the Kingdom of *Maki,* that we use among ourselves to distinguish the important from the less important, between the noble and the artisan, so that we maintain respect among ourselves.

[Souza Appoints the New Leadership]

SOUZA: Everything must be done with good harmony and order, without offending anyone. What you want is that I give titles like they do here in the land of the whites, isn't that it?

ALL: Yes, sir.

SOUZA: As you gave me power and faculty to do everything, I now name those who are the most zealous and caring, who foster hope among you and serve well the congregation.

ALL: We are all ready with good will to hear what you have to say.

SOUZA: Is Luiz Rodrigues Silva here?

SILVA: Sir, I am here, ready to obey the lord *regent.*

SOUZA: Raise the hand of Senhor Gonçalo Cordeiro.

SILVA: For what post?

SOUZA: For secretary of this congregation.

ALL: Viva our *regent,* viva Senhor Secretary! May God preserve you for many years to fulfill your obligation.

SOUZA: José Antônio dos Santos will be *jacobû de Atoqquem*[8] which is the same as duke here, and he is the first counselor with the first key to the safe.[9]

ALL: Well done! Viva and viva!

SOUZA: Alexandre de Carvalho will be *eceçûm valûm,* which is also like duke, and he will be the second on the counsel with the second key to the safe.

Marçal Soares will be *alolû belppôn lifoto,* also duke, and third on the counsel with the third key to the safe.

Boaventura Fernandez Braga will be *acolû cocoti de Daça,* duke, second secretary, and the fourth counselor with the key to the inner part of the safe.

José Luis will be *ajacôto chaûl de Zá,* which is like marques here, and fifth on the counsel.

[8] *Jacobû de Atoqquem, eceçûm valûm, alolû belppôn lifoto, acolû cocoti de Daça, ajacôto chaûl de Zá, ledô,* and *aggaû* appear to be terms for positions of authority derived from or in a West African language spoken by the *Mina Makis.*

[9] The safes of the Brazilian confraternities held the most important possessions and the money of the organizations. The safes would often have several locks, each with different keys, to prevent one person from stealing the contents. The most important people in the organizations would keep the keys, but all had to be present to open the safe.

A Luis da Silva com o posto de *ledô,* que é o mesmo que conde é 6° do conselho.

A Luis Rodrigues Silva para *aggaû,* que é o mesmo que General.

A José da Silva para *aggaû* que é o mesmo. E como é já tarde e o tempo será pouco para se fazer o *termo* deixemos para fazermos em outro ocasião o que falta.

TODOS: Viva o nosso *Regente* pelo o acerto com que nos proveu! . . .

[O *termo:* o registro da toma de posse de Souza]

CORDEIRO: *Termo* da obrigação e posse que fizeram os homens pretos *forros* e sujeitos da *nação maki* em que elegeram a Francisco Alves de Souza para seu *regente* administrador como se declaram nos assinados, e obrigação que fizeram e juntamente dá posse que lhe dão; cuja posse e obrigação e nomeação é da maneira seguinte:

Ao Capitão Ignacio Gonçalves do Monte tinhamos feito nosso *regente* e [a]dministrador das esmolas que costumamos a dar para se dizerem missas pelas[10] almas dos nossos irmãos falecidos da *nação mina,* e sujeitávamos a tudo que ele dispunha. Elegemos para a dita ocupação e cargo o Francisco Alves de Souza, homem preto *forro,* casado aregado[11] com bens, e nele concorrem todos os requisitos necessários que se faz a bem de ocupar o dito cargo, e justamente por ser imediato ao dito falecido, que supria as suas vezes, com todo o zelo e prontidão, de que lhe damos posse, e lhe entregamos tudo o quanto o falecido estava de posse, e sujeitamo-nos a tudo que ele determinar e tirando todo o poder e domínio que tiver a mulher do falecido e quer ter que por nenhum dos modos pode ser de *regenta* e administradora por ser contra as leis, e nem podemos ser administrada por uma mulher. E como é assim a nossa vontade lhe concedemos todos os nossos poderes que em direito nos são concedidos e sem constrangimento de pessoa alguma. Fazemos este tão somente por nós assinados para em todo o tempo constar desta nossa eleição e posse que lhe damos e reconhecemos por nosso *regente* e [a]dministrador e bem feitor das almas, dos nossos irmãos falecidos de que todos nos assinamos e pedimos o ajudante Antônio Francisco Soares que êste fizesse e como testemunha o assinasse, Rio de Janeiro 20 de Março de 1784. E Eu Gonçalo Cordeiro secretário do *regente* que sob escrevi e assinei.

Como testemunha que êste fiz e assinei
Antônio Francisco Soares
Gonçalo Cordeiro
Em que asinaram todos como se ve. . . .

[Os estatutos das caridades e sufrágios pelas almas do purgatório]

SOUZA: Quem bate aí? Pode entrar, que a porta está aberta.

CORDEIRO: Como passou *VM* a noite?

SOUZA: Muito bem, para servir a *VM* meu Senhor.

[10] In the manuscript, *pelas as almas.*

[11] I have been unable to find a translation for *aregado.*

Luiz da Silva will have the position of *ledô,* which is the same as count, and will be sixth counselor.

Luis Rodrigues Silva will be *aggaû,* which is the same as general.

And José da Silva will also be *aggaû.* Because it is already late and we would have only a short amount of time to finish the entry, we will finish the rest on another occasion.

ALL: Viva our *regent* for the wisdom he bestowed! . . .

[The Legal Record of Souza's Installation]

CORDEIRO: Official entry of obligation and inauguration of the freed blacks and subjects of the *Maki nation,* in which they elected Francisco Alves de Souza to be their *regent* and administrator, as we declare and sign below, and at the same time inaugurate him. The inauguration, obligation, and nomination have been done in the following way:

Captain Ignacio Gonçalves do Monte was our *regent,* and the administrator of the alms that we use to celebrate masses for the souls of our deceased brothers of the *Mina nation,* and we subjected ourselves to all he decided. We elect to that position Francisco Alves de Souza, a freed black, married with possessions, and declare that he has all the necessary requisites to do a good job in the position, and also because he was second in command to the deceased and substituted for him, demonstrating his ability with zeal and promptness, that we name him *regent,* and give to him all that the deceased had, subjecting ourselves to all that he determines and taking away all the power and dominion that the wife of the deceased has or desires, because under no circumstances can she be *regent* and administrator, because it is against the laws. Nor can we ever be ruled over by a woman. It is our wish to concede to [Souza] all of our powers that by law are conceded to us, without coercion from anyone. We do this on our own so that our election and inauguration will be known for all time. We name you [Souza] and recognize you as our *regent* and as the good administrator of the souls of our departed brethren. All of us sign and ask the clerk Antônio Francisco Soares that he sign as witness, Rio de Janeiro, March 20, 1784; and I, Gonçalo Cordeiro, secretary of the *regent,* wrote [the entry] and signed below.

As witness who made this and signed
Antônio Francisco Soares
Gonçalo Cordeiro
Wherein all signed, as can be seen. . . .

[The Official Statues for the Devotion to the Souls of Purgatory][10]

SOUZA: Who is knocking? Come in, the door is open.

CORDEIRO: How did you pass the night?

SOUZA: Very well. At your service.

[10] There is no clear break in the text preceding this section, but the date on the statutes indicates that two years have passed since Souza's installation.

CORDEIRO: Venho com gosto para ver já acabado estes estatutos. . . . Estou muito admirado da sua atividade, e o modo com que faz estas coisas, com tanta prontidão.

SOUZA: Em nome da Santíssima Trindade, Padre Filho, e Espirito Santo, três pessoas distintas e um só Deus verdadeiro, &c.

Nós, o *regente* e os mais grandes do *adjunto* e congregação dos pretos *minas maki,* desejando que êsta se aumente no serviço de Deus, e tenha seus estatutos por onde se governem, sabendo cada um a obrigação que lhe compete, para que assim se sirva aos nossos naçionais com nossas devotas assistências e sufrágios das almas dos mesmos; se edifiquem os mais fieis cristãos vendo que quanto cabe em nossas capacidades saber fazer caridades uns aos outros ordenando os estatutos seguintes:

Capítulo primeiro Haverá neste *adjunto* ou congregação um *regente* e *regenta* feito por voto e vontade de todos, haverá também um vice-*regente* que fará as vezes do *regente.*

Capítulo segundo As pessoas a quem elegerem para *regentes* sejam naturais e oriundos da Costa da *Mina* e do Reino de *Maki* e não poderão eleger de outro *nação.*

Capítulo terceiro Toda a pessoa que quizer entrar neste *adjunto,* ou congregação—exceto pretos de *Angola*—serão examinados pelo secretário deste *adjunto* e *aggaû* que é o mesmo que procurador geral, verem que não sejam pretos ou pretas que usem de abusos e gentilismos ou superstição que achando ou tendo notícias que usam os não poderão receber.

Capítulo quarto Todas as pessoas que estiverem neste *adjunto* serão devotos de Deus e de sua Sagradíssima Mai Maria Santíssima e dos Santos da Corte do Céu, especialmente dos Santos dos seus nomes, e anjos da guarda e das almas do purgatório por quem militemos ouvindo missas todos os dias, se puder ser especialmente as segundas feiras por serem dias dedicados pela igreja das suas comemorações. . . .

Capítulo quinto Este *adjunto* ou congregação foi feito para se fazer caridades aos nossos nacionais, com estes fundamentos: a saber, primeiro que todos os que forem desta *nação* e estivem neste *adjunto,* e morrerem sendo irmão de qualquer irmandade, terão obrigação de o acompanhar até a sepultura.

CORDEIRO: I come with pleasure, knowing that you have already finished the statutes. . . . I admire your energy and the way you get things done with such promptness.

SOUZA: In the name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three distinct persons in one true God, etc.

We, the *regent* and the important men of the congregation of the *Mina Maki* blacks, desiring this [congregation] to increase in the service of God, and have its statutes by which it is governed, knowing each his obligation, in order to serve our fellow kinsmen with our devoted assistance and alms for their souls. The most loyal Christians would receive edifying impressions seeing how much we are able to do, knowing to be charitable to each other as commanded in the following statutes:[11]

Chapter One There will be in this congregation one *regent* and one *regenta*[12] selected by a vote and by the will of all. There will also be a vice-*regent* who will sometimes take the place of the *regent.*

Chapter Two The people who are elected to be *regent* will be from the *Mina Coast* and the Kingdom of *Maki;* no other *nation* can be elected.

Chapter Three Every person who would like to join this congregation—except for blacks from *Angola*—will be examined by the secretary of the group, and by the *aggaû,* which is the same as the general procurator, to make sure that they are not blacks that engage in abuses and heathen or superstitious practices. If it is found that they do engage in these practices they will not be allowed to join.

Chapter Four All of the people in this congregation will be devoted to God and to his Holy Mother Mary and to the Saints of the Court of Heaven, especially the saints of their names, and the guardian angels of the souls in purgatory, for whom will be celebrated masses every day, especially Mondays, if possible, because they are the days dedicated by the church for their commemoration. . . .

Chapter Five This congregation was created to offer charity to our kinsmen and with these foundations: It should be known that, first, we are obligated to accompany the burials of all who are from our *nation* and are members of this congregation, even if they are also members of another brotherhood. . . .

[11] Statutes were legal documents that officially incorporated the brotherhoods. They were a list of rules that after the Pombaline Reforms in the mid-eighteenth century were supposed to be authorized by the *Mesa de Conciência e Ordens* (Board of Conscience and Orders) in Lisbon, which was the branch of the government that oversaw church affairs. Statutes often postdated the actual formation of the organizations, as can be seen in this case, and sometimes brotherhoods never sent them to be reviewed.

[12] Literally a female regent. Souza's wife, Rita Sebastiana, becomes *regenta* in this instance, but the statutes do not require that the *regenta* be the wife of the regent in future elections. In other black confraternities, the head female (often designated the queen) was not related to the king.

Capítulo sexto Todos os que forem congregados sendo *forros* estiverem doentes, serão assistidos dos da congregação sendo o primeiro, o *regente* e a *regenta,* que assistiram com toda a caridade e decência, e depois destes se queiram os mais, e se o doente for muito pobre, e carecer de ajuntorio para o que lhe for necessário, darão parte ao *regente* para lhe dar as providências necessárias mandando ajuntar aos grandes da congregação e tesoreiros dela, para cada um votar o dinheiro que se deve tirar do cofre, para o remédio da que se infirmou nosso nacional, e se estiver em perigo da vida e desenganado dos professores, farão ou irão chamar padres para o confessar e pôr pronto para receber o Santíssimo Sacramento fazendo seu testamento com actos de católicos.

Capítulo sétimo Os congregados que forem cativos querendo libertar-se tendo o seu dinheiro e lhe faltar para o *ajuste* da sua alforria fará saber ao *regente* para este lhe dar as providências, fazendo juntar os congregados participando-lhes a necesidade que tem o dito do dinheiro para se libertar, para o que o secretário fará um *termo,* a que assinará o dito pretendente com obrigação de o pagar.

Capítulo oitavo O procurador geral desta congregação terá cuidado em solicitar notícias dos congregados visitando-os e vendo os que estão doentes, para dar parte ao *regente;* como também os que tiverem entre si discórdias, fazê-los vir perante o *regente,* para os acomodar porque muitas vezes, por um pequeno incêndio se levanta uma grande lavareda; porque desejamos entre nós paz, e união, assim como encomendou Cristo Senhor Nosso, aos seus apóstolos.

Capítulo nono Haverá nesta congregação um cofre com duas gavetas dentro, e para o bom governo dela será feichado com três chaves, que o *regente* fará eleição em os mais autorizados da congregação, entregando cada e um a sua com títulos de tesoureiro, e as chaves das gavetas de dentro pertencem ao *regente* ou quem suas vezes fizer. Quando for necessário de abrir o cofre, convocará o *regente* aos tesoureiros para cada um com a sua chave abrir, e sem isso as não poderão abrir por carecer um de outro.

Capítulo décimo É o lugar do *regente* nesta congregação o de maior respeito, e veneração e por esta razão todos os da congregação lhe devem obediência com todo acatamento, e o que lhe não prestar obediência será castigado conforme o alvedrio do mesmo *regente,* assim mesmo se entenderá com a *regenta* e todos os mais que têm nomes na mesma congregação.

Capítulo décimo primeiro Todos os congregados que faltarem quando falecer seu irmão e o não acompanharem até a sepultura sendo *forros,* que nao tiverem legítima causa para o fazer dará de esmola para o cofre 120 réis em castigo da sua rebeldia, e os que foram cativos que não tiverem também legítima causa darão[12] de esmola 60 réis em castigo também da sua rebeldia e frouxidão. E os que tiverem legítima causa por razão das suas ocupações, bastão só rezar o Padre Nosso e Ave Maria com Gloria Patris

[12] In the manuscript, *dará.*

Chapter Six Members who are freed but become sick will be helped by the congregation, first, by the *regent* and the *regenta* who will help, with charity and decency, and after them others will help. If the sick person is very poor, lacking money for whatever he needs, the *regent* will take necessary measures, calling together all of the important men of the congregation and the treasurer, so that they can vote on how much money to take from the safe to help our sick countryman. If the sick person is near death and the experts have given up, they will call the priests for confession and to prepare [them] to receive the Holy Sacrament, making his testament according to the Catholic Faith.

Chapter Seven Slave members who want to buy their freedom with their own money but are missing part of their payment will tell the *regent* so that he can take measures to gather together the congregation to collect the necessary money to make a loan to buy the freedom. The secretary will make an entry in the book of obligation to pay back the loan.

Chapter Eight The general procurator will be responsible for gathering news of [members of] the congregation, visiting them and seeing if they are sick, in order to tell the *regent,* also noting whether there are discords, making those people go before the *regent* in order to set things straight, because many times a little flare up will become a huge fire and we desire among ourselves peace and unity, as Christ commanded His apostles.

Chapter Nine There will be in this congregation one safe with two inside drawers, and for the good governance of this organization it will be locked with three keys. The *regent* will carry out an election of those most authorized in the congregation, giving a key to each [of those elected] with their titles of treasurer. The keys to the inside drawers belong to the *regent* or whoever substitutes for him. When it is necessary to open the safe, the *regent* will summon the treasurers so that each one can open it with his key, so that no one can open the safe without the others being there.

Chapter Ten The position of *regent* in this congregation is the highest and most venerated, and for this reason we owe him obedience with total respect. Whoever does not demonstrate obedience will be punished according to the will of the *regent,* and the same will go for his wife and all that have titles in the organization.

Chapter Eleven All of the members who miss a funeral of a fellow member will be fined. Those who are freed, who do not have a legitimate reason, will pay a fine of 120 *réis,*[13] which will be put in the safe as a punishment for their contempt and negligence; and those who are slaves who do not have a good reason will pay 60 *réis.* Those who have a legitimate reason because of their occupations will be required to pray an Our Father and a Holy Mary with a Gloria, offering these prayers to the Holy Passion of

[13] Portuguese currency used in Brazil in the eighteenth century.

oferecida à sagrada Paixão do Senhor pela alma daquele falecido nosso nacional. E pelo contrário o *forro* que não puder assistir ou acompanhar ao mesmo falecido tendo justa causa rezará uma coroa à sagrada morte e paixão do Senhor pela alma do mesmo.

Capítulo décimo segundo Quando se souber, e correr notícia que algum que estiver assentado no livro desta congregação, tiver mau procedimento e forem revoltosos, tanto em prejuízo das suas pessoas como em dano de terceiro e dos congregados seus irmãos, logo será chamado e se fará um *adjunto,* aonde será pelo *regente* e os mais autorisados da congregação admoestado honestamente até[13] três vezes e não tendo o dito emenda e nem obedecendo será expulso por *termo* que fará o secretário, e assinarão o *regente,* e os mais grandes, e autorisados da mesma congregação; e isto se entenderá também nas mulheres por serem algumas orgulhosas, amigas de enredos, perturbadoras da paz e sossego.

Capítulo déçimo terceiro Porquanto vemos que a experiência nos tem mostrado que um estado de folias nas irmandades pretas serve de muita utilidade, assim de exercitar os ânimos dos pretos, como para acudirem de novo muitos de fora, assentarem-se na congregação. . . . Queremos que no dia de Nossa Senhora do Rosário, haja um estado de folias desta *nação maki,* que acompanharão ao Rei de Nossa Senhora do Rosário sendo da Costa da *Mina,* e não o sendo o não acompanharão, e somente se permita as suas saídas para o palácio do Ilustrissimo e Excelentissimo Senhor Vice-Rei deste estado, e depois de brincarem recolher-se cada um para sua casa com toda quietação e sossego que se requer em semelhantes funções.

Capítulo décimo o quarto Todas as segundas feiras da quaresma jejuarão exceto os trabalhadores, e os velhos; ouvirão missa, rezando as nove saudações de São Gregório vulgarmente intituladas *Novena* das Almas, para os que souberem ler e os que a não souberem rezarão nove Padres Nossos, e Ave Marias, com outros tantos Gloria Patris, tudo aplicadas pelas almas do purgatório.

Capítulo décimo o quinto Haverá nesta congregação quatro livros a saber: um livro para se fazer o assento dos congregados, um dito para as certidões das missas, um dito para receita e despesa, e um dito para os estatutos que é obrigação que se impõem ao secretário da congregação de os ter bem claro e limpo com toda a clareza e chaneza que se requer.

[13] In the manuscript, *tê.*

Christ for the souls of their deceased kinsman. On the other hand, a freed person who has a good reason for not accompanying the burial will pray the rosary of Christ's sacred death and passion for the soul of the deceased.

Chapter Twelve When it is discovered that members of this congregation have engaged in bad behavior or been rebellious—either harming themselves, a third party, or others in the congregation—they will be called before a group that includes the *regent* and the other important men of the congregation. If they have been honestly warned three times and there have been no signs of improvement or obedience, they will be officially expelled. The expulsion will be entered in the book by the secretary and signed by the *regent* and the most important men and authorized by the entire congregation. This rule also holds true for the women, some of whom are proud, fond of intrigue, and disturbers of peace and quiet.

Chapter Thirteen Because we have seen from experience that a festive royal court in the black brotherhoods is very useful, as much to lift the spirits of the blacks as to bring together again those from afar, we will have [a royal court] in our congregation. . . . We desire that on the day of Our Lady of the Rosary there be a festive royal court composed from this *Maki nation* that will accompany the King of Our Lady of the Rosary if he is from the *Mina Coast,* and if not [from that coast] the *Maki* court will not accompany him, and will only be permitted to go to the palace of the most illustrious Senhor viceroy.[14] After these festivities, everyone will go back to their homes with complete quiet and calm, which is required at these functions.

Chapter Fourteen All of us, except for the workers and the elderly, will fast every Monday during Lent. We will hear a mass, and those who can read will say the nine praises to Saint Gregory, which are commonly called the *Novena* for the Souls, and those who do not know how to read will pray nine Our Fathers and Ave Marias with the Gloria, all of them dedicated to the souls in purgatory.

Chapter Fifteen This congregation will have four books. One book will be to list the membership of the group, one for certifications of the masses, one for accounts, and one for statutes, and it is the secretary's obligation to keep them clean and clear, with all of the clarity and simplicity that is required.

[14] Throughout Brazil, the biggest confraternity feast day celebration of the blacks was that of Our Lady of the Rosary. The rosary confraternities had a king and queen, often designated the King and Queen of *Congo* (although they often came from different African regions). The feast day celebration would include a long procession, often accompanied by different groups of "ambassadors" playing instruments and singing. The king would come accompanied by his court, or in Portuguese, his *estado.* In Rio, according to this testimony, it appears that they would end up at the house of the viceroy, where, if the king were not from the *Mina Coast,* the *Maki* would meet them.

Capítulo décimo o sexto Toda a pessoa que estiverem assentado nesta congregação hão de serem humildes porque a humildade é uma das virtudes que realça muito na vista de Deus, e a que o mesmo Senhor exercitou estando neste mundo e emcomendou aos seus sagrados apóstolos como se vê dos muitos lugares dos livros. . . .

Feitos estes estatutos em o Rio de Janeiro aos 31 de Janeiro de 1786, e eu Gonçalo Cordeiro, Secretário que o assinei.

Gonçalo Cordeiro
O *Regente* Francisco Alves de Souza . . .

[A viúva ganha a disputa contra a facção de Souza e Cordeiro]

CORDEIRO: Havia dois anos que *VM* governava.

SOUZA: Assim foi, mais a viúva do dito falecido pelo que vejo não quer entregar nada que pertence a congregação. . . .

SILVA: Venho muito aflito. . . .

CORDEIRO: O que tem e o que lhe sucedeu?

SILVA: Venho dar parte ao Senhor *Regente* que a demanda que traziamos com a viúva do Capitão Monte saiu a favor dela para não entregar o cofre, e os trastes, que pertence ao nosso *adjunto* ou congregação, que estou sem sangue por ver a falsidade que usou conosco, sabendo muito bem que custou nosso dinheiro. . . .

SOUZA: Pois, como saiu esta sentença?

CORDEIRO: A sua maior cláusula é que ficará sem efeito o *termo* que nós fizemos e que ela, dita viúva, fosse caixa ou guarda daquele depósito, e não lhe dá mais poderes para coisa alguma.

SILVA: Apelou-se para a *Relação* e veremos.

CORDEIRO: Em que *termos* está [a] apelação Senhor Luiz Rodrigues Silva?

SILVA: Foi comfirmada a sentença.

CORDEIRO: Pois a sentença não lhe dá mais poder, que ser uma mera tesoureira, para guardar o dinheiro que lhe derem e não para dizer que é Imperatriz da Costa da *Mina* como *VMs* bem estão ouvindo, e juntamente querer a força que vamos todos a lhe contribuir, com a nossa esmola; prohibindo-nos que não vamos aqui e nem aí ou lá sem sua ordem e determinação, pondo-nos em tão grande aperto, tanto assim que chegou a mandar tirar a cópia da sentença e com ela fez um requerimento ao Ilustríssimo e Excelentíssimo Senhor Vice-Rei dizendo que não queriam cumprir com acórdão do Supremo Tribunal da *Relação,* e que o nosso *regente* impedia a que fôssemos a sua casa para lhe darmos o dinheiro para ela meter no cofre, e que era cabeça de motim, e que todos os da congregação a queriam por *regenta.* Foi servido sua Excelência de mandar chamar ao rei de Nossa Senhora do Rosário, e ao nosso *regente;* o que lá passou ele como está presente o contará melhor.

SOUZA: Admirado estou da grande imprudência desta viúva com a sentença que alcançou contra os seus irmãos, pois não deverá assim obrar, se bem que a mim, me

Chapter Sixteen Everyone who is a member of this congregation must be humble, because humility is one of the virtues that elevates [us] in the eyes of God, and one that our Lord practiced while in this world and commended to his sacred apostles, as you see in various places in the books. . . .

These statutes were written in Rio de Janeiro on January 31, 1786, and I, Gonçalo Cordeiro, Secretary, sign them.

Gonçalo Cordeiro
The *Regent* Francisco Alves de Souza . . .

[The Widow Wins the Case against Souza and Cordeiro's Faction]

CORDEIRO: Two years have passed that you have governed us.

SOUZA: Yes, they have. But the widow of the deceased, as far as I can see, has not returned anything that belongs to the congregation. . . .

[LUIZ RODRIGUES] SILVA: I am very upset. . . .

CORDEIRO: What is the matter and what happened to you?

SILVA: I have come to give information to the *regent* that the lawsuit that we brought against the widow of Captain Monte came out in her favor. She does not have to return the safe or the other things that belong to our congregation, and I am appalled to see the hypocrisy that she practiced with us, knowing full well that it cost our money. . . .

SOUZA: How did the sentence come out?

CORDEIRO: The most important clause is that the entry we made [in our books] is without effect, and that she, the widow, will be treasurer or keeper of the safe, and you have no more powers at all.

SILVA: I appealed to the high court; so we shall see.

CORDEIRO: What happened at the high court, Senhor Luiz Rodrigues Silva?

SILVA: The sentence was confirmed.

CORDEIRO: The sentence does not give her any more power than to be a worthy treasurer, to guard the money that they gave her, and not to say that she is the empress of the *Mina Coast,* as you have been hearing. Nevertheless, she wanted to demand that we all contribute our alms, prohibiting us from going here and there[15] without her consent, which put us in a great bind. In fact, she ordered a copy of the sentence and with it made a formal petition to the illustrious and excellent viceroy, saying that they [we] did not want to fulfill the sentence of the high court and that our *regent* impeded us from going to her house to give her the money to put in the safe. Worse, she claimed that he was the head of an uprising and that the entire congregation wanted her to be *regent.* The petition was sent, and His Highness [the viceroy] sent for the King of Our Lady of the Rosary and our *regent.* He can recount better what happened there because he is here.

SOUZA: I am astonished by the great imprudence of this widow and the sentence that she won against her brothers, as she should not act thus. As for me, she has done

[15] Probably the text means "going here and there" to collect alms.

tem feito todo o mal que pode, e tem inventado o seu odioso rancor porque me tem mandado noteficar varias vezes, sem eu lhe dar a mínima causa, tanto assim que não queria que fosse a Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosário, e à de Santa Efigênia, vestido e com estado. Vejam *VMs* se isto é de pessoa que tem juizo; ao mesmo tempo que esta Senhora sabe muito bem, a criação [e] educação que tive, e o conceito que o defunto seu marido fazia de mim, pois não obrava nada sem o meu conselho e beneplácito. E chegou tanta a sua maldade que procurando todos os modos de perder-me fez ajuntar a sentença da demanda que obteve contra os seus irmãos como acima se diz, fazem do um sinistro requerimento ao Ilustríssimo e Excelentíssimo Senhor Vice Rei, queixando-se que não queriam cumprir o acórdão do Supremo Tribunal da *Relação* acuzando-me que [ilegible] causa que não faziam, dando a entender que era cabeça de motim e que todos os da congregação estavam da sua parte e que eu impedia para não irem lá. Vendo Sua Excelência estas queixas foi servido mandar chamar ao Rei de Nossa Senhora e juntamente a mim para irmos à sala, e depois de estarmos lá me mandou o dito Senhor dizer que se queria sair, que fosse a casa da viúva. Digo se queria sair a função do Rosário que havia ir ter com a viúva, e se saísse sem lá ir havia de ser preso e bem castigado. E essa foi a ordem que recebi da sala, o que foi cumprido sem a menor discrepância e vejam *VMs* que falsidade, e vejam que ódio com que intentou o perder-me, se Sua Excelência por sua inata bondade e clemência me não valesse, dignando-se em despachar o requerimento que—cumpram o acórdão—talvez imaginando a minha pouquidade e inocência como todos bem sabem talvez me mandaria castigar. . . .

CORDEIRO: . . . Porquanto *VM* não é culpado em nada, e nem se lhe pode pôr culpa, bem sabendo é que obrigamos por justiça para ser *regente* da nossa congregação e votando todos em *VM* como se vê do Livro do *Termo,* a que encruzado é argüir-lhe culpas. Esta congregação é uma *devoção* feita por vontade de todos, que não foi obrigatório porque nunca teve estatutos. E para ela ser *regenta* é preciso que seja por vontade de todos e não de quatro somente, porque bem vemos nas Estórias Sagradas, e humanas, e ainda gentílicas que quem faz o rei é a vontade do povo. E assim tenho dito o que [h]ei de dizer a respeito desta congregação ou *adjunto* porque tempo virá em que se conheça melhor a sua mâ conducta e intenção orgulhosa com que pretende destruir esta tão boa *devoção* que seu marido tanto encomendou na pessoa de *VM.*

all of the harm that she can. She has fabricated lies [with] her hateful rancor. She sent me a summons various times without me having given her the least cause, to the extent that she did not want me to go to the church of Our Lady of the Rosary, nor to that of Saint Iphigenia, dressed and with my retinue. Tell me, is this a person who has reason? At the same time this lady knew well the upbringing and education that I have and the respect with which her deceased husband regarded me—and that he did nothing without my counsel and blessing. But her maliciousness reached such a point that she sought any way possible to make me lose. She put together a lawsuit against her brothers and, as I said above, made the sinister formal petition to the Illustrious and Most Excellent Viceroy, complaining that I did not want to fulfill the sentence of the high court, accusing me [illegible] that I did not want to understand and that I was the head of an uprising, and that everyone in the congregation was on her side, and that I impeded them from going there. Seeing these complaints, His Excellency thought it well to call the King of Our Lady[16] and me to come to a meeting. After we arrived that same gentleman ordered me to say that if I wanted to go [to the rosary celebration] that I would have to go to the widow's house, meaning that in order to participate in the feast day celebration of the rosary I would have to go talk with the widow. If I went without talking to the widow, I would be arrested and punished. This is the order that I received in the meeting, which I fulfilled without the least discrepancy. You all can see the falseness and the hatred with which she intended to beat me, [and] if not for the pure kindness and mercy of His Excellency, which I do not deserve, condescending to dispatch the formal petition—that they fulfill the sentence—perhaps imagining my insignificance and innocence, which everyone recognizes, perhaps would have had me punished. . . .

CORDEIRO: . . . Considering that you are not guilty of anything, nor can anyone place guilt on you, knowing full well that you are obligated by law to be *regent* of our congregation, and we all voted for you as you can see in our official record, it is [ridiculous] to accuse you of crimes. This congregation is a devotion made by the will of all, not an obligation, because there were never statutes. For her to be *regent* it would have to be by the will of all and not by only four, because as we all see in the sacred and human stories, and even the heathen ones, whoever is king, is king by the will of the people. And so I have said what needs to be said in regard to this congregation, because the time will come when there is wider recognition of her bad conduct and proud intent and how she intends to destroy this beautiful devotion that her husband willed to you.

[16] The king of the confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary.

Stuart B. Schwartz, ed., *Early Brazil: A Documentary Collection to 1700* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

around and tells his men in a loud voice what their duties will be. He counsels them to be prepared and alert. He utters the same words, when they get ready the *caiçá* palisades, to encourage them and to get them to complete the work as quickly as possible. Whenever the Tupinambás fight on open ground, they leap about from side to side and never fall quiet, constantly whistling and striking their chests with their fists, ducking the arrows fired at them by their opponents and vehemently firing their own back at them.

2. Jesuits and Go-Betweens

In the two letters translated here, Father Manoel de Nóbrega, writing from southern Brazil, makes clear the strategies of the early Jesuit missionaries as well as the many moral and spiritual challenges facing them, not only from the unconverted native peoples but from the unruly and unrestrained settlers as well. In the first letter (a) from Nóbrega to his Jesuit superior, he makes clear the dependence of the Jesuits on an early Portuguese go-between or intermediary who had become a key figure among the native peoples of southern Brazil. He also discusses the state of sexual liberty in which the early settlers lived and the moral and theological challenges that this created for the Jesuit missionaries. The following document (b) reveals the close Jesuit relationship with the governor-general but also a general frustration with the sins and avarice of the settlers.

(a) Letter from Father Manoel da Nóbrega to Father Luís Gonçalves da Câmara (31 August 1553)

(From Serafim Leite, ed., *Cartas do Brasil e mais escritos de Manoel da Nóbrega. Opera omnia* [Coimbra, 1955], pp. 180–6.)

I write to your Reverence from the *sertão* of this captaincy of São Vicente where I have remained this year after arriving with the fleet. The fruit that is made in this land according to the Brothers who are in São Vicente you will already know about because they will write with more knowledge. Yesterday. The festival of the martyrdom of São João Bautista, I came to a village [*aldeia*] where those who are converted have been gathered and where I have placed two Jesuit Brothers to indoctrinate them. I solemnly made fifty catecumens and I have much hope that they will be good Christians and will merit baptism, and this will be shown by the works of faith they now undertake.[14]

14 This is a reference to the village of Piritininga, the original site of the town of São Paulo.

I am moving on to search for some chosen by Our Lord among these gentiles: there I will stay while I wait for news from Bahia of the Fathers that I believe are on their way. Pedro Correia has gone on ahead to call for penitence as remission for their sins.

I use every means that seems to us the best way to win the goodwill of the gentiles. The youth are the principal ones who come to us from everywhere.

In this country, there is a certain João Ramalho, the oldest man in these parts. He has many children and is related throughout the *sertão*, and I am bringing the eldest with me throughout the interior to give more authority to our ministry. Because he is very well known and venerated among the gentiles and he has daughters married to the principal [Portuguese] men of the captaincy, and all of these sons and daughters are the children of one Indian woman, daughter of the greatest and most important [chief] of this land.[15] Thus, in him and her and in their children we hope to have a great tool for the conversion of the gentiles. This man, for even more help, is a relative of Father Paiva and here they have gotten to know each other.

When he came from Portugal about forty years ago or more, he left his wife there alive and never more heard of her, but it seems that she must be dead many years now. He wishes very much to marry the mother of his children. He has already written to Portugal but has never had a response on this matter. Therefore, it is necessary for Your Reverence to write to Vouzela, the land of Father Mestre Simão, for the business of Our Lord requires it; because if this man was in a state of grace, Our Lord would do much for him in this land, because when he is in a state of mortal sin, much was done on his behalf. And since this is a matter of such importance, I have sent to Your Reverence the best information of all that I have said.

In this land are many men living in sin [*amancebados*] and who wish to marry the women, and this would be a great service to Our Lord. I have already written that we have obtained from the Pope the jurisdiction to take over these cases of the men who are here in these heathen lands. Because some sleep with two sisters and then later when they have children with one want to marry her and cannot. Others have impediments of affinity and consanguinity and for the good of all and the remedy of many, this should be halted to bring peace and tranquility to many consciences.

And what we have said for the gentiles should also be applied to the Christians of these parts, or at least until the Pope offers a general pardon. If the nuncio had the power, he should make a special dispensation for this João Ramalho so he can marry this Indian woman, despite the fact that he may have known her sister or some other relative of hers. And the same

15 The reference here is to Chief Tibiriça.

should apply to two or three *mestiços* who wish to marry Indian women who have born them children, despite any affinity there might be between them.

This would be a great service to Our Lord and if this costs anything, he [João Ramalho] will send sugar from here to pay for it. Perhaps there is some virtuous soul there who can loan the amount. Because I find this very necessary and because of my great desire to see so many souls rescued, I write to Your reverence so that in the first returning ship you can send an answer to this captaincy of São Vicente. The rest I will write when the ships arrive if I am in the right place, and if not the Fathers and Brothers [of the Jesuits order] will assume that task. To a letter sent to this São Vicente I have already responded. To those that come by way of Bahia, I have not seen them yet. It is easier for a message to come from Lisbon to this captaincy than from Bahia.

Vale Pater. From this far *sertão*, the last day of August, 1553
The worthless son of Your Reverence
Nóbrega

(b) A Jesuit Report: A Letter from Manuel da Nóbrega S.J., in São Vicente, to the Inquisitor-General, Simão Rodrigues S.J., in Lisbon (10? March 1553)

(From Serafim Leite S.J., ed., *Cartas do Brasil* [São Paulo, 1955], pp. 154–63 and 181–5.)

Pax Christi

I have written to Your Reverence earlier, although I believe that this letter will be delivered to you first. In the former letter, I explained to you that we were making ready to venture among the heathen people, adding that for that reason I was remaining in this captaincy this year and was not planning to return with the governor-general in his fleet. Moreover, it is our belief, based on our experience of this territory, that we can expect the undertaking to be highly fruitful, since we know for certain that the less close they are to white [lay]men, the more trust the Indians have in us. Every day they demand to know why it is taking us so long to go and teach them.

On the governor-general's departure, some settlers were either unhappy with the governor-general or they had received some news or nurtured some hope that there may be gold or silver in this territory. They were aware that we planned to go into the interior to set up a [professed] house, and almost everyone in this captaincy or many of its leaders had decided to go exactly where we were intending to settle. This came to the governor-general's

attention. He told me what was happening in the territory, informed me of the obligation that we had to our virtuous king, and forbade us to go ahead with our plans, and with good reason. Quite apart from opening the gates to dreadful outrages, it would mean that people would be leaving the captaincy. We therefore agreed not to set forth until His Majesty should send a message to the governor-general, concerning which the latter will either send word or write to us if he goes to Portugal this year. The way in which we serve Our Lord in this captaincy and in others depends very much on the decision taken.

I requested permission from the governor-general to allow us to go inland via some other captaincy along the coast where there are no problems such as there are here. The difficulties here arise from the discovery of mines thought to contain silver, though, owing to the shortage of people to do the digging, it is uncertain what it is. The mines were found and explored by the Castilians from Paraguay, who reside a hundred leagues away from this captaincy, and it has been ascertained that the mines are within territory allotted to the king of Portugal. Owing to this and other matters, the governor-general closed the route both to Portuguese and to Castilians. A pagan tribe in this region has also provided information about the existence of much gold, and the Castilians are traveling through Peru to find it. I learned of this and other matters after our departure [into the interior] was prevented, although these restrictions have ceased to apply in other captaincies.

The governor-general's answer to that is that he would not consent to our opening a house among the heathens in any captaincy, declaring that, should they inflict any harm on the Christians, this could not be avenged if we were in the interior. He also claimed that every wrongdoer would seek refuge with us. Such arguments would disappear were we to go to other heathen tribes dwelling beyond the captaincy. All in all, we are virtually held captive and have no freedom to serve Our Lord as we believe that we should.

The governor-general told us that we may proceed to preach the Gospel by returning to the captaincies and townships inhabited by Christians. The heathens here do not have the characteristics of the pagans of the early Church, who, on the one hand, either mistreated or immediately killed those who preached to them against their idols, or who, on the other, so believed the Bible as to be ready to die for Christ. But, these heathens do not have idols for whom they would lay down their lives; and they believe everything that they are told. The only difficulty lies in eliminating their evil customs by transforming them into good deeds that are pleasing to Christ. That means remaining among them so that they can see our good example. It means living alongside them and educating their children from an early age in doctrine and good habits. In this way, we are certain that they will all become Christians, better even than the white men who are here. It is of little value

to go and preach to them and then return home. That is because, though they believe to a certain extent, it does not take much for them to be led back into their former ways. They believe in them just as they believe in their sorcerers. At times they lie to the latter, at times they happen to tell the truth. Owing to that situation, unless we are able to dwell among them, our efforts will bear no fruit.

Among the Christians, fruit has already been harvested, and this was easily achieved. Indeed, I believe that there are some among them who were predestined by Our Lord. But others have hardened their hearts so much as to be steeped in sin. Yet, through the teaching that their slaves and the native Indian women receive, such people desire to keep well clear of sin. They come to us and say that they fear God. Their [white] masters are of such a nature that some order them not to come for instruction. Others tell them that one should merely live as one wishes in this world, since in the next life the soul feels nothing. Others tell them we do not know what we are saying, and that it is they who are the true men and who are telling them the truth. Yet others tell them lies about us to discredit us with all the heathens, which is often the result. Indeed, I ordered Brother Pêro Correia to write to Your Reverence to notify you of this. For this reason, not only do we achieve nothing while they are around us but also we lose credit among the Indians and heathens, and more in this captaincy than in the others.

I believe that the reason is that the [white] people here are backward in understanding, badly brought up and for so long prone to the worst habits, not to mention their being people of the lowest caliber. There are also many Indians in this territory who are subjected to forced labor and others who are attacked and robbed. We help the Indians and preach against those who subject them to forced labor. Some Indians have escaped. Meanwhile, we give no absolution to their captors unless they set them free. As a result, *commota est universa gens contra nos*.[16] I am referring to those [whites] who are affected by this scourge, since the others, who are free of it, hold us in loving esteem. Accordingly, our current efforts are directed toward instructing Indian children in the various captaincy houses. We bring them up well and also bring on the slaves, both male and female. In spite of so much opposition from the white population, all they can do is to persist in discrediting our ministry.

In addition to the above, the bishop and his visitor are resorting to another procedure in accordance with their wishes and their grasp of the situation. That procedure may well be the best one and what Our Lord desires but it runs completely counter to the system that we had adopted in this country. We could have achieved so much more among the Christians, given

16 Matthew 21:10.

the fear that we instilled in them concerning impending ecclesiastical justice, than we can do now that it is here. I shall limit myself to declaring just one thing in general to Your Reverence, and that will give you cause to weep. It is that wherever there is a chance of financial gain, even if there is no wrongdoing, there is the closest investigation, whereas wherever that is not the case, even though great sins are committed, the matter receives scant attention. I have particularly protested about this to the visitor. He replied that this approach was in pursuit of the bishop's instructions. This scandal has so much spread along the coast that I believe that it will resound there. The bishop is not a particularly erudite man and is very trusting. A well-educated and experienced vicar-general ought to be sent out to assist him.

The governor-general has achieved a great deal along this coast, so much so that we never cease to praise Our Lord for giving such knowledge and virtue to one man. He did all he could during the visitation of this coast. But only Our Lord is perfect, and this man cannot do everything. I say this because when a thing is well done, it is in the service of Our Lord God (as well as with the king, our lord on earth). One cannot deny that the governor-general accomplishes what few men could. But when he is able to discern that a given activity, even when [apparently] right, might be detrimental to the interests of the king, he draws back from carrying it out and forbids others to do so. His avoidance of inappropriate actions is highly praiseworthy. I have come to recognize this aspect of his work on a daily basis, notably in what follows.

Nearly all the men who inhabit the coastal areas, particularly in this captaincy, possess Indian slaves. The slaves demand their freedom and know nothing of the law other than to turn to us, taking refuge in the Church's embrace as though we were their parents and protectors. For our part, we have learned from past experience and have no wish to provoke any scandal, nor do we wish to be stoned. As a result we can do nothing for them, nor do we dare to preach to them. This means that through lack of justice, they remain captives, and their masters remain in mortal sin. Moreover, we are losing all credit among these pagans because we cannot give them what they hoped for.

I told the governor-general that he should do something about this. He does everything only after taking counsel, but some of his advisers also have Indians in their houses. As a result, he believes that he should not meddle because of the harm it could cause to many men [i.e., Indians], and that it is better for them to remain slaves and work on the estates. He also believes that it is in the interests of the king and for the greater good of the territory and its settlers. The contrary approach, as it would affect almost everyone, would be very bad for the country. He also gives other similar reasons. But despite all his arguments, my view was that he should not hold back

from taking the right and just course of action, since, where there is no justice, there comes no favor from Our Lord. Rather, for the greater good of the country, I believe that everyone should be given what is his. That is preferable to a system sustained by sin, for that is something from which they [i.e., the settlers] will never escape. I also believe that it would mean that the plantations would produce more sugar and [therefore] more tithes for His Majesty.

This land, which is the best in the world, is little favored by Our Lord because of these and similar sins. If a virtuous man were selected to set these men free and if he were to marry the men to the women, permitting them to live among the Christians and making them obey Christian law and customs, that would be far better for the territory. All the heathens would know the truth about Christians. That truth arrived with the arrival of the governor-general and the Jesuit Fathers. Nevertheless, they have experienced so much the untruths uttered by them [i.e., the settlers] that such a course of action would be the best way for our reputation to be restored and for them [i.e., the Indians] to become Christians.

However, since that appears at first sight not to be in the king's best interests, everyone is opposed to it. It pains me to see them [i.e., the Indians] so justifiably complaining about their harsh captivity, yet there is nobody to protect them. Owing to the great prevalence of this problem here (and nowhere else have I been so aware of it), I am writing to Your Reverence so that you can advise His Majesty of your view of the matter.

Although these issues are set down in a rather haphazard way, I know that Your Reverence will consider them carefully and, after discussing them at length with His Majesty, will write back to tell us how to proceed. The fact is that if we are not allowed to go and find the heathen tribespeople, there is very little else left for us to do.

For the above reasons, I have now decided to leave this house in the hands of two stewards and its financial officer. I shall remove the Jesuit Fathers from all temporal administration, leaving them solely in control of the teaching and catachesis of the children. Moreover, they shall show extreme obedience to the rector, who is to be placed in authority over the children. I have put in place the Brotherhood of the Name of Jesus. All of this has been carefully carried out. In that way, I have removed of the opportunity for evil gossip which, while not true, was not without cause.

I shall return to Bahia on the first available ship, which will be soon, and shall take with me the new lay brothers whom I have found here. Among them there is one, Pêro Correia, who has achieved more than any of us here, as he speaks the language and is both wise and virtuous. We hope not to lose time and, wherever we go, we hope to harvest much fruit through the authority and credit that he enjoys among the heathens.

This house has fifty children and with all the people here could sustain [another] fifty or hundred more. It is in very great need of help from Portugal. The governor-general has given me reason to hope that His Majesty would grant to us the rice tithe of this captaincy, for it does not bring him a very great profit. It would, however, be most useful for this house and would support many children, as I shall explain to Father Pedro Doméneco in greater detail. The supplies and clothes that His Majesty has commanded to be distributed here bring us no satisfaction. Indeed, supplies given to us for ten people who came with us from Portugal are not enough to support and clothe even three, with the result that we continue to rely on charitable contributions that we ourselves brought with us from Portugal.

3. The Jesuit Establishment

By the 1570s, the Jesuits had become the principal missionary order in Brazil and had established a firm material and administrative basis for their multiple religious, educational, and economic interests in the colony. In this report of 1577, Father Belchior Cordeiro, returning to Rome after five years in Brazil, presented an overview of the Jesuit establishment in the colony and their activities to *Everardo Mercuriano, the Father General of the Jesuit Order.* (From Belchior Cordeiro S.J., *Emformação dalgumas cousas do Brasil*, ed. Serafim Leite S.J., in Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História, 2nd series, 15 [1965], pp. 182–201.)

There are three colleges and five residences in this province or, put another way, there are eight residences if we include the villages inhabited by Christian Indians, where our Jesuit Fathers inhabit buildings that they likewise describe as residences.

All these colleges and residences are situated along the seacoast, wherever the Portuguese have settled. Placing them not in the order in which they were founded but in the order in which they run down the coast, the college of Pernambuco is the first. The second college is that of Bahia, which is located one hundred leagues from Pernambuco. Some ten, fifteen, or twenty leagues around the college in Bahia lie three or four villages of Christian Indians with three or four religious living in each, and we can also call these residences. Next there is the residence of Ilhéus, which is thirty leagues south of Bahia. After that comes the residence of Porto Seguro, which is a further thirty leagues from Ilhéus. Up to this point, all the residences are attached to the college of Bahia and come under the jurisdiction of the rector of that college. That is where the diocese of Bahia ends.

There then follows the residence of Espírito Santo, which is sixty leagues from Porto Seguro. Next there is the college of Rio de Janeiro, which is, I

believe, sixty leagues or more from Espírito Santo. The residence of Espírito Santo is attached to it. Then there come the residences of São Vicente, which, if I am not mistaken, are forty leagues distant from the college of Rio de Janeiro. Finally, there is the residence of Piratininga, which lies some fifteen to twenty leagues south of São Vicente.

Until now, the Portuguese have lived along the coast, and our houses run from one end to the other in the order that I have set down: Pernambuco, Bahia with its [Indian] villages, Ilhéus, Porto Seguro, Espírito Santo with its villages, Rio de Janeiro with one village, and Piratininga.

Some Particular Aspects of Each of These Colleges and Residences of Pernambuco

The first college along this coast, which is closest to Portugal and which is the one most easily reached by sea, is that of Pernambuco. The town in which it is situated is called Olinda. The entire captaincy, which is under the aegis of one donatary [i.e., Duarte Coelho], is called Pernambuco. The captaincy comprises many other townships, villages, and sugar plantations.

The College of Pernambuco has an endowment of one thousand *cruzados*, but, since sugar brings a very favorable return, at a price set by the king himself, the college's income is more than a thousand *cruzados*. It has to support a community of twenty religious. It also possesses a [square?] league of land, which a lady bequeathed to it. However, our community has not yet made use of it, nor do they expect to profit much from it, as it is some distance away [from the college] and is not very fertile.

There is a course on the humanities. There is also a law course.

All twenty members of the Society could be needed here, and many more would be so, since many people live in the captaincy and others sail there to join them. But the income is not enough to support the community, nor is it possible for them to fully to carry out the work of the Society, no matter how diligently they have been devoting themselves to it. It is therefore important for Your Paternity to decide what ought to be done.

As a general rule, the Fathers neither preach nor hear confessions other than in the town, where the college is situated. As the town is not very large (since normally the settlers live outside on their estates, and the town is inhabited solely by traders and officials), one pulpit is enough. If, therefore, we preach in our [professed] house, then we do not preach in the town's church and vice versa.

There is a reason why our Jesuit Fathers do not usually go off to preach and hear confessions in the other townships and settlements. It is that in this captaincy, it is not possible to travel in the summer, as it is so hot, nor is it possible in winter, except by journeying on horseback, as there are so

many rivers. We would need two horses and we do not have any, nor are we likely to have. We cannot easily find anyone who has horses to lend to us, especially because two slaves would have to accompany the horses, and because their masters do not wish to lose their services, not to mention the wear and tear on the horses.

However, on certain occasions during the year, a number of parishes send a request for a preacher to preach on their feast day and for that reason they send two horses. Sometimes it happens that in order to come back [to Olinda], the Fathers have to issue a personal entreaty for horses, simply because, as often happens, those who provided the horses for the outward journey are less inclined to provide them for the journey back again. However, nowadays the owners of the horses provide them without any fuss, and one of our priests performs this service on certain days in the year.

On the feast day or Sunday, the visiting priest hears the confessions of the Portuguese of the given parish and then preaches to them. If he knows their language, he also does the same for the Christian Indians who are there, though as a rule there are only a few.

The Indians of the captaincy are made to work hard by their masters on the sugar estates. That means that during the week it is impossible to instruct them in the Faith, since there is no moment when their owners are willing or able to release them from their work. When Sunday is reached, the wretched slaves just want to rest. Their recreation is simply to go to the seaside or to go hunting or just to drink in groups, so that not even their masters can keep them back on that day, as that is already their entitlement. As a result, there is no opportunity to instruct them in the Faith either on Sunday or during the week. That means that hardly any of the slaves in Pernambuco are Christians. They live and die in mortal sin and are sunk in the deepest barbarism without being able to remedy the matter. That is because their masters want nothing more from them than work and simply treat them as animals.

However, since there are some landowners, though very few, who are God-fearing and sometimes take some of their slaves with them to church, the priest is able to instruct them, hear their confessions, and unite them in marriage, after he has completed his missionary visit to the Portuguese.

In the town, where the college is located, instruction is provided, and we preach to the slaves of the town. Indeed, usually there is a gathering of a hundred, a hundred and fifty, even two hundred of them.

That is why we have so few missions in this captaincy. It is impossible to provide instruction to the slaves other than to those who live in the town and work within its gates. As for those who live outside on the plantations, they are as barbarous as they were when living among the [other] heathens. Quite apart from not receiving instruction in the Faith from either their masters or

the Jesuit Fathers, they are by their very nature extremely wild and remote from godly matters.

Everything in Brazil costs so much, not only products from Portugal but also those that are produced here. However, the college receives, beyond its regular income, much in the way of charitable contributions left in wills worth ten or twenty or even a hundred *cruzados*, not to mention other small amounts. Without these, it would never have been possible to support the community of twenty, though the truth is that they do not usually eat bread or drink wine. Some, however, receive a glass of wine with their water. They live in great poverty and need.

Variously, five, six, seven, eight, ten, or twelve students attend the regular Latin course. As for the law course, they are told to come a thousand times, but there are only two, three, four, or five of them. They might attend one in four classes. Our pleas are not enough nor are the penalties imposed by the bishop.

The members of our community have to have reasonable amenities, which is usual in the Society. It could be possible for them to have such amenities there, and it is right that they should have. However, the income of this college is not enough, even with regular almsgiving, to support a community of more than ten or twelve. Any more than that number are unnecessary in such a college. Ten or twelve are quite enough, and all the others are excessive. For example, we need only four or five priests, one or two of whom should preach to the people, with one of them helping the other and going off on the missions, whenever they occur. The reason is that so much preaching to the people as there is at present is quite unnecessary. Indeed, even the professed house in Rome does not afford so much preaching. The preaching loses its value by being so excessive, as do we in the entreaties that we make in them. As for one of the preachers, he need have no more than average education to provide counselling to resolve any problem that might occur. With regard to law courses and Latin classes, these should be abandoned, as their sole effect is to take up and waste the time of two men.

It is important that one or two of these selfsame priests speak the local tongue. At the very least, one priest and one lay brother should be able to do so. Indeed, they are improving in this respect, with a view to one of them working away while the other remains behind.

With four Father confessors in the college, there are enough of them to say Mass and to hear everybody's confession, because the numbers of those going to confession are usually very small. As for the sea fishermen, their number is growing. In Holy Week, they still appear to be few in number but that number is growing all the time. In that way [the Fathers] will have the

great satisfaction of leading busy lives, avoiding idleness, and carrying out necessary duties.

It is clearly unnecessary to want to provide courses of study just for the purpose of saying that there is a college. In the same way, it is unnecessary to have people who have not enough with which to occupy themselves, simply seeking to avoid losing an income that is insufficient in any event. All these factors generate numerous problems that I shall touch on later.

One outcome that the college achieves very successfully is its provision of education for children. There are classes where they learn to read and write and where they receive excellent instruction. The college works just as hard at preaching and hearing confessions, for all that *vilescunt ibi nostra ministeria*,[17] simply because there are too many of us and too few of the faithful.

Bahia

The College of Bahia, which was the first to be founded in that area, is in the city of Salvador, which is commonly called Bahia de Todos os Santos.[18] In Salvador live the governor-general of all Brazil, the Crown judge, the bishop, and our provincial. It is obliged to have a certain number of religious (for each one of whom the king gives fifty *cruzados*). I understand that there are sixty such religious. If I am not mistaken, the college has an endowment of five thousand *cruzados*. It possesses a great deal of good land, part of which is already productive, part of which can be worked if need be. It has a large herd of cattle and owns many slaves. It is well supplied and can provide as much as is needed.

The college offers a course in Latin, sometimes two. There is also a law course and another in theology. In addition, the arts[19] are studied. There is a children's school where reading and writing are taught. Though this captaincy does not have as many inhabitants as Pernambuco, it is more suitable for the work of the Society, since the people are more devout and friendly, and all the settlements and estates are close to the sea. Owing to the frequent arrival of ships, not only are horses needed, just as in Pernambuco, but it is also less arduous than going into the interior.

The slaves of this captaincy are more easily susceptible to instruction in the Faith, both because they are close to those of our villages where there are Christian Indians and, of course, because they have less hard work to do than those in Pernambuco. That is explained by the fact that they produce

17 Our efforts in that regard become devalued.
18 Bay of All Saints.
19 The humanities and philosophy.

less sugar, that their masters are gentler with them, and, last of all, that they receive regular instruction from our catechists.

However, this captaincy is not so different from what I have said about Pernambuco as to prevent me, in due proportion, from saying the same about this college. Your Paternity must understand that what we [in Brazil] call a city is [in Europe] a [mere] township or large village and needs no more than a single preacher. By that, I mean that there are only enough people to fill a single hall. Moreover, those who are described as settlers in the city actually live on their estates and only return to the city for Lent.

It is my opinion that this college needs no more than a community of thirty religious: six priests to say daily Mass (and they would also act as confessors), two who would take turns to preach and two priests who speak the local language, one to work outside the college and one to remain there. There would thus be ten priests for all the work of the college and for all potential missions in the field, such as to the Portuguese on their estates and in the parishes and to the Indians who are their slaves. The college is provided with an ample, not to say too large a community, since, as I said, the city is small and has a bishop, his canons, and many other priests.

It is appropriate that the college should offer a course in law, as it does, not because there are those who attend and those who are reluctant to do so, nor because the penalties that the bishop imposes are insufficient, but because this is the center not only of the diocese but also of the whole of Brazil. It must not be said that on our account there is no such course. The course can be taught by either of the two preachers.

For the same reason, the class in humanities is appropriate. Those who customarily attend amount to some fifteen or twenty, though I would prefer them to be thirty. As for the study of philosophy and theology, that is attempting the impossible and has no useful purpose, for reasons that I shall give later. As for all the other parts of Brazil, Latin should be eliminated for at least the next ten years.

In each of the villages that the college has in its charge, it is important that there should be two or three of our religious, one of whom should be a priest, as, indeed, has been the practice until now. The villages are not very far apart, and it is easy for their inhabitants to gather to make their confession. Furthermore, since we possess our own horses, one of the Father Superiors goes to visit them and hears their confession every fortnight, as well as checking the cattle that we have there. Therefore, none of this is very difficult to achieve.

With [just] twelve or thirteen priests in this college, it is well provided for. There is someone to organize the missions as well as others to live in the villages. In that way, they will satisfy their temporal needs, have plenty to do, and the problems that have been wont to beset Brazil will disappear.

The Residences in Ilhéus, Porto Seguro, Espírito Santo, São Vicente, and Piratininga

In each of these captaincies, four of our religious are enough because there are few people, almost all of whom are poor and honest farmers. Two or three of the religious should be priests, one of whom should be a preacher and another able to speak the language. However, in São Vicente, I believe that five or six are needed since, from what I hear, there are various settlements, though they are small and their people very humble farmers. In Piratininga, there are usually only two, and that is sufficient because there are [virtually] no people there, though we do have cattle and small-holdings in the vicinity. A few Indians and white men live there, but, as it is never visited by ships from Portugal and as there is never any produce with which to trade, it amounts to nothing.

The Fathers in these captaincies should be suitably provided for in temporal matters by the colleges to which they belong. That is because apart from being poor, they live lonely and dispiriting lives, wishing they were back in their colleges. For the same reason, it would also be appropriate to change them round every two years, as well as to prevent them from forming close friendships, for those are so easily made in such a small place. With these [small] numbers, these residences are not only sufficient to carry out the work of the Society but also suffice to ensure that our religious live among their fellows. That is because formerly they lived there, moving every two years; yet, if they took a dislike to the place, they would only stay for a few months.

Rio de Janeiro

The third college is located in the City of São Sebastião, commonly called Rio de Janeiro. The college there is smaller than that in Bahia but larger than the one in Pernambuco. In accordance with the endowment that was granted to it, the college is obliged to have a certain number of workmen. At the outset, there arose a problem that in turn gave rise to another. It was believed that the land was very rich, but now it is said not to be. Therefore, as navigation is very difficult and perilous (because one must sail round Cabo Frio, which is a very dangerous procedure), only one ship a year travels out there from Portugal. Sometimes it fails to arrive since it is easier to sail twice from Portugal to Pernambuco, less dangerously and in less time, and even to Bahia, than to journey just once to Rio de Janeiro. For that reason, the few people who went to live in that city are gradually leaving it again. At the present time, it is a city which is really only a village. Its inhabitants are merely poor peasant farmers. Therefore, we should not attach any more importance to it than to any other residence. It should have one preacher and another priest who knows the language. It should have up to four priests in all and as

many lay brothers: then it will grow. Latin classes on no account should be taught, but there should be classes in reading and writing for the children because those classes should be kept going just as in all the other colleges and residences. That is because such classes are very practical, there are a good number of children, and the settlers approve of them. The religious that live here are also very desirous of changing places, and that facility should be allowed them every two years, as they are a very long distance away from Bahia and live alone. The distance between Portugal and Bahia is much the same as that between Bahia and the southern areas [of Brazil]. Should there be the above number of religious, they would be sufficiently provided for in temporal matters. I believe that there will be enough work to keep them all busy, which is precisely what is needed for them to live happy and peaceful lives, for if they are allowed to be idle in Brazil they will become discontented.

General Matters

If the number of religious in the colleges and residences were to be reduced, it would be essential to have the [prior] consent of the king.

Brazil is a hot country and does not favor study, as at least seven or eight months are like an Italian summer. Under no circumstances is it right to send our religious out there just in order to study because apart from the great heat, there is a great shortage of other facilities for that purpose. The Fathers usually ask for religious from Portugal, and students are sent out along with others who go out to Brazil. There they are admitted, not because they are needed for the work of the Society, but simply to perpetuate study in Bahia, Pernambuco, and Rio de Janeiro and to make up the numbers that the king requires us to have. That means that quite apart from other drawbacks, they do not receive a proper education because the land is not conducive to it. Furthermore, they lead a miserable existence, as the Society does not keep them occupied, and as they are unable to pursue their studies. Thus, some of them leave, while others are expelled.

I say, then, that none of our religious should study in Brazil, nor should there be any record kept of such activity. For the reasons that I have mentioned, the exceptions to that are the courses in Latin and in [canon] law at the College of Bahia. As for our religious, they should go out from Portugal fully trained. In Brazil, there should be admitted [to the College of Bahia] the sons of Portuguese who are born out there. That is appropriate because they [also] speak the local language. There are not many of them, and it is not difficult for them to learn enough Latin and law to enable them to carry out their ministry.

It seems to me to be quite absurd for the Society to require two hundred of its religious to be there, merely to ensure that the colleges should qualify

for their income, when there is no need for more than fifty. If it is intended that our religious should lead meaningful lives, then [at best] there is only enough work to keep half of that number occupied. It is quite insufferable to request that religious be sent out and to receive individuals who are so unnecessary and who go out there to study in a place that is so unsuited to that end.

Those who should live in Brazil ought to set out from Portugal or from here [Rome] as fully trained priests of thirty-five to forty years of age, or they should be lay brothers of a similar age. As the settlers in Brazil are usually of humble and lowly farming stock, there is no need for men of learning, except in Bahia and Pernambuco. Members of the nobility and merchants live in those two places. Thus, it is appropriate that each of those places should have one or two able preachers who are also capable of resolving matters of law. Elsewhere all that is needed are men of virtue and strength.

No religious should be dispatched to Brazil unless they intend to become proficient in the local language. That is because the few that have that intention reveal that they have both the persistence and the ability. Those that are born here know the language well, but it is right that a few more should be sent out to join them.

There are two main reasons for the unhappiness of our religious out in Brazil. One is that there are so many of them that they become idle, with nothing to do or with which to occupy their time. In particular, those who have been admitted from any other place where the Society works regard themselves as having been deceived, for things run counter to what they expected. I mean by this that they believed that there would be many conversions to perform, whereas in fact there are few of them and they are of scant importance. When I say "of scant importance," I mean that the people are both very rustic and very barbarous. Apart from the innocent few who are baptized and earn salvation (which is greatly to be prized), the majority of them are spiritually incapable of any such thing. Moreover, having been fully occupied in their [previous] provinces, [the newcomers] now find themselves with their hands idle. That is because there are few confessions to hear and because those are made by certain very devout persons who regularly go to hear our preaching. So [the newcomers] become bored. I believe the situation to be due to an excess of preaching, certainly more than there normally is in Portugal. What is worse is that, in Brazil, if one's spirit does not warm to the task, then the effort is wasted. That is a common complaint made by all our religious. It arises from the country being so hot and from the food being so lacking in nourishment that their bodies become neglected. They have nothing with which to occupy themselves, they become idle, and cannot even devote themselves to prayer. From this, Your Paternity will understand the extent to which this land is suitable for study.

The second thing that upsets our religious arises from the notable lack of temporal necessities, namely food and clothing. Throughout Brazil, bread is neither eaten nor wine drunk, except when some of the Fathers and a few of the lay brothers are allowed a glass of watered-down wine, more or less as is our practice in Rome. That has been the case for some years there, for formerly even fewer received it, and even now not all are allowed it. Bread, as I mentioned earlier, is only eaten in Pernambuco. That is because it is closer to Portugal and because there are many traders and people who eat bread. In consequence, devout women sometimes send out bread by way of almsgiving. Other bread is actually on sale there, so that sometimes there is placed on the table a third of what is on offer here, though it is not available to all. That is why one can say that, broadly speaking, bread is not eaten nor is wine drunk. Meat is in short supply, except in Bahia. Generally speaking, there is a great deal of suffering because of the food, not just because of the lack of it but also because of its [poor] quality, for in Brazil it is tasteless and lacking in sustenance. Doubtless, those out in Brazil would choose to fast continuously and would greatly rejoice thereat – always provided that they were to receive what we eat here on a fast day! Yet they are not particularly discontented on that account. The truth is that they are not even allowed all that is available out there and which they could have, as would be only proper, for that certainly is our practice here [in Rome]. I believe that it either all stems from the procedure to which our Father Superiors have subjected Brazil or from the poverty in which those of us from Portugal have been brought up. In the main, the problem gets worse when decisions are made by a Father Superiors who has not been brought up in a world of plenty.

Attention must be given to eating and sleeping, owing to the intense heat of the country and the constant perspiration that it causes. Our people should usually wear clothing made of fine yarn as made in Italy (where it is less needed). All stockings and breeches should be of fine yarn, though buckram can be used for those as well. The fabric normally worn in Brazil is Saragossa cloth. The fact is that the feet of many are torn by sweat. People cannot even tolerate being close to others, so they should normally be given lightweight pumps or mules. It would certainly not be out of place to issue clean shirts to them on Saturdays and Wednesdays, so that each man could have at least one spare for when he is bathed in perspiration. That is an obvious and constant need.

The question of clothing is very important and no more so than in Brazil. The truth is that nowhere do our men dress more scruffily than in Brazil. Many do not have beds, and those that have beds in many cases have no sheets, although they could have, along with everything else that I consider necessary for them.

We are perturbed by these troubling aspects. Firstly, only those that are necessary should live in Brazil, as they will have things to accomplish. Duly kept busy, they will be contented and will not be in a position to complain that they were tricked into going there. Secondly, owing to the part they will play in conversion, they will be more contented than they were when they lived in other provinces, and their work will sustain them spiritually. Apart from their being kept busy, the income from the colleges is sufficient to supply them with all their needs, both in food and in clothing. Indeed, they will be able to live just as well as those who are in Portugal or anywhere else. Normally, they will receive bread, wine, and everything else that is sent out from Portugal, all of which is not simply necessary for the body but also for the soul. Much, therefore, is to be gained by having in Brazil only those religious that are necessary, and almost all the contentious issues that have arisen there stem from these two sources.

When he is informed of how things stand in Brazil, the king will readily make concessions, especially when he is told that our religious neither eat bread nor drink wine and do not even have the fruit that is produced in Spain [and Portugal], not to mention the other inconveniences from which they suffer. Should the king be unwilling to adopt new measures, I wish at least to record that it is wrong for the Society to send out superfluous religious to Brazil merely in order to qualify for the [endowment] income. Furthermore, I consider that the Society is losing all credit with the laity and with its own religious, for the latter are undoubtedly vehemently opposed to the practice, as well as suffering from spiritual anguish. The experience of so many years has demonstrated this, for there have been so many departures and expulsions as a result. Those remaining, when there are any, are as if chained by the power of papal bulls and excommunications. Otherwise, ask the Father Superiors to explain the origin of these problems. Our religious need to be kept busy, they need to be bolstered spiritually, they need food and clothing. The land is very hot and causes neglect, not to mention a thousand other problems. Those religious who know the practice of the Society in the other provinces from which they were sent are the ones who feel this most acutely.

Were these things to be done, the province would be both well served and well supplied. Brazil would be less detested by those who go there. Indeed, it would be sought after, and they would all go there willingly.

To ensure that Brazil be well supplied and at the right time, there should be appointed a special agent in Lisbon. His task would be to make certain that on every ship that sails to the various places where our religious reside, there should be purchased and taken aboard all that they need. The best solution would be to send back from Brazil a lay brother or a priest, such as Brother Francisco Gonçalves, who is in Bahia, or Father Martim Rocha, who

is in Rio de Janeiro, since it is essential to know what conditions are like in Brazil.

It is also essential for the Father Superiors to want to be supplied with [appropriate] religious under their tutelage and to devote themselves willingly to keeping them contented and in good spirits. That is more important than their personal misgivings and their reluctance to have them in Brazil. [I say that] because there continues to exist a form of expression in the papal briefs that is almost insulting. Everything that I tell you in this report is true and is not beyond the normal practice of the Society. Rather, it conforms to it. I am confident that the demands of necessity will cause the king to make due provision to the Father Superiors. Were Italian Father Superiors now to go to Brazil, I have no doubt that all these things would be immediately put into effect. Perhaps those going out from Portugal will do the same. But, as I left that country some days ago, I cannot be sure about present intentions.

Once the situation has been remedied, I do not believe that there will be the same great insistence on returning to Portugal. If it does happen, then there will be some legitimate reason. I see no reason why the Father Superiors should strive so hard to prevent it because with the regular movement of ships, there is no expense or difficulty.

When it is said that the gates should be opened to others so as to remedy the problem, there is nothing to be afraid of. Indeed, there are a thousand occasions that provide grounds for a man to be sent there, especially as nobody ever wants to return to Portugal for any reason other than the drawbacks that I have mentioned. There are other reasons that the Father Superiors might in their wisdom judge to be legitimate.

It is highly important that the agent should always come to see Your Paternity to give an account to you in person, and there should never be any dispensation from doing so. At least two great advantages would arise from such a practice: Your Paternity would learn how the Society and its religious were proceeding, and you would be receiving such news in a face-to-face interview.

Should you go to Portugal, Your Paternity should in any case order Father Rodrigo de Freitas to travel to Lisbon from Brazil. His advice is of the greatest value on all these matters. I say that without wishing to offend anyone else, for there are many others out there, and comparisons are invidious. Father Rodrigo has experience of the whole of Brazil and he has been Father Superiors in almost every part of the country. He is the procurator-general there and is the counsellor and companion of the Father Provincial. He was one of the first to go to Brazil. He is a man of great prudence and experience. The journey to and from Portugal is not as arduous for him as might be imagined because it amounts to no more than sailing to and from Pernambuco, which is something he frequently does.

We are hated in Brazil, partly because of the constant legal actions that we are always taking, partly because of the Indians, whom we protect from the Portuguese. All this should be looked into, although at this moment it does not occur to me in what way. However, in respect of the income of the colleges, if Your Paternity is going to Portugal to speak to the king and if you are armed with all necessary information, then matters should be resolved for the future. As regards other issues, I believe that we have reached a point where we are going beyond the limits by taking these things so much to heart and getting into so much intrigue that we are seeking to get our own way more by human means and by satisfying [public] opinion than by any other approach.

In Brazil anyone who writes to Rome is not popular with the father superiors. From this there stem problems, for example, a father superiors not outlining his needs to Your Paternity, or even seeking means of sending letters to those outside the Society, and so on.

The impression of Brazil that is formed in the first two years by those who judge the book by its cover is very different from the judgment that is reached through experience of its true characteristics. Because of that, many father superiors and fathers provincial at the outset pledged themselves out there and to [successive] fathers-general in Rome. Then, not wishing to go back on their word, they ceased to say what they [really] felt, such as asking for [more] religious, promising conversions and then finding themselves with more religious than they could keep occupied. For this reason, if the information that Your Paternity receives from the new fathers provincial and fathers visitor differs from what you receive from the father superiors who have been out there for some years, then you should bear that point in mind.

For my part, it is not my intention that any of the foregoing should deter Your Paternity with regard to Brazil, but that it should give you true and factual information. Likewise, it is my earnest wish that all those who are there should bear fruit and live contented lives. I trust that the means to achieve that objective are those that I have set down. Your Paternity should, however, derive much consolation from the fact that all the good things in Brazil, both spiritual and temporal, are due to the work of the Society. That is because our Jesuit Fathers help people with advice and comfort them in their work, doing just the same as they do in Portugal. Moreover, they bring about conversions. However, as there are more religious there than are necessary, as the land is so alien to the welfare of the spirit, as they are so lacking in temporal necessities, and as they are so hated by everybody there, it can be generally stated that, beyond all shadow of a doubt, there are no Fathers of our Society who suffer more and are more despised, who harvest less fruit and who lead more disagreeable lives than those in Brazil. For that very reason, they are the more in need of Your Paternity's support and good offices.

All this information is based on the experience that I have acquired in Brazil up to now and on the hopes that I have cherished there for several years. It is my firm belief that there will be no real change until the Portuguese venture farther into the interior and settle there. Once they find themselves in a cooler climate, where the air is better, where they are able to harvest crops such as wheat, where they can grow Portuguese fruit, and where the climate will buoy up the spirit, then, possibly, the problem that we have at present will cease. However, for that we shall need much faith and we shall have to wait many years.

Nor does the above mean that I want Your Paternity to recall to Portugal [all] the religious that are in Brazil. Rather, it means that no more should go out, nor should they be admitted except when needed and when the number of them out there falls below what is necessary. In the meantime, it is important that they be well provided for.

All of the above involves a survey of the entire province in accordance with the more essential aspects of its instructions. Let those instructions serve merely as a basis for Your Paternity to inquire what is happening there and how matters may be remedied. On some matters I have expressed my opinion because Your Paternity told me to do so when you ordered this report. I am well aware that once it becomes known in Brazil that I have set these matters down, by the same token some people are bound to contradict them, even though they must be privately aware that they are true, for I have not said anything that is not already common knowledge in Brazil. In particular, those from whom Your Paternity should seek an opinion on these matters are the following: Father Provincial José Anchieta, Rodrigo de Freitas, Luís da Grã, Inácio Tolosa, Gregório Serrão, Quirício Caixa, Francisco Pires, António da Rocha, António Gomes, Cristóvão Ferrão, Leonardo do Vale, Father Toledo, Jorge Rodrigues, and all the old hands out there. No doubt, Your Paternity will charge them with concealing nothing.

4. A Colonist's Critique of the Jesuits: Gabriel Soares de Sousa, "Os capitulos" (1592)

The Jesuits and the colonists disputed the control of the indigenous peoples of Brazil. Both sides sought to convince the Crown that their control of the Indians would best serve the interests of the colony. The arguments of the Jesuits are well preserved in the historical record, but those of the colonists, especially their criticisms of the Fathers of the Company, were often made discreetly, and thus little evidence of them remains. This remarkable document is an exception. While in Madrid in the 1580s, the chronicler and sugar planter in Bahia, Gabriel Soares de Sousa, had supplied a list of complaints against the Jesuits to an influential Portuguese courtier.

The Jesuits obtained his memorial and then, in 1592, the Jesuit Provincial, Marçal Beliarte, refuted its claims one by one. The rebuttal contained the original charges as well and thus preserved Soares de Sousa's detailed complaints, revealing thereby the depth of the hostility between the colonists and the missionaries but also the tension between civil and religious authority, and between diocesan and missionary clergy. (From Gabriel Soares de Sousa, *"Os Capítulos,"* ed. Serafim Leite, in Ethnos, 2 [1941], pp. 9–35.)

Chapters that Gabriel Soares de Sousa supplied to Dom Cristóvão de Moura in Madrid, in which he criticizes the Fathers of the Society of Jesus living in Brazil. These comments are accompanied by short replies from the Fathers, who were informed of them by a relative to whom he showed them.

In the name of Jesus.

[Relative:] Though the Jesuit Fathers console themselves with the words of Our Saviour, "Blessed are you when men revile you and persecute you and utter all kinds of evil against you falsely,"[20] *the need has arisen to answer them with an account that promotes the truth. Even so, one would expect to believe that those who have left behind all that they possessed (and to which they had legitimate entitlement), in order to serve God and save their souls, would not perform such appalling acts as the author here suggests. This is what he has to say:*

[Sousa:] You place me in great danger of falling foul of our Jesuit Fathers in Bahia, were they to learn that I have passed these comments on to you. As I have told them several times that I consider the matters now contained in them to be far from edifying, some find the matter very improper and think that I show them no due respect. But in obeying your orders, while begging your protection, I now say what I have to.

Reply. The informant is quite right in fearing that he may jeopardize his standing with our Jesuit Fathers [here] in Brazil, for they know the truth about the issues that he is addressing. These matters should have been brought to His Majesty's attention only after being more thoroughly ascertained. Furthermore, to ensure that his zeal should remain less suspect, he should have related matters simply without, as he does, passing judgment on the intentions with which they were made. That is something that he has done in many of his comments, though that right belongs solely to God.

Item 1. In the early years in which the Fathers of the Society resided in Brazil, they were loved and well received by the settlers of this State. Indeed, the settlers worshipped them as though they were the very gods of the land. That was due to their great virtues and exemplary way of life. It was also

20 Matthew 5:11.

because they came to terms with what the land permits and sympathized with the people's needs, as well as helping them in their trials and tribulations with the governors-general, captains, and other magistrates, who out of respect for them did what they advised them was for the good of the country and its settlers.

Reply. When the informant went to Brazil in 1569, the Jesuit Fathers had already been there for twenty years, for the first of them went in 1549 with Tomé de Sousa, who went to create settlements. What he says in this item, therefore, is something he did not witness but has merely heard about. It is most surprising that in view of the high regard for the Fathers that he shows here, he so freely gives credence to such favorable aspects. It seems, however, that he is doing this more for his own benefit, since when he speaks ill of them he wishes to be believed then as well.

Item 2. The governor-general, captains, and leaders of the people sought all possible means for the Jesuit Fathers to have everything necessary for their support, giving them, from their estates, every form of produce that the land has to offer and every assistance toward other expenses, as well as providing work and shelter.

Reply. The measures of support for the first Jesuit Fathers (and for those who went there until the foundation of the colleges) were those that King João of Blessed Memory ordered to be given. That was a certain supply of manioc and rice, plus one cruzado a month for each man, as can be found in the account books of his exchequer. To say that the governors, bishops, and so forth gave us all the supplies that the land has to offer is not right. It is true that the people gave them what they could in alms as though to the poor, according to the extent of their poverty. The first houses that the Fathers had, which were just poor little houses made of wattle and daub, with thatched roofs, were built by dint of their own sweat and toil, as they burdened their own backs with wood and water. It is true that the people helped them by lending them their slaves and anything else they could. The houses that they now have they also built, partly with the alms which King João ordered that they should receive (which for many years was not paid because of the poverty of the land) and partly with the aid given to them by King Sebastião, though mainly through their own persistent work.

Item 3. Once the Fathers were increasing in number and needed the support of the king, they wrote to His Majesty, sometimes with such insistence that he deemed it right to help them with alms and other favors. Finally, the three colleges in Bahia, Pernambuco, and Rio de Janeiro received eight thousand *cruzados* a year from His Majesty, as well as land grants given to them by the governors, while the captains and certain settlers donated to them their estates.

Reply. King João regarded the conversion of the heathens of Brazil as highly important, as also did the Fathers of the Society, whom he sent for this purpose with his first governor-general. In fact, the latter was duty-bound to respond favorably to their requests for assistance, and they certainly impressed this upon him, as the informant says. Even in Portugal there was no shortage of people to speak up for them, saying that they had much need of assistance from those living in Brazil. If he is speaking of what those in authority in Bahia did for the Fathers at this time, he is well placed to know it, since he always sought a position in that authority. He knows very well that the city council did not write favorably about the Fathers, quite the reverse, and that it did so with such conviction that others complain that he and one of his friends brought discredit on the letters that were issued by the city council. As well as inheriting the kingdom, King Sebastião inherited from his grandfather his zeal for conversion, and it was he who founded the three colleges of which the informant speaks, giving them an income appropriate for one hundred and thirty religious, at a rate of twenty milréis for each man, or six thousand five hundred cruzados, as is shown in the official documents, and not eight thousand, as he claims.

Item 4. This agreement between the Jesuit Fathers and the governors, the bishop, and settlers of the State lasted until Father Luís da Grã no longer headed the Society [in Brazil]. He was Father Provincial in this country for many years. He prudently adjusted to the times and retained the regard and trust in which the Society was held in the territory, as well as the friendship of its settlers. He was more obeyed by all the superiors, both major and minor, throughout the country than he was by his own religious. Because of the friendliness and general acceptance that he instilled, everything was relaxed and amicable, but all that ended and disappeared when the said Father ceased to be the Provincial.

Reply: The Jesuit Fathers have always behaved toward the settlers as they do now, but the settlers do not behave as they did when there were only a few of them. Nor did the settlers [then] do things to close the door on the sacraments with which the Fathers regularly consoled them. Such closure, now and at all times, is inevitably regretted by those who behave unacceptably toward the Indians. From this [situation] have stemmed the complaints, which will continue while these wrongs persist. These have greatly increased since the hinterland was opened up by Luís de Brito[21] *about eighteen years ago. The informant knows the situation well, owing to the major part that he played in it. In circumstances where the Indians have not been wronged (for the Society of Jesus seeks to place under particular protection those whom it is seeking to convert), everyone says that the Fathers have continued to be*

21 Luís de Brito de Almeida was governor-general of Brazil from 1573 until 1578.

worshipped as though gods, for all that they themselves are more concerned about what is truly important.

Item 5. Father Luís da Grã was succeeded by Father Inácio Tolosa, who went as Provincial to Bahia and took with him many religious from Portugal. They found that the College of Bahia was in receipt of four thousand five hundred *cruzados* in annual income from the king. There were also many cattle ranches, many properties (from which they receive a large income), a farm providing all the supplies that they needed, and five villages of freed Indians who help them enormously, not to mention sundry other benefits and services that were made available for the well-being of the college. They took the view that they had no [further] need of anyone, which was, in fact, the case. They had no intention of doing more than reaping the profits, marking out land, building houses for pleasure and recreation, and receiving regulations from the king that provided them with generous exemptions and with jurisdiction over the villages of the freed Indians. In sundry ways, they behaved with such ingratitude that they scandalized the entire State and its settlers since they did not take account of the great services that the latter had carried out for the Society. That meant that the Fathers were greatly hated by the people.

Reply. Father Inácio found that the college had neither been built nor even begun. The Fathers lived in poor wattle and daub huts that are still standing. He began the college and put in the necessary work without offending anyone, for in this country there was no other suitable approach or enough money to buy everything, even if some amount were found. The college does not receive four thousand five hundred cruzados [annually] but three thousand, as the official documents make plain. It does have a number of cattle farms that supply the needs of the religious, and without these it would be impossible for them to feed themselves, as is well known. Moreover, this fact is of importance to the people, as there is no need to take meat from them, for they need it for themselves and there is little enough of it. The income from the properties is no more than twelve milréis. There is a farm, from which they get cassava tubers and flour for their own sustenance as well as for the people, and each year they spend more than one hundred and fifty milréis on supplies.

The villages that they control belong to the king and the people, and the Indians work for us, as for others in the territory, in return for wages. The Fathers do not own the villages in the way that those do who have their own, as in Jaguaripe, and as do other individuals, who use them only for their own ends, and where nobody else dares to meddle. The Fathers control no more than four villages, and those are becoming exhausted owing to the constant work caused by warfare, attacks by the English, building forts and ramparts, traveling to mines with the informant, and

similar things. They marked out their land as they were obliged to do since this is ecclesiastical property. During the time of Father Inácio, a wattle and daub house with a thatched roof was built outside the city. It exists for our students to go to on their rest days. This is something that the Society seeks to do everywhere for its religious. The exemptions and jurisdiction of which he speaks were not for the benefit of our Fathers but for that of the Indians, as can be seen in the terms and conditions. One such condition was that the Indians were not obliged to pay tithes for a certain number of years but that they should spend those amounts on their own poor, their own sick, and their own social gatherings. Nor were they to work for the Portuguese in the latter's houses for more than a month at a time. There were other similar conditions that prevented such problems as their falling into vice, self-neglect, and so on.

Till now, thank God, the Fathers have not experienced the hatred of the people, nor is there any discernible sign of the ingratitude of which they are accused, nor any demonstration of scandal throughout the territory of Brazil, which stretches for some four hundred leagues along the coast, though the informant has never strayed beyond the boundaries of Bahia.

Item 6. The Fathers gave the immediate order that they would themselves mark out their land as they saw fit. In that way, they encroached on many farms belonging to others and threw out the owners of the land without allowing the matter to have a judicial hearing, even though the owners had title to the land proving that they had ownership of it. When the owners sought to go to law, they were not allowed to, as the Fathers said that their only judge was in Rome. They then excommunicated the people and through their own judge conservator forced them to hand over their land. Some settlers who were ejected were so poor that they had nothing on which to survive. As a result, the whole city of Salvador and the whole of Bahia were scandalized by this, and still today complain volubly at the manner in which it was done.

Reply. The deeds reveal the contrary, as the lands were marked out by the Crown judge, as laid down by His Majesty, and the various parties were heard. The title deeds of the college are older than the rest and have been confirmed by the king, who ordered them to be observed. The registrar of properties is obliged by law to maintain them and to act against anyone who inappropriately occupies the land and the property of the Church. In all respects, the rights of the parties were properly adjudged. After all other remedies against the objectors had been exhausted, the powers of the Church were brought to bear, and that meant excommunication. One can only believe that the informant never realized that this [allegation] could come to the attention of the Fathers and that they would be able to prove the truth

of the matter, or that His Majesty should have to deal with matters of such weight, solely on the basis of what was told him in Madrid, while not being able to ascertain the truth.

Item 7. Then at times within Bahia they forcibly wronged others, as well as in the captaincy of Ilhéus and on [the banks of] the river Camamu, where many settlers lived. They were ejected from their estates without their cases being heard, and cruel excommunications were imposed by the registrar of properties. Idiot that he was, he failed to understand what he was doing: he imposed the same excommunications on all the officials of secular justice, if either they listened to any protests from these settlers or drew up any documents regarding their demands. The object of that was to prevent the poor settlers from having any documents showing the enforcements and distress caused to them.

Reply. The opposite is shown in title deeds and other authentic documents. The territory of Camamu of which he speaks was given to Mem de Sá by the captain of Ilhéus in 1544, and he gave it to the college as an act of piety in 1563. This is all written down in the deeds, and the land was marked out by the Crown judge. Various parties were heard, as has already been stated.

Item 8. The settlers complained verbally to the captain of Ilhéus, who sought to do something about the matter. But they were then excommunicated and prevented from going to law. When their representatives arrived at a certain island where there was one Jesuit Father, one Lay Brother, one lay servant, and many Indians, the Father refused to let them land and ordered his men to prevent them from doing so by firing many arrows at the boat. They injured many, and all this was done so forcefully despite their not deserving such poor treatment. It proved very costly to obtain forgiveness for those who were making demands for justice, as well as for their representatives for listening to them. Many of the settlers were totally ruined, as they had invested all their capital in their land.

Reply. The contrary is demonstrated by the documents. The magistrate in Ilhéus did not order investigation into any such offenses as alleged by the informant. Rather, he sent a bailiff at night to arrest a married man, named Pêro Simões, to get him to hand over some Indians who were said to be from some other territory. They put him in a boat, and his slaves fired a number of arrows, injuring one man. The Father and the Lay Brother were asleep in their house. A slave belonging to the captured man went to report [to them] that his master had been arrested, and the Father and Lay Brother went off to discover what was happening. They took some settlers with them and reached the boat. When they asked who it was, his captor answered that he was under arrest for not handing over the Indians. As the bailiff believed that the slaves had fired the arrows, he drew up legal reports. These were sent to the governor-general, Manuel Teles,[22] *who sent them on to Portugal via the informant. When the Jesuit Fathers learned of this, they pressed the bishop to order his vicar-general to institute an investigation into the matter, to discover whether their Father and the Lay Brother were in any way to blame. The witnesses all agreed that they were innocent and had not [even] seen what was happening, as it was night and they were far away. As for the money invested by the settlers, it was very little, as is well known in that territory. All they had done was to clear some wasteland and grow food there, harvesting it in the years when they cultivated the land and without making any payment.*

Item 9. As there was nobody who could administer true justice in the territory, God sent vengeance for these poor people, as a number of heathens who had never encountered Christians came down from the hinterland into this part of Camamu. They destroyed all the estates belonging to the Fathers and, indeed, to those settlers who lived along the river. Where they could not burn everything, not a stone was left upon stone. They killed and maimed many, and now, today, the territory is uninhabited. It will never be populated again, owing to the scourge sent down so swiftly from Heaven.

Reply. The Jesuit Fathers cannot work out where the informant can have got this revelation, as the heathens of whom he is speaking had been attacking the captaincy of Porto Seguro and Ilhéus for many years. His family and neighbors had charge, and still do have charge, of a significant portion of that territory. The truest assessment that one can make is that God desired by these means to punish the many unjust acts of imprisonment, as well as all the other distress and vexation that the settlers in Brazil have inflicted on the native inhabitants of this land. All of us should weep and fear on that account.

Item 10. The Jesuit Fathers in Bahia committed a similar outrage against João de Barros, who now lives in Lisbon. They asked his permission to build a corral on his land close to his sugar mill. There they would be able to keep a few cows until another piece of land became available to them, which they were to acquire from a man who was its tenant. João de Barros allowed them to do this, believing that they were asking his permission without any malicious intent. But one moonlit night, once the Fathers had completed the corral, they brought along carts on which there was a house in sections. During the night they assembled it, roofed it, and fitted it with doors so that by morning it was fully built. As João de Barros had given them permission for the corral, his men paid no heed to the building of the house, imagining that he would be giving permission for that too. However, on his way to the city, he saw the house and was astounded at such audacity. He complained to the rector,

22 Manuel Teles Barreto was governor-general from 1583 until his death in 1587.

who replied that the land belonged to the college, that it was their property. For that reason, they were under no obligation to vacate it. If he chose to take action against the college, he should seek redress from their judge, who was in Rome. Were it not for others who urged him to be patient, he would have risked losing everything at the hands of the Jesuit Fathers.

Reply. The land does belong to the college and has been in its possession for more than forty years, as stated in the appropriate land grant. For that reason, the college did not need to ask permission to build the corral. As to what he says about the house, that is all in his imagination. Nor were there any disputes with João de Barros, and nothing of what he says actually occurred.

Item 11. Seven years ago, when the College of Bahia wanted some land on an island that lies a league away from the city, in order to keep cows on it, the Fathers won over Garcia de Ávila, the owner of the land, getting him to donate it to them.[23] In return, they would grant permission to him and his wife to be buried in the main chapel [of the college], along with the obligation of Mass being celebrated every day for the repose of their souls. Trusting in this agreement, he forced his wife to sign a public deed of donation of the land. That she did, in the presence of the rector. However, when the donor asked the latter to supply him with a [reciprocal] deed relating to the chapel and the Masses, he replied that that would have to be written out in the college. From there, he sent him a letter of fraternity that included the obligation to say two hundred Masses, just once and for all. At that, Garcia de Ávila lost his patience and went off to complain about the deception to the Father Provincial. He received a message stating that the Fathers were [already] on his land and were taking it over, despite the resistance of his steward, as he had not received any message about it from his master. This all led to great disputes, and the aggrieved owner sought legal redress. The Fathers of São Roque cut short their wild attempt and prevented their agent from taking matters further, as they were [too] ashamed to appear in court.

Reply. Garcia de Ávila and his wife are still alive, the deeds still exist, and they all confirm the opposite. The Fathers asked him to sell them the land. His reply was that he was keeping it for the good of his soul. Later, at his own suggestion, on a number of occasions he told the rector that he would donate the land to him, but he was told to await the Father Visitor, to whom he offered it, asking that his wife be thanked for it. They both signed the deeds very happily, and she handed the titles of the land to the rector, without either Garcia de Ávila or his wife requesting anything, either spiritual or temporal, [in exchange]. However, as a sign of gratitude, the Father

23 Garcia d'Avila (1528–1609) was the son of Governor Tomé de Sousa and eventually the largest landowner in Brazil. His extensive ranches and estates covered large tracts of the interior of Bahia.

Visitor promised to Garcia de Ávila a letter of fraternity and one hundred Masses when he died. Then his wife, acting on advice from persons who had little liking for the Society, regretted their actions and lodged a complaint. But, as the land was [now] the property of the Church, the college could not release it. It became necessary for our father-general to issue the order that, in fact, he did issue. That is the true situation. Everything else consists of additions made by the informant. Those are the assertions that they were offered the main chapel for burial, that Mass would be said for them daily, that their steward resisted the taking over of the land (as he had no knowledge of the matter), that two hundred Masses would be said, that the Fathers of São Roque had cut matters short, and so on.

Item 12. Similar enforcements were inflicted on many others in Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, Ilhéus, and elsewhere. In Rio de Janeiro, some appealed to the governor, António Salema, seeking the king's jurisdiction and the good of the settlers. The Jesuit Fathers put their excommunications into effect and even investigated the governor. The rector, Rodrigo de Freitas, did this by interrogating witnesses against him and in support of their position. For that reason, savage charges were sent to His Majesty by both parties, to the point where great enmity ensued between the Jesuits and the governor. Sides were taken, the faction that supported the Jesuits hating the governor, whilst the faction that supported the governor hated the Jesuits. The city of Rio de Janeiro suffered from this situation on numerous occasions, with all the concomitant offenses against God and the interests of the king.

Reply. The informant was not an eyewitness to what he asserts. This is but hearsay brought in by ships. It swells up and then subsides as it bleeds away. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that he is wrong on so many issues, though he is much to blame in giving credence to such information and in purveying it to His Majesty as though proven, when it has been no such thing. He demonstrates that he is far less sincere toward us than is demanded by Christian charity. As he has already given account to God for what he did against the Fathers and why, there is nothing to say about António Salema, except that the prelate made him hand over the documents that he and his secretary wrote against the Fathers. Those papers enable one to see the truth of the situation.

Item 13. The governor-general, Luís de Brito, sought to disabuse the Fathers, telling them that they could not continue with their methods of acquiring [property and land] and that they should act with a gentleness appropriate to their calling. As he sought to get them to correct their procedure in such matters, they broke with him, despite all the favors conferred, and complained about him to the king, whilst he complained about them. Mutual hatred ensued so that when he went to Mass at the college, he went to hear it in one of its churches and, when they saw him, they did not say Mass, making

him wait so long for it that he got irked and went back home without hearing Mass. However, he assembled witnesses to these events. This hatred grew to such a degree that the Fathers unleashed their feelings against the governor-general from the pulpit, and he quite rightly complained about this to the king.

Reply. As is well known, the governor-general, Luís de Brito, was the recipient of great services and favors from the Fathers of the College of Bahia. They regularly heard his confession and they all lived in great harmony. It is possible that the informant knows something from the man who disrupted that harmony, as they were very close. At all events, the disagreement arose after the governor-general opened up the interior inhabited by the heathens, and where both men established sugar plantations. There were also many boatloads of Indians whom the informant sent to be sold in the captaincies. The Fathers acted against these outrages and injustices as their position demanded. There was also another reason for the disagreement, and that is mentioned later by the informant.

Item 14. The governors took a poor view of the tendency of the Fathers to ingratiate themselves with the Crown judges, building up strong friendships with them, much to the irritation of the governors. That led to major disputes with them. To get the Fathers to write favorably to the king about the Crown judges, the latter gave them property that they had no right to, such as Camamu. There then ensued great disputes that lasted for many years with Francisco Giraldes, the captain of Ilhéus, as they had taken away his jurisdiction.

Reply. It does no service to past governors-general to say that as a rule they did not agree with the methods of the Jesuit Fathers, since Tomé de Sousa, Dom Duarte, Mem de Sá, Lourenço da Veiga,[24] *and Dom Francisco de Sousa*[25] *were and are very close to them and devoted to them. There were some disputes with Luís de Brito and Manuel Teles. The informant refers to them here, and answers will be provided. Nobody can be reproached for friendship with the Crown judges, least of all the religious community, who should get on well with everybody and without offense to anyone. As to the land of Camamu, Mem de Sá took possession of it when it was his right to do so and then handed it over to the Jesuit Fathers as a charitable gift, as has already been said. The jurisdiction that Francisco Giraldes has over that land is something that he can ascertain and concerning which he can require confirmation in accordance with the existing documents. It would seem, however, that the informant is not well informed on this matter.*

Item 15. When the governor-general, Luís de Brito, brought an investigation against the Crown judge, Fernão [da] Silva, for committing serious

24 Lourenço da Veiga was governor-general from 1578 until his death in 1581.
25 Dom Francisco de Sousa was governor-general from 1591 to 1602.

crimes against the king's exchequer and his laws, he placed him under arrest and sent him back to Portugal. Yet, the Jesuit Fathers came out in his support, defending him and concealing his crimes. They sent many letters to the king in support of the Crown judge and against the governor-general, and from that there stemmed great animosity and scandal. After the death of both men, their sons remained bitter enemies and brought vicious lawsuits against one another. That would not have happened if the Fathers had allowed justice to be done. Since on this occasion justice was not done on earth, God sent it from Heaven, drowning at sea the Crown judge, his wife, four daughters, two sons, and three grandchildren. Everybody else from his household escaped, as did all others traveling on the same carrack, when it ran aground one stormy night at the mouth of the Bahia harbor bar.

Reply. The rightful accusations that Luís de Brito brought against Fernão da Silva became apparent in the just sentence imposed when he returned from Portugal and in the just position that his sons hold against the Crown judge's heirs. It was, therefore, not fair to say that the Jesuit Fathers defended and concealed his crimes. As to God's judgment, which he alleges, it is not for mankind to interpret it. Similarly, it cannot be said why it pleased the good Lord that the informant, after spending seven years away from home, at great detriment to his fortune and peace of mind, should then be shipwrecked off the [River] Serigi in his own carrack and have to endure such trials and hunger on his journey back to Bahia by land. That is not to speak of everything else that is so well known.

Item 16. After this period of contention with Fernão da Silva, the Fathers then set in train another dispute with the governor-general himself, who, as a result of a sentence imposed by the vicar-general, ordered a man by the name of Sebastião da Ponte to be removed from church. He was a criminal who, because of the gravity of his crimes, did not merit sanctuary. The church was a small chapel on an estate that, a few days earlier, a certain Lázaro de Arévalo had left to the Jesuits on the occasion of his death. The criminal sought to appeal to them, begging the favor of sanctuary and promising them a large share of his fortune. He was in the public jail when the judge conservator of the Jesuit Fathers ordered the secular justices to return him to the chapel from which he had been taken. The judge conservator then instituted unexpected excommunication proceedings against the officials of [secular] justice.

Reply. The church of which the informant speaks belonged to the Society ever since its original foundation and not through the death of Lázaro de Arévalo, as he states. Nor did the Fathers cause this dispute. It was initiated by Luís de Brito, and they were far from being involved in such concerns. The governor-general removed the man from their church without first informing them of the matter, as he was legally bound to do. Nor did the man, for this reason or for any other, give or promise to

them part of his fortune, nor can that be shown. Rather, it was the Fathers who decided to have recourse to the immunity of their church, which is exempt [from secular justice], just as they are.

Item 17. Worse still, the Jesuits sought the help of the bishop in support of their judge conservator. As he was a friend of the governor-general, they created animosity between them, and a general interdict was imposed [on the governor-general's jurisdiction]. They burnt candles upside down at the foot of the pillory, and a crucifix was placed head down, feet upwards, which caused enormous fear in the land, to the point where people kept well away from the governor-general and the justices. That was the advice that the Jesuits gave them. The Jesuits were constantly in the bishop's palace, trying to prevent him from lifting his excommunications, and these remained in place for nine days. The clergy were armed with muskets day and night, as well as with crossbows, halberds, and other weapons. They surrounded the jail, so that the prisoner could not board a ship. They kept the governor-general shut up in his residence, as he was afraid they would kill him, and, had he not been so circumspect, there would have been many deaths and other disasters. That was because the clergy were calling out from their windows, urging the people to fight for the Church. Other clergy were out on the streets and at people's doors with drums, pressing them to go and tell the king's governor-general that the bishop and the Jesuit Fathers had joined the city in rebellion.

Reply. At first the bishop was against the Fathers and their judge conservator but merely for as long as the only information that he received came from the governor-general. Once he knew the truth of what was happening, he took the side that he realized was right and just. As for other matters, all that can be said is that [the informant] has sought more to pursue his own goals and wishes than to respect the truth and the duty he owes to the person he seeks to inform. What he says about the crucifix and the candles burning upside down has neither rhyme nor reason, as no object would have been served by such actions. Nor did the clergy take up arms, except when the governor-general used drums and proclamations to summon everybody to his residence with their weapons. Then they did come armed, to stop the prisoner being put aboard ship instead of being returned to the church, which was what they demanded of the governor-general. When he complied, all activity stopped and peace again reigned.

Item 18. To add to the troubles, the Jesuit Fathers handled matters so badly that they sent for all the warriors in the Indian villages, placing them both in the college and all around it, with a view to their aiding them against the governor-general in the event of hostilities. The teachers in the college's school told their pupils to fight with stones on behalf of the Church and

against their own parents, brothers, and relatives. But it was the will of God that when the governor-general saw what was being organized, he chose to put a stop to it all, by deciding not to send the prisoner aboard ship and by ordering his return to the church whence he had been removed. This he did so that the excommunications and interdict would be lifted.

Reply. If he had done that straight away, the dispute would not have lasted for the nine days that the informant mentions. What he states about the Indians and the pupils at the school is not true. One can only assume that he dreamt it and inserted it into his account because it suited his purpose to convince himself that these written statements that he handed over in Madrid could not possibly come to the notice of the Jesuit Fathers in Brazil. However, God is good and a friend and defender of His religion.

Item 19. Bitter dissension stalked the entire country. Its governor-general and other officials complained to the king about the bishop and the Jesuit Fathers, who were sternly reprimanded in letters from His Majesty. The king was astounded that they had acted against his governor-general with excommunications. He was moved to remove from the Fathers everything that he had commanded that they be given from his exchequer and ordered that Sebastião da Ponte be taken to Portugal in chains. For his crimes and without the circumstances ever being discussed with him, he languished in the Limoeiro Prison in Lisbon for many years till death overtook him. From that can be seen how the Fathers used an "innocent" man to the point where the country was in danger of losing its settlers, with some reacting in their favor and others against them.

Reply. The king was convinced that what the governor-general and the city council wrote to him was the truth because the documents from the bishop went to La Rochelle. Moreover, the Jesuit Fathers in Portugal took the same view, namely that the Fathers in Bahia had gone too far. However, it pleased the good Lord that the documents should [finally] arrive in Portugal. It was learned from them that the opposite was true, with the result that our Jesuit Fathers once again wrote back complimentary letters to express their satisfaction. Indeed, those letters are still extant. As to the king wishing to withdraw our income, we have no idea how the informant could know what His Majesty's decision was. Let that assertion be treated like the rest. The Fathers did not consider whether Sebastião da Ponte was innocent or guilty. Their only concern was the disrespect shown to the Church, and that was contrary to law, as has already been said.

Item 20. The Jesuits were not content with causing the above scandal, nor with supporting the Crown judge Fernão da Silva against the governor-general Luís de Brito. Later, following the death of the governor-general, Lourenço da Veiga, the Crown judge, Cosme Rangel, planned to succeed

him in the governorship. He had no right to that post and, because he was such a foolish man, the city council refused to elect him governor-general, believing that their refusal was in the king's best interests. The bishop and the comptroller of finances both signed the decision document, adding that the governor-general should not be chosen from any of the other candidates either. The result was that the Crown judge sought to move Heaven and earth against the bishop and the city council. In order to cut short the harmful consequences of this, the bishop and council evacuated the city until such time as His Majesty should appoint a governor-general and ordered Cosme Rangel to be arrested. The Jesuit Fathers supported him, however, as at that time he had given them ownership of a public street in the city, which till then he had not allowed them to include within their precincts.

Reply. The informant says nothing about the nature of the Fathers' support for Cosme Rangel, nor how or to what extent they supported him. The street of which he speaks is both damaging to religion and of little use to the city, as is shown by the fact that hardly anybody misses it. The city gave away the street under a provision made by His Majesty and in exchange for other pieces of land of greater importance that the college released to the city. Without those pieces, the Fathers no longer possess the patch of land that they call "monastery land" and which is the best public asset of its kind that the city possesses.

Item 21. When Governor-General Manuel Teles Barreto arrived, he showed no praise for the Jesuit Fathers for acting so sternly against the king's officials, for the latter he supported. Consequently, they took the side of the Crown judge, Martim Leitão, who with their support disobeyed the governor-general and went off to Pernambuco, where (just as in Bahia) he committed grave offenses against the interests of the king. The king ordered his arrest and the confiscation of his wealth. He is now in Lisbon for his crimes. The Jesuits supported him against both the governor-general and the country because he gave them illegitimate possession of the territory of Camamu, thus creating a thousand disputes with many people.

Reply. The informant neither shows nor will be able to show in what respect they supported him against the governor-general. Martim Leitão did not hand over the territory of Camamu: he merely demarcated it under provision from His Majesty, who had ordered and required that this be done. Nor is it fair to blame the Society for disputes involving other people.

Item 22. The Fathers got on so badly with the governor-general, Manuel Teles, that usually they sent him written applications for payment. On those grounds, they complained about him to the king, as he did about them. Urged by other people, he particularly made public an ugly matter in which it was alleged that the rector had got involved with a married woman. [The

Fathers] felt bound to get many people to beg him not to forward the legal documents to His Majesty, nor did he. The governor-general ordered the arrest of a certain Bartolomeu Pires for a particular crime. He was a married man and master of music in the cathedral. The bishop did not complain about his arrest, owing to Pires being a layman, though the Fathers did complain because he was their friend. Every time the governor-general went to Mass at the college, they would not say Mass, asserting that he was excommunicated for ordering the arrest of this man who, they claimed, was a minister of the Church. Their reaction scandalized the country and the governor-general even more. He made fresh complaints to His Majesty, and on those grounds His Majesty ought to withdraw from them whatever he awards them from his exchequer.

Reply. Since Manuel Teles is now with God, as it is our duty to believe, it is not right to speak of the little affection that he held for members of the Society, whether in Portugal or in Brazil. It is surprising that the informant wishes to blind himself in respect of matters that are so clear and where the goodness of the people to whom he refers is so well known throughout the country. He could have avoided sullying himself with such an unseemly matter, but he chose not to leave it in the inkwell. It is also to be noted that the issue of the imprisonment of Bartolomeu Pires preceded that other matter, for the latter arose from it. He has related first what took place last, simply in order that people should not grasp how the one issue depends on the other. When he says that the Fathers felt bound to get many people to beg the governor-general not to send the legal documents to His Majesty, he is saying something that did not take place, for the documents were indeed forwarded. When he says that the bishop did not complain about the imprisonment [of Bartolomeu Pires], that is hardly surprising, for at that time he was away in the captaincy of Pernambuco. The Fathers knowingly did what they did because they considered that the prisoner was an ecclesiastic in accordance with the conditions laid down by the Council of Trent. His imprisonment was widely known, and the governor-general went to hear Mass after the imprisonment, though beforehand he had not been in the habit of going. The rector of this college arranged for Mass to be delayed a little so that he could discuss with his advisers what, in good conscience, he ought to do. During that short interval, the governor-general left because he did not wish to wait, though without knowing the reason for the delay. He was furious with the rector and set up the aforementioned legal inquiry against him and against the married woman. For that he will already have given account to God. This is precisely how things happened, and not as the informant says.

Item 23. I cannot see how, in good conscience [the Fathers] can receive [their grant from His Majesty], as he has donated to them so much in charitable awards because they gave him to understand that they did not have enough to live on. Things being as they were, he kindly gave them aid. But today I do

not know whether it is right that the Jesuit Fathers and the College of Bahia should receive four thousand five hundred *cruzados* from the king each year, as they have property that brings in much more. They own five, ten, even twelve cattle farms, from which, whenever they wish to make five hundred or a thousand *cruzados* in cash, they make that amount in the slaughterhouses. They also make the same amount on bullocks, which they sell to carters. They receive ample income from their land and they have an estate worked by many slaves from Guinea, from which they receive in plenty all the sustenance they need. Indoors, they have stores of all necessary fruit and vegetables. On their farms they have large herds of pigs, as well as sheep and hens. On other land, they have fishing from rafts and that provides all the necessary fresh fish. There is also a boat with a fishing-net, as well as a barge that brings the firewood that they need for the house and for the limekiln. They possess sixty oxen that pull the carts that serve the house, thirty oxen one day and thirty the next. They have good opportunities for hunting and send the heathen people from the villages that they control to hunt animals and birds. For that reason, they have no need of any supplies from Portugal, other than clothes, wine, olive oil, incense, wax for the altars, and flour for the hosts, all of which are sent from Portugal in exchange for hides and sugar.

Reply. It has already been stated how King Sebastião founded the three colleges with income from tithes because of the duty the Crown of Portugal has to the conversion of the native heathens of this land. In the colleges, there were to be ministers who would concern themselves with that objective. It was for that reason that the king granted them the income that they have and not for the reason that the informant advances. He makes great play with his grand words about how much the Fathers possess (and this has been partly answered in the reply to Item 5). Nevertheless, those who understand the matter well and have a true knowledge of how much such things cost in this country declare quite openly that the Fathers cannot support themselves just from what they have. Indeed, the college is constantly in debt and borrowing from some in order to pay others. Even today it has debts of more than four thousand cruzados both here and in Portugal. They do not butcher their meat in the slaughterhouse but often buy cattle so that their own should not die out. That is because the lack of pasture means that they do not breed well. They do sell a few of their bullocks from their farm. As for the food and income from the land, that point has already been answered. The pigs are so few in number that they are unable to slaughter even one per week for the old and the sick. As for the sheep, they sometimes keep one for Easter. They often buy chickens for those who are ill. Fresh fish is mainly bought in the old town and from Cardoso's plantation. They tried fishing with a net but abandoned it because it was very expensive and not very profitable. It goes without saying that the college has a workshop because it is

essential to keep things in running order and there is not money available to buy everything. The oxen number no more than twenty-four or twenty-six. As for what the informant says about hunting animals and birds, it is laughable. The villages are seven, twelve, or even fifteen leagues away from the city, and game is rare in this area. The wretched Indians cannot find enough for themselves. They can barely survive on what those Fathers have who teach them and live among them. So much for the college having an abundance of game! It is, however, God's judgment that the informant should be discredited in the face of such clear evidence. The Jesuit Fathers do not send hides to Portugal nor do they possess sugar plantations or even cane plantations. Sometimes they are given sugar as payment, and that they send to Portugal in return for some article for the church. They do that rarely, however, owing to the existence of so many thieves.

Item 24. [The Jesuits] spend most on altar pieces, silver objects, and other work carried out at such enormous cost by craftsmen that they could really do without it, not spending any more on such work than on the wages of a master carpenter and a stonemason. After all, they have their own workmen and sawyers. They get the Indians from the villages to provide them with timber from the forest, sending a lay Brother in his barge [to collect it]. He also delivers oysters to them, which they use to produce lime. They have built such a splendid college that it has no rival in Portugal, and there are always eighty religious there. With the slaves, servants, and craftsmen, the college provides for some two hundred people within its walls and at no cost to the Fathers.

Reply. Their income is not wasted on church ornaments or on decorating the college as the informant states. It does not seem fair to allot blame for this. There are few silver pieces, and most of these arrived ready-made from Portugal, whilst the rest were charitable gifts bequeathed for a chapel containing relics. There are never eighty religious in the college at one time, but sixty, though at times more and at times fewer. But, if there were as many religious as he claims, as well as the others that he mentions, the total that he says that they have is still small. To say that to provide for so many people does not cost anything would be wonderful were that the case, but may God forgive him for wishing to deceive both himself and those that he should not deceive.

Item 25. The Fathers asked His Majesty for two thousand *cruzados* for the College of Rio de Janeiro, leading him to understand that that sum was highly necessary. In fact, the college was already built, and they also possessed extensive land grants that the captains had given to them. The college is unnecessary, as it does nothing but cause expense to the king, when he really needs it to fortify the territory. That is because in Rio de Janeiro, there are up to two hundred people, the majority of whom are of mixed

Indian and white parentage or are settlers with black wives, whose children miraculously know how to read. Yet who can there be who receives tuition in the college that it costs the king two thousand *cruzados* a year? It is surely in the interests of both God and the king that that sum should be spent on the fortification of the territory, seeing that it has no defenses.

Reply. The informant is making many sinful observations here. He belittles the city of Rio de Janeiro, for it has many Portuguese settlers and is the most fortified city along the entire coast, as is well known. He also asserts that receives an income of two thousand cruzados from His Majesty, when, in fact, it is two thousand five hundred. He imagines that the reason for founding the college was to teach the children of the Portuguese, when it was, in fact, to provide upkeep for fifty members of the Society. They relieve the king of the obligation he has to effect conversions, as is also the case in the other colleges and as laid down in his official plans. Therefore, if as he states, there are so many people of mixed Indian and white parentage and so many black women, not to mention heathens, both freedmen and captives, then that income is not wasted in providing the upkeep for those who are helping such people to earn salvation. Moreover, they perform other duties in the service of God and the country by preaching and hearing confessions, by teaching the children to read, write, and learn Latin. They also go to provide help in Espírito Santo, São Vicente, and other settlements in the south. They maintain two Indian settlements, which form a large part of the fortification of the territory, as has been evident in the conflicts with the French and in the carracks that were captured from them with the help of the Indians. If the informant is so keen to protect His Majesty's exchequer, then he would have to make savings on the foregoing and not spend it as it has been spent. In the future, he would be able to spend it on the much-heralded mines that he has abandoned there and which in these parts hardly anyone has heard of.

Item 26. The Jesuits also led King Sebastião to believe that it was very necessary to found another college in Pernambuco, although they already had in that captaincy an ecclesiastical foundation capable of housing thirty religious who survived very well on local almsgiving. They asked for one thousand *cruzados* just for that project. Then they demanded that on the grounds that little money was in circulation, they be paid in sugar, leading people to believe that sugar was worth four hundred réis from one year to the next, whereas, in fact, it has been worth eight hundred réis for the last twelve years. That means that they receive the king's sugar at four hundred réis per *arroba*, and the king pays the collector of the Church tithes at the price of eight hundred réis per *arroba*. Great circumspection should be brought to bear on this, just as on their assertion to the king that a college is necessary in this town, in order to teach reading and writing to those who live outside it.

Reply. The king founded this college just like the others and for the same reason. The Fathers asked for nothing. He gave enough for twenty [religious], donating twenty thousand réis for each man, just as he did in the other colleges. As to what the informant says about sugar, this is what happened. The king ordered a valuation from year to year, and that was done under legal authority. His Majesty's comptroller-general of finances and his representative took part in this, as well as settlers and others who had taken the oath, as is laid down in the official documents. If, however, the king desired to give [the Jesuit Fathers] some other favor or donation, then the informant should not trouble himself about it and should remember the parable of the vineyard.[26]

Item 27. There was quite enough to enable the teaching of reading, writing, and a little Latin, which could have been done without this income. Indeed, nothing else is taught, and there is not a soul in the territory who learns anything other than that. The College of Bahia was adequate for the whole State of Brazil, where, till now, no more than six or seven people have completed the course in Arts, some of whom have been received into the Society. No more than four from outside have studied theology. Only one of them completed the course and he has become a good preacher. The most fruitful outcomes are in the reading of Latin and in matters of conscience. If, in Portugal, there was formerly[27] only the University of Coimbra, why is it that the College of Bahia is not enough for the whole State of Brazil?

Reply. The informant has not understood His Majesty's intention in founding the colleges in Brazil. It was not to provide studies for the children of the Portuguese but to create ministers for conversion. That is his solemn duty, as set down in the official documents, and the latter lay no obligation on the Jesuit Fathers to set up any schools. If there is any captaincy that has need of such ministers, it is Pernambuco. In that captaincy, there are sixty plantations full of slaves and many other people employed by the Portuguese, as well as many heathen tribesmen who have been brought in from the interior. There are many blacks from Angola, who have no other cure for their souls than that provided by the Jesuit Fathers, as is well known. As well as fulfilling that duty, the Fathers saw the great need that existed for religious teaching and recognized the great service that could be performed both for God and the settlers if they were to found schools, even though they had no duty to do that. In the schools, they teach the rudiments and mold people who give good service to both God and their neighbor. From among those, there are many canons and dignitaries in the Cathedral of Bahia and many priests along the entire coast, as well as a few preachers. Every day, more are produced and mainly in Bahia. In the other colleges,

26 Matthew 20:1–16.
27 Until the foundation of the Jesuit University of Évora in 1559.

they learn enough to enable them then to go [to Bahia] and read General Studies or Arts or theology. That is what is done in Pernambuco, where instruction is also given in matters of conscience to aid the many clergy who are there.

Item 28. The Fathers have two houses in São Vicente, one in Espírito Santo, another in Porto Seguro, one in Itamaracá, and another in Paraíba. These houses are well supplied with everything they need. The free Indians whom they teach farm the land profitably and also receive aid and alms from the settlers in these areas. Their houses in Bahia, Pernambuco, and Rio de Janeiro are supplied in the same way. In these houses, the Fathers teach reading, writing, and Latin to the children of the settlers there who want to learn. They have ways of teaching that differ from those adopted in the college.

Reply. The Fathers have no house in Itamaracá and no school in Paraíba. In none of the others do they teach Latin. The colleges supply these houses, which are linked to them, with produce from Portugal for those who live there and for the churches, because the settlers, who are poor, cannot do that. They provide them with what is available to eat but they do not run profitable farms. The teaching methods [used by the Fathers] is the same as in the colleges, as they have the same rules and system and as the Society wishes to maintain uniformity as much as possible everywhere.

Item 29. These things result from the Fathers' poverty and their need for help from the settlers, for the latter help them to do their work by giving them provisions and supporting them with charitable donations. Moreover, such Fathers lead secluded lives, and their way of life sets a fine example, so that they are well regarded throughout the land. There are fears, however, that the colleges are a source of scandal, since other people have sought alternatives. In every captaincy, people are asking for Franciscan friars and Benedictine monks, who have begun to found monasteries, and the people are greatly devoted to them, since there is now a Benedictine monastery in Bahia and another belonging to the Capuchins. They have been well received and given assistance so as to have people on whom they can count when carrying out their work.

Reply. Even when he speaks well of the Fathers, he fails to tell us what actually happens. Wherever there are Indians, the Fathers have many people against them, as is the case in Porto Seguro, Espírito Santo, Paraíba, and São Vicente, where they are constantly persecuted and afflicted. That is because they resist as much as they can the greed that leads men to commit considerable outrages against the Indians. They take them captive, clap them in irons, and sell them against the will of God, and His Majesty. But, as the Fathers' cause is a just one, they are prepared to suffer everything and will not give up, as there are no others who will speak up for the Indians.

Item 30. The bishop and the governor-general were so appalled by the Jesuit Fathers that when the Benedictines arrived in Bahia, they showed the latter every favor and made their confessions to them, as did all the leading settlers of the area, and there they are buried [by them]. The bishop transferred to the abbot [of the Benedictines] many cases that were reserved to him. Beforehand, he had passed these on to the rector of the college. The Jesuit Fathers reacted so badly to this that at once they quarrelled with the monks and have never been able to establish friendly relations with them. This caused such scandal throughout the area that its inhabitants, to spite the Society, did all they could to help them, straight away founding a monastery for them. It now houses two hundred monks, which is a source of great satisfaction to the people of the area, who have also provided them with ample sustenance.

Reply. The bishop and the governor-general, Manuel Teles, both ceased to make their confessions to the Jesuit Fathers after the arrival of the Benedictines because they both belonged to the Order of Avis.[28] *However, Manuel Teles had no wish to die without Jesuit Fathers at his bedside, and the bishop went back to making his confession to them. As to what the informant says about the leading settlers all making their confessions to the Benedictines, it would have been very difficult indeed for them to take them from us, even were it true. As to the cases reserved to the bishop, that claim is ridiculous, as the bishop made no changes in that respect. The Supreme Pontiffs have made due and adequate provision for us all to carry out our several ministries. We have never, as he claims, quarrelled with these priests. In fact, we often visit them, and they come to our feasts, just as we go to theirs. They eat in our refectory, and we eat in theirs. We do not believe that there is anyone who supports them just to spite the Society, unless the informant is bearing witness to his own case, for he holds us in such low esteem. As for what he says about there being two hundred Benedictines, there must be some mistake as there is a zero too many. Even if we count novices and lay Brothers, they do not add up to ten.*

Item 31. The Jesuit Fathers have another scandalous and highly disagreeable practice. Whenever they have a complaint about the governor-general, the bishop, the city council, or the settlers, they immediately express their irritation from the pulpit. Their listeners seize on it, some taking it on themselves to broadcast the complaints, others forming highly dubious opinions about what has been said on the day in question, having derived nothing else from the sermon. Sometimes the Fathers leave the cathedral on major feast days without delivering a homily because they have some quarrel with the

28 The Portuguese military Order of Avis (derived from the Castilian Order of Calatrava) was devoted to Saint Benedict.

bishop or the chapter. For that reason, the bishop no longer asks them to provide preachers. He, his vicar-general, and the abbot of the Benedictines take it in turns [to preach], which cannot come as a surprise to the Fathers.

Reply. Sometimes unavoidable things happen, causing Saint John to meet Herod, Elijah to encounter Ahab, Saint Ambrose to meet Theodosius, and Saint Christopher to confront Eudoxia. But the preachers of the Society have a special rule that forbids them to strike out, and they are extremely strict about this. But an injury to a finger is made to look as though it has been inflicted on the entire hand. Besides, wherever a preacher goes up into the pulpit, he has to contend with such suspicions and views. We go to the cathedral [to preach] whenever we are called on, and that happens frequently, both for major feast days and for those of the confraternities, because our homilies cost them less.

Item 32. They send idiots to preach who hardly know any Latin and who talk arrant nonsense. Yet in their houses they have good preachers with sound Latin. They do such things because they have no regard for the people of the area, who are greatly scandalized by this behavior and by what they let the preachers say. The people become very angry and cannot be calmed down. For that reason, many of them march out of church if they have already heard Mass, just to avoid their outpourings. All they do is praise the Indians, complain about the outrages suffered by the Indians, and proclaim themselves to be good Christians. They claim that other than among the Jesuits, there is nobody that lives as a Christian or who can boast of being one. Indeed, if the Fathers were not present, they would all immediately revert to their pagan ways.

Reply. Those who preach have to be approved by suitable [seniors], but in every profession there are those who are greater craftsmen than others. In this vocation, credit is earned, and solely earned, through the pious appreciation of one's listeners. That appreciation is something in which, to a degree, the informant is lacking when listening to our preachers. Many homilies have to be preached, and those with the best knowledge of Latin cannot preach all of them, particularly where there are schools. To express consternation at the outrages and injustices committed against the Indians is in no sense ridiculous, and from what is known about the informant, it does not surprise us that he thinks that it is. The Indians are not as bad as he paints them, and all manner of people would live in utter deprivation, were it not for those who teach them and guide their souls.

Item 33. The first Jesuit Fathers to go to Brazil found that the Indians were highly receptive to the faith of Christ our Redeemer, and so they baptized them by the thousands every day. They wrote to Portugal and the whole of Christendom about the great service that they were performing for God, which, indeed, they were doing. However, as easily as the Indians became

Christians, so they returned to their pagan habits, making their way back into the interior and running away from our religious teaching. The Fathers used to control more than fifty villages inhabited by these Christian Indians, but now they have only three. These are composed mainly of young people who go every year to earn more and to farm. The Fathers have worked so hard and in so many ways at the conversion of the Indians. Had they been Turks or Moors, the Fathers would have reaped a great harvest of the sort they were unable to achieve with these Indians, as they are not capable of grasping what God is, nor of believing in Him. They consider that there is nothing other than life and death, which is why time is wasted on them.

Reply. The Fathers still enjoy the ease [of conversion] that existed formerly. If anything prevented the alternative successful outcome that the informant describes, for all that such outcomes were not so frequent, it was the large number of outrages committed by the Portuguese, who captured and sold the Indians and took from them their land, their women, and their children. The Fathers never had more than eleven villages. If they now have three at the most, why does the informant state in Item 5 above that they have five? Only a few Indians ran off into the interior, not all of them. Those who did run away were not escaping from the Fathers' religious teaching but from the ill treatment that I have just mentioned. Of forty thousand souls or more, almost all have expired, which is why there are no more than four hundred left in the four villages that we now have. As for the remainder, who all together amount to two thousand five hundred, the Fathers have gone to very great lengths to bring them back from the hinterland, which is more than two hundred leagues from Bahia. Though we do not work so hard with them as we used to do, owing to their smaller numbers, even one soul is of such value that the Fathers do not regard the time that they devote to them as wasted.

Item 34. The Fathers provide teaching in the Christian religion to the children who were born and reared in these villages. The children learn it very well, as they do reading, writing, and Latin, singing to the organ, playing the flute, dancing, and serving at Mass. But, when they reach an age at which they begin to take an interest in women, they soon run off into the forest and return to the pagan ways of their fathers and forefathers, ways that the Fathers can only eradicate with the greatest difficulty. Indeed, the only reason why the Fathers continue to help these villages is to avoid contradicting all that they have written in praise of these people to the rest of Christendom.

Reply. The Fathers teach them neither Latin nor how to count. They are very careful to give free rein to both males and females when they come of age. What the informant states is usually the case does not, in fact, happen. If a few sometimes go astray, that does not apply to all of them, nor can the reason that he advances be the explanation for what they do. Among former Christians, there were plenty of wicked men

who deserted to the Moors and Turks, and their sin is far greater than that committed by these people. The greater their need, the better time is spent on helping and saving them. It does not seem very sensible to say that these heathens are incapable of knowing God or believing in Him. If this were true, either they are not men at all, which is an abominable thing to say, or Christ the Redeemer did not die for them, which is blasphemous. It is a figment of the informant's imagination to assert that the Fathers do not abandon them merely in order to avoid contradicting themselves. It is no surprise that the Fathers concern themselves with so few, because for the same number, and had there been fewer sinners, Christ Our Lord would have done what he did. They comfort themselves with the thought that every year they save many innocents, including not a few adults.

Item 35. In each of these villages, there is a Jesuit Father who says Mass and a lay Brother. If they do not both know the language of the indigenous people, [at least] one of them knows it. They live there in great danger to their honor, as it is a remarkable occasion when they are ever together. One is constantly looking after the house, whereas the other is out celebrating Mass and giving religious instruction in the church or preaching, in the Indian style, in their houses, telling them what they must do the following day. They work and go about among women who are as naked as they were the day they were born. They are unable to keep an eye on each other and prevent each other from having occasion to fall into temptation. The Portuguese are given to much muttering and many foul accusations on the basis of what the Indians tell them and which they easily believe. That is because at times certain Fathers and lay Brothers have been expelled and, once expelled from the Society, have lived such execrable lives that nobody has any doubt that the Jesuits [in the villages] have plentiful opportunity to sin, not to say to commit a thousand misdemeanors. In order to live freely without fear of being found out, they do not allow any white man or man of mixed blood, married or single, to live in the Indian villages. A few such men see it as a solution to their difficulties because they hope that the Fathers will give the Indians permission to help them to clear a plot where they can grow the food they need.

Reply. There can be no Christian heart that is not filled with disgust and outrage at such vile and distorted assumptions. Though they do not merit a reply, since the bitterness in the breast of the one who utters them is so evident, nevertheless one can say, "Tu quis es qui indicas alienum [famulum]? Domino suo stat aut cadit; potens est autem Deus illum statuere."[29]

29 "Who are you to pass judgment on [the servant of] another? It is before his own master that he stands or falls. For God is able to make him stand." (Romans 14:4)

Those who are busy with the conversion of the heathens have superiors who watch over them and they are frequently visited. They are given much spiritual support with their rules, as well as spiritual instruction and prayers [of guidance], and they frequently receive the sacraments. Most of all, they have God's protection, for, in caring for His religious Orders and to enhance their good name, He places a guiding hand on the weak among their number. It is careless and malicious to say that those who are expelled lived, while still members of their Orders, in the way that they live after leaving, which is what the informant claims. In that way, he condemns all the other Orders, both in Brazil and in Europe. As far as possible, our Jesuits are always accompanied, and there is a particular ruling regarding this. They are able to do this because they do not preach in people's houses but in church. In church, the Indian women are properly covered. When our Jesuits go to visit the sick, they go together. They are not encumbered by the running of their house, as there is very little to do there. One small black boy, living in, is enough to take care of everything. The reason that the informant gives for the Fathers not allowing anybody into the villages is quite false. [The rule] only relates to single people, under orders from various governors-general, and it exists to prevent problems. What he says is unworthy of a Christian heart.

Item 36. To avoid such problems, when previous kings learned about them, they ordered all the governors-general to place a captain in every village to keep an eye on the Indians and to make them work on their plots of land, as they are basically lazy. They were also to command them to work on the estates belonging to the Portuguese. In return, they would be paid a certain amount each month. The plan was that in that way the Indians would be contented, and that the wages would not be so high that those paying them could not afford them. The Jesuits were solely to come into contact with the Indians in order to give them instruction in the Christian faith and to oblige them to live and conduct themselves as Christians. All that began in the time of Governor-General Mem de Sá. He sent an honorable married man to each village as captain, giving him his instructions as to what was required of him. Nevertheless, the Fathers got on so poorly with the captains. Every day, there was some dispute or difference of opinion about how to handle the Indians. The Indians got involved with the Fathers against the captains and with the captains against the Fathers to the point where the captains returned to the city and wanted nothing more to do with the Indians. The governor-general was unable to find similar people willing to accept the appointments. Those who did apply for such captaincies were not particularly trustworthy for such a responsibility, so it reverted back to the Jesuit Fathers.

Reply. So that the Fathers could rid themselves of the irritation of the settlers, who were constantly demanding Indians [to work for them], they asked Governor-General Mem de Sá to place men in the villages to defend the Indians from the

outrages being inflicted on them and also to help them in temporal matters. These men behaved in such a way that the Indians grew distressed at being put to work so hard for them and for their friends and at the liberties that they took with their wives and daughters. The other settlers complained because they did not make them available to them as well. Eventually, these men all realized what little profit they were making, became dissatisfied, and abandoned their appointments. Governor-General Manuel Teles wanted to send them back, but neither the bishop nor the city council would agree, owing to the experience that they had already had of what little purpose they served.

Item 37. After that, the officials of the city council complained to King Sebastião and to the governors-general that the Indians would not give help to the settlers on their estates as had been agreed. Moreover, when the settlers wanted their help in warfare, the Indians refused to answer their demands, as the Fathers would not allow them to take part. For those reasons, the king ordered the Governors-General Luís de Brito, Lourenço da Veiga, and then Manuel Teles not to permit the Fathers any jurisdiction in the villages or over the Indians that inhabited them. They were only to be allowed to teach the Catholic faith. Each of the governors-general and the captains of these villages wanted to put this into effect, with the result that in private the Fathers had to confront many problems. Meanwhile, in public, they declared their opposition to the installation of captains in the villages, alleging that they would depopulate them. [Consequently,] the Fathers remained in the villages and are there still.

Reply. Owing to these complaints and in pursuit of His Majesty's orders, Lourenço da Veiga went in person to the villages, accompanied by the Crown judge. His purpose was to see for himself how things were run there. As he found that nothing needed to be put right and that the complaints lacked foundation, he left everything as it was and gave no orders for change. The jurisdiction that the Fathers have over the Indians is no more than that of teaching them and giving them penances in church for some public misdemeanor. For that, the bishops have given permission. In all other matters, the villages have their bailiffs, and those are appointed by the governors-general. They are the ones who arrest the Indians and tie them to the stocks, doing so on the advice and direction given by the Fathers. They also set them to work and, if they fail to grow their own food, they reprimand them just as fathers scold their children. As for what the informant once more says about the captains, the answer is as above, and not what he alleges.

Item 38. The officials of the city council complained to the king that the Fathers had no wish to obey the instructions of the courts and that they kept Indians, as they have bailiffs in the villages. They complained that the Fathers ordered the bailiffs to arrest a number of white men whom, with the bailiffs' help, they planned to hold to ransom, while getting other bailiffs to round up their slaves. They also complained that they thrashed them and put them in the stocks. When the white men complained to the courts about it, they received the answer that no action could be taken against the Fathers.

Reply. Those bailiffs are appointed by the governors-general. Owing to the dissolute behavior of certain vagrants, the bailiffs were given the task of arresting them and bringing them into the city. It is not right for the informant to put the blame on the Fathers in this regard, for that is not their custom.

Item 39. The Fathers usually assemble in the villages all the slaves belonging to other people and all the Indians who have got free and run away from their masters, taking refuge among their relatives in the villages. Their masters or their masters' representatives go to get them, bearing warrants from the magistrates. The Fathers answer that they should round them up and take them away, because they, the Fathers, have no obligation to do that. As the Indians have been hidden by their relatives, those who go to round them up cannot find them. If, indeed, they manage to find them, the Fathers refuse to let them take them away, declaring that they are free men and were wrongly held. The Fathers also declare that they will not let them be forcibly enslaved. Their own force in this matter has been so great that, to date, no man has been able to wrest his slave from their control, except in cases where the slave has returned to his house voluntarily. In that way, the Fathers have earned the loathing of the settlers, the bishop, the governor-general, the Crown judge, the comptroller of finances, and all other people in office, whether secular or ecclesiastic.

Reply. Mem de Sá, who was governor-general of the State [of Brazil], made a law in which he ordered that no Indian who took refuge in the villages where the Jesuit Fathers are present should be handed over to his master until the latter could demonstrate that the slave was legitimately his. There were two reasons for that. The first was the vast and illicit conduct of those who stole Indians from others and then sold them unlawfully, not to mention buying them from those who had no right to sell them, under the rulings of the Court of Conscience. The second reason is that he issued a sentence ordering the captivity of the heathen tribe known as the Caetés.[30] *That was because the Caetés had murdered Bishop Pedro Fernandes [Sardinha] and those who were traveling with him aboard a carrack that ran aground. The sentence was carried out ruthlessly and indiscriminately. Indians were captured wherever they were to be found, as though they belonged to that tribe. There were many of them in these villages who had lived there for many years and were not guilty of the*

30 The Caeté were a powerful Tupi-speaking people who dominated the coast northward from the São Francisco River. They were hostile to the Portuguese and were responsible for the death of Brazil's first bishop.

murder. It became necessary to act upon this lawlessness by resorting to the [new] law. The Fathers adhered to the law, and kept to it till the arrival of Manuel Teles. With Father Cristóvão de Gouveia, the Father Visitor of this province, he agreed to a ruling that, from then on, to keep the peace in this land, and because there were no longer so many reasons as during the governorship of Mem de Sá, the Fathers should not gather Indians together in the villages, nor permit entry to any Indian, slave or freedman, who was a fugitive from the settlers. That ruling has been rigidly adhered to till the present time. If some people still complain, it is because they are still living in a world in which, prior to the agreement, nothing was ever updated.

Item 40. The governor-general, Luís de Brito, was in the village of Santo António, with all the forces of Bahia, intent on waging war on the heathens of the Real River and of Sergipe, because they had killed many white men, bound for Pernambuco, who had run aground at that point, not to mention further harm that they had done. The governor-general sent messages via leading figures to the Fathers who were to be found in the other villages, requesting them to send warriors. The Fathers claimed that they were not in a position to do that and that interpreters should be sent to persuade the Indians. These went, and the Indians confided to them that they were quite prepared to go to war, but that the Fathers had told them privately that they must not go. A whole week was spent sending messages [back and forth], without the Fathers agreeing to the Indians setting out. Finally, the governor-general ordered a legal investigation into what was happening and asked for witnesses to come forward. He then sent a judge and two secretaries to protest to the Fathers and deliver a demand to them, at which point they altered their stance and let the Indians go to war.

Reply. The Fathers had gathered many Indians together in three villages along the River Real. There, they had built churches and were giving instruction in the Christian faith. The Indians lived there quietly and peacefully. The governor-general, Luís de Brito, was keen to go there, with all the panoply of war, to inspect some ten leagues of land that he had in that area. The Fathers told him that the Indians were peaceful, were preparing to become Christians, and that they placed their trust in the churches that they had there. The coast from Bahia to Pernambuco was now safe for people to come and go by land because they had already made peace with thirty other villages in Sergipe. [They added that,] if he were to proceed in that manner, the Indians would run away in fear, which is, in fact, what happened. The three churches were lost, much to the dismay of those who had worked so hard to found them, and the thirty villages to which they had brought peace rose up again. The governor-general ordered the informant and other captains to pursue the fugitives, and they killed and captured many. In Portugal, this war was adjudged to be unjust, and the captives were ordered to be set free. The governor-general will, no doubt, draw up the legal investigation mentioned by the informant in whatever form he pleases, but it is plain

that more credence should be given to what is said by the Fathers and by the Indians, appalled as they are by the brutal treatment that the Indians received in the conflict, for they are made to serve as beasts of burden and as a front-line barrier against opposing troops.

Item 41. The governor-general and his successors were sometimes subjected to similar allegations, concerning which they had disputes with the Fathers. They drew up legal reports and complained to the king. The same thing happened to Governor-General Manuel Teles, with the result that there was great dissension, as they refused to hand over slaves belonging to others, wanting to set them free through their absolute power over what the Indians said. It is in respect of the Indians and the question of land that all the differences between the two sides exist, which is why the Fathers are so hated in that land. It is impossible to set down all that one could do about these issues, as there is so much.

Reply. They could not have done the same again to those the informant mentions because Luís de Brito did not go to war again. Nor did Lourenço da Veiga, Manuel Teles, or Francisco de Sousa, as everyone knows. We have already answered what he says about the slaves. God be praised, there are no disputes about land because the courts have given to each his own. We do not believe that we are hated, nor are our good works, and the goodwill of the settlers reveals that. Although the informant does not leave aside any issue that seems relevant to him, not one of them is of any real significance, as can be seen from these replies.

Item 42. The Fathers usually go to the estates in Bahia to hear the confessions of the people who are scattered about on all the plantations and farmsteads. There, they are made welcome guests. They hear the confessions of blacks from Guinea and of indigenous Indians. They unite in marriage those who are living in sin and who can be married. They convert to Christianity those who are not Christians. In fact, they work hard to make them all lead worthy lives. While carrying out these good works, they inquire in the confessional how they were sold, where they came from, and whether they believe that their sale was carried out legitimately. They tell the Indians that they are free men and cannot be slaves, and that if they wish to return to their villages, they will protect them there and will guarantee their freedom. The result is that the Fathers have caused and continue to cause many of these slaves to run away. They gather them back into their villages, from which their masters are unable to recover them. That leads to great dissension and hatred, and there are many settlers who refuse to allow the Fathers to visit their estates, whilst others forbid their slaves to confess to the Fathers or even speak to them when they go to their estates. The other tasks that they carry out there are not holy enough to counter such simultaneous harmful consequences. Much more could be said about the matter.

Reply. There was nothing left for the informant to do than to meddle in sacred matters and the secrecy of the confessional. What he says does not happen, nor can he produce a single Indian who for that reason escaped from his master and headed back to the villages. The Fathers compile a register of those that they baptize, those that they join in marriage, and those whose confessions they hear. There always exists, therefore, a record, just like those kept by parish priests. When they join people in marriage, and often they join freedmen to slaves, they question them closely as to whether they are freedmen or slaves, lest the validity of the marriage be compromised owing to a mistake relating to either person. That has given rise to what the informant deludedly imagines, as this way many freedmen could be those whom he deems to be slaves. He was the one who refused to allow the Fathers onto his estate. The other settlers are very happy to call the Fathers in, as their experience tells them that the spiritual benefits received by the slaves and other workers leads them to be more peaceful, more steadfast, and better at their work. This was [even] true of the informant's estate, which the Fathers visited many times while the informant was in Portugal.

Item 43. There is the question as to whether the Fathers interfered in the methods of selling Indians from the interior and whether they were determined that in no way should anyone put an Indian to work as a slave or even as a freedman and that they should all remain in their villages. The issue involves their blocking of the system agreed with the Board of Conscience[31] on the sale of Indians and on the best circumstances under which slaves should in all conscience be kept. In those respects, they are gravely at odds with the settlers. Fully informed by the above-mentioned court about the ways in which they conduct their lives, the king has given permission for these Indians to be enslaved. He deems that they are incapable of being free men and that they deserve to be slaves, owing to the dreadful crimes that they have committed against the Portuguese, killing and eating many hundreds, even thousands, of them, including a bishop and many priests.

Reply. It is quite true that the Fathers have always sought legitimate means by which the settlers might improve their way of life. They did not, however, succeed in satisfying everybody, as some wish to claim that they have souls, unlike the slaves, whom they hold in low esteem. As for what the informant says about the Indians being incapable of being free men, and that they deserve to be slaves, he reveals scant knowledge of theology. Ample evidence of this, that all can recognize, is the fact that he states that the king allows the Indians to be enslaved.

Item 44. Furthermore, the kings have been informed that the State of Brazil cannot survive without many slaves being taken from the indigenous pagan

31 Mesa da Conciência (Board of Conscience) was a Portuguese royal council that administered ecclesiastical and theological matters, including missionary affairs.

population and put to work on the plantations and estates. Without that provision, nobody would want to live there. That is a factor that the Fathers do not wish to take into account, as they are the ones who profit from these heathens, as they usually get them to do their fishing, sail their boats, and go hunting for them. On their farms, they look after the cows, mares, and pigs. Where there is building work to do, they perform every skill for them. They work for them as potters, making the roof tiles, floor tiles, and crockery that are needed. They work for them by driving their ox-carts and by clearing and tilling their land. In winter, they comb the beaches for them, looking for amber, which is very profitable for the Fathers and something that they do not want others to profit from. I recognize that you are already suspicious of me and, therefore, I shall say no more, as you will not believe me. Nor shall I repeat what I have already said, unless it is in obedience to your command.

Reply. The only solution for the State of Brazil is to have large numbers of pagans living in their villages around the plantations and estates. That way, there would be men to work and to resist the enemy, be they French, English, or Aimorés,[32] who have done so much harm and continue to do so. It is also necessary to restrain the blacks from Guinea: there are many of them and their only fear is of the Indians. The way in which to achieve that is to arrange as His Majesty has commanded, even though it is not carried out, namely, that there should not be any slaves, as in Peru. That is because as long as there exists the opportunity to put them in their pockets and wear their skins, there cannot be enough Indians to go round and not be used up [in that process], as experience has shown. The informant himself can bear clear witness to this because large numbers [of such Indians] are his. Those others, whom he claims that we put to work, are our slaves and are mainly [blacks] from Guinea, as he admits in Item 23 above. There are also some freedmen whom we employ, as many settlers do, and we pay them for their services. All together, they do not amount to half a shipload of the ships of slaves that he has dispatched for sale in Pernambuco and other captaincies, though this territory has a vast need for working men. As for the amber, it would be wonderful, if this were true. The activity was no affront to anyone, and two Indians were sufficient to carry it out. If they occasionally find some, it is not for us but for their friends, for the decoration of their churches and to provide for the sick. If they give us a small piece of it, it is at a fair price. The reason for all these assertions, insofar as one can derive anything from them, was solely to set His Majesty against us, so that he would no longer grant us any favors. What, however, comforts us is that cor regis in manu Dei est[33] and not in that of the informant, and that quodcumque volverit verset illud.[34] Nonetheless, we are

32 The Aimorés were a Gê-speaking people who dominated the region of Ilheús, south of Bahia. They were considered particularly hostile by the Portuguese.

33 The king's heart is in God's hand.

34 Whatever He ponders on, may He turn it to good account.

greatly indebted to him for warning us to look to ourselves and to behave strictly as we should before God and before men, recognizing that there will be no shortage of people who, after the manner of the informant, will subject us to similar scrutiny. It is, therefore, essential that we should live in such a way as to emerge blameless.

I, Marçal Beliarte, Provincial of the Society of Jesus in this State of Brazil, having noted these chapters written by Gabriel Soares de Sousa, approached a number of Fathers with long-standing knowledge of Brazil and, in particular, of the parts that applied to them, owing to their direct experience of all these matters. I required them to give answers about what they knew concerning their own involvement and then showed their replies to other Fathers of long standing, who also had information on such matters. They all agreed with the answers given. To strengthen our case, I required them all to add their signatures to mine on this document and that, in fact, has been done. Bahia de Todos os Santos, 13 September 1592.

Inácio Tolosa Marçal Beliarte
Rodrigo de Freitas
Quirino Caixa, Luís da Fonseca
Fernão Cardim

5. The Will and Testament of a *Bandeirante*

Will and testament of Martim Rodrigues (1603) and his inventory (1612).

While the missionaries and the colonists in the sugar-planting regions of the coast battled over the control of the indigenous inhabitants, on the inland plateau of São Vicente, especially around the town of São Paulo, Portuguese colonists and their mameluco children had been exploring the interior for gold and capturing the native population, ostensibly to convert them, but enslaving them as workers as well. Formed into expeditions or bandeiras, their columns penetrated the interior, often following the major rivers. Eventually, they began to raid the Jesuit missions in Spanish-controlled Paraguay. These expeditions became a way of life and a source of livelihood for many of the paulistas, or people of São Paulo who sought their living in the backlands, as the following will and testament reveals. (From *Inventários e testamentos*, 44 vols. [São Paulo: Archivo do Estado de São Paulo, 1920–77] v. 2 [1920], pp. 5–107.)

Jesus (and) Mary

In the name of God, Amen. Know all to whom this testament comes that in the year of the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ of 1602 on 12 days of the month of March of this year in the *sertão* of the Paracatú River, I Martim Rodrigues

decided to make this testament, being of sound mind and in good health and in full possession of my judgment, all of which God has given me. I do this not knowing what God has in store for me, and I make here declarations and unburden my conscience for the good of my soul.

First I commit my soul to God, Our Lord who redeemed it with his most precious blood, death, and passion, and to the Virgin, Our Lady, his blessed mother, I ask that she be my advocate and representative and to seek from her blessed Son pardon for my sins and that he receive me in glory. Amen.

Second, I declare that I am married to Suzanna Rodrigues and I am a resident of the town of São Paulo, and with her I have four legitimate daughters – Maria Tenoria, Anna da Veiga, Elvira Rodrigues, and Suzanna who are my heirs. I also declare that I have a bastard daughter named Joana Rodrigues that I have married to José Brante and I have given her a certain amount of property that my wife and I assigned to her and for which a document was drawn up that I report here.

I also declare that I have two boys that I accept as my sons who are bastards that I had in the *sertão*....

I name as my executors Balthazar Gonçalves and Manuel Borrego, and my son-in-law Clemente Alvares who I ask for the love of God to care for my soul when Our Lord wishes to take me from the present life. I ask that my body be buried in the convent of Our Lady of Carmel in the town of São Paulo, and on the day of my funeral there be a sung mass with nine prayers... I also ask for three masses to be said in honor of the Holy Trinity.

I ask for three masses be said for Our Lady of Carmel and two for Our Lady of the Conception and two for our Lady of the Rosary, and two for Our Lady of Montserrate and these will be recited in her holy house in São Paulo. I ask for two masses to be said for blessed Holy Mary Magadalene. I also ask for prayed masses to be said in honor of St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Anthony, and St. Martinho.

I declare to unburden my conscience I ask that from my third [portion] of my estate, forty *cruzados* be taken and awarded as follows:[35]

2$,000 to the Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament
2$,000 to the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary
2$,000 to the Brotherhood of Our Lady of Carmel
2$,000 to the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Conception in the town of Tanhahe
2$,000 to the Brotherhood of Our Lady of Montserrate in the town of São Paulo

35 Portuguese law provided that the estate of the deceased be divided into three portions, one for the heirs, one for the surviving spouse, and one that could be freely disposed by the deceased. A cruzado was a coin worth four hundred réis; forty cruzados equal 16$000 réis.

Give to the Fathers of the Company of Jesus [Jesuits] 2,000 and 1,000 to the Brotherhood of St. Anthony and another 1,000 to the Brotherhood of St. Sebastian; and 2,000 to the Holy House of Mercy [Misericórdia] to be distributed to those it deems the most needy.

I declare that I took from Francisco de Espinosa, resident in the town of [São Paulo]... a certain amount of goods and I sold a part of them and have received receipts from my creditors and from my estate. I owe him up to eighty *cruzados*...

I declare that if anyone claims that I owe them something and can show my signature that they be believed and the debt accepted. I declare that I have in my home a book of my accounts of what I owe and they be given credit and that my debts be satisfied.

I leave as custodian and tutor of my daughters my wife Suzanna Rodrigues so long as she is unmarried and if she marries, I leave as custodian my son-in-law Clemente Alvares who I ask to do this well because I have confidence in him.

I have declared above that I have two boys, my bastard sons, and I leave my wife Suzanna Rodrigues as their curator and if she does not wish to accept this position, I ask that Clemente Alvares accept it, and that he indoctrinate them [in the Catholic faith] and that when they are of age that he will teach them to read and write and will teach them his craft [*oficio*] or have them taught other skills that he thinks appropriate.

I order that if Our Lord God wishes to take me from the present life here in the *sertão* that the gentiles of Brazil [Indians] that belong to me both slaves and "of service" not be sold, and that they be delivered to Balthesar Gonçalves who will take them to the town of São Paulo to my heirs at their expense and that if he asks to be paid for this service, he be compensated as is proper.[36]

I order that anything that remains from my portion after the aforementioned bequests are made be provided to my bastard sons... and be divided in a brotherly fashion between them.

I also declare that five masses be said in honor of the five wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ; two masses in honor of my Guardian Angel; a mass for God's faithful; five masses for Our Lady of Carmel; and ten masses for the souls in purgatory; and three masses for all my benefactors.

And the testator states that this testament is completed, and he ordered me, Manuel de Soveral, the scribe of this encampment [*arraial*] for the discovery of gold, silver, and other metals, to write it, and he asked that the judicial officers of His Majesty carry out its provisions and that he revokes

36 Indians not captured in just war and thus liable to enslavement were legally held or "administered" in a temporary servitude.

all previous wills and codicils, and that only this will be valid as his last wish. And in faith and witness of this truth, he signed, and I, the abovementioned scribe signed with him as did the other witnesses, Antonio Gonçalves Davide, Sebastião Peres Caleiro, Manuel Machado, Diogo de Oliveira Gago, Francisco Ferreira, Francisco Alvares Corrêa, Miguel Gonçalves, all residents in the captaincy of São Vicente. And, the testator declares that to clarify which of the Indians are free and which are captives that the certificates of register for each be consulted.

Inventory of Martim Rodrigues Tenorio

The year of Our Lord Jesus Christ of 1612 on the 18th day of the month of June of that year in the jurisdiction of the villa of São Paulo of the captaincy of São Vicente on the coast of Brazil, etc. in the district that is called Ibirapoeira in the houses and property that remain of Martim Rodrigues where Bernardo de Quadros, judge of orphans of this town in confirmation of the obligations of his office, ordered me as notary to make this inventory of his property in that the said Martim Rodrigues has gone to the *sertão* and it is said that he has died there. Before me, he administered an oath to Suzanna Rodrigues, the surviving widow to state all property that remained from her husband to be evaluated in this inventory, both movable and fixed property. She promised to do so and since she cannot sign her name, she asked me, the notary, to do so for her. I, Simão Borges, scribe for orphans, did it.

Title of "peças" [slaves]

A *negra* of the Guaya nation who says she is a slave of the expedition of Domingos Rodrigues of Paraupava who with her three children are evaluated at 22$,000

Temiminó Slaves

Esperança with a small child (she is unmarried)

Luiza with four children; Gaspar already an adolescent [*moço*]; Marqueza, adolescent; Mecia, a young woman; and Felipa, a child of six years

Thomé, single, already grown

An old man named Martim

A young man named Balthesar

A youth named Pedro who is said to be a son of the deceased Martim Rodrigues

A black [*negra*] of the Tamoyo nation named Geneva with a child evaluated at 27$,000

A young Tamoyo man named Cazão 20$,000

Clothing

A used brown cape decorated with *bertanjol*	1,500
A suit of rough cloth decorated with lace, jacket and breeches valued at	4,000
A doublet of linen, lined and quilted	1,000
A cloak of rough Florentine cloth decorated with colored lace	3,200
A loose coat of baize valued at	3,000
Some used boots of black Cordovan	160
2 pair Codovan shoes, one black, one white	200
Some cowhide boots valued at	400
Two pair pigskin shoes	200
Some deerskin shoes	120
Some pigskin slippers and other of buckskin	200

Tools

Six scythes each valued at 2 tostões	1,200
Five hoes valued at	1,000
Another hoe, new, valued at	240
Two wedges [*cunhas*]	200
An eared hammer	120

Riding Tack

A saddle with its stirrups and seat	4,000
An old bit and bridle	320
A small ax	80
A pan valued at	2,500
A large crate and lock	2,200
Two *arrobas* of cotton	1,000
A large cedar desk	500

Cattle

A yearling with a black head	700
A tawny yearling female	700
A cow and calf	1,100
A black yearling with a white tail	800
A red cow, pregnant	800
[Listing continues with a description of sixty-one head of cattle, including cows, young males, oxen, and calves evaluated at a total of 51,640]	

Horses

A roan horse	2,000
A roan mare with a red female colt . . . with a white blaze and another colt, tawny	7,000

Swine

26 head of swine males and females, each valued at	10,000

Books

A book entitled *Retabulo da Vida de Cristo* valued at	480
Chronica do Grão Capitão, old, valued at	320
A book entitled *Instruccão de Confessores* valued at 4 reales	
A book entitled *Mysterios da Paixão* valued at	200

Farm Plot [*roça*]

A new field with a *carazal*	10,000
Another field with cotton planted	6,000

6

THE WORLD OF THE ENGENHOS

Sugar cane was introduced to Brazil from Madeira and São Tomé and, by the 1540s, was beginning to flourish along the coast, especially in Pernambuco and Bahia, but also in the southern captaincy of São Vicente. The sugar mills (engenhos) required land, labor, and capital. The land was seized or conquered; the labor was first obtained by enslaving the indigenous peoples, which, as we have seen, led to conflicts with the missionaries, and then by the importation of African slaves. The capital was obtained at first from Portuguese and foreign investors and subsequently was raised from other activities in the colony itself. The sugar estates were complex combinations of agriculture and industry because of the need to mill the cane immediately after harvesting it to produce sugar. By 1612, Brazil had 192 engenhos in operation and was exporting more than 10,000 tons a year to Europe. During the seventeenth century, Brazil was the greatest producer of sugar in the Atlantic world.

1. Excerpt from a Letter from the Administrator of Engenho, São Jorge de Erasmo

Among the first investors in the Brazilian sugar industry was the German banking firm of Erasmo Schetz, which was well established in Antwerp. Schetz funded the creation of an engenho in São Vicente and employed a Flemish agent to run the operation. That man was probably Heliodoro Eobano, whose letter of 1548 is published here. This unsigned letter reveals details about the organization and operations of an early sugar estate. Indigenous people were still the principal workers, but Africans were beginning to appear, especially as skilled workers. Sugarcane was supplied to the mill by cane farmers (called moradores here), a class of farmers that became characteristic of the Brazilian sugar industry. This letter suggests that the organization of Brazilian sugar estates had previously developed elsewhere, probably in Madeira and São Tomé, and even in the mid-sixteenth century was already in full operation in Brazil. This letter was first published by the Belgian historian Edy Stols in "Um dos primeiros documentos sobre o engenho dos Schetz em São Vicente," Revista de História, 76 (1968), pp. 407–20.

Laus Deo. 13 May 1548, in Santos on the island of São Vicente on the coast of Brazil.

Honorable and most generous sirs, I pledge to you my willing service! It is my pleasant duty to report to you that, with the help of God, we have arrived here safely. However, we landed in very dangerous conditions, as our ship almost sank in the river here. Much of the cargo was ruined, including some of ours, on which I am sending you a report. Fortunately, by God's grace, things have turned out well, as you will discover from the bearer of this letter.

First of all, I have to inform you that, to date, I have not received from you any reply to the letter that I sent to you from Cabo Verde. I trust that I shall receive it very soon, as we are from day to day expecting the arrival of the ship from Portugal that was chartered by our freighters and which, to date, has yet to arrive. However, a ship chartered by Martim Frera [*Ferreira*] has arrived for Luís de Góis, so that he can load it with sugar. It too did not bring any letters. People say that all the letters were thrown overboard having been read by the factor and by Joseppa Adoria [*Giuseppe Adorno*]. We all [believe that] this land is full of thieves and that they cannot be trusted. As for the land itself, it would be a good, sound place to be, if its inhabitants were honest and if there were true justice. That is because until now everything has been in the hands of scoundrels. Most of them are exiled convicts and will cheat people when the time comes for payment. The land is very suitable for the sale of goods and at a good price, but collecting payment is very difficult. If, therefore, time does not bring better inhabitants and better justice, then trade can only be conducted with those who own sugar plantations or similar estates. That is because there is no money in circulation here, and credit has to be extended for one year, though that can mean waiting a good two years for payment. As a result, plantation owners pay all their workforce in kind. With a good stock of such goods, they can load [on to ships] all the sugar produced on the plantation and do that all year-round.

We were recommended to meet Pedro Rouzée [*Peter Roesel*] here, for whom our presence was not very welcome. Thank God, we have so far received little advice or assistance from him.

Besides that, there is little to report about the aforesaid cargo, except in respect of your declaration relating to the plantation, and here that has been checked. This estate is a very fine one, though previous factors have tried too much to serve their own ends and have allowed a lot of land to fall into the hands of the settlers. Pedro Rouzée will provide a fuller, more detailed account of that, as well as of other matters that have been even better covered up, when once there is a better system of justice in this country. That is because, to date, every deal is done by [granting or receiving] favors. Some of your own land has been surrendered. As far as justice is concerned, the

factor, Pedro Rouzée, was firmly in opposition. I hope that we shall soon have better news.

As for the buildings here, all those that we have are of good quality and sturdy enough to resist any adversaries. That is because Pedro Rouzée has carried out a lot of construction, namely a very large house with six frontal windows, as well as slave quarters and a smithy. All these buildings are fortified. There are also two other very fine and sturdy houses covered in roof tiles, just like those built by Brás de Rocha. These houses all stand on a hill and are all close together. The purpose of that is to ensure that our adversaries should not encounter any estate that is as strong, and that no plantation should have better houses. The result is that the [houses on the] plantation can easily be defended with three or four light cannon. The factor here has, therefore, done good work.

As for the sugar mill, it is old and close to collapse and must be rebuilt this year. The wheel is also close to collapse. It is too far too worn and is sometimes submerged by the water when the tide sweeps up the channel, which greatly hinders the milling of the sugar. For that reason, the mill must be moved upstream, and a good one built that will stand on the slope of the hill.

The factor cannot make a start till he receives news from you, to know how you feel about it. It will be a costly operation, and the mill must be made of lath and plaster walls to make it last a very long time. This year alone, the old mill has undergone structural changes and repairs that have cost more than a hundred cruzados. That was due to the poor condition it was in, and because it had to be given a new thatched roof. This has been an unlucky year for the rollers in the grinding mechanism: they had to be remade because the iron pins would not support them.

A lot of time has, therefore, been lost. Moreover, a number of settlers went away because the time was not ripe for the current sailing, and because a more suitable time is around the month of March. Nevertheless, they still came at some cost to themselves, with the result that a lot of sugar was produced, not only by this estate but also by the settlers and others. The outcome was approximately nine hundred *arrobas* of sugar, of which some four hundred *arrobas* are being sent to Portugal for our freighters.

This year, no goods were sent to the factor with which to pay our workers, yet he is bound to award sugar or a letter of credit to them. The factor has credited me for what I have done for him and for the workers to whom I have paid the sum of one hundred and twenty-three thousand five hundred réis [123$500]. That sum is for António Bicudo to collect over there [in Lisbon]. The factor could have awarded me some sugar as he has done for others, for in the current sailing he has awarded three hundred *arrobas*.

The estate incurred many debts this year. There is a great shortage of food supplies here, and none have been received from Portugal for a long time. The meat that I brought over here to the estate was totally ruined by the sea water, as we did not manage to get it out of the ships. Consequently, it remained in the water inside the ship until the ship raised anchor. To keep the estate running, there can be no better sustenance than salted meat and fish, especially dried codfish and other fish that are dried over there in abundance and at low cost, not forgetting Flemish and Dutch cheeses. Our workers derive little nourishment from local food, for all they get is manioc meal. Sometimes it is eaten with a piece of salted fish, when it is available. I hope, therefore, that better provisions will arrive very soon.

As for the slave force that we have here, they are very good, and we have roughly one hundred and thirty head of them, both male and female. Half of them do no work, as they are either children or too old to be of any use. In this country, there do not exist better slave forces because many slaves perform skilled work in the mill in the boiling and refining processes. There are also seven or eight blacks here from Guinea. The latter are all craftsmen, thus one black is the foreman in charge of sugar production [*mestre de açúcar*], a position for which our shippers customarily reward a foreman in Madeira (?) with wages of thirty thousand réis, a sum that can be a great annual saving. It would appear that this black has recently been producing better sugar than the sugar that the factor is currently shipping to Lisbon. A second black is in charge of sugar purging and, along with two others, who work as kettlemen on the boilers, increases our output by four *arrobas* a month.

We have, therefore, very few paid workers on the plantation but have many indigenous local slaves of the kind that other plantations do not have, so that they have to pay wages to [many] white workers. Yet this plantation still needs seven or eight male slaves. There is a shortfall, and we cannot manage without them. That is because in one year, we cannot succeed in making enough charcoal, so that we have to buy them from the settlers. That is a considerable expense and costs twenty-five to thirty reals per bushel. There is, therefore, no greater expense on a sugar plantation than on wood ash. I calculate that forty to fifty ducats have been spent on the said charcoal. These [seven or eight] slaves would eliminate such costs, would be present for a long time, and could carry out other tasks in the main house.

As for the land and the canes that grow on it, I have to inform you that our estate has a very good supply of them and they increase every year. The lands are cleared every year so that fresh sugarcane can be planted. This year, some thirty-two *tarefas*[1] were planted on our property, and that will produce

1 A *tarefa* is an areal measure equal to 30 *braças*, or an area of 4,356 square meters. It is also, theoretically, the amount of cane that can be milled by an engenho in one day.

more or less four hundred *arrobas*. Pedro Rouzée also planted one or two areas of sugar cane for milling in the coming July. They have been there for only a year and need to be there for seventeen or eighteen months before they are ready for milling. That, we hope, will be in July. There is also the cane planted by our neighbors [moradores], so that next year there will be roughly more than a thousand *arrobas* ready for harvesting. All of that can be garnered in, provided that the estate is well equipped and that it does not have to pay its workers with [credit in] sugar.

Pedro Rouzée has bought from a settler by the name of Barigo a fine, large piece of land situated close to our estate and which was already amply planted with sugar cane. This year, it will not be ready for milling but it can be planted [with more cane]. It will also make a slight saving, for we shall not need to buy cane from the settlers. People also say that there is a cottage on that land with a double frontage in which there is room for four or five slaves who would not do anything except clearing land to grow food for the estate. The estate itself has few such [vegetable] plots and cannot spare land for growing food in that way. However, it would be very costly if we were to buy such food supplies from the settlers. A cake made from manioc, which is the root of a bush, costs one hundred réis and can keep a person in food for three or four days. The estate, therefore, cannot release any such land [for the purpose of growing food].

But land belonging to settlers is well situated in relation to the estate. Nearly all those patches of land have been stolen [from us]. The factors have let them be taken because they were all Portuguese and conspired together among themselves. In the past, your cause has been poorly served by the courts. However, people say that those pieces of land are easily recoverable, and that if the estate is to continue, it needs such land and should profit from it. That is because there is nothing to be gained by milling the sugar cane of the settlers for them, not to mention the costs of buying charcoal and paying wages to the workers on the plantation. They say that it is essential to plant so much sugar cane that there is no need for the cane grown by the settlers. Accordingly, the factor is now about to use force to take back that land from them. Alternatively, he will set fire to their cane. They cannot take their sugarcane to any other plantation than our estate. For that reason, they will readily release those patches of land and at little cost to us. They will be forced to do so, for it is very irksome to do the milling for the settlers and also for the sugar plantations.

2. Cane Farmer Contracts

The Brazilian sugar industry was characterized by the presence of cane farmers who farmed sugarcane and supplied it to the mills under a variety of sharecropping and other arrangements. Some of these lavradores de cana were independent and wealthy land and slave owners, whereas others were modest farmers who lived at the whim of the mill owners. This arrangement, however, allowed many people to participate in the sugar economy and it shared the risks and costs of plantership. The contracts between the mill owners and the cane farmers were usually oral, but on rare occasions, they were written down in a legal form and registered with a notary public. Presented here are two rare examples from the mid-seventeenth century that survive in the papers of Engenho Suassuna in Pernambuco. (From Arquivo do Engenho Suassuna in the Arquivo da Direitoria de Obras, Fiscalização, e Serviços Públicos [Recife].)

(a) Lavrador Contract of 1638

Know ye all who see this public instrument of a contract of sharing [*escritura de partido*] for the term of nine years and nine harvests completed that in the year Our Lord Jesus Christ of 1638 on 25th day in the month of October of that year on the borders of Suassuna and the engenho and estate of Our Lady of the Assumption of which João de Barros Correia is the master; and he being present as one party and the other being Jorge Saraiva, a cane farmer of the said engenho, both said to me as notary in the presence of the witnesses noted below the following: that the said master gives, in fact, has given to the said cane farmer a unit of cane land (*partido de canas*) in which the said master has planted fifty-five tarefas of cane along the River Suassuna Maricujé, with the obligation that the said cane farmer will plant more cane than will be necessary to provide to the engenho forty tarefas as much as the engenho can mill, placing it there at his cost; and this unit is given him for the term of nine years and nine harvests and two months to vacate and the first year and harvest will begin in 1641 and will extend consecutively for all the remaining harvests until the said nine harvests and two months to vacate are completed. And, having completed them, the said property will freely belong to the said master along with any improvements, and the said cane farmer will leave them improved and not worsened. The sugar that God provides will be divided at the fifth (*quinto*) that is, three measures to the master and two to the said cane farmer without any other obligation to the cane farmer except as stated, to transport the cane to his mill and he, the Master, will be obliged to mill the cane as much as is ready and for this he will maintain the engenho in working order (*moente e corrente*) and equipped with all necessary to make sugar; and the cane farmer can plant in the lands of the said engenho his vegetables and small plots (*roças*) that are necessary and pasture his oxen and horses, as many as he may have where he lives and if he wishes to have them in the pastures of the said engenho, he, the cane farmer, can bring them. In this way, the two parties are contracted and each obliges

himself to fulfill this written agreement as is stated and declared and they oblige their persons and goods, especially the master of the engenho. And they sign the said document here. I, Simão Varela, notary public, judicial, and scribe of the town of Olinda and its district in the captaincy of Pernambuco, etc. [registered] in my book of notarial acts.

(b) Lavrador Contract of 1656

We, João de Barros Correia, lord of the engenho Suassuna under the invocation of Our Lady of the Assumption and I, António de Sousa Ferreira, resident in the parish of Santo Amaro, that we are in agreement concerning a piece of cane land, that with the favor of God, the said Antonio de Sousa Ferreira wants to plant in his lands alongside those of the said engenho in the following manner and form: that the master of the said engenho is obligated by this contract to supply all the cane necessary placed in the lands where it will be planted so long as the said Antônio de Sousa Ferreira does not have from his farming the cane necessary; in addition, the said master of the engenho will pay him one third of all the plants that the said Antônio de Sousa Ferreira produces today and forever; and, in addition, the master of the engenho obliges himself to supply one third of all the carts to transport the cane to the mill from which the sugar will be divided at the fifth, that is, of each ten parts, one will be taken for the tithe and the rest will be separated three parts for the estate and two for the cane farmer; and the master of the engenho will be obligated to mill in every harvest all of the cane it is capable of milling as long as the said lavrador desires. And the said Antônio de Sousa Ferreira is obliged to supply all the cane planted in the said lands with the above stated obligations and because in conformity and due to the desire of both parties we have agreed in this way, we have asked Father Domingos Coelho Diniz to make this contract in two copies so that each may have his own, and we ask those who sign below to serve as witnesses; they are Luís da Silva and Manuel Moreira. Written today, seven of June of 1656 years. João de Barros Correa, Antônio de Souza Ferreira, Father Domingos Coelho Diniz, Luís de Silva, Manuel Moreira.

3. Opportunity for Success: Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão, *Great Things of Brazil*

By the early seventeenth century, as the sugar industry flourished, the relative importance of Brazil within the economy of the Portuguese empire began to rise. Voluntary immigrants from Portugal and forced immigrants from Africa carried in the slave trade began to swell the population and to complicate its social organization.

One of the most informative and penetrating commentaries on the colony from this period was written by a New Christian sugar planter named Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão in the form of five dialogues between "Brandônio," an old and well-informed resident of Brazil, and "Alviano," a newcomer. These "Dialogues on the Greatness of Brazil," composed in about 1618, were a kind of promotional brochure designed to celebrate the colony's potential, but they also serve as a detailed commentary on the social and political organization of Brazil and on its problems and potential. The excerpts reproduced here describe the wealth of sugar planters and merchants and reflect the growing importance of the colony within the Portuguese empire as perceived by its residents. (Excerpts from Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão, *Dialogues on the Great Things of Brazil*, translated and annotated by Frederick Holden Hall, William F. Harrison, and Dorothy Winters Welker [Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987], pp. 131–53).

Dialogue III

In Which Is Discussed the Trade in Sugar, Brazilwood, Cotton, and Timber

There are six ways to get rich in Brazil, according to Brandônio. Dialogue III describes four of these ways. Before he is fairly launched on a description of the first of them (the sugar industry), Brandônio digresses to generalize about the relative potentials of Brazil and India as sources of wealth. The Dialogue considers the profitable industries of Brazil – varying somewhat from the title – as (1) sugar, (2) trade, (3) brazilwood, (4) cotton, and (5) timber. One additional means of making money is crowded in – the gathering of ambergris. If the colonists would properly utilize the resources of their land, Brandônio asserts, it would bring in far more revenue than India.

This discussion of economic factors and of the India trade shows the author's knowledgeability as a financier and practical economist, familiar with large-scale business operations both colonial and peninsular. He moves with ease from the oriental trade in spices and other "drugs" to smuggling operations in Peru, methods of exporting brazilwood, or the cause of the decline in the price of cotton. He is full of aggressive plans for increasing the profit from the new land, but like many of his modern confrères, *he complains that the government is slow to move. Brandônio's realistic account of the sugar industry reminds the reader that the author was himself a sugar-mill owner. He must have experienced at first hand the luxurious living he describes as characteristic of the wealthy class in the Northeast.*

As a businessman, Brandônio is interested in every natural resource of his adopted country, but his interest is not purely an economic one. For instance, in his catalogue of the available timber, he names an astonishing number of trees, evaluating them not only for their commercial uses but also for their grandeur as an

element in the rural scene. Obviously, this was a businessman who delighted to spend his leisure hours exploring the new land, observing as minutely as he could, taking careful notes, and, no doubt, extolling the virtues of the country to anyone who was willing to listen to him.

Perhaps Brandão feared that the financial data and the long lists of products would seem dull to some readers. As a relief, he has inserted several odd and interesting anecdotes, apparently from his own experience. The significance of these is often carefully underscored by the comments of Alviano, that useful interlocutor, always on hand to make sure the reader does not miss the point or take the wrong side of the argument.

BRANDÔNIO So as not to be thought negligent, I have been waiting for you quite a while already, enjoying the cool breeze that blows in here from the sea.

ALVIANO An unexpected caller made me incur the guilt of being late, but it is not too late for us to begin our conversation, in which we had decided to discuss the richness, fertility, and bounty of this Brazil. I beg you, therefore, tell me whatever you know of these things, for here I am, eager to hear what you have to say.

BRANDÔNIO The riches of this New World, and likewise its fertility and bounty, are so great that I do not know with which of them to make a start. But, since all of them deserve consideration, I shall make a salad of them, as attractive and tasty as I can. Now to begin, I will say that the wealth of Brazil consists of six things, from which its settlers grow rich, and these are: first, the production of sugar; second, trade; third, the wood they call brazil [brazilwood]; fourth, cotton and timber; fifth, the growing of food crops; sixth and last, cattle raising. Of all these things, the principal nerve and substance of the wealth of the land is the production of sugar.

ALVIANO That wealth which comes only from making sugar cannot be of much importance, for we see that the inhabitants of our eastern India grow rich from many different things, such as a great quantity of most useful drugs, very fine cloth, gold, silver, pearls, diamonds, rubies and topazes, musk, ambergris, silks, indigo, and other goods with which every year the ships come back to Spain heavily laden.

BRANDÔNIO It is true enough that all those things, and still others, are brought back from those parts; but, just the same, I shall endeavor to prove that taking nothing more than sugar out of Brazil is a greater thing, and brings in more profit to His Majesty's Treasury, than all those East Indies.

ALVIANO You are bold to venture so far, and to attempt such a thing seems an act of madness, for it is as far from being demonstrable as are the heavens from the earth. I beg you, therefore, not to let anyone hear such a proposition from you, for most men would think it ridiculous.

BRANDÔNIO I shall not be moved to retract what I have said by all those dark looks you are giving me. Rather, I intend to prove clearly what I am stating – just as I did on another occasion in the Kingdom, before their Lordships the Governors, in the year '97 [1597]. For you are not going to deny to me that every year, three, four, and sometimes five ships go from the Kingdom out to India, and come back from there laden with merchandise.

ALVIANO That is right.

BRANDÔNIO Likewise, you will not doubt that each one of these ships, from the time its keel is laid until it is under sail, costs His Majesty's Treasury around forty thousand cruzados.

ALVIANO Nor do I deny that.

BRANDÔNIO And that likewise every year, His Majesty sends out in them about two hundred thousand cruzados in cash – reales of eight and four – for the purchase of India pepper.

ALVIANO And very often more.

BRANDÔNIO And likewise, in wages to the soldiers and seamen who enlist to go out to India, in housing allowances for his officials, in bonuses to gentlemen and other individuals, he pays out a great deal of money.

ALVIANO There is no doubt of that.

BRANDÔNIO You must also be aware that every one of those ships, after it has returned safely from India laden with merchandise, brings His Majesty – aside from the pepper it carries – from forty-five to fifty *contos de réis* [45:000$000–50:000$000] (and the ships are let publicly at about that sum to persons who bid for them). At the present time, this amount is considerably less, so that His Majesty gains little from it, because of discounts that are made at the India House. Add to this fact that often no more than one or two of the ships get back to the Kingdom safely.

ALVIANO That can be granted; but beyond that money which, as you have said, His Majesty gets from the ship contracts, his ministers collect freight charges for his Treasury on those same ships. That must amount to quite a sum.

BRANDÔNIO The freight charges from each ship bring His Majesty's Treasury some three *contos de réis* [3:000$000], and it was at that price that a friend of mine contracted for them in '601 [1601]. Out of those three contos, the viceroy in India grants so many exemptions from freight charges to private persons that almost all the profit is eaten up by those and similar things, whence it follows that His Majesty pockets very little money from the freight charges.

ALVIANO But how can it be that ships of such great tonnage bring in so little from freight?

BRANDÔNIO The cause of this is the many stowage privileges that His Majesty grants on them. The captain has his own cabin and storeroom and other accommodations that are always reserved for him. Likewise with the pilot, the mate, the boatswain, the boatswain's mate, and the sailors, for all these have quarters assigned to them, and even the ship's boy and the cabin boy have their own. Thus, the quarters that are distributed in this way, and the stowage privileges that His Majesty grants, take up all the available space in which it would have been possible to stow goods that would pay freight charges. There you have the reason that His Majesty's Treasury has but little income from the ships.

ALVIANO I understand that matter well enough but not the overall calculation you are making.

BRANDÔNIO I am making that calculation to prove my contention that Brazil is richer, and is a source of greater profit to His Majesty's Exchequer, than all of India. Surely, you will not deny that for the ships to come back laden as they are with goods, the whole Orient must needs be gutted – what with collecting pepper from Malabar and cinnamon from Ceylon, cloves from Molucca, ambergris and nutmeg from Banda, musk, benzoin, porcelains and silks from China, cotton cloth and indigo from Cambay and Bengal, precious stones from Baiagate and Bisnaga and Ceylon. All those things from all those places must be gathered together if the ships that come back to the Kingdom are to come laden with them; and, if they were not collected thus, the ships would not have a cargo.

ALVIANO That is clearly the case, as everyone knows.

BRANDÔNIO Not the whole of Brazil but only three captaincies, Pernambuco, Itamaracá, and Paraíba – and of them only the inhabited parts – account for fifty or sixty leagues of coast, more or less. The inhabitants of these captaincies have not spread even ten leagues back into the bush. In just that strip of land, without the help of a foreign nation or help of any other kind, the Portuguese, by their own labor and industry, cultivate and take from the bowels of the earth enough sugar every year to lade one hundred and thirty or one hundred and forty ships, many of which are of very great tonnage. For the establishment and maintenance of all that, His Majesty does not spend from his own Treasury a single penny. All those cargoes of sugar are carried to the Kingdom and enter his customhouses, where they pay the tolls due His Majesty. Now if the cargo these ships carry were to be transported in ships the size of those that make the India voyage, twenty great ships of that tonnage would not be enough to accommodate it all.

ALVIANO Although I cannot deny that that is so, still the duty paid on the sugar cargoes is of much less value to His Majesty's Treasury than the duties levied on the goods and drugs that come from India.

BRANDÔNIO You are mistaken, for the ships that service the three northern captaincies I have named, without taking into account the southern captaincies, must carry somewhat more than five hundred thousand arrobas of sugar. (I would say that about one hundred thousand arrobas of this sugar is of the kind they call *panelas*.) All of these different qualities of sugar pay duty at the customhouse in Lisbon: the white and the brown pay 250 réis per arroba, and the *panelas* pay 150 réis per arroba. This is in addition to the consulage. All this, added up, amounts to more than three hundred thousand cruzados for His Majesty's Treasury. And he does not have to spend a single real from his own purse on the maintenance of this state [Brazil], for the income from the tithes that are collected from this land is enough to support it.

Now, in this connection, figure out the income he has from the other captaincies, to the south, among which is Bahia de Todos os Santos, the capital of this whole state. After making that calculation, set up an account of credit and debit, the way a shopkeeper does, and on one side write down what His Majesty spends each year on the ships that he sends to India – wages of soldiers and seamen, housing allowances for his officials, and bonuses to private individuals – and add the cash that he sends out to buy pepper. Now put down on the other side what India renders His Majesty, and also the price at which he lets the contract for the ships that come from there. And note carefully how much you will have to add to make that equal the income that he collects from Brazil, from only the three captaincies I mentioned, and you will see how much this latter exceeds the income from India. Thus, I do not need any other proof to demonstrate the truth of what I claimed.

ALVIANO That income which you are crediting to Brazil appears excessive, for not all sugar pays the full duty. We know, for instance, that some sugar pays no duty at all because of the exemption that His Majesty has granted to persons who set up new sugar mills.

BRANDÔNIO That's true; but the exemption that His Majesty grants on new sugar mills does not last more than ten years, and when these are over, it expires. Granted that those mill owners and small planters who export sugar on their own account always pay less duty; still, there are only a few who do that. And it cannot be claimed that [the loss] amounts to very much. Furthermore, in my reckoning, I purposely did not include in my total the income from the brazilwood that the same three captaincies export to the Kingdom; this amounts to more than forty thousand cruzados a year. That is what His Majesty's ministers collect in the

Kingdom from the brazilwood contractors. Similarly, I have excluded from the income of the customhouses of the state [Brazil] the duties paid on cotton and timber in the customhouses of the Kingdom, which amount to a very large sum. Balancing one thing against the other, you will find that the income from these sources is greater than the loss from the exemptions you pointed out.

ALVIANO As a matter of fact, I was so convinced of the opposite of what you have so clearly shown and proved that my mind is still reeling, and what you have said seems a dream to me. Nonetheless, I know for a fact that in Portugal I have seen mansions built by men with large incomes from fortunes they made in India, and I found none – or almost none – who have similar houses and enjoy incomes from wealth brought back from Brazil.

BRANDÔNIO But that is the greatest proof of their wealth! For the men from India, when they leave there to return to the Kingdom, carry with them all the property they own, for none of them own any real estate in India worth mentioning. All their capital is invested in movables, which they take aboard ship with them. With the money from the sale of these goods in the Kingdom, they acquire the incomes and build the mansions you spoke of. But the settlers in Brazil have all their wealth invested in real estate, which they cannot take back to the Kingdom! And when somebody does go back there, his land must needs stay behind. You must have known many such men in Portugal. It is not possible for them to retain great holdings here and buy more property there, and they prefer to have it in Brazil, where they derive a great income from it. To sum it up, you will come across many men in this country who are worth fifty, one hundred, and even two hundred thousand cruzados, and very few such in India. And if the people who live in Brazil were more enterprising, they could avail themselves of still more things that would make them rich and increase His Majesty's revenue from Brazil.

ALVIANO I should very much like to have you tell me just what things would give so great a return.

BRANDÔNIO I was understating the case when I said that Brazil could be richer and yield more revenue for His Majesty's Treasury if the King or the gentlemen of his Council would only turn their eyes toward it. For if they would, then Brazil could make the Dutch and other foreigners who send ships to India cease their shipping and their trade, without His Majesty's having to draw his sword against them or to spend a single real to bring it about.

ALVIANO That will have to be done by magic, for I do not see how ordinary measures can achieve it.

BRANDÔNIO It can be achieved without magic, if only His Majesty and the gentlemen of his Council make up their minds to it.

ALVIANO Then tell me how it can be done.

BRANDÔNIO It is well known that the Dutch do not send their ships to India at the expense of the States [General], but rather that the merchants themselves pay the costs and expenses of fitting out the ships that sail there. The capital to build the ships and buy the goods they carry is subscribed by many persons who wish to invest in this. Some put in more, others less, according to the amount of cash they have on hand. An account is drawn up and the contribution of each man is represented by a certain number of shares. When the voyage is over and the ships have come back safely, the cargo is sold, and expenses are paid from the gross returns. From what is left, they calculate the percentage of profit and make good accordingly to each one of the subscribers, who gets back the capital he invested plus that percentage.

ALVIANO You are quite right, for a good friend of mine who spent a long time in Flanders told me that that is the way they do it. But what has that got to do with Brazil's being able to make those nations give up their trade?

BRANDÔNIO It has a lot to do with it. We already know that the largest and most valuable cargo that their ships seek in India is pepper. The cloves, amber, nutmeg, chinaware, benzoin, and other things that they bring back are merely accessories, and not the mainstay of their trade. For a very little of each one of those is enough to glut the northern markets, and those foreigners cannot bring back cinnamon, cloth, or indigo because these items are not found in the parts of India where they trade. And so it is pepper that they want, pepper that they go to fetch, and pepper that gives them a profit from their overseas trade.

ALVIANO What are you getting at?

BRANDÔNIO I say that His Majesty ought to do just what King Dom Manuel, of glorious memory, did to stop the trade in pepper that was brought overland, by way of Cairo, to Venice, whence it was distributed and sold over all of Europe.

ALVIANO And what did the King do?

BRANDÔNIO After the seaway to India had been discovered, and wishing that the pepper should pass through the hands of the Portuguese alone, and that only their ships should bring it to Europe, the King determined to close off all that trade through Venice, and he did it in this way: he sent trustworthy men to that city to find out exactly how much a quintal of pepper cost there and the price at which it had to be sold if the dealers there were to make a profit on it.

After he was well informed on all this, he sent his pepper to Flanders with some Portuguese agents to sell it at such a low price that if the Venetian pepper had been sold at the same price, those merchants who dealt in it would have ended up losing much money. Thus, everyone who had to have pepper hastened to buy the King's because it was cheaper. Now, since the Venetians could not let their pepper go at such a price without taking a great loss, because it had cost them so dearly, they gave up their trade in it.

ALVIANO Come, out with it now, whatever you have in mind!

BRANDÔNIO I tell you that all the land in this Brazil is so disposed to growing pepper that great quantities of different kinds of it grow wild in the fields without being cultivated at all. It is not the same kind as that which comes from India, which doesn't grow here because there are no proper seeds for it. But, if we had the right kind of seeds, that quality of pepper would grow profusely.

ALVIANO That I do not doubt, for I myself know that the land here is well disposed for growing pepper. When the birds eat it, the pepper grows wherever they leave their droppings, even on the trunks of trees. But you must finish clarifying the point you are getting at with all these arguments.

BRANDÔNIO These arguments lead up to what I have in mind. And this is that His Majesty should send a ship to India for the sole purpose of bringing back pepper seed in casks, or in something else in which it could travel safely. Now this caravel should run along the coast of Brazil and deliver the seed to all the captaincies. The captains-major should parcel it out amongst the settlers, obliging them to plant and process it. In this way, more pepper could be obtained from Brazil than from the Malabar Coast.

ALVIANO But couldn't the pepper that the India ships ordinarily bring be used for planting?

BRANDÔNIO No, because that pepper – so they say – has had lye passed through it, which keeps it from germinating. So, now, if there were a great deal of pepper in this Brazil, it would end up costing His Majesty little or no trouble, and even less money, to transport it to Portugal. Imitating King Manuel, he could send it to market at such a price that the Dutch would wind up losing a great deal of money if they tried to sell theirs, which they had to go to India to get. Therefore, since they would derive no profit from their commerce, the Dutch would have no reason to persist in it, and that would put an end, without expense and without bloodshed, to a struggle that has cost Portugal so much. And His Majesty, although sending his pepper to be sold more cheaply, would lose little, if he did not actually make money, because it would cost him less to transport it to the Kingdom and to buy it in Brazil.

ALVIANO The reasoning behind your proposal is so convincing that surely no one can doubt that the results would be what you predict. Indeed, I wonder that you do not at once take ship for the Kingdom and lay the proposal before His Majesty, for so much great good would come of it for all the State of India.

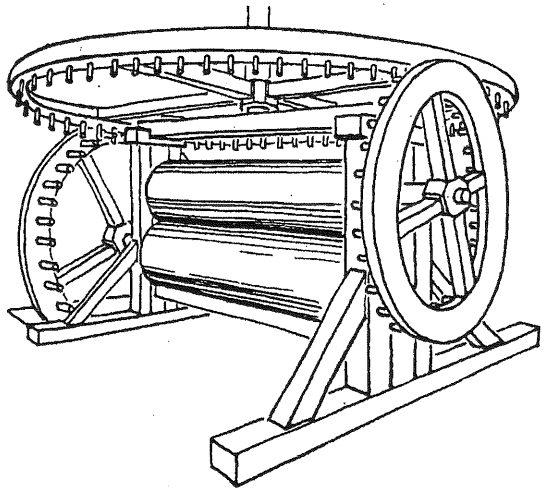
BRANDÔNIO I have already discussed it with a minister who held a high position in His Majesty's Treasury. Although he thought it a marvelous idea, his answer was that the present procedure in the pepper trade is so firmly established in Portugal that it would be very hard to replace it with another system. And since I realized that such an attitude is an ancient evil in our Portugal, beyond all remedy, I brought the conversation to an end, as I shall right now, leaving the job to those whose duty it is to correct such things, if they have a mind to.

ALVIANO You are right! To try to set the world straight is an error on the part of people like us who have so small a station in it; so let us get back to our subject. If I remember correctly, you were going to tell me what constitutes the riches of Brazil, the chief source being, you said, the production of sugar.

BRANDÔNIO And that is right, for sugar is Brazil's chief distinction and source of wealth. In its cultivation, the system followed up to the present time has been this: the captains-major, who are tenants of His Majesty, each one in his own captaincy, divided – and even now still do divide – the land among the settlers, giving to each one as much as he has the means to cultivate. Then, the persons to whom these lands are given build sugar mills on them, if they have the capital to do so. If they lack capital, they sell the land to persons who *are* able to build. One must have great resources and capital to get a sugar mill into operation. For a mill powered by water, like most of those that have been built so far, or even one of those that are called *trapiches* and are turned by oxen, costs pretty close to ten thousand cruzados [4:000$000] by the time it is all built.

ALVIANO You seem to be saying that there are other kinds of sugar mill than those that are powered by water and the *trapiches* that are turned by oxen.

BRANDÔNIO That's right. The water-powered mills, you see, are built on fast-flowing rivers. In addition, tanks are put up to hold back the water so that the mill can grind with even greater power. In these mills, the sugar cane is ground between two large rollers that are turned by a wheel on which the water strikes with great force; then the bagasse is pressed beneath heavy timbers, called *gangorras*. Oxen are used to make



The older type of cane press, with two rollers placed horizontally. Hamilton Fernandes, *Açúcar e álcool ontem e hoje* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto de Açúcar e de Álcool, 1971), p. 27. *Courtesy of the Edward E. Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago.*

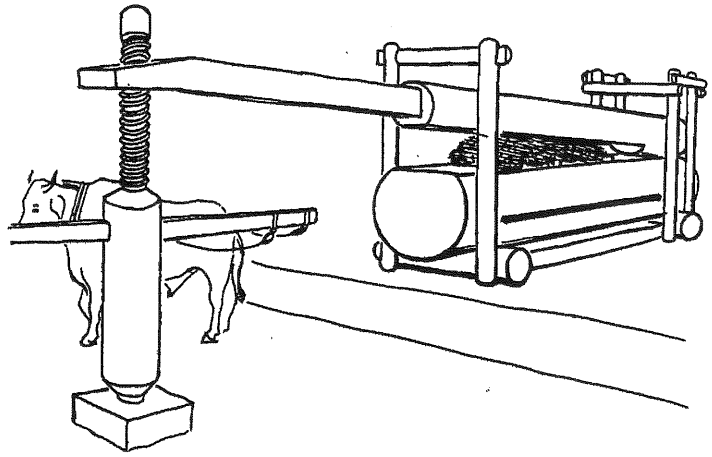
them press tight together; this releases and expels from the bagasse all the juice the cane holds. The juice is collected in a tank and then turned into great copper cauldrons, which are placed on top of furnaces in which fires are lighted. By the heat of these, the sugar is cleansed, boiled, and purified. To refine and fortify it further, they have to stir in some lye, made from ashes.

There are other mills that do not use water, and these are the *trapiches* I spoke of. They grind the cane with a contrivance of wheels that is set up for this purpose, turned by oxen, but in the rest of the sugar-making the same process I have described is followed.

But a newly invented press, which they call *palitos*, has recently been introduced. This does not require such a big setup and likewise uses either water power or animal traction. This invention is considered so fine that I think all the old-style mills will be scrapped and only this new device will be used.

ALVIANO One must always prefer what can be done with less labor and expense, and since this new contrivance of the *palitos* achieves exactly that, I am sure everyone will adopt it. But I would like to know how they make a loaf of that fine white sugar which is sent to Portugal and which we see out here.

BRANDÔNIO The process is this: after the sugar-cane juice is cleansed and thickened in the cauldrons, it is transferred to boilers that are also made

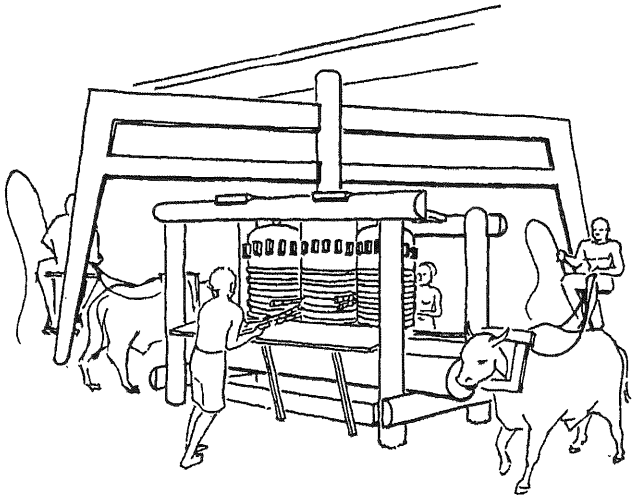


The *gangorra* described by Brandônio presses out the residue of juice from the cane. Hamilton Fernandes, *Açúcar e álcool ontem e hoje* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto de Açúcar e de Álcool, 1971), p. 25. *Courtesy of the Edward E. Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago.*

of copper. Here, it is heated until it reaches the point of coagulation and takes on body. From there, they put it into earthenware molds, inside of which it gains consistency and hardens. After it has cooled, they take it to a large building called the clarifying house, which is outfitted just for this purpose. Here, the molds are set into holes cut in a plank. Then they pull out the plug in the bottom of the mold, and through it the treacle drains off into gutters of the same planking, which they place underneath to catch it. The treacle that drains off from the molds in this way runs into a big tank, and from it they later make the molasses, and still another quality of sugar that they call *batidos*. And when the molds have stopped draining, they pour over the sugar some water that has particles of clay suspended in it. That is what makes it white, the way we see it.

ALVIANO It is hard for me to understand how the clay, which seemingly ought to soil the sugar and turn it black, can whiten it instead.

BRANDÔNIO The first sugar makers did not know about that for many years either, and they used to spoil it the way they made it. At last, a chicken disclosed the secret: it happened to fly up onto a mold of sugar with its feet covered with clay. All around that part where its footprints were impressed, the sugar turned white. That was how they learned the secret power of the clay to turn things white, and they put it to use.



The newer type of cane press, with three vertical rollers (*palitos*). It could be powered either by water or by oxen (*trapiche*). Hamilton Fernandes, *Açúcar e álcool ontem e hoje* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto de Açúcar e de Álcool, 1971), p. 31. *Courtesy of the Edward E. Ayer Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago.*

ALVIANO The chicken was not a bad teacher, to reveal in that fashion how they could correct the dark color of the sugar, for there is such a great difference in value between the white and the dark sugars. And, if a mill produces a great quantity of the good quality, it cannot fail to bring the owner a profit.

BRANDÔNIO There is a vast difference between the good sugar mills and the bad ones. Assuming that their owners can afford the necessary personnel and equipment, good mills can become supremely valuable if they have three other things; namely, plenty of good land to plant cane on, enough water so that the press will never have to stop, and a quantity of wood in thick stands of timber. Neither the cane nor the wood should be far from the mill, but rather so located that both things can be transported easily. Now, when sugar mills are of this quality and have all the necessary personnel and equipment, they generally produce every year up to six, seven, eight, and even ten thousand arrobas of *macho* sugar, besides the treacle, molasses, and syrups, which always come to about three thousand arrobas. When the sugar can be tested, some of it generally turns out to be very good, another lot inferior, and some of it extremely bad, depending on whether the master workmen who make it are good or bad at their trade. Smaller mills usually produce five, four,

or even only three thousand arrobas of sugar, and such mills are of little profit to their owners.

ALVIANO And what personnel and equipment must a mill have if it is to produce much sugar?

BRANDÔNIO It must have fifty slaves working – and good ones; fifteen to twenty yoke of oxen, with the necessary wagons and harnesses; plenty of copper utensils in good repair; reliable foremen; ample firewood, molds, and lye. If any one of these things is lacking, then right away the production of sugar falls off because of it.

ALVIANO Now tell me if all the sugar that is produced belongs to the mill owner.

BRANDÔNIO If all the cane from which it is made belongs to the mill owner, then all the sugar is his too. But this is seldom the case because of the large capital and great equipment needed to plant cane fields and run a mill. Thus, most of the owners generally parcel out their cane fields in *partidos* [tracts], which they do in this manner: the mill owner contributes the land and even some assistance beyond that. The smallholder on his side undertakes to plant the cane and afterwards to cultivate and cut it and carry it to the mill, all according to the terms of their agreement. When the cane has been pressed and the sugar refined, the tithe on it is paid first of all from the gross product. After that is paid, a division is made on the basis of thirds, fifths, or even halves. Division by thirds means that two-thirds of the sugar goes to the mill owner and one-third to the smallholder. Division by fifths means that three-fifths goes to the mill owner and two-fifths to the smallholder. Division by halves means that each party gets the same amount; but division by halves – being of scant profit for the mill owner – is rarely met with, except in the case of a person to whom a favor is owed or who plants the cane on his own land. But whatever type of contract exists, there is no division of the treacle – the molasses and syrups – for all these belong freely and *in solido* [wholly] to the mill owner, who has no obligation to share them beyond paying on them the tithe that is due to God.

ALVIANO And when the division is made that way, how much sugar would the mill owner receive?

BRANDÔNIO He would always get from four thousand to four thousand five hundred arrobas of *macho* sugar, besides the treacle and syrups, which will amount to from two thousand five hundred to three thousand arrobas.

ALVIANO How much does it cost a mill owner to produce enough sugar each year so that his own share will be the amount you mention?

BRANDÔNIO One of these mills – I mean one of the really good ones – will always have expenses of three thousand five hundred to four

thousand cruzados. If any of its slaves die, so that others have to be bought, expenses will be even higher.

ALVIANO That is a lot of money, and if that much has to be put out, the profit a sugar mill brings its owner cannot be so great as people have told me it is.

BRANDÔNIO But it is still a good profit. It often comes to five or six thousand cruzados, free and clear. And if the owner ships his sugar to the Kingdom himself, his profit will be much greater. Not only does he get a higher price for it in Portugal, but he can avail himself of the right of exemption. This means that if his mill is a new one, he has ten years during which he does not have to pay any duty at all in the customhouses. When that time is up, he nonetheless enjoys in perpetuity a half exemption. This means that he pays the customhouse only half the regular duty, just as if his sugar were sent over by a smallholder, for smallholders have that exemption.

Some of the mills enjoy greater exemptions than others. Those that are situated in a proprietary captaincy pay the proprietor a yearly water tax of three to four percent of all the sugar they make, and that amounts to a lot. But mills in the captaincies owned by the Crown are exempt from paying His Majesty such a tax – which is no small privilege!

ALVIANO Nonetheless, the mills situated in Potosí, which press the earth from which silver is taken, must have quite a different income from that of the mills you have been boasting of to me, which produce sugar. At least, I would rather have the income from one of the former.

BRANDÔNIO You are mistaken there, for I have seen figures on that, worked out by men who were well acquainted with both operations. They found that the income from sugar mills was ever so much greater. Proof enough of that is that we see very many exceedingly rich owners of sugar mills, whereas most of the men who own silver mills are very poor and in debt.

ALVIANO That cannot be the fault of the silver mills but must be the result of the excessive expenditure that those men are accustomed to incur for themselves and their houses. I have been told that they are tremendously extravagant.

BRANDÔNIO In that respect, the sugar-mill owners of Brazil are not one whit behind them, for many of them also go to the greatest expense, with many richly caparisoned horses and liveries, and with the costly clothing that they and their children ordinarily wear. For in this state, every four days there are bullfights, jousts with staves, tilting at the ring, and similar sports, on which both organizers and participants spend a vast amount of money. They are, furthermore, very liberal in giving expensive presents. And I have heard men who have had much

experience at the Court in Madrid say that even there they do not dress better than do the mill owners, their wives and daughters, other rich men, and the merchants of Brazil. I will give only one very strong proof of this wealth: in the Captaincy of Pernambuco, there is a House of Mercy that every year spends thirteen or fourteen thousand cruzados, more or less, to discharge its obligations. All of this is given in alms by the inhabitants of that captaincy, for the hospital does not have any income of its own to speak of. Indeed, its superintendents [*provedores*] – a different one is appointed every year – spend more than three thousand cruzados out of their own pockets. All the other captaincies have charity hospitals that spend much money, but the one in Pernambuco spends more than the others.

ALVIANO That is a strong argument in support of your claim for the great wealth of Brazil. And since you have said enough about the first source [sugar] of that wealth which you attributed to the entire province, let us go on to the second source, which you say is trade.

BRANDÔNIO Many men in Brazil have acquired a great amount of wealth in cash and property through trade, though the most successful are merchants who have come out from the Kingdom for that purpose. This trade is conducted in two ways. The first way is that they come out with a round-trip passage, sell their goods, invest their profits in sugar, cotton, and even very fine ambergris, and then return to the Kingdom, sometimes in the very same ships they came in.

The second way is for merchants to live in this country and keep retail shops. Their stores are filled with expensive goods, including all kinds of the best linens, the richest silks, the finest fabrics, and marvelous brocades. There is a lavish use of all these out here, which brings great profits to the merchants who sell them.

ALVIANO Now, the merchants who live here and keep shop, do they perhaps order their stock from the Kingdom, or do they buy it from persons who bring it out from there?

BRANDÔNIO Many of them do order their stock sent out from the Kingdom, but most of them buy from other traders who bring goods out. They pay forty or fifty percent of the purchase price in advance, depending on the kind and quality of goods and whether they are scarce or plentiful out here. And on these merchants depend yet others who operate on a smaller scale.

ALVIANO And what type are they?

BRANDÔNIO There are many persons who make their living and become very rich just by buying goods from the merchants in towns or cities and carrying them back to sell on the sugar plantations and farms that lie far out. They often make more than one hundred percent on them.

In the Captaincy of Pernambuco, I once saw a certain trader make a deal that I did not approve of and considered illicit. He went out and bought a shipment of Guinea slaves for quite a sum of money, paying cash for them. Then, the very same instant, without actually having received the slaves, he turned around and sold them to a farmer, on credit over a certain period, which was less than a year, at more than 85 percent over the price he paid for them.

ALVIANO Now, where I come from that is called, in good Portuguese, *usury!* It is a curious thing, withal, that one could make so much money right on the spot, from one minute to the next, without taking any risk.

BRANDÔNIO Well, it can be done. And it happens so often that many traders of that sort and many of the storekeepers here are owners of great property in sugar mills and farms. Many of them live on their estates, and some of them are married.

ALVIANO Men who can prosper so in a foreign land must have great abilities.

BRANDÔNIO You must realize that Brazil is a crossroads of the world. I mean no offense to any other kingdom or city when I call it that. At the same time, it is a public academy in which one may easily learn every manner of civility, polite discourse, courteous behavior, how to make a good business deal, and other accomplishments of similar importance.

ALVIANO It ought rather to be just the contrary, for we know that Brazil was settled first of all by persons of evil ways and men who had been banished from Portugal for their crimes, and therefore persons of scant civility. Their not being of gentle birth surely was enough for them to lack all refinement.

BRANDÔNIO There is no doubt of that. But you must realize that the first settlers who came to Brazil had many opportunities to get rich in a hurry on account of the liberality of the land. As they prospered, they promptly shed their evil nature, which the necessity and poverty they had suffered in the Kingdom had brought out. And the children of those men, having those riches and enthroned as rulers of the land, sloughed off their old skin just the way a snake does, and adopted in everything the most polished manners. I must add that later on, many gentlemen and persons of noble birth came out to this state. They married here and became attached to the colonists by family ties. Thus, there was developed among them all a mixture of fairly gentle blood. Furthermore, all kinds of people come from all parts of the world to do business in Brazil, and they transact this business with the residents of the country. Now, the latter are usually very shrewd, either because of the highly favorable climate or because of the auspicious heavens. So they pick up from the foreigners whatever they think useful.

They carefully preserve this knowledge and put it to use in their own good time.

ALVIANO To be able to imitate and to steal abilities from those who have great ones, why, that is to wrest the club from the hands of Hercules!

BRANDÔNIO That's just what the people in Brazil do, to the point that the sons of Lisbon and those of other parts of the Kingdom come here to learn fine manners and with them make themselves new men, thanks to the refinement that formerly they lacked.

But it appears to me that long ago we lost the thread of our discussion, in which we were considering the profit that trade brings to those who engage in it in this Brazil.

ALVIANO But this other discussion, by which we were briefly distracted, should not displease those who may hear of it, especially the Brazilians. But, leaving that aside, you have yet to tell me if Brazil has any commerce beyond that with the Kingdom.

BRANDÔNIO Oh, yes. Brazil does a great trade with Angola and the Rio de la Plata. Ships with all kinds of goods are sent to Angola and come back carrying slaves to be sold here, and the men who deal in slaves make a big profit. Further, the ships bound for Angola from the Kingdom put in at the Captaincy of Rio de Janeiro, where they take aboard cargoes of manioc flour, the chief foodstuff of the land, which is cheaper there. Carrying it to Angola, they exchange it for slaves and ivory, which they bring back in great quantities.

ALVIANO All that concerns Angola. But I wish you would tell me about the business that is done with the Rio de la Plata.

BRANDÔNIO Many *peruleiros* come up regularly from the Rio de la Plata in carracks and in caravels of small tonnage. They bring a vast sum of *patacas* of four and eight reales, and worked and unworked silver in cones and in bars, both gold dust and grain gold and some wrought into chains. They take these things to Rio de Janeiro, Bahia de Todos os Santos, and Pernambuco and exchange them for the different kinds of goods they need. Leaving all their silver and gold behind them here, they stow their goods aboard and make the return trip to the Rio de la Plata. And even our local merchants have an interest in this trade, for it is of no small profit to them. A few of these *peruleiros* settle down in Brazil, and use their money to make loans on notes, or to loan money at interest, or to buy sugar; or they take it with them to Portugal.

ALVIANO That is not a bad business, when you pick gold and silver as its fruit! But all of the trade which you have discussed, and from which so much profit is derived, seems to end up in the hands of foreigners, and the profit goes to them and not to the settlers.

BRANDÔNIO For the most part that is so, because the people of this country are busy looking after their sugar mills and improving their farms, and they don't want to get involved in trade. The few who do so are satisfied just with sending their sugar to the Kingdom and ordering sent out from there whatever they need for their farms. But in everything else, they leave the door wide open to the merchants, who carry on their business most profitably. As an excellent illustration of this, I can tell you of a case which I myself witnessed.

In the year '92 [1592], a small businessman came straight to Pernambuco from the Algarve, his ship laden with wines from Alvor, a little olive oil, a lot of raisins and figs, and many other things that are always brought out from there. He had invested a capital of 730$000, according to his bill of lading, which I saw. This man stayed out here six months, sold his stock for cash, and made close to seven thousand cruzados [2:800$000] on it. He invested this in the finest white sugar, paying 650 réis per arroba. Now, because he bought that sugar so cheaply, he must surely have doubled his money once again when he sold it back in Portugal.

ALVIANO I admit that a country where businessmen can make a profit like that must be very bountiful.

BRANDÔNIO You can see how bountiful it is from just one thing that I shall tell you. There is a private citizen of good standing, a settler in the captaincy of Paraíba in this Brazil, who – though owning no more than a single sugar mill – boldly promised to give everyone who would build a house in the city [Filipéia], which then was just being laid out, 20$ [20$000] for each house of stone and mortar more than one story high, and 10$ [10$000] for a house of one story. And he kept his word over a long period, during which many houses were put up, without there being any profit to him other than the gratification of his desire to see the city grow. And now, to complete this story, I will tell you that he undertook, further, to build the city's House of Mercy, a thing of vast expense because of the size and grandeur of its church, which now is almost finished. Having given you that one example, I want to go on to a discussion of the third commodity on which the settlers of this state make money – and a good deal of it – which is brazilwood.

ALVIANO I beg you to do so.

BRANDÔNIO Brazilwood, from which this whole province takes its name, as I have already explained, yields a red dyestuff, which is excellent for dyeing wood and silk, and for making paints and other things. Though it is found throughout all the state, the best and most valuable brazilwood is cut in the captaincies of Pernambuco, Itamaracá, and Paraíba, for it far surpasses in coloring strength the wood found elsewhere. Thus,

only the wood from the three captaincies mentioned is considered good enough to be sent to the Kingdom. There it sells for four and sometimes five milréis per quintal, depending on how abundant the supply is.

ALVIANO Tell me now, how do the settlers in this Brazil make money on the wood, and how much does it bring His Majesty's Treasury?

BRANDÔNIO Brazilwood is His Majesty's own drug and, as such, is protected so that no one may deal in it except the king himself or those who have received his license under contract. A long time ago, anyone was permitted to trade in it, paying His Majesty's Exchequer one cruzado on every quintal he cut. But since the feeling was that there were many abuses under that system, the order establishing it was revoked so that the trade should be handled only under contract, as is the case today. About forty thousand cruzados are paid to His Majesty's Treasury for a contract, which is let in the kingdom. It is specified that in any one year, the contractors may not take out from this state, especially from the three captaincies I have mentioned, more than ten thousand quintals of the wood, although if they cut less in one year, they may make it up in the next.

ALVIANO I had no idea that brazilwood was the source of so much revenue for the Exchequer without His Majesty's having to spend a single real for it, whereas he must spend so many cruzados in India to purchase other drugs.

BRANDÔNIO All Brazil is a source of revenue for His Majesty's Exchequer, without entailing any expense – a fact that ought to be very much appreciated!

ALVIANO And what profit do the settlers make on the wood?

BRANDÔNIO A great deal, for many settlers make their living simply by going into the forest and hauling the wood out with oxen to a waterway, where they sell it to persons who have a license to ship it.

ALVIANO Now tell me how they cut this wood.

BRANDÔNIO Well, it's like this: they go some twelve, fifteen, and even twenty leagues out from the captaincy of Pernambuco in search of the greatest stands of it, for it cannot be found any closer at hand, since the demand has been so great. There, amidst great forests, they find it. The tree has a smallish leaf and thorns along the trunk. The men who engage in this occupation take many slaves from Guinea with axes. After the tree is on the ground, they remove all the outer layers, for the brazil is in the heartwood. In this way, a tree of tremendous girth supplies a piece of wood no larger than your leg. After it is trimmed, they pile it up. From there, they cart it in wagons, five or six logs being tied together, until they get it to storage sheds, where barges can come alongside to take it aboard.

ALVIANO It must be a hard job to cut timber that way. Unless the yield is great, the merchandise will end up being very expensive.

BRANDÔNIO Oh yes, the yield is great. Many of these men cut one to two thousand quintals of brazil every year and haul it out with their ox teams. After they have got it to the storage sheds, they sell it for seven to eight tostons per quintal, and sometimes for more than that. They make a lot of money on it, and many men have made their fortunes that way.

ALVIANO If that's the way it happens, we can say that God gives the settlers in Brazil gold and silver in their fields, and that from something they have neither planted nor tended they pick the fruit.

4. Instructions on How to Manage a Sugar Mill and Estate

These guidelines were prepared in 1663 by the sugar planter João Fernandes Vieira for the senior administrator of Engenho do Meio in the floodplain of the Capibaribe River in Pernambuco. Fernandes Vieira had risen to prominence during the Dutch occupation of northeastern Brazil and had himself served as administrator of sugar estates during that period. He eventually owned at least five such properties. In 1645, Fernandes Vieira, heavily indebted to the Dutch West India Company, took a leading role in the Luso-Brazilian revolt against the Dutch occupation. By the 1660s, he was a leading figure in the restoration of Portuguese control, governor of Pernambuco, and one of the wealthiest men in the captaincy. He knew the sugar industry well, and his own practical experience as an administrator makes this document particularly informative about common practices on Brazilian sugar estates. In his instructions, the care and command of the slave force is placed first, indicating the importance and centrality of the labor force in the making of sugar. (This document was first published by the noted Pernambucan historian J. A. Gonsalves de Mello as "Um regimento do feito-mor de engenho de 1663," *Boletim do Instituto Joaquim Nabuco*, II [1953], pp. 80–7.)

REGIMENT that the Administrator of the Engenho should follow to satisfy his obligations and unburden his conscience, and doing otherwise, he must explain himself to God and is obliged to give restitution to the owner of the estate.

Confess the Slaves [*negros*] – He will be obligated every year to order everyone under his control to confess each Sunday and on saint's days, and he will order them to hear mass, and the children born he will order to be baptized in their time, and if any sick slave [is] in need of a confessor, he will send for one, and every Saturday and at night he will order the slaves to be instructed in their prayers.

Slaves Who Become Ill – As the blacks become ill, he will try to heal their bodies and provide whatever is lacking on the estate, and if the illness is dangerous, he will send the slave to the person who handles my affairs in Recife, if he believes that the slave cannot be cured on the estate.

Housing the Slaves – He will be obligated to go each morning to the slave quarters to see if the slaves are ill and to provide to them anything that is lacking and he will require that their houses be well swept with their sleeping platforms and mats in order; and he will require them to plant their gardens on saint's days and when the engenho is not milling, he will give them Saturdays for their planting in the winter.

Punishing the Slaves – Punishment of slaves should not be done with a stick nor should slaves be struck with rocks or bricks but when deserving of punishment, they should be tied to an oxcart and punished with a whip, and after being well-lashed, they should be cut with a razor or knife and then treated with salt, lemon juice, and urine and then placed for some days in chains; and if it is a woman being punished, she will be whipped in a shirt of baize and it should be done inside a house [privately] with the same whip.

Rationing the Slaves – In the winter, he should not awake the slaves before daybreak for any reason and only after daylight he should give them their ration of cane juice when it is available without fail.

Care with Slave Fights – He will take the greatest care to prevent hatreds among the slaves to prevent them from killing each other and try to promote friendships and when this does not occur, they should be sent to another estate. He should not permit them to eat meat of animals that have died and must be especially careful when oxen have died that they do not eat them.

Care for the Sick – When slaves develop a fever, he should wait forty-eight hours before ordering them bled. He should try to relieve them of the illness and get rid of it by ordinary means; and he should ask them what they have eaten or drunk in order to see if poison may be involved, and he should take them promptly to someone who knows about these things to see if they should be bled. And if a swelling of any kind appears and there is a suspicion that it may be a carbuncle, he should send the slave immediately to the house of Baltesar Leitão de Vasconcelos on my behalf to do me the favor of curing him. In similar cases, avoid using Master João or barbers because they do not know how to cure this and often have said it is a carbuncle and have killed the slave.

Count the Slaves – the slaves should be counted every day and those missing found by all means.

Care of the Oxen – He will take great care with the ox herd of the estate and send them to pasture with the best herdsmen and count the herd each day and look immediately for any that are missing. In the same manner, cure them of any illness or infestation [*bicheira*] that they may have and take care

that those that work one day do not work the next and he will pay attention that they do not suffer the work too greatly and that young oxen are broken in slowly and prepared for the carts so that all are ready to work. To each cart, man give two, three, or four teams of oxen according to their availability so that each carter knows the teams he has to work, and he who holds the office of captain or the cart men should have all needed to control them, and whoever disobeys him should be punished.

Visit the Woodlands – He will be obliged to visit the woods of the estate and defend them, to go there and see where the boundary markers are placed and not allow anyone to remove wood without permission; and to know this, he should have the woods inspected each week by an overseer or a slave of his confidence, and if anyone is found cutting wood, he should seize their tools and stop them from transporting the wood, and if they are caught a second time, a complaint of theft should be initiated with justice officials.

Visit the Waterworks – The same obligations apply to inspect the water tanks (*açudes*) and channels and keep all in good repair as necessary and he should never trust only in ordering that this be done but in going himself to make sure it is done.

Take Charge of the Firewood – When firewood is prepared for the mill, he must turn over a measure of six palms high by six palms wide and twelve palms in length and he will go every week to see the firewood that is prepared and that it is of the proper measure and mix of thick and thin pieces and even if there is an assistant overseer assigned this task, the administrator will do this to make sure.

Fence the Cane Fields – He will seek to properly fence all the cane fields and crops of the estate and will see to it that the [dependent] farmers of the estate do likewise for it is not just that anyone eats the produce that costs so much effort to grow.

Care with the Houses – He will take great care with all the buildings of the estate and will order them repaired and roofed and will do the same with the slave quarters and will make sure that the [cane] farmers of the estate do the same for those under their control.

Care with the Pottery Works – He will try at all times to have a pottery works with a free potter when there is no slave to do this job and everything the said potter makes with his own hands, he will keep himself to sell to whomever he wishes, and if the estate has need, it will take what it needs, paying the potter as is the custom of which he will receive his share be it in dishes, sugar forms, and all else he makes, except roof tiles and bricks since these are made using slaves belonging to the estate and are only given to the potter when he fires roof tiles and bricks which take two days. And if the mudpits are close to the pottery, the people can carry it in baskets or on boards, and carts are needed only when the distance is great. He will always

have a surplus of tiles and bricks for any need and as many forms as may be needed.

Care of the Purging House – The purgery must always be well furnished with cisterns, chains, funnels, rows for forms [*andainas*] and lianas [*timbó*] to repair the forms, and he must take special care that the forms do not break.

Care of the Saw Mill – The saw mill of the estate will always be working and the carpenter will always have more than enough wood to make crates, boards, and carts, and he will continue to make them and will have a surplus of yokes made and everything else needed for the carts.

Collection of Cordage [*envira*] and Vines [*cipó*] – He will try in the period when there is the least to do to have much *envira* collected to make rope. Here, should always be a surplus on hand and also good quality vines to bind the fences together when necessary and using the same care, have lianas for the forms to make sugar.

Wood for the Gears [*dentadura*] – He will seek to have a surplus of wood for the gears of the axles and of the flywheels and will always have them ready, wood for the *cunhas* and some ready, and the other parts and equipment ready.

Ash for the Temper [*decoadas*] – He will take care each year to collect the ashes from the slave quarters and the pottery and place them where they will not become wet, and there should always be eighteen containers to prepare temper and there should be some extras always ready because they break and before the ash is added, they should be well prepared with lianas.

Care of the Distillery [*casa de aguardente*] – With the distillery, much care should be taken, using all the raw rum [*cachaça*] and if it is made well, it should be for transport, and if many containers are made for the juice [*garapas*] and all the necessary barrels should be asked for from the person who handles my affairs in Recife with all diligent care.

Attention to Plantings – If at the estate's expense plantings [of foodstuffs] are made, he should see to them with great care so that they are not lost nor that any animal should get to them to eat them.

Bridges of the Estate – He will have the bridges and entrances of the estate made and in good repair with their gates covered and if there is a road outside the estate, he will not allow anyone to enter except in case of necessity.

Clean the Pastures – He will always have the pastures clean and the estate drained. He will seek to have a good garden with many grape arbors, fig trees, briars, and enclosures that can be made of vines.

Division of the Sugars – The sugar made on the estate will be divided with all clarity and honesty with the cane farmers, giving them an equitable division. He will always strive that the sugar be of the best quality and that it does not go to the trash or that they stop making it because of some minor problem. And if the sugar master or the purger is in error, the administrator

will call on others from outside to investigate what error has taken place so it can be fixed, and the purger will always deal with the sugar with much care so that it can be made in as little time as possible.

Crating the Sugar Well – The sugar belonging to the estate will be crated perfectly so that if it is necessary to remove the lid so that the whole crate can be seen, it should be done; in making muscavado, he should be very careful and it is better to have two arrobas of muscavado than to lose good white sugar. Some four to ten crates should be ready.

Care of the Corrals – The corrals where the cattle sleep should be large and to take them in the morning, there should be another smaller corral so that there should be no effort in taking the oxen. The carts should always be kept in time of sun and rain beneath some building and to the carters there should always be grease [*sebo*] and he should order that during the harvest it should be used as a lubricant on the mill when it is working, and this should be done with great care. The temper for the sugar should always be good and the sugar master should be admonished not to wet the sugar excessively, and if it is made without water, I will value it even more. Put little or no oil in the heating pans [*tachas*] because experience has shown that it is harmful to the sugar.

Do Not Do Anything without the Order of the Governor – Do not give anything belonging to the estate without my order when I am where I can be asked, and when my agent in Recife is not available; and any matter of importance that takes place on the estate will be reported to me or to the said agent to be reported to me.

Report the Death of Slaves and Oxen – He will report the death of all slaves that die on the estate and the cause of death and do the same with the oxen so that everything is clear, and he will register the birth of the children that are born.

Care of the Coppers – The most important thing on an engenho are the kettles [*cobres*] with which he must take great care so that they are not damaged by fire. The same attention should be given to the tools so they are not stolen or lost.

Make a Roll Each Night – For the best satisfaction of his obligations, the Administrator should make each night a list of all to be done the next day and for all to be done well and easily, he should be a Christian fearful of God, mindful of the estate that has been entrusted to him, respected by the neighbors, courteous, seeing to the necessity of others, affable and reasonable with those under his jurisdiction, and not taking advantage of this under his orders.

If the Administrator does all of the above, not only will his conscience be clear but he also will reap the credit and will oblige me to help him gain more profit beyond his salary, God willing.

Beyond this, no excuse is to be permitted because as I have said, when there is doubt, I should be asked, nor do I want more than is written here even though it might seem better because the best practice is always to follow the orders of the owner.

And the said Administrator can sell molasses, low-grade sugar, and other byproducts of the mill as well as dishes from the pottery in order to help the sick and to attend to the other needs of the estate, and he can order that a slave woman of the estate raise chickens so that they can be available to be eaten by the sick.

Written at this Engenho do Meio on 23 June 1663.

And the Administrator at this Engenho do Meio will give to Senhora Izabel Ferreira all that she requires and will adjust accounts accordingly.

João Fernandes Vieira

5. The Commerce of Brazil

The export of Brazilian sugar connected the colony to Portugal and the rest of Europe. Ships from Holland, Hamburg, and other Hanseatic cities, and even Ragusa in the Adriatic, carried much of the sugar trade in the sixteenth century, and although after 1590 controls of this commerce became much tighter, such commerce continued under Portuguese license. In this document, a ship from Gadansk (Danzig) seeks a permit to sail to Brazil, undoubtedly to load sugar. The way in which Brazil's commerce could be used as an attraction to other nations for Portugal's benefit is made clear here in the colonial council's recommendation. (From Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Codice 41, fs. 101v–102.)

Discussion of the Conselho da Fazenda

On the landing of the ship called the *White Greyhound* (*Galgo branco*), which is in the river of this city for which João Mainante, native of Danzig, vassal of the King of Poland has petitioned.

By a communication of the Governor of the 29 of last March of this present year [1636], there comes before this council a petition of João Mainante, master of the ship called the *White Greyhound* now in this port to be presently discussed, having it in mind that His Majesty wishes that these people be treated with all possible kindness and favor. In this petition, the said João Mainante states that he is a native of Danzig, a subject and vassal of the king of Poland and he came directly to this city with a cargo of wheat for its relief and sustenance during a period of much shortage, and while unloading his vessel he had been prohibited from going to the parts of Brazil, which was a great inconvenience to him being as he was a

subject of the king of Poland, and by whose order and command he came with his ship as Almirante in the company of Nicholas Larquer, also in a ship of the said king of Poland, who carried letters for His Majesty and for Princess Margarida [regent in Portugal] in which they were asked not to cause this difficulty or keep the ships from sailing but rather to give them every favor and support. And by the documents that he provided, they show that he is a subject of the king of Poland. He asks Your Majesty order that his ship be landed since he is a vassal of the king and that there are in this port ships from Asia more suited for that voyage.

The said petition and documents are being sent to the Provedor of the Customshouse so that he may be informed, and that was done and Mainante said that he was a vassal of the king of Poland. And he [Mainante] says that the ship in which he came, having brought wheat for the benefit of this city, he asked to be excused from the embargo so that he could proceed to Brazil. And because his departure is not so imminent and the delay will be long and with costs to Your Majesty's Treasury and that in the meanwhile other ships will arrive that can make up for the absence of this one, and that it seems to him that he should be excused.

It seems that given the reasons that the petitioner alleges in his request and the information provided by the Provedor of the Customshouse and according to the papers presented to this council that he is a vassal of the king of Poland, and that Your Majesty and the Governor had been contacted about the good treatment and passage of the petitioner, Your Majesty should order that his ship be released because in addition to the other reasons mentioned, this will move the king of Poland to send to this kingdom many ships and goods from which will result many taxes for the Treasury of Your Majesty. Lisbon, 11 of April of 1636.

6. The Crisis of Brazilian Sugar

By the mid-seventeenth century, the Brazilian sugar economy confronted a series of structural and political challenges. The occupation of much of northeastern Brazil by the Dutch (1630–54) and the subsequent war to recover that territory (1645–54) destroyed many sugar estates and placed a heavy tax burden on the remaining plantations. Meanwhile, competition emerged in the Caribbean, as islands such as Barbados, Jamaica, and Guadeloupe and mainland colonies such as Surinam began to export sugar to Europe; this lowered the price of sugar but raised the price of slaves because of the new demand for laborers. By the late 1680s, the price of sugar in Lisbon was only a third of what it had been in 1654. These generally unfavorable conditions for Brazil's exports were exacerbated in the 1680s by droughts and epidemics in the colony. This lamentable situation moved the town council of

Salvador to petition the Crown for tax relief in 1687. The town councilors could not know at that point that with the outbreak of war in Europe in 1689, new opportunities would be created for Brazilian commodities. However, the recovery in the 1690s proved to be short-lived, and there was a downward trend of agricultural exports thereafter until the mid-eighteenth century. The letter of the Senate (or town council) of Salvador included here reveals the contemporary perception of the Atlantic market, an understanding of the south Atlantic links between Angola and Brazil, and the importance of the slave trade. It also indicates unhappiness with the level of governmental taxation and an emerging recognition of Brazil's vital role within the economy of Portugal and its empire as a whole. (From *Cartas do Senado da Câmara da Bahia, 1638–1692* [3 vols. Salvador, 1950–3], vol. 3, pp. 49–51, as translated by C. R. Boxer, *Portuguese Society in the Tropics* [Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968], pp. 186–8.)

20. The Senate of Bahia and the Crisis in the Sugar Trade, 1687

Letter from the Senate to his Majesty Concerning the Need to Find a Means to Encourage an Increase in the Exports of the Products of this Land, Owing to the Way They Have Slumped Due to Their Dearness and High Taxation, 12 August 1687

At the demand of the most eminent of the People of this city of Bahia and impelled by our duty as the head thereof, We come to the Royal Feet of Your Majesty in order to represent the universal sorrow of us all at the slump in the products of Brazil – sugar and tobacco. It is said that the foreigners no longer need them since there is a surplus from what they themselves cultivate in the Indies, selling the refined sugar in Italy and the tobacco in India. And exports of these commodities from Portugal are now reduced to a very small quantity, which we still retain because of the superior quality of our sugar over theirs, and because they need some of every kind to drive a better business. This would seem to be true, for the Customs Houses no longer clear these commodities, and the people who went [to Portugal] in the fleet of the last year of 1686, wrote and ordered their agents in Brazil to send them their capital in money or in bills of exchange; for sugar and tobacco are neither wanted nor bought by the foreigners, and for Portugal eight thousand or ten thousand chests of sugar and as many more of tobacco suffice yearly. We are compelled to recognize the truth of this since in this present fleet, the merchants refrained more than ever before from buying these commodities, and they only accepted sugar and tobacco in payment of their goods when they were bound by previous contracts to do so.

Matters being in these straits, Sire, it seems that we can regard the trade of Brazil as given over and lost, nor must Your Majesty's Council consider

it in any other way. This is all the more reason why every effort should be made to find a remedy before it is too late, even though those who are in Portugal write us, and those who come thence tell us, that this trade is already lost, since there is no hope of making a profit therein, nor of exporting these commodities from that kingdom. Those who discuss the cause thereof state that both as regards Brazil and Portugal, the collapse of the sugar was due to the duties that were laid on it on top of the old duties and the seven vintens per arroba for the convoy-tax when the Companhia Geral was founded, at a time when the emergency of the war justified this and when the sale price of sugar oscillated between 30,000 and 30,500 arroba, thus enabling it to bear the new burden. And as regards the tobacco, the decline is due to the rigid monopoly thereof and the heavy duty of one vintem per pound that was imposed on it, in addition to the other duties that had been levied on it at the same period of the war and of the convoy. That the English and the other peoples of the North, resentful of the high price of 30,500, resolved to go and cultivate these products in the Barbados and on the mainland of the Indies. That if it had been realized at the time what harm that diversion of this business boded for us, and the prices of our sugar and tobacco had been lowered to reasonable amounts, then it might well have happened that those nations would not have been so eager to grow those products for themselves, for despite everything, their sugar is not of such fine quality and prestige as ours. But this was not done, and we now realize that this trade is lost to us:

Wherefore, Sire,

We beseech, prostrated at the Royal Feet of Your Majesty, that you would order to be considered in your [Overseas] Council some remedy to ensure that this State does not perish completely, nor that of Angola, nor the interests of Portugal and of Your Majesty, so important for both these two conquests; because if there is no longer any demand for field-labor in Brazil, then the slave trade of Angola will likewise perish. This much is obvious.

Considering how to find a remedy for this state of affairs, we can suggest no other than that the cause thereof should be removed – the high price of 30,500, which was current in the years from 1645 to 1655. It is true that this price has declined since many years ago, but this would not matter so much if the duties had been lowered as well. The same applies to tobacco and the rigidities of its monopoly, so that if greed of gain leads to some smuggling and evasions, the resulting profits should not be reaped by foreigners but by the native-born vassals. These were called sons by the Lord Kings, Your Majesty's ancestors, and it is only right that Your Majesty should hold us in equal regard, and more especially those of Brazil because of the willing generosity with which they serve Your Majesty, to a degree far beyond their resources, for there are very few who do not owe more than they are worth to the traders who come from Portugal, due to the excessively

high prices that are charged for slaves, copper utensils, iron, pitch, *ireu* [?], and stuffs of silk and wool, as the ministers who serve and have served in this High Court can inform Your Majesty, since many bankruptcy and insolvency cases have passed through their hands. Furthermore, to this should be added the annual contribution of more than 100,000 cruzados, comprising a levy of 40 percent on a total of 1,280,000 cruzados, which this city alone has to contribute toward the dowry of the Lady Queen of England and the peace with Holland. Not to mention another six hundred added to the usual taxes to pay for the upkeep of the garrison (which is not the least important cause of our poverty) – so that if our products have no reliable export market, it must inevitably happen that we will not be able to carry these burdens and that Your Majesty's vassals in the whole state of Brazil will all be ruined. Moreover, it seems to us that this will be harmful to all the vassals in the kingdom of Portugal, since it follows that they, too, will then have fewer export markets for their own products. All this is very well known and understood by the fidalgos who have governed this State, and by the law officers of the Crown who have served here, for which reason we have ventured to expound it thus to Your Majesty, so that not only as our King and liege Lord, but also as our Father, you may rescue us all from the misery in which we lie. May God preserve the Royal Person of Your Majesty as these your vassals desire and need. Joam de Couros Carneiro wrote it in the municipal council at Bahia on 12 August 1687.

[Signed] *Antonio Guedes de Paiva / Manuel Pereira de Goes / Domingos Dias Machado / Francisco Pereira Ferraz / Domingos Pires de Carvalho.*

8

BURDENS OF SLAVERY AND RACE

Slave flight and resistance was a constant feature of Brazilian life. The formation of escaped slave communities called mocambos or quilombos took place everywhere in Brazil, but during the period of the Dutch occupation, a group of escaped slave communities formed into a conglomerate kingdom in a mountainous area in southern Pernambuco in what is today the state of Alagoas. Despite expeditions mounted against this community of Palmares [place of the palms] *by the Dutch and then by the Portuguese, the defenders put up an active guerilla defense throughout the seventeenth century. In the 1680s, expeditions of backwoodsmen from São Paulo as well as local troops were used against the escaped slaves, but only in 1694 were the last resistors defeated and their leader, Zumbi, killed. The following letters and accounts provide an idea of the tactics used to combat the fugitives and the threat that a community of escaped slaves seemed to present to the stability of the slave system as a whole.*

1. The War against Palmares: Letter from the Governor of Pernambuco, Ferão de Sousa Coutinho (1 June 1671) on the Increasing Number of Insurgent Slaves Present in Palmares

(Reprinted from Richard Morse, *The Bandeirantes* [New York: Alfred Knopf, 1968] and translated from Ernesto Ennes, *As guerras nos Palmares Coleção Brasiliana*, vol. 127 [São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1938], pp. 133–4.)

Sire. For some years the Negroes from Angola who fled the rigors of captivity and the sugar mills of this captaincy have established numerous inland settlements between Palmares and the forests, where difficult access and lack of roads leave them better fortified by nature than they might be by human art. These settlements are growing daily in number and becoming so bold that their continual robberies and assaults are causing a large part of the inhabitants of this captaincy who live nearest the mocambos to leave

their land. The example and permanence of the mocambos each day induces the other Negroes to flee and escape from the rigorous captivity which they suffer and to find freedom amid fertile land and the security of their own dwellings. One might fear that with these advantages they could grow to such numbers that they might move against the inhabitants of this captaincy, who are so few in relation to their slaves. To avoid this danger, I intend to go to Pôrto Calvo with the entrada of this summer, which is the most suitable place from which to wage this war. From there, using bodies of men that will continually relieve each other, I will order roads opened to the above Palmares by means of which their settlements can be besieged and razed consecutively until all are destroyed and this captaincy is left free of the misfortune which so severely threatens it. For many are the obstacles confronting me in this plan, owing to the difficult terrain and the lack of roads and transportation for provisions, which throughout this State can be carried only on the backs of Negroes since there are no roads for wagons nor even for more than men traveling in single file.... And Your Highness may be sure that this State is in no less danger from the audacity of these Negroes than it was from the Dutch. For in their very houses and plantations, the inhabitants have enemies who can overcome them if they should decide to follow the pernicious example and admonitions of those same rebels, who maintain contact with them, and who now have blacksmith shops and other workshops where they can manufacture weapons, since they already possess some firearms which they took from here. Also, this *sertão* is so rich in metals and nitrate that it furnishes everything for their defense provided they have the skills, which it may be feared many fugitives do possess who are trained in all the crafts. And because irreparable harm generally results when such dangers are ignored, I decided to take measures against any which might arise from these.

May God succor me to free this captaincy of this disturbance, which for me will be the highest tribute of all the services which I hope to render Your Highness. May Our Lord protect the most lofty and powerful person of Your Highness as is the wish of us your vassals. Olinda, the first of June, 1671.

FERNÃO DE SOUSA COUTINHO

2. Combating Palmares (c. 1680)

(Excerpt from A. de Magalhães Basto, ed., "Alguns documentos de interesse para a história do Brasil": anon. "Breve manifesto de nutiçiozas utilidades pertenssentes a este Estado do Brazil," in *Brasília*, 7 [1952], pp. 151–87 [pp. 182–3].)

Chapter 3. The Blacks and Their Quilombo

Many years ago, in Pernambuco, large numbers of runaway black people built a huge township in the interior of Alagoas, known as the "Quilombo of Palmares." There they remain, behind sturdy fortifications and stockades, bursting out to make their raids on so many townships, causing great harm and damage to their inhabitants. Many times, the governors of Pernambuco have issued orders for these blacks to be defeated, causing great expense to the Royal Exchequer and great anxiety to the inhabitants and the garrisons. When our forays appear successful, no sooner are a mere handful of blacks released in Pernambuco or in Bahia than they immediately run away and form up again with the rest in their shanty town. For our sins, weary as we are with sending out expeditions, they have actually made a pact with us, permitting them to inhabit their abode, even though there are a few conditions in our favor, as we try to make the best of a bad job.

Having said that, these incursions could easily be stopped, with little effort, at little cost to the Royal Exchequer, and with no further anxiety on the part of the inhabitants and garrisons, as I shall go on to explain.

Not many years ago, when I was in the captaincy of São Vicente, [I met] a certain Cornélio de Arzão, a man of great ability. He had gone to that town as captain-major of the expeditions that were [subsequently] sent against the heathens in the Orobó hills and against many other people of the same ilk. I was told that if His Majesty, whom God preserve, were to agree to invest in an expedition to capture these blacks, then Arzão and his men would guarantee success. They also promised to crush the blacks' forces in short order and to prevent them from ever forming up again.

I would like to support this with the following arguments. Apart from the presence in their forces of many indigenous warriors, *mamelucos*, *caboclos*,[1] mulattos, and other kinds of half-castes, these soldiers fight with a discipline not noted in others. Other such expeditions fail for lack of food supplies, either because the distance is too great for those carrying them or because long delays between meals weaken the troops. The first thing that these men do, however, is to pitch their camp and simultaneously encircle the enemy. They then immediately plant maize, beans, and other vegetables and harvest these after a short period. While these are still growing, they derive their customary sustenance on such expeditions from molasses mixed with bread and herbs and from wild fruits. In the meantime, they are always careful to ensure that their enemy does not escape. When once there is ample food dealt out to their warriors, there is a call to battle and the

1 The terms *mameluco* and *caboclo* both apply to cross-breeds of white and Amerindian parentage.

encirclement is tightened, until the beleaguered foe either surrenders or is destroyed by force of arms. As they are more skilled than the blacks and are better at survival in the interior, they defeat the blacks with very great ease. That is not only because the vast majority of these men fight with firearms, but it is also because the indigenous population has a natural aversion and hatred for black people. The latter are at a disadvantage, both in the use of bows and arrows and even more so in the use of firearms because of their lack of gunpowder. The inhabitants of Alagoas, Camaragibe, Porto Calvo, Barra Grande, Sirinhaém, and other nearby townships are all prevented from selling or giving any gunpowder or lead shot to the blacks. That is despite the blacks' claim that they wish to live in peace when they go to buy gunpowder. Otherwise, some of the inhabitants of these coastal townships could sell or give them the gunpowder and the other things that they ask for, either for their own selfish reasons or because they have no wish to offend them.

When the task is completed, all those Brazil-born black people capable of running away could head for remoter areas like Maranhão, where they are much needed. Neither could they run away from there because the indigenous population that lives close to the townships would never allow them to do that. Otherwise, they could make their way [round] to the south of São Paulo, to Buenos Aires. That is because the inhabitants of São Paulo will not allow them access, owing to the fact that in other places, as was the case in Rio de Janeiro, in just a few days they formed up again. It was in Rio de Janeiro that a number of blacks [rounded up by] the Carrilhos expeditions escaped again after a few days, causing even greater trouble because they took away with them others who had been working peaceably in their masters' houses.

3. Excerpts from the Will and Testament of Paulo de Almeida, a Former Slave [1752]

Many of those people enslaved escaped that status not by rebellion or flight to quilombos but by manumission. Freed persons of color became a large segment of the population. The complexities of slavery are apparent in this legal document in which Paulo de Almeida, a former slave in Bahia, draws up his final will. Almeida had been able to purchase his freedom through the practice of coartação in which slaves were allowed to buy their liberty after a price had been set on them. Like many former slaves, he eventually acquired property of his own, including slaves. The format of the will and testament and its standard Catholic provisions are quite common, but Almeida's recounting of his life, his possession of a number of slaves, some of whom were from his own region of Africa, and his marriage to a woman formerly his

own slave seem to indicate that slavery may have had alternate meanings and uses for those people formerly enslaved. (From Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia, Pirajá, seccão judiciaria, maço 2170, n. 1.)

In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three persons in one, The True God

Know all to whom this public instrument and certificate of testament comes, that in the year of the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ of One thousand seven hundred and fifty-one on the ninth day of the month of January of the said year, I, Paulo de Almeida, a free black man, being healthy and in the perfect judgment that our Lord has given me, fearing my death and wishing to place my soul on the path to salvation, and not knowing what God wishes to do with me and when He wishes to take me to Him, I make this my will and testament in this way.

First, I commit my soul to the Holy Trinity that created it and I ask that the Eternal Father by the death and passion, of His only son will receive it as he received His son who was dying on the True Cross, and to my Lord Jesus Christ by His divine wounds, that in this life gave me the benefit of His precious blood and His sacrifices that He give that grace in the life that awaits us that is glory; and I ask that the Virgin, Our Lady, the Mother of God and all the saints of the celestial Court, especially my Guardian Angel, and the saint of my name and all the saints to whom I have a particular devotion intercede for me with Our Lord Jesus Christ now and when my soul leaves this body, because as a true Christian I have tried to live and die in the Holy Catholic Faith and to believe in what the Holy Mother Church of Rome teaches, and in this faith I hope to save my soul, not by my merits but by the merits of the passion of God's only son.

I ask that in the first place my wife senhora Brites de Almeida and in second place my son, Cosme de Almeida, and in third place Senhor Antonio da Cunha for the service of God, Our Lord and to do me this favor, will serve as my executors.

Item. My body will be buried in my parish or where I die, wrapped in white burial sheets and carried to my parish to be buried, and the Reverend Vicar will be compensated in the usual way and will say four masses for my soul, each of 320 réis to be said on the day of my death or the following day.

I declare that I am a native of the kingdom of Angola of the land of the Congo and I came to this city of Bahia and from here was sent to the *sertão* and there I was the slave of Antonio de Almeida, and on his death a price for my freedom [*coartado*] was set at 100 milréis which I paid, and I was granted a letter of liberty and this I have been in possession of for more or less thirty years.

I declare that I was married the first time with Catherina Antonia, my companion and we were both slaves of the said Senhor Antonio de Almeida and he freed us both for money that we gave him, and my first wife is now deceased for many years from the present life, and from that marriage there were various children and all are now dead.

I declared that I am married in the form of the Sacred Council of Trent the second time with Brites de Almeida, a black woman now free who was for some time my slave to whom I gave her liberty, and afterwards I married, from which matrimony we had three children, that is two boys and a girl, the boys are called Martinho de Almeida and Cosmo de Almeida and the girl Domingas de Almeida, and all three I accept as my forced[2] heirs of my possessions.

I declare that the goods I possess [include] a black man [*negro*] named Manoel of the Angola nation from the land of Congo and I leave the slave Manoel with the price of his liberty set at 100 milréis and when he pays the 100 milréis, my executors will grant him his letter of liberty.

I declare that I also own another slave called Pedro of the Congo nation and he is married to another slave of mine named Isabel, also of the Angola nation who has a Brazilian-born [*crioulo*] son named Domingos who is also my slave; and I also have a black slave woman named Antonia of the Angola nation who has a little Brazilian-born daughter Maria who is also my slave. And I also own a Brazilian-born *parda* woman Anastacia who is the daughter of my wife who she had before she married with me, and I had freed her while she was in a relationship with another man, and thus the said child is my slave.[3]

And I also have a wheel to peel manioc with its copper and I have a pair of gold buttons worth 8 milréis and I have a cross of gold worth 5 milréis and these buttons and cross are pawned and in possession of Father Luis, the slave of Antonio Correia and also I have a pair of gold earrings and two pair of small gold buttons and two small bracelets of small red coral, and in my chest I have 20 milréis in cash, and I have whatever else is found in my house.

I declare I owe noting to anyone nor is anything owed to me.

I declare that my executors order that twenty masses of charity of twelve *vintens* be said for my soul in my parish. . . .[4]

2 Forced heirs are those who are entitled to inherit by law and cannot be excluded from the will.

3 It would seem that Paulo de Almeida freed his wife but kept her daughter legally as a slave. The reference to the daughter as a *parda* (light color) implies that her father was white or mulatto.

4 Missas de esmola de twelve *vintens:* meaning is unclear.

I declare that I leave to my Guardian Angel and the saint of my name four masses of charity of twelve *vintens* to be distributed in a brotherly fashion to each saint and two other [masses] to be in my parish.

I declare that my executors should order a mass of charity of twelve *vintens* be said for the soul of my former master Antonio de Almeida.

I declare that my executors order four masses of charity of twelve *vintens* each be said for the most needy souls in Purgatory.

I declare that I grant to my executors who accept the responsibility of my will four years within which to give an accounting.

I declare that my possessions that are not sold publicly and belong to my portion of the estate be sold privately.

I declare that after my bequests are made and my debts paid, the other costs incurred by my executors that I ask that for the love of God that masses be said for my soul with alms of twelve milréis for each and I thus leave my soul as the universal heir of my portion.

[the document closes with legal formula]

X (signed by the testator Paulo de Almeida).

9

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE POWER

In theory, the Brazilian colony was governed from Lisbon by centralized royal authority vested in governors, magistrates, and other royal officials, but the earlier system of donatary captains had remained in place in some regions, and local government was often controlled by the municipal councils of the port cities. Thus, powerful individuals, families, and interest groups such as the sugar planters or the merchants often exercised considerable influence on government and the law. The growth of the colony's population and its burgeoning economy in the later sixteenth century had created a number of challenges for the administration of justice. Municipal magistrates and a royal judge sent in 1549 were not able to keep up with the increasing amount of litigation and the prosecution of crime. After an aborted attempt in 1588, a royal court of appeals (Relação) with ten judges (desembargadores) was established in 1609. Its judges not only enforced the law but also made and interpreted legislation and served the governor in an advisory role, as well as taking on other administrative functions. Competing authorities such as the bishops or the donataries resented the proximity and power of the High Court, and so, in the aftermath of the Dutch seizure of Salvador (1624–5), pressure was brought on the Crown to abolish the High Court. It was abolished in 1626 and not reinstituted until 1652. The following anonymous document laments the court's demise and reveals the inequities and continuing problems in the judicial system. (From Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Colecção Pombalina 647, fols. 69–72).

1. Arguments of the Inhabitants of Bahia against the Suppression of the High Court (1626)

His Majesty has the responsibility of ensuring that his subjects are treated justly. Yet there was [formerly] no justice in the State of Brazil, nor could there be, as there was only one senior Crown judge. After taking detailed advice, the very Catholic and prudent King Philip, the first king of Portugal to bear that name,[1] ordered that there should be established a High Court in Brazil. To that end, he twice sent learned judges out to these Indies.

1 Philip II was king of Spain from 1556 to 1598 and also became Philip I of Portugal from 1580.

Driven by the same pressing need and sense of duty, His Majesty's father[2] sent a High Court to this country in 1609. It was very effective and, owing to its establishment on the basis of sound advice, it frustrated the intention of the bishops and of others to suppress it. Their object was to promote their own personal interests, without regard for the public good. Hiding behind a mask of private greed, they even argued that for reasons of State, the High Court was unnecessary in Brazil. Out of respect for the aforesaid former sovereign, it seems right that it should be kept in being, all the more so because without a High Court, justice cannot be administered, and the State would collapse in chaos.

Brazil is situated at a distance so remote from His Majesty that not only the poor cannot approach him but also even the wealthy, as we have noticed in individual cases. Moreover, the very difficulties and dangers of the sea voyage underline that fact. As the State of Brazil is governed by a governor-general and a senior Crown judge, they are effectively its monarchs, along with the bishops, the donataries, and other powerful figures, all of whom act in all matters with absolute power, so that His Majesty is king in name only. Men faithfully obey them, and the poor are simply ruined, without having anyone to whom to complain with regard to the injustices and ill use to which they are subjected. They simply get arrested and have their possessions confiscated without judicial redress.

Furthermore, the notaries fail to write down their applications or forward their grievances. The ships' masters are unwilling to carry such grievances for them and, if they do, they bring them back again, racked by fear of those whose interests are at risk from the complaints that are being made.[3] That [even] occurs in Portugal, where from the remotest part of the country one can reach the [Royal] Court in ten days without any danger and with little difficulty. But, rather than journey one thousand, six hundred leagues across a sea full of pirates and at the mercy of so many perils and [dire] events, Brazil's inhabitants prefer to endure persecution and injustice and to lose their property. They would rather do that than travel to Portugal to appeal against such injustice because the expenditure involved is normally greater than any profit that they might make from going to Portugal. As is well known, boosted by the confidence that they gain from such a situation, tyrannical ministers persist in their abuses and summon up courage to commit even greater outrages, before the High Court comes to Brazil.

2 The father in question was Philip III of Spain (Philip II of Portugal), who ruled over both countries from 1598 to 1621. The monarch reigning at the time at which this document was written was Philip IV of Spain (Philip III of Portugal), who ruled over both countries until the Portuguese Restoration of 1640.

3 The text is defective here.

I have no idea what good reason could be advanced by those whose object it is to suppress the High Court. If they are driven by any enthusiasm for justice when they say that there was no justice when the High Court was here, then how can they assert that there can be any justice without it? The following example illustrates this.

Was there ever seen such unrestrained dominance here in Brazil as that exercised by the governors, the senior Crown judges, and the comptrollers of the finances of the deceased and absent, not to mention the comptrollers of His Majesty's Exchequer? Yet, before the inauguration of the High Court, all justice lay in their hands. Were there ever such excesses and outrages, such misappropriation of State funds as each one of them practiced? In the past, High Court judges did not even receive one hundred milréis, which was insufficient even to pay for their food. Even when they came here in more prosperous times, their salary was [only] three hundred and fifty milréis, plus their perquisites. If we compare that with what the current authorities receive and with the misdeeds that all of them together have committed, we shall find that each one of the senior Crown judges and financial comptrollers has committed more misdeeds and made away with more money than all the High Court judges put together. This can be seen from the records of the proceedings concerning Licentiates Ambrósio de Siqueira and Francisco Sutil de Siqueira, who were, respectively, senior Crown judge and comptroller of the finances of the deceased. Those records are to be found with those relating to Brás de Almeida and others in the official criminal archives in Lisbon.

One man alone can easily be led astray by self-interest, love, hate, or fear. But a High Court cannot be corrupted, even if two men are unreliable, because the others remain steady. Even though some may feel inclined to commit some outrage, their sense of shame makes them hold back, as does their realization that the others will perceive what they are about. If High Court judges can forget their duties and responsibilities, do what they should not do, and bow to the requests of a dishonest governor-general, what is to prevent a single senior Crown judge from doing likewise? That is because, if he were to bow to his requests, he would receive honors and favors [from him].[4] Such a situation can give His Majesty cause to remove him, commanding him in the end to live out of reach of any harassment and ill treatment that may be inflicted on him by either the governor-general or the people. That is because he may become a victim of the people's displeasure and be persecuted by them if he does not accede to the governor-general's behest.

4 The text is defective here.

In our own times, as we have seen, governors-general and others, both from Angola and São Tomé, have embarked for Portugal, taking with them their Crown judges for not administering justice as they would wish the law to be applied. Although His Majesty declared himself to be well served by all those who made the journey, the governors went unpunished. Consequently, honest and saintly men are needed who will dare to administer justice in such remote areas. That is because they will be subjected to every form of outrage and persecution from those whose perception is perhaps so blind or whose self-interest is so great that they are unable to admit to the benefits that a High Court can bring. They fail to see that without a High Court, there can be no justice in these parts.

If, when there is a High Court, the senior Crown judges, in pursuit of their own ends, collude with the governors, captains, and other powerful men in the land, in order to intimidate High Court judges into revoking their verdicts, what will they do when there is no High Court?

If the Crown judges are normally so opposed to the other judges as to want them to revoke their verdicts, if they daily enter into judicial disputes with them, and if they constantly do whatever they see fit, then what will they do when there is no [judicial] body in the land to reject their unjust verdicts and decrees?

If the chancellor and other [High Court] judges who suspect the motives of the Crown judges and recognize how to curb their judicial disputes and adversarial behavior nonetheless cause excessive trouble themselves, what will happen when there is no High Court and when there is just one man of dubious character and qualifications to pass judgment on such suspicious activity? He is bound to do only what he wants to do.

If certain [High Court] judges, in order to avoid dying as martyrs in the cause of justice, just say and do what the governors, bishops, and captains want of them, and if they approve their actions, what will a senior Crown judge do, working on his own?

If ordinary justices and the city council commit misdeeds in the eyes of the High Court, as we have seen, and if the High Court blocks and revokes their verdicts, thus leading to judicial dispute with its judges, what then? Will they be so bold and so [lacking in] respect as to put them aboard ship? That is what happened on 14 August 1626, much to the dismay of the people of Bahia. What then would they do to a senior Crown judge acting on his own?

If anyone asserts that the High Court judges are just so many thieves and that they commit injustices as well, my answer is that those injustices are not a consequence of the High Court in itself but, rather, that they are due to the wretched approach and lack of Christian values on the part of its judges. Nor is that sufficient reason for suppressing the High Court. Let those who

are unscrupulous judges be thoroughly punished, as an example to others, and let their places be taken by other learned men, of whom there are plenty. Let honest judges be rewarded by His Majesty: then all judges will be good judges. If irresponsible behavior were to be grounds for suppressing all High Courts, there would be none left, because in all of them there have been good judges and bad judges. Similarly, in the Appeals Court in Lisbon, there have been those who have gone astray and been relieved of their posts, yet the Appeals Court has not been suppressed. The same action could be taken in respect of the Brazilian High Court, were any [judges] to be found guilty [of bad faith]. This should not be a cause for surprise because even among the Disciples of Christ, there was a certain Judas. As among all those who are not apostles, there are always some who fail to do as they ought, it is all the more likely that in this particular matter there would always be somebody to complain that justice was for sale and could never really be found.

If governors, their secretaries, and others in their service, even in the presence of the High Court, commit such well-known excesses, what would they get up to in the absence of a High Court? If governors, captains, and donataries, as well as other ministers, fail to deliver justice when a High Court judge takes up residence among them every three years, what would happen if a senior Crown judge were to do the same in accordance with a list of regulations that the next governor-general were to give him? If a captain-major on a poor salary, though fearful of the presence in residence of a High Court judge, forgets his fear and amasses thirteen thousand, two hundred cruzados in three years, what then? If this culprit is not punished during the period in residence of a disinterested High Court judge, if he is not punished by the High Court in the appropriate manner for being the protégé of the governor-general, what will that judge do if he charges and tries a senior Crown judge for doing the same thing as the [other] man charged?

If, rightly or wrongly, the good aroma of amber resin or the evil smell of a black man [as bribes] can achieve so much, if closeness to that smell can impede justice in a High Court, what will be the outcome if that smell reaches [the nose of] just one man, who not only smells it but really likes it? What kind of verdicts will he issue? His word will be law.

If the Jews take control of this State and achieve all that they want from the governor-general and certain ministers when there is a High Court here, what will they get up to when there isn't one? Though there was a High Court present, those people did what they did so openly during the Dutch invasion,[5] as everybody knows, and as His Majesty had warned. Yet, as they have remained unpunished for their scheming and the money [that they made], what will they get up to in the absence of any High Court? Will

5 The Dutch occupied Bahia from 1624 to 1625.

they be allowed to have mosques [i.e., synagogues] like those that they have in Damascus and elsewhere?

If those who made this proposal [to suppress the High Court] were motivated by the words of Judas, then they were also motivated by the intentions of Judas, namely that the money spent on the High Court should be given to impecunious soldiers. Let me state, as I have already done, that His Majesty is responsible for ensuring that his subjects are treated justly and that no monarch is so poor that an extra four or five thousand cruzados either enrich or impoverish him, especially as his Majesty is so powerful. Furthermore, without justice, the world will collapse in chaos. Consider what has been done in the city of Bahia [i.e., Salvador] since its recovery [from the Dutch]. As justice cannot be appropriately administered, and as the High Court is held in check in so many well-known ways, will His Majesty's subjects find that there is any? Consider [also] what has happened since there was news that the High Court was to be suppressed, for after its suppression, its verdicts have been set aside. Magistrates against whom appeals and grievances have been lodged do as they please. Ordinary justices and city councillors have reacted indignantly at the [High Court's earlier] revoking of their verdicts and unjust municipal ordinances. They act illegally, browbeaten by a certain donatary, who dislikes having High Court judges on his territory. As he has no wish that a High Court should exist, this donatary got the officers of the city council to arrange that a man in his service should be given power of attorney for the city of Bahia. That was at the very time when the flotilla of Dom Fradique was preparing to sail.[6] Once this representative reached Portugal, his very first request was that the High Court should be suppressed. [He supported his petition] with false information and with documents signed by people in litigation [against the High Court] and by the secretaries of noblemen. That can be seen from an examination of his petition, which also falsely asserts that by this [suppression] His Majesty would be spared considerable expense.

As there were eight judges sitting in the High Court (the largest number ever to have sat together), the cost amounted to six thousand, seven hundred and fifty cruzados. Its chancellor or any other High Court judge could act as comptroller-general of the Exchequer. If the High Court remained, therefore, one thousand cruzados would be saved. With the suppression of the High Court, His Majesty has to have [i.e., pay for] a comptroller-general of the Exchequer, a Crown judge, and a comptroller-general of the finances of the

6 The joint Spanish and Portuguese fleet under Don Fadrique de Toledo recaptured the city from the Dutch in 1625.

deceased, and roughly only four thousand cruzados are saved.[7] These costs were [otherwise] met by the chancellery, at no cost to His Majesty.

In respect of the salaries of the chaplain, the physician, the barber, and the chief customs officer and their perquisites, as well as the other expenditure of the High Court, His Majesty did not meet those either, as they were included in the expenditure of the High Court, which was duly funded. It could even help with other costs, so that such funding met the chancellery's tithes. Even then, there was money left over.

If His Majesty wishes to reduce any expenditure on the part of his Exchequer in respect of the High Court, since the litigants have alleged such expenditure in order to suppress it, let him command that the number of years in exile to which convicts are sentenced be commuted to half that number (they seldom serve the full sentence anyway). Instead, they should pay costs toward the expenses of the High Court, even if they have a case to argue. Let him also make a second decree, namely that in this captaincy, a public inquiry should be set up into misdemeanors against the community, just as there is in Lisbon. In that way, a great service will be rendered unto Our Lord, as well as contributing considerable sums toward the aforementioned expenditure and thus to the chancellery. Ten High Court judges could then be afforded, and still there would be money left over. His Majesty would thus reduce his expenditure while simultaneously delivering justice to this wretched country, for without justice, it runs the risk of countless disasters.

His Majesty has been misinformed because, even if he were to meet the entire cost of the High Court from his Exchequer, with the assistance of the High Court his income would grow all the more. Even with the High Court present, if there were all kinds of skullduggery, not to mention lack of executive action and excessive perquisites at the expense of the Royal income (for every sort of embezzlement is practiced against it), what would happen if it were suppressed?

His Majesty could also require that appeals and grievances arising in Angola should be brought to the High Court. As ships sail every month from there to Bahia, such a measure would perform both a great service to Our Lord and a great favor to the settlers in that country because of the great distance there is from there to Portugal. In addition, the income to this chancellery would be augmented.

In Peru and the Indies, His Majesty has many chancelleries [*audiencias*]. In [the viceroyalty of] Peru, there are five of them: one in Chuquisaca, one

7 In short, to dispense with the cost of the High Court would only produce a partial savings, owing to the extra cost of the three officials mentioned, whereas the chancellery of the High Court would have met that expenditure.

in Lima, another in the city of Quito, yet another in Chile, and the fifth in Panama. There are many more in the Indies.

The Canaries are four islands with a very small population and are situated quite close to Spain, yet His Majesty maintains a High Court on one of the islands to spare his subjects the immense inconvenience of a four or five days' journey to Spain for their appeals to be heard. That is all the more reason, therefore, for him to maintain a High Court in Brazil, which is nowadays so heavily populated. The population is constantly increasing, and Brazil is a long way from Portugal, as has already been mentioned.

Were His Majesty and his advisers to be aware of what is happening nowadays in this country since the suppression of the High Court, he would immediately send one out here with a large number of High Court judges. He is a Catholic monarch and would not wish his subjects to be devastated for want of justice. Brazil's jails are full of prisoners without hope of release. Some who are released after verdicts are passed on them (for the Crown judge to hear their appeals) experience a nail-biting wait for the results of the appeals to arrive from Portugal. Such results arrive sometimes late, sometimes never, owing to the mishaps that still occur at sea, whereas in the High Court, matters were dealt with from one day to the next: those involved were either released or punished. There was no long torment. May it please Our Lord to grant justice once more to this unhappy country. When there is justice, all will be well. If there is not, everything will go to rack and ruin, as at present.

10

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

The missionary clergy, especially the Jesuits, exercised a powerful influence on Catholic religious life in the colony. Brazil was organized around the continued efforts of the missionary clergy among the indigenous peoples and the presence of a diocesan clergy, which administered to the majority of the population. The two spheres, however, were never fully separated, and the members of the religious orders like the Jesuits, Carmelites, Benedictines, and Franciscans – usually referred to as the "regular" clergy – often took an active part in other aspects of religious and cultural life. Then, too, there were various forms of local practice, "superstition," and heterodoxy carried from Europe that encountered Native American and African practices and beliefs in Brazil. The documents presented here reveal two sides of religious life. The first text is a report on Jesuit activities in northeastern Brazil that underlines the multiple and varied activities of the missionary orders in the colony. It makes clear that the Jesuit activities were not limited to the Native American inhabitants of Brazil. The second text presents two depositions made before a visit of the Inquisition to Brazil, both of which reveal the existence of heterodox thought.

1. Jesuit Missions: Information for the Lisbon Committee on the Missions, 1702, on General and Economic Matters

(From Serafim Leite S.J., ed., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon, vol. 5 (1945), pp. 569–73).

The following is a brief report on the missions carried out this year in the territory of Bahia and in the Diocese of Pernambuco. A report on those in Rio de Janeiro will be sent separately, should news about them arrive in time. Otherwise, they will be sent in a year's time.

In Pernambuco, Fathers Cosme Pereira and Francisco de Araújo carried out a mission lasting four months and in eighteen places, starting out in Cape Santo Agostinho and ending in Alagoas. The fruits of this mission were the revalidation of thirty-three marriages to which there had been impediments and listening to five thousand, one hundred and ninety-five ordinary

confessions. In addition, they heard four hundred and seven general and necessary confessions pertaining to entire lives or to those who had not confessed for many years. There were another thirty heard as a special act of devotion. Holy Communion was distributed to four thousand, nine hundred and seven people. Religious instruction was imparted with particular care to black people. This was also of no little benefit to white people, amongst whom there is just as much ignorance. In that way, the Fathers sought to persuade masters to treat their slaves better, to moderate the punishments that they mete out to them, and to give them all that they need in order to feed and clothe themselves. Many occasions of sin were abandoned, duly remedied by stable marriages. Many made peace with one another, and many deaths were thus avoided, deaths that would certainly have ensued, if the presence of the mission had not caused enemies to become reconciled. By night and by day, it was a major task because certain women in poverty sought absolution at night, and because everybody wanted to make their confession to the missionaries rather than to the [local] secular priests.

Fathers José Bernardino and Francisco de Lima spent five months making their way between the sugar plantations of Bahia. From there, they moved on elsewhere, till finally their round trip amounted to one hundred and fifty gruelling leagues. They made regular stops and carried out their duty of preaching, giving instruction, and hearing confessions in both Portuguese and the language of Angola. This they did in forty-eight churches, apart from the chapels that they also visited. Though short of sleep, they had to satisfy crowds of people who came to them more at night than by day and for the reasons already mentioned. Frequently, they experienced sleepless nights, for there was no alternative. Sometimes very poor people had journeyed for three days without food and without respite, simply in order not to miss the chance to earn the plenary indulgence and to open their burdened consciences to the Fathers. On such occasions, the parish priests also heard confessions, for this was a true visitation made to their flocks, because the missionaries attracted them from afar and gave them great consolation, whereas sometimes a Father Visitor would frighten them away and leave them unconfessed.

The feuds that were peacefully resolved numbered forty-eight. Three parish priests who till then had been greatly disliked by their parishioners came to be acknowledged with all due deference and love. A number of parents welcomed back children whom they had thrown out of their houses for disobeying them. Nearly seventy potential scandals were intercepted; some of them would have led to dispossession or even death. Some men rid themselves of slave women with whom they were developing unsavory relationships, selling them to people who lived a great distance away, to avoid ever seeing them again. Others married their concubines and heaped gifts

upon them as an expiation of their guilty behavior. Many marriages were reinstated, and with the necessary dispensations. Much stolen property was given back: it so happened that on the selfsame day, five Father Confessors all got up from the confessional with a considerable amount of money with which to hand back what had been stolen.

One hundred and seventy-eight Angolan slaves were baptized. Some received baptism in the absolute sense because they were living just as they had arrived, that is to say, unbaptized. Others were conditionally baptized because, though adults, they had received too little religious instruction and had not grasped the full implications of receiving water on their heads and salt in their mouths, prior to their being shipped to Brazil.

Masters were effectively persuaded to give female slaves decent clothing with which to cover themselves. That was done to discourage their masters from seeking what would be offensive to Almighty God and, more importantly, from wantonly preventing them from going to Holy Mass on Sundays and Holy Days. Many masters in fact did this, both the owners of sugar plantations and tenant farmers who were growers of tobacco and sugarcane. While the mission was present, some slaves paid no heed to the threats and punishments that they received and gave up work for a while, in order not to miss the benefits that the mission conferred.

Using exorcisms sanctioned by the Church, the Fathers cast out sundry demons from people's bodies. In particular, one such demon answered the priest in Latin, having entered the bodies of three children, one by one, because their father had given them over to the Devil in a torrent of rage, as a lot of fathers are wont to do. It was also necessary to remove a great deal of superstition to which some people were prone. Others had to be cured with words and drinks that would make them more gentle and amiable. Quite a number of objects used for inflicting curses on people were handed in to the Fathers.

The number of ordinary confessions that the missionaries heard at this time amounted to six thousand, three hundred and ninety, quite apart from those heard by other priests, which would be as many again. The general and necessary confessions, for those concealing their sins, came to two hundred and twenty-four. Those heard as a special act of devotion or to remove specific scruples totaled two hundred and eighty-seven. It was a result of particular Divine Providence that the missionaries were drawn to certain houses where there was a profound need for such absolution. In many places, the Fathers dispelled a sense of shame that was felt by certain women at not going to Holy Mass because they were not as well dressed as other women of lesser standing. The Fathers also dealt with the case of a certain man who was in litigation with some cleric who, in his view, had harassed him unjustly. They got him to make an effort to go to church to hear Holy Mass,

to go to confession and to receive Holy Communion. For five years, because of the said cleric, the man had hated everybody and could not bear to see them, go anywhere near them, or even discharge his Lenten duties. In one village, where they were all fishermen, the villagers believed that their failure to catch any fish was due to the fact that they had paid no heed to the excommunications received for the stealthy thefts that they had carried out. Yet fishing was their livelihood and their normal means of sustenance. With a common accord, all the people who had had things stolen responded to the Fathers' persuasive words by forgiving the fishermen for any thefts committed up to that time. Afterwards, the fishermen asked the missionaries to bless their nets, their boats, and the sea. This they did with such joy and expressions of Faith that they brought tears to the Fathers' eyes and, with that, the complaints ceased forthwith. The protection afforded by Our Lady was evident wherever the missionaries went and on those occasions when they had great need of her intercession, as when they needed to overcome obstinate and perverse attitudes and change people from wolves into lambs and win from them the desired deference and repentance.

In the new villages in Açu in the territory of Jaguaripe in Pernambuco, Fathers João Guincel and Vicente Vieira suffered very greatly, not only in the assaults that were made against their Payacu Indians but especially also in those made by the cowherds. The latter, whenever the Tapuyas build a village anywhere, at once seek to install cattle ranches near them. When they do this, they cause considerable difficulties for the Indians and treat them with contempt. There is no means whereby the Indians can stop them. Indeed, the cowherds instigate other tribes to cause trouble for them as well, when they ought, as Christians, to be helping the Fathers to attract them to the Faith and to win them over to it. However, as the garrison from São Paulo is located in the same area, the Indians will have a force to defend them and relieve them of their anxieties, for the cowherds greatly obstruct God's work. Fathers Filipe Bourel and Manuel Dinis experience fewer difficulties of this kind and so they find it easier to teach their barbarians the Catechism and deal with them in an orderly fashion.

Fathers Ascenso Gago and Francisco de Araújo are already experiencing the fruit of their endeavors in the largest village in the province. It is up in the Ibiapaba Mountains, beyond Ceará, and was formed from three other smaller villages. Each of them keeps its own leaders, so everybody is contented and they all remain united. Till now, they have maintained the peace that they negotiated with two other Tapuya tribes who in former years caused them considerable trouble.

Plans already existed to send other Fathers to Montevideo but, as His Majesty, whom God preserve, has decided to send a garrison there, their journey has been suspended. As had been arranged, they stand ready to

obey and set off elsewhere at the first opportunity to wherever is deemed to be necessary. Bahia, 5 July 1702.

[List of Indians]

There follows the list of the [Indian] villages that are under the care and direction of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus throughout Brazil [with the exception of Maranhão and Pará]. His Majesty commanded in his letter of 18 April 1702 that such a list be forwarded to him. The approximate details are as follows:

Pernambuco

In the village of Guajuru there are some	250
In Guaraíras there are no more than	300
In Urutaguí little more than	150
By the headwaters of the Jaguaripe over	1,000
Around the Podi lagoon in Açu	1,000
In the Ibiapaba mountains, where three villages have come together, over	4,000
The total for Pernambuco is at least	6,700

Bahia

In Camamu there are some	300
In Sirinhaém many have died, leaving	50
In the village of Espírito Santo up to	300
In São João de Porto Seguro they amount to	500
In Patativa there are some	300
In the enlarged village of Ilhéus nearly	900

Tapuyas in the Interior of Bahia

In the village of Natuba more than	600
In the village of Saco more than	700
In the village of Cana Brava almost	800
In the village of Juru more than	400
[Total of] those pertaining to Bahia	4,850

Captaincy of Espírito Santo

In the village of Reis Magos more than	500
In the village of Reritiba more than	600
All together	1,100

Rio de Janeiro

São Lourenço few more than	100
São Barnabé nearly	400
Itinga up to	300
Cabo Frio more than	1,000
Total	1,800

São Paulo

In Emboug, Capela, and the plains of the Paraíba, more than	1,000
Grand total for all the above Brazilian villages	15,450

The two villages in Açu, namely the one alongside the Jaguaripe and the one around the Podi lagoon, are new and are receiving baptism; those not yet baptized are receiving appropriate instruction.

The Indians that inhabit the [three] united villages in the Ibiapaba mountains have nearly all been baptized, both those that speak Tupi and those that speak Portuguese. Apart from those, the Fathers are currently visiting a number of Tapuya tribes and winning their confidence, persuading them to abandon pillaging and to congregate in villages, so that they too can receive religious instruction.

The Indians in Açu, the Quiriris from the interior of Bahia, and the Paiaiás are Tapuyas who speak different languages. Nearly all of them have been baptized. Those who speak Tupi are all Christians.

Our Jesuit Fathers are to be found in all these villages. In some of them are [other] religious as well. There are also youthful students who are learning the language, without which they cannot go on to study philosophy. They are tested, under oath, by four examiners and either pass or fail.

As our college in Olinda maintains six villages, of which four have grown up since the endowment received from the Foundation, representations are being made to His Majesty that he needs to award an annual subsidy to cover the costs that would arise, if it were to happen that the six thousand cruzados that he sent did not take effect. That sum was forwarded, on His Majesty's orders, to fund a hospice or residence with three cattle farms for the upkeep of the missionaries working in the Ibiapaba mountains in Ceará. It went with a letter on 8 January 1697 to the governor of Pernambuco, Caetano de Melo de Castro. To date, nothing has been done about it, for the reasons that are now being set before His Majesty.

Bahia, 5 July 1702
João Pereira [Provincial]

2. The Inquisition in Brazil: Two Cases

No permanent tribunal of the Portuguese Inquisition was established in Brazil, but individuals charged with heresy, apostasy, and various moral or religious crimes were sent from Brazil to Lisbon for trial. On a number of occasions, a "visit" or temporary investigation conducted by visiting inquisitors was sent to Brazil and operated in the colony. From 1591 to 1593, such a visit was made to Bahia and Pernambuco. During a period of grace, persons could confess to the inquisitors and expect to receive a lighter punishment. The two confessions translated here made during the period of grace reveal not only what weighed heavily on someone's conscience and the form in which such testimony was collected but is also revealing of the intimate life and thoughts of people in colonial Brazil. The first case contains the confession of a woman attracted to a heretical millenarian cult that began among the Indians but that also attracted persons of African or European background. The second case deals with bigamy and provides a glimpse into domestic life and the relations between men and women in the colony. (From *Santo Ofício da Inquisição de Lisboa. Confissões da Bahia*, Ronaldo Vainfas, ed. [São Paulo: Compañía das Letras, 1997], pp. 144–9).

(a) Confession of Luísa Barbosa, an Old Christian, during the Period of Grace, 23 August 1591

She described herself as an Old Christian and native of Bahia. She was the daughter of Álvaro Gonçalves Ubaca and of his wife Maria Barbosa. She was married to Belchior Dias Porcalho, was approximately thirty-seven years old, and lived here, in the city of Bahia.

In her confession she said that when she was some twelve years of age, a superstition had arisen in this captaincy among the native Christian Indians of Brazil, a superstition that, among themselves, they called the "sanctity" [*santidade*]. Since that time, this superstition has frequently been noticed in this captaincy.

According to the indigenous Brazilians, Christian or otherwise, this "sanctity" was a god of theirs. This god told them not to work because food and other supplies would always be available naturally, and that those who did not believe in the "sanctity" would be turned into sticks and stones. White people would be turned into game for them to hunt. That "sanctity" of theirs was kind and saintly, whereas what the Christians taught was worthless. That was what these people said, among many other forms of nonsense.

Her mother being dead, the penitent had at that time been expounding these beliefs in a house belonging to Mécia Pereira, the wife of António da Costa. In fact, black people, both Christian and pagan, as well as indigenous Brazilians, who were to be found in Mécia's house, all repeated

to one another the above-mentioned elements of this superstition, as well as many other aspects that she cannot recall. This applied equally to those to be found in the house of the penitent's father and elsewhere.

She had herself been indoctrinated into these beliefs at a tender age, at a time when she had had little experience. For two years and some months, she had accepted this mistaken doctrine, repeating its erroneous views and believing in the "sanctity." It had seemed to her to be true, to be beyond all doubt. She had discussed matters with the followers of these mistaken beliefs, had agreed with them, and had told them that she truly accepted them.

Once the followers of this superstition had been suppressed and punished, she had realized that it was all false and erroneous and had made her confession to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who had absolved her. She now seeks forgiveness and mercy from this [inquisitorial] board.[1]

When questioned as to whether, when she had believed in the aforesaid aspects of the superstition, she had ceased to believe in the Christian Faith and all the good things that it taught, she replied that she had always continued to accept Christian teaching as good teaching and had never abandoned the Christian Faith, even though she had simultaneously accepted the other absurd beliefs, owing to her tender age.

Questioned further, she stated that all those adherents of the superstition with whom she had spoken and associated were now dead, and that she was unaware of any that were still alive.

At once, the Visitor-General recommended to her that she should frequently go to confession and listen to preaching.

(b) The Confession of Antónia de Barros, an Old Christian, during the State of Grace, 23 August 1591

[The penitent][2] declared that she was an Old Christian and that she was a native of Benavente.[3] She was the daughter of Diogo Martins Perdigão, who was one of those who ran the township, and of his wife, Maria de Barros, both of whom were now dead. She was approximately seventy years of age, dwelled here in Bahia, and had been the wife of Álvaro Chaveiro, who worked as a fisherman and boatman between Benavente and Lisbon.

1 The board was presided over by the Visitor-General, Heitor Furtado de Mendoça, whose visitation to Bahia and Pernambuco lasted from 1591 to 1595.

2 Examined by the Visitor-General, she was discharged for having made her confession while in a state of Grace. Having abjured her sins before the inquisitorial board, she was given spiritual penance (ANTT, II, proc. 1279).

3 This township is situated on the River Sorraia between Santarém and Lisbon.

Confessing her sins, she declared that she had arrived from Portugal some thirty-two years earlier, having been exiled to Brazil for five years by the secular justices on account of the adultery of which her husband had accused her.

Back there in Portugal, she had begun a relationship with an Old Christian named Henrique Barbas. He was the son of Vasco Barbas, a prominent citizen of Vila Franca [de Xira]. She had accompanied him to Brazil and they had come ashore in Porto Seguro.

Just a few days after their arrival in that captaincy, though both she and the aforesaid Henrique Barbas knew perfectly well that Álvaro Chaveiro, her legitimate husband, was still alive in Portugal, she, the penitent, and Henrique Barbas had got married.

Henrique Barbas had arranged false witnesses, who swore that Henrique Barbas was a bachelor and that she, the penitent, was a widow. They also swore that they had witnessed the death and burial in Benavente of her husband, Álvaro Chaveiro. This was a lie and a falsehood. Two years after the penitent had married Henrique Barbas at the church door, with permission from the [ecclesiastical] ordinary, issued on the basis of the declaration made by the false witnesses, her husband, Álvaro Chaveiro, was still alive in Benavente, as later news and messages confirmed.

After her marriage, with Church approval, to her second husband, Henrique Barbas, when both she and he knew that her true husband was still alive, they went on living in Porto Seguro for more than fifteen years as man and wife.

Yet, Henrique Barbas beat and thrashed and generally abused the penitent to the point where she fled the house and took refuge in the church in their township. There she began to declare openly that Henrique Barbas was not her legitimate husband, simply because when she had married him in Porto Seguro, her true husband, Álvaro Chaveiro, had still been alive and had lived for a further two years.

Consequently, she separated from him. Still a bachelor, he now lives in the captaincy of Espírito Santo, on the coast of Brazil. For her guilt in this matter, she was now seeking the forgiveness and mercy of this board, while in a state of Grace.

When asked who were the false witnesses, she replied that they were already dead.

When asked where she was married to her first husband, she answered that she and her first husband were joined in matrimony by the prior of Benavente (whose name she does not remember) in the mother church, Nossa Senhora da Graça. They had taken the customary vows required by the Church. Her sponsors had been Tareja da Gama, sister of the count of

Vidigueira,[4] in whose service she, the penitent, then worked, and Maria Teixeira, also a noblewoman, both of whom were now dead. Her husband's sponsors had been Luís Mendes and Manuel de Vasconcelos, sons of the aforesaid Tareja da Gama, both of whom had gone to serve in India. Also present at the marriage had been many other people, whose names she could not now remember.

When she was asked who in Porto Seguro joined her in marriage to Henrique Barbas, she stated that the latter had arranged the false witnesses (as mentioned above), and that thereby they received permission to marry. She added that they were joined in marriage by Father Diogo de Oliveira in the Church of Santo Amaro, and that they both took the customary vows in accordance with the rites of Holy Church. Her sponsor at the marriage in Porto Seguro was Maria Barbosa, whilst Henrique Barbas's sponsor was Gonçalo Pires, the husband of Maria Barbosa. Many other people were present at the marriage, but she could not now recall who they were.

As she had nothing further to add, she was ordered to maintain secrecy on account of the oath that she had taken and to return to the board when she was sent for.

As she did not know how to sign her name, the notary did that on her behalf and at her request.

4 The first count of Vidigueira was Vasco da Gama. The fourth count, Francisco da Gama, mentioned here, pursued a distinguished career and was twice viceroy of India.

11

FRONTIERS

Although the heartland of the Portuguese colony of Brazil remained the coastal strip, by the seventeenth century, slave hunting, cattle ranching, and prospecting had opened up small settlements and trails into the interior. On the perimeter of the major areas of settlement, a number of kinds of frontiers developed. The northern captaincies of Maranhão and Pará constituted a separate colony in many ways. They had been the target of French, Spanish, and other European projects at colonization, but with the foundation of cities such as São Luiz (1614) and Belem (1616), a Portuguese presence was fully established, and the area was created as a separate administrative unit, the State of Maranhão, in 1621. Despite that action, the European population remained small because these areas continued to be something of an economic backwater, even though attempts were made there to develop sugar plantations. Colonists remained dependent on Native American workers and thus clashed with the missionaries in the region, repeating in a way the struggles between colonists and Jesuits that had characterized the Brazilian coast in the sixteenth century. The Jesuits replaced the Franciscans as the major missionary order in the region in the 1640s. They led a campaign against colonist abuses that resulted in a 1655 law limiting enslavement of Indians, but this legislation was ineffective, and the struggle continued between missionaries and colonists well into the following century. Jesuit Father Antônio Vieira, author, preacher, diplomat, and missionary, was sent to Belem as Jesuit Provincial in 1652. His letter to the Crown translated here makes clear the region's problems.

Another kind of frontier developed in the interior. Westward from the coastal settlements of Brazil, especially in the northeastern captaincies of Bahia and Pernambuco, cattlemen had opened up vast stretches of the arid backlands or sertão, sometimes creating properties of great size. Large drives of cattle brought the livestock down to the coast to supply the needs of the colony as described in document 2 and, in doing so, expanded the scope of the colony.

It was, however, the search for precious metals that finally moved the population inland on a large scale. Travelers, colonists, and royal officers had long searched for gold or other precious metals. Companies of trailblazers and backwoodsmen had traversed the interior in search of mineral wealth and of Native Americans who could be used as workers. Setting out from São Paulo and from other towns, these

men explored the interior and pushed the frontier of occupation westward. By the 1670s, with the sugar economy in decline, the search for precious metals became intense, but it was only in 1695 that relatively large strikes were made in the mountainous area called Minas Gerais. Gold fever swept through the colony and the empire. Neither Brazil nor the Portuguese empire would ever be the same again. The most famous early account of the mining region was penned by André João Antonil (Giovanni Antonio Andreoni), an Italian Jesuit who came to Brazil in 1681 and became Provincial of Order and rector of the Jesuit College of Salvador. In 1711, he published Cultura e opulência do Brasil por suas drogas e minas, *an analysis of the major economic activities in Brazil including the newly discovered mines, but his descriptions of the routes to the mines were so accurate that the book was banned and almost all the existing copies destroyed.*

1. The State of Maranhão: A Letter from Father António Vieira S.J. (1653)

(From J. Lúcio de Azevedo, ed., *Cartas do Padre António Vieira*, Lisbon, vol. 1 (1970), pp. 296–305).

To King João IV from Maranhão, 20 May 1653

Sire,

Your Majesty was pleased to entrust me with the very special task of converting the pagans of this State[1] and with maintaining and increasing therein the presence of our Holy Faith. For that reason, I would be greatly failing in my duty to Your Majesty and to the demands of my conscience, if I were not to report to Your Majesty the sad lack of spiritual values that is so prevalent here. I shall, therefore, indicate, as summarily as I can, the causes of these difficulties and how they can and must be remedied.

The inhabitants of this new world, for that is what it may be called, are either Portuguese or native Indians. Some of the Indians are pagans who live in the interior and speak a vast range of different languages. Other Indians are for the most part Christians and live among the Portuguese. Of the latter Indians, some are free men and live in their villages, whilst others are partly free and partly captive, living and serving the Portuguese in their houses and on their plantations. Without them, there is no way in which the Portuguese can provide for themselves.

The Portuguese in these parts, Sire, suffer from spiritual needs that border on the extreme. They profoundly lack religious instruction, profoundly

1 From the 1620s to 1777, the Estado de Maranhão was ruled separately from the rest of Brazil.

lack the sacraments, and many of them never attend Holy Mass nor listen to any preaching because there is none available to them. They have no knowledge of which are the Holy Days to keep and, even if they do know them, they fail to keep them. Nor is there anybody to oblige them to do so. This state of [spiritual] deprivation is still greater in their wives, their sons, and their daughters, who not infrequently die without confession.

The main cause of this situation (if we are to leave aside other remoter causes) is the shortage of priests, particularly of parish priests. In the entire captaincy of Maranhão, there are only two churches that have a priest, one on the mainland and the other on the island. The island is seven leagues long and seven leagues wide and every part of it is populated. Consequently, it is impossible for a single priest to attend to all those who need him, mainly because he has to go on foot, as there is no kind of mount in the whole area. Moreover, apart from the great shortage of priests, those here are, for the most part, men of little learning and even less zeal for the saving of souls. That is because they either come out here as exiles or because having scant ability for earning their living anywhere else, they have come to earn it here. In addition, in spiritual matters, this State belongs to the bishop of Brazil, who resides in Bahia, which is five hundred leagues away, with the Dutch in between [in Pernambuco]. Its only resources come from Portugal, so that the flocks here can be neither heard nor visited and in effect exist without a shepherd.

The solution to this most grievous problem is for the number of churches and priests to be greatly increased, especially in the most appropriate places. The solution includes the presence here of an ecclesiastical figure, noted for his learning and enthusiasm, to act as the administrator of the entire State. Alternatively, he could supervise spiritual matters in a different way, as in Rio de Janeiro. Another way would be to make up for all these deficiencies by sending out a sufficient number of religious who would regard it as their bounden duty to save souls and who would be ever watchful in observing that duty. That is because what has caused great harm to this State is the presence here of religious with a largely unsuitable way of life and training.

The Indians who live in the houses of the Portuguese, owing to the poverty in which they find themselves and to the inborn barbarous natures of nearly all of them, are affected even more adversely by all the examples of spiritual deprivation that I have mentioned. Many of them live and die as pagans, without their masters or their parish priests seeking to baptize them or even to care about the situation. Of those who have Christian names and received Christian baptism, they received these without knowing what they were receiving. They live lives that are just as heathen as they were beforehand. Very, very few of them, even the most astute among them, fulfill

their Lenten duties. There are Christians who are sixty years of age who have never made their confession. Most of these people, when they are asked when they last made their confession, say that it was to Father Luís Figueira, who has not been here in this State for seventeen years. It is a very normal occurrence for them to die without making their confession. That applies mainly to those who do not live in the town. Also normal is the abuse of their not being given Holy Communion even at the hour of their death.

The great causes of this harmful perdition of souls lie in the very shortage of priests and, in the main, of religious who would regard it as their bounden duty to study and to get to know the language here. Without a knowledge of the language, priests cannot achieve very much, and only those who know it are able to administer the sacraments in the right manner. I refer to the sacraments of baptism and confession, which are those that are most needed.

The solution is to install a sufficient number of the aforementioned religious to give instruction to the Indians, to baptize them, and to rebaptize those that were badly baptized, and to administer the other sacraments to them, as they now [have started to] do with great success. But their numbers are too low to reap so great a harvest.

This harmful problem is common to all the Indians. Those who live in the houses of the Portuguese were only too often victims of unjust captivity, a factor suffered by so many of them, as Your Majesty has frequently been informed. That is possibly the principal cause of all the punishments meted out in all our conquered territories.

The causes of this problem and its harmful effects can be simply attributed to greed, mainly the greed of powerful men, who send expeditions into the interior, as well as to unauthorized and unjust wars that cannot possibly be justified. Even though they bring back some Indians who are genuine captives, because they were [found] roped up together, ready to be eaten, or because they were working as slaves in their own areas, most of the Indians are, nevertheless, free men who have been captured by force or by deceit. They sell these men [as well] and make use of them as though they were genuine captives.

Sire, the solution that Your Majesty and the kings your predecessors sought to bring to bear on this tyranny was to impose a total interdict on expeditions into the interior. They sought to prohibit the purchase of Indians and to declare free all those who had already been purchased, whatever the means by which that was done. Sire, those remedies are indeed the most effective of all those that may be proposed. Nevertheless, it is extremely difficult and almost impossible to put them into practice, as experience has constantly demonstrated, most particularly in the disturbances experienced this year. All these originated in the claim that the Indians are the sole means whereby the settlers can survive and that without them, they would all perish.

It would seem that the most appropriate and practicable method (which has already started to be put into effect) is for the various forms of captivity to be investigated, so that those who are really free men should be freed, and those who are genuine captives should remain captive.

However, for this investigation to be carried out with all due justice and integrity, it is insufficient for the officers of the municipal council to pass judgment on it, even if they do so with the help of the High Court judge. Rather, it is essential for the High Court judge to approve the investigations himself and to arrive at a decision on the various cases and their hearings. In that way, without consciences being in any way burdened, those that are adjudged to be genuine captives may remain captive. Furthermore, as the High Court judge, João Cabral de Barros, is such a learned man and as he acts so justly and with such integrity in all matters, it would seem that all the trust that Your Majesty would place in a great minister can [likewise] be placed in him.

As to the future purchase [of Indians], if expeditions do have to take place with that sole objective, the selfsame drawbacks will be encountered. However, as it is appropriate that such purchases should take place, if only for the redemption of their souls, the means by which they could be justifiably carried out is as follows. Firstly, the expeditions into the interior should be carried out solely for the purpose of converting the pagans and to make them subject both to the Church and to the Crown, just as Your Majesty has commanded me. Secondly, if, on such expeditions, Indians are found roped together or are genuine slaves, they should be purchased. That must be approved by the Jesuit Fathers that accompany the mission in question, among whom there should be at least one theologian and one good interpreter. To that end, which is as it should be, the captain whose task it is to lead the expedition should be chosen not just by the captain-major or governor but also by the municipal council, the religious leaders, and the vicar-general. That is because as the captaincy is owned by the captain-major, he will simply send someone who will serve the captain-major's interests rather than those of God and the public good.

The Indians who live in their villages and who are deemed to be free men are more captive than those who live in the private houses of the Portuguese. There is just one difference: every three years, they have a new master, namely the governor or captain-major who comes out to these parts. He uses them as though they were his, while treating them as the property of others. In that way, their circumstances become far worse than that of slaves, as they are normally put to work on the tobacco plantations, which is the most cruel form of labor [even] in Brazil. They are brutally sent to work for

people and to carry out tasks to which they only go because they are forced to. There they die in utter wretchedness. Married women are removed from their villages and are set to work in private houses, despite the disservice to God and the protestations of their husbands, who after such removals often separate from their wives. The Indians are given no time to till and cultivate their fields, with the result that they, their wives, and their children suffer and perish. In short, they are in every respect treated as slaves, enjoying freedom solely in name. *Mamelucos* or men of similar ilk are placed in their villages as overseers and are the ones who commit these injustices, so that the wretched Indians are nowadays virtually wiped out. Yet, lest that should happen completely, they have transferred their villages this year to new locations where they can lead lives free from such intolerable subjection. Doubtless they did that because one of our Jesuit Fathers, who is a fine interpreter, persuaded them, on our behalf, to await a new decision on the part of Your Majesty.

It is clear that the causes of this problem and its harmful effects are simply brought about by the greed of those who govern. Such men are wont to claim that Your Majesty sends them out here so that they may better themselves and reward themselves in your service; they claim that there is no other way of achieving that objective than this.

The solution to all these problems, and there exists no other, is for Your Majesty to command that no governor or captain-major may grow tobacco or any other crop either for himself or through some proxy. Nor may they put the Indians to work or divide them into gangs except to build fortifications or other things in Your Majesty's service. Nor may they install overseers in the Indian villages, thus permitting their own headmen to govern them. They are, after all, the rulers of their tribes. Let them send them to work for the Portuguese for the customary wages, and let them do so willingly and as free men, without being subject to force. As for spiritual matters, let religious visit their villages or even reside in them, if that can be done, for that is their practice. After many experiments, that is the form that has been adopted as the best means of ruling over the villages in Brazil. It means that neither viceroys nor governors can interfere with the Indians, except to send for them when needed in Your Majesty's service, either in peace or in war. That is the only way in which it will be possible to preserve the villages, to add to their number, and to arrange that their Indian occupants live as Christians.

According to the information available, there are many Indians in the interior. They live close to the rivers; indeed, alongside the River Amazon they are beyond count. All these Indians suffer from a truly deep spiritual need. Under pain of sin, their need demands that, in Christian charity, preachers of the Gospel should promptly be sent to help them and to show them the path to salvation. Sire, that obligation becomes a double obligation for Your Majesty and for Your Majesty's ministers (on whom it impinges by

virtue of their office). That is because it is not just a question of charity but also of justice, owing to the contract that Your Majesty's most serene predecessors made with the Papacy, when they undertook to command that the Faith be preached in every land that they conquered.

The main reason why we have had so little success with the Indians is that they have been treated so tyrannically. One captain had ten blazing brands tied to the fingers of a village headman, to force him to give him slaves, saying that he would leave him to burn if he did not do that, and so they were handed over. This and similar outrages have caused the Portuguese to be hated in the interior and have brought discredit upon the Faith, as the pagans have concluded that we merely use it as a pretext for our greed. Consequently, many of them have withdrawn even farther into the bush. Others, after approaching us, become disillusioned. Still others make war on us and cause us as much damage as they can. All of them (and this is the most regrettable aspect) go in their thousands to Hell.

The solution lies in our putting into effect all the remedies that have been proposed. Those Indians who have been wrongfully made captive should be set free. Those in the villages should lead lives that are genuinely free, cultivating their crops and willingly working for their wages. Expeditions into the interior should be made on a truly peaceful basis, without any hint of pretense. The Faith of Jesus Christ should be preached to the Indians, without any further aim than what He came into the world to seek, namely [the saving of] souls. There should be a significant number of religious to learn the [native] languages and to dedicate themselves to that mysterious task with genuine enthusiasm. If all that were done, there is no doubt that the combination of Divine Grace with this display of human effort would lead to the Indians readily accepting our friendship, embracing the Faith, and leading Christian lives. When once the good treatment received by the first Indians became generally known, many others would be attracted in their wake. Consequently, apart from their spiritual well-being and that of their descendants, the State would have many Indians to serve and defend it, just as they were the ones who made a major contribution to its restoration.[2]

Sire, I consider it important for me to draw these matters to Your Majesty's attention, both to comply with my duty and to assuage my conscience. With all due respect to Your Majesty, my particular concern is to find a solution to these most grievous problems that beset such a vast number of souls, in respect of whom Almighty God will surely hold Your Majesty to account. That situation becomes all the more significant after this report reaches Your Majesty's royal hands, since it is based not just on hearsay but

2 Maranhão was occupied by the Dutch from November 1641 to February 1644, their expulsion owing much to the Indians.

on what I have both seen and experienced. As Your Majesty knows so very well, it is forwarded by one who came to Maranhão solely in the service of God and to His greater glory and who, under God, has never sought anything other than to serve Your Majesty.

What I have declared is the same as what is felt by all those who, with genuine enthusiasm for the service of God and the public good, as well as with wide experience of this State, desire its spiritual and temporal progress. Those who would declare the opposite can only be those who are ruled by their own selfish interests and who have destroyed the State in every way.

Accordingly, Sire, we prostrate ourselves at Your Majesty's royal feet on behalf of all the souls in Your Majesty's immense territories who continue to descend to Hell, for want of those who could give them instruction. Prostrate before Your Majesty, both they and we, the few religious who are out here, make the following entreaty by the blood of Christ through which they were redeemed. We beseech Your Majesty to send us more fellow religious, so that we can continue and add to what has already been set in motion. If, in Portugal, there are not enough of those who are so needed (as there are not), let others be sent from countries that are above scrutiny, as has always been permitted. In that way, if we add their enthusiasm and hard work to ours, we shall all be able to undertake and continue this great campaign, for which the powers of those currently here are inadequate. We promise Your Majesty, in the name of that Lord who grants and sustains all kingdoms, that this undertaking, pursued with all piety and justice, will be the most solid basis upon which Your Majesty can establish [the kingdom of] Portugal, for the preservation and extension of which we all continually offer our sacrifices. All the souls who by our efforts attain salvation will make the same entreaty to Almighty God.

António Vieira
Maranhão, 20 May 1653.

2. The Ranching Frontier

As the sugar industry developed and the coastal cities grew, there was an increasing demand for oxen, beef, and hides. Large tracts of land were opened for ranching in the interior of the northeast and eventually on the grasslands of southern Brazil. A "civilization of leather" was created among the ranchers and cowboys of the interior as the ranching frontier was extended inland. The short description presented here by the Italian Jesuit Giovanni Antonio Andreoni, who wrote under the name of Andre João Antonil and lived in Brazil at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, captures the importance of the cattle drives for the economy of Brazil and the way in which the ranching frontier was closely tied to the cities and the export economy. (From André João Antonil, Cultura e opulência do Brasil por suas drogas e Minas [1711], Andreé Mansuy, ed. [Paris: 1968], pp. 480–4).

Of the cattle drives that ordinarily travel each year from the stock pens to the cities, towns, and agricultural zones of Brazil, both to the butcher shops and to supply industry

To give an adequate idea of the cattle drives that come each year from the corrals of Brazil, it is enough to note that all the rolls of tobacco that are shipped anywhere are wrapped in hides. And since each roll weighs 8 *arrobas* [256 lbs] and those of Bahia . . . total each year 25,000 rolls and those of Alagoas (Pernambuco) another 2,500 rolls, it is easy to see how many head are needed to provide for 27,000 rolls.

Moreover, another 50,000 tanned hides go from Bahia to Portugal, and 40,000 from Pernambuco and 20,000 from Rio de Janeiro (I do not know if these include those originating in Colonia de Sacramento or are only those from Rio de Janeiro and other captaincies of southern Brazil). A total of 120,000 tanned hides (*meios de sola*).

What is certain is that in the city but also among the majority of the better-off rural population live during those days in which it is permitted on meat from the slaughterhouse and from what is sold in parishes and towns; and the great number of blacks that live in the cities live on the blood and entrails of cattle, and in the backlands beef and milk are the common food of everyone.

Moreover, since there are so many sugar mills in Brazil, each year the drives supply the oxen to pull the carts (for their sugarcane) and those needed by the cane, tobacco, and manioc growers, and by the wood cutters and sawyers. And so it is easy to infer how many head are needed each year for all this work. Thus, I leave this to the judgment of whoever reads this chapter and I believe that this is better than trying to fix a precise number because not even the many merchants found all over Brazil can give a figure, and if they did so it would seem incredible and thought to be fantastic.

Chapter III

How the herds are driven from the *sertão* of Brazil. The usual price of the cattle killed and for those who are sent to work

The herds that are usually sent to Bahia usually include 100, 150, 200, or 300 head. And also most every week some arrive at Capoâme, a place about eight leagues from Salvador where there is pasture and where the merchants buy them.[3] And in some periods of the year, there are weeks in which herds

3 A league equals about 3.5 miles. Capoâme, located near the present-day city of Camaçari, was founded in 1614. Its function as a cattle fair was taken over by Feira de Santana in the nineteenth century.

arrive every day. The men who drive them are whites, mulattos, blacks, and Indians who all hope for some profit from this work. They drive them by some going ahead and singing for the cattle will follow them, and others follow the cattle, driving them and making sure they do not stray. Each day, they travel four, five, or six leagues depending on pastures where they have to stop. Where there is no water, they have to travel fifteen to twenty leagues, moving day and night without rest until they can find a place to stop. At some river crossings, one man will don a cattle hide and head and swim his horse across the river so that the herd will follow him.

Whoever gives his herd to a trail boss to take it from Jacoabinas [modern-day Jacobina] to Capoâme, which is a trip of fifteen to seventeen days, will pay a cruzado per head and the trail boss will cover the cost of the drivers and guides and the costs of the trip. So if the drive has two hundred head, the boss will be paid so many cruzados if all the cattle arrive at the destination, but if some stray or are lost, the payment will be reduced by their number. To the Indians that travel from Jacoabinas to Capoâme, they pay four to five milréis and to the man who leads the herds with his horse, eight milréis. When the distances are greater, the payment is proportionally larger. So those who come from the São Francisco River and beyond to Capoâme with the herds of others ask for six or seven *tostões* per head or more depending on the distance.

A head of beef ordinarily sells in Bahia for four to five milréis, tame oxen for seven to eight. In Jacoabinas, they sell a head for 2,500 to 3,000. In the corrals of the São Francisco River, which are best suited to sell their cattle to Minas [the mining region], they sell them at the gate of the corral for the same price as in the city. And all that we have said here of the cattle herds of Bahia can be applied with little difference to those of Pernambuco and Rio de Janeiro.

3. The Discovery of Gold

From André João Antonil, *Cultura y opulência do Brasil por suas drogas e minas* (Lisbon, 1711), translation from Richard M. Morse, ed., *The Bandeirantes: Historical Role of the Brazilian Pathfinders* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), pp. 130–6.

Concerning the gold mines called "general" and their discoverers

A few years ago, when Artur de Sá was governor of Rio de Janeiro, the discovery of the general mines of Cataguases began. They say that the first discoverer was a mulatto who had been at the mines of Paranaguá and Curitiba. He had gone to the *sertão* with some Paulistas to fetch Indians, and

on reaching Mount Tripuí, he went down to the stream, today known as Ouro Prêto, with a wooden bowl to get water. After scraping it along the riverbank, he saw that it contained some nuggets the color of steel which he could not identify. Neither could his companions recognize or evaluate what he had so easily picked up. They simply supposed that it was some metal which was poorly formed and therefore unrecognizable. When they arrived at Taubaté, however, they did not fail to ask what kind of metal this might be. And without further examination, they sold some of the nuggets to Miguel de Sousa at half a *pataca* for each *oitava*, without their knowing what they were selling or the buyer what he was buying. They finally decided to send a few nuggets to the governor of Rio de Janeiro, Artur de Sá; and when they were examined, they turned out to be the purest gold.

Half a league from the Ouro Prêto washing another mine was found which is called that of the Ribeiro de Antônio Dias; and another half-league from there, the mine of Ribeiro do Padre João de Faria; and near this, a little more than a league away, the mines of Ribeiro de Bueno and Bento Rodrigues. And a moderate three-day march by daylight from there was the mine of the Ribeirão de Nossa Senhora do Carmo, discovered by João Lopes de Lima, and still another called Ribeiro Ibupiranga. And all these mines took the names of their discoverers, who were all Paulistas.

There is also a stopping place on the way to these general mines, eleven or twelve days distant from the first ones if one makes good time until three o'clock each afternoon. This place takes its name from the River das Mortes, so called because some men died there while swimming across it, and others killed each other by gunshot while fighting over the allocation of wild Indians which they had brought from the *sertão*. And gold is found in this river, as well as in the streams that flow from it and those that flow into it. This stopping place serves for lodging those who are going to Minas Gerais, and here they supply themselves with necessities because those who are now settled here have farms and sell livestock.

I do not mention the mine of the Serra de Itatiaia (which means white gold, which is gold not yet well formed), which is a moderate eight-day journey by daylight from the Ouro Prêto washing. For the Paulistas show no interest in this mine as they have others of completely formed gold and much greater output. And they say that these general mines are at the latitude of the captaincies of Espírito Santo.

...

Concerning the yield of the washings and the different qualities of gold taken from them

...There was a year during which more than 100 *arrôbas* of gold were taken from all these mines, or washings, excluding that which was and still is

taken surreptitiously from other washings which the discoverers did not report.... And if the King's fifths reached seventeen or twenty arrôbas even though so much untaxed gold is concealed, it is easy to see that the gold taken out each year exceeds one hundred arrôbas without any exaggeration, and that during these past ten years, more than one thousand arrôbas were taken out.... Only the fifths owed His Majesty have been diminishing conspicuously, whether because the gold dust was diverted to other regions, or because it did not reach the royal smelting house, or because some, using a more despicable ruse, stamped the gold with false seals. Yet even so, His Majesty did not fail to realize a large profit through the mint at Rio de Janeiro; for by buying the gold at twelve *tostões* per oitava and in two years minting three million in national and provincial gold coin, he made a profit of six hundred thousand *cruzados* in advance.

Concerning the people who go to the mines and take gold from the streams

The insatiable thirst for gold impelled so many to leave their lands and take to such arduous roads as those leading to the mines that it would be difficult to calculate the number of persons who are now there. However, those who have stayed there for a long period during these last years and have visited all the mines say that more than thirty thousand souls are employed, some in prospecting, others in directing the prospecting of the gold washings, and others in doing business, selling and buying the essentials not only for life but also for pleasure, with greater activity than in the seaports.

Every year, great numbers of Portuguese and foreigners arrive with the fleets to go to the mines. From the cities, towns, coastal regions, and *sertaões* of Brazil go whites, mulattoes, and blacks, and many Indians whom the Paulistas make use of. There is a mixture of people of every condition: men and women; young and old; poor and rich; nobles and plebeians; laymen, clerics, and religious of various orders, many of whom have neither convent nor house in Brazil.

With regard to temporal power, there have so far been no restraints or even a moderately well-ordered government. Only a few laws are kept, pertaining to the claims and the allotment of the washings. Beyond this, there are no ministers or justices who handle or might have authority to handle punishment of crimes, which are not rare, particularly homicide and theft. With regard to spiritual matters, since the prelates have hitherto been uncertain about the question of jurisdiction, the representatives of one or another group, whether local priests or visitors, have found themselves quite perplexed; and they have caused no little perplexity to others, who in the end do not know to which pastor these new flocks belong. And when the right

to appoint priests is determined, few of them will be feared and respected in those parishes which move from place to place like the children of Israel in the desert.

The King's superintendent of mines was the Crown Judge José Vaz Pinto, who after a final two-year term returned once more to Rio de Janeiro with a handsome capital. And I suppose that through him, the King must have been kept fully informed on what is happening in the mines, and that he has indicated the disorders and the remedy for them when such is possible. Also present at the mines are a Crown procurator and a Crown representative (*guarda-mor*) on a stipend. Until now, there have been smelting houses in Taubaté, in the town of São Paulo, in Parati, and in Rio de Janeiro; and in each of these houses are a superintendent, a notary, and a founder who casts the gold into bars on which he stamps the royal seal, signifying the fifth that was paid to the king on that gold.

If there were mints and smelting houses in Bahia and Rio de Janeiro (since these are the two poles which eventually attract all the gold), His Majesty would make a much greater profit than what he has till now. And he would make a much greater one still if the mints, well equipped with the necessary apparatus, always had money on hand to buy the gold that the miners bring in and are delighted to sell without delay.

We have just learned that His Majesty is sending a governor and ministers of justice to the mines and ordering a regiment of soldiers levied so that everything will proceed with more control and order.

Concerning the allotments or distribution of the mines

To avoid the confusion, tumult, and deaths that would arise from the discovery of the gold washings, the following method of allotment was agreed upon. The discoverer has the first claim as discoverer and a second as a miner. Next follows the king's share and then that of his representative. The rest are distributed by lot. Those known as whole claims are thirty square braças, and such are those of the king, the discoverer, and the royal representative. The others that are drawn by lot have an area proportionate to the number of slaves brought for prospecting, with two square braças allowed for each slave or Indian so used. Thus, a man with fifteen slaves receives a whole claim of thirty square braças. To be admitted to the distribution by lot, one must submit a petition to the superintendent of these allotments, who receives an oitava of gold for filing the petition, as does his notary. And it sometimes happens that five hundred petitions are presented, which means that the superintendent and the clerk take in one thousand oitavas. And if, because some claims fail to produce, all the miners do not extract from them an amount equal to what they paid, they therefore look for other claims as

soon as new washings are discovered. The king's claim is sold straightway to the highest bidder. Anyone can sell or exchange his claim, and this has given and continues to give rise to many different arrangements, for one miner may extract much gold from a few braças while others extract little from many braças. There was one man who sold a claim for more than a thousand oitavas from which the buyer extracted seven arrôbas of gold. This goes to prove that whether or not gold is found in a claim is simply a turn of good or bad fortune.

Concerning the abundance of provisions and all the necessaries found today at the mines and the slight attention paid to the extraordinarily high prices

Since the land that gives gold is completely barren of everything needed to sustain human life, as are most of the routes leading to the mines, one cannot imagine what the miners suffered at the beginning for lack of provisions. More than a few were found dead clutching an ear of corn as their only sustenance. However, as soon as the abundance of the gold extracted became apparent, and the largess with which everything sent there was paid for, lodging places were built and soon merchants began to send to the mines the best that arrived by ship from Portugal and other parts: not only provisions but also luxuries and elaborate clothes, as well as a thousand trinkets from France which also found their way there. In this regard, all parts of Brazil began to send everything the soil produces, with profits not merely large but excessive. And as there is no currency but gold dust at the mines, the least that could be given for anything would be oitavas. Shortly, the cattle herds from Paranaguá, those from River das Velhas, and those from the plains of Bahia were sent to Minas Gerais, along with everything else that the settlers imagined might fill a desire, including every kind of product, natural and manufactured, foreign and domestic. . . .

And these high prices so prevalent at the mines were the reason why the prices of all things rose so much elsewhere, as is felt in the ports of the cities and towns of Brazil; and why many sugar mills were divested of their necessary slaves; and why the inhabitants suffer a great scarcity of provisions, which are almost all taken to be sold where they will yield greater profit.

Concerning the harms done to Brazil by the greed which followed the discovery of gold in the mines

There is nothing so good that it cannot occasion many evils through the fault of him who fails to make good use of it. And even against things sacred the greatest sacrileges are committed. Is it any wonder then that gold – being

such a handsome and precious metal, so useful for human commerce and so worthy of being made into the vases and ornaments of the Temples for Divine Worship – be transformed by the insatiable greed of men into a continual instrument and cause of many harms? The fame of mines so abundant in Brazil attracted men of every rank and from all places, some with means and others vagabonds. Those of means, who came by much of their wealth through prospecting, behave as a result with hauteur and arrogance; they always travel accompanied by bands of musketeers who need little pretext to commit any violence and to take great and thunderous revenge without any fear of the law. Gold induced these men to gamble unrestrainedly and to spend enormous sums on frivolities without blinking – to buy, for example, a Negro trumpeter for a thousand cruzados, or a mulatto woman of easy virtue for double that price to compound with her continual and scandalous sins. The vagabonds, who go to the mines to extract gold not from the washings but from the tubes in which the gold washers collect it and save it, were guilty of the most shocking treacheries and the cruelest killings. These crimes went unpunished because at the mines, human justice did not yet have a tribunal or the respect that it enjoys in other places where there are qualified ministers reinforced by numerous and reliable prisons. Only now that the governor and ministers are going there can some relief be expected. Even the bishops and prelates of several regions profoundly regret that no heed whatever is paid to their censures, which would return to their dioceses and convents the goodly number of clerics and religious who roam about there in defiance or as fugitives. The fact also that the very best provisions that could be desired go to the mines caused such a sharp increase in the prices of everything sold that the owners of sugar mills and the planters find themselves in very bad straits. For lack of Negroes, they can no longer produce sugar or tobacco as they so abundantly did in times past when theirs were the true mines of Brazil and Portugal. And the worst is that the larger part of the gold extracted from the mines is sent as dust or in coins to foreign kingdoms, while the smaller part remains in Portugal and the cities of Brazil, except for that spent on necklaces, earrings, and other baubles, which are seen worn today by mulatto and Negro women of easy life much more than by ladies. No prudent person can fail to admit that God has allowed the discovery of so much gold in the mines in order to punish Brazil with it, just as in the wars that are now so plentiful, He is using iron to punish the Europeans.

Kenneth Mills, William B. Taylor, and Sandra Lauderdale Graham, eds., *Colonial Latin America: A Documentary History* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2002).

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Confessing to the Holy Office of the Inquisition, Bahia, Brazil

(1592, 1618)

Cooking with olive oil rather than animal fat, smoking tobacco (first described by Europeans as "drinking smoke" because they had no word for either the leaf or the practice, having never before encountered them), throwing out all water stored in a house after a death had occurred there, or wearing clean clothes on Saturday—these seemingly small, daily activities all occupied the attention of the Holy Office of the Inquisition as it operated in Brazil in the last decade of the sixteenth century and early in the seventeenth century.

No Holy Office was permanently established in Brazil, unlike in Mexico and Peru where in 1570 two jurisdictions were created, and in Cartagena where a third was founded in the early seventeenth century. Instead, a scaled-down and sporadic version was transferred to Brazil at the end of the sixteenth century from a Portugal then ruled by Spain. Visitations, as they were called, were sent to Bahia and Pernambuco in the early 1590s, followed by another to Bahia between 1618 and 1620, and the Inquisition in Portugal commissioned a visit to Pará in the Amazon from 1763 to 1769. Yet the presence of the Inquisition was felt more than the expanse of time between these dates suggests. In the interim, voluntary *familiares*, local informers who watched and reported, served as the Inquisition's eyes and ears. They were persons of some social standing who could also demonstrate purity of blood. The position carried its privileges: exemptions from certain taxes, prestige in an honor-conscious and visibly ranked society, perhaps promotion in a career. The number of familiares increased from at least 103 in the seventeenth century to 634 in the eighteenth. New Christians denounced directly to officials in Lisbon might then be investigated by clerics appointed in Brazil, arrested, and tried in Portugal. Their property was inventoried and frequently confiscated, especially in the 1640s, when Portugal feared alliances between suspected Jews and the Dutch, who occupied Pernambuco from 1630 to 1654; and between 1704 and 1761, when the siphoning off of wealth from Brazilian gold and diamond mines alarmed royal authorites.

In June 1591, Bahians lavishly welcomed their first *visitador*, Heitor Furtado de Mendonça (who had submitted to sixteen examinations for purity of blood, routine for this position), when he arrived with a small delegation that counted himself, a notary, and

a bailiff who also served as his personal assistant. No witness to the opening rites could have missed the joining of religious and secular authority to the supreme authority of the Holy Office. Mendonça began his round of formal introductions by presenting himself first to the bishop, who kissed his feet and promised solemnly to assist his visitation in every way possible. In the chambers of the municipal council a few days later the "very noble senhores, judges, and council members" paid him homage. But a grand public ceremony waited for the visitation's official opening a few days later. En route to Cathedral Square, the procession passed before the bishop and members of the cathedral chapter, government and judicial officials, priests and clerics, members of the lay brotherhoods, and common people who elbowed their way into the streets. Mendonça, walking beneath a golden canopy, was greeted with praise for himself and the Holy Office. After reading the Rule of Pius V in favor of the Inquisition, he proceeded into the cathedral and an honored place at the head of the altar.

The visitador then set to work. A "Proclamation of the Faith" was posted to instruct the faithful, under pain of excommunication, to confess and denounce the heresies and doctrinal errors that concerned the Holy Office. The Tribunal, being blind to "degree, status, or preeminence," was purported to exempt no one. Among the transgressions to be reported, Jewish practices allegedly followed by New Christians and "crypto-Jews" figured prominently, just as they would in subsequent inspections: keeping Saturday as the Sabbath, abstinence from certain foods such as bacon, circumcision of male infants, failing to say prayers in a certain way or to make the sign of the cross, performing certain burial rituals. And while as many as five hundred New Christians in Brazil were sentenced over the years and some of these were put to death, the Inquisition did not entirely ignore the heresies of converted Indians or African slaves, although their numbers among the sentenced were few.

Following the charges of early Protestants and the Catholic Christian response marked by the Council of Trent (1545–1563), the Inquisition extended heresies to include other errors in an attempt to protect Catholic doctrine. Operating within this expanded understanding, the Brazilian visitations campaigned to instruct and reform local morality. The Bahian Tribunal interrogated those suspected of idolatry, of uttering invocations of the Devil in witchcraft, and other blasphemies. Errors against doctrine such as denying the existence of Purgatory, doubting the purity of the Virgin, or questioning whether the consecrated Host was the true body of Christ all fell within the visitador's purview. Sexual crimes or "sins against nature," by which was understood bigamy, sodomy, or bestiality, the sexual solicitations of a priest, or believing that fornication was not a sin also concerned local investigators. Although books were not published in Brazil until the arrival of the first printing press with the court in 1808, and most people could not read, occasionally those confessing admitted to having read prohibited books.

In Bahia between 1591 and 1593 the visitador heard confessions and denunciations, ratifying those he judged reliable and barring those he did not trust, such as one from a man he dismissed as mentally unsound. As visitador he had no authority to try or sentence those who came before him, and instead was instructed to send to Lisbon for trial only persons whose cases pointed confidently toward conviction. Without adequate proofs, an irate cardinal later warned Mendonça, carelessly prepared cases would "discredit the proceedings of the Holy Office." The Bahian Tribunal repeated a familiar administrative strategy: rely on local officials, in this case especially the Jesuits, to complete their numbers and draw local people into the Inquisition's business. The bishop, the Jesuit provincial, and the rector of the Jesuit school were all present at interrogations and all signed the cases the Bahian visitador sent to Portugal for trial.

Despite the cardinal's warning, however, at least fifty trials were heard in Pernambuco between 1593 and 1595. (The original records were transferred to Portugal and preserved in

the National Archive in Lisbon.) These decisions were final, without appeal, and demonstrate the autonomy that the early Brazilian Tribunal exercised from Portuguese authority. The cases were sometimes read in Lisbon, however, and comments scrawled across the cover sheet: "Unjust imprisonment and unjust sentence"; "This crime warrants the pain of death"; or "The defendant was rigorously [interrogated] and, having confessed during the time of grace, a rebuke by the Tribunal would have been enough." At least two autos-da-fé were held at a church in Olinda at which the condemned were publicly humiliated. Blasphemers, for example, were required to appear barefoot, wearing only their underclothes, and bareheaded, with a lighted candle in one hand and a stick clamped sideways across the mouth.

To encourage the populace to come forward voluntarily to confess their crimes, the visitador granted a thirty-day period of grace to residents of Salvador and nearby neighborhoods that closed on July 28, 1591, and another to the people of the surrounding hinterland ending on February 11, 1592. If a guilty person's confession was judged "complete and true," she or he was promised exemption from the worst punishments—confiscated property or death at the stake—although not from lesser ones. It was a gamble: remain silent and risk being denounced by someone else, or confess, perhaps unnecessarily, and face possible trial and punishment. The recorded testimonies of some confessants suggest they were genuinely confused about whether they had committed a crime. Others fell into the trap by telling less than they might have, only to find themselves thoroughly denounced; some deliberately perjured themselves. Denunciators who knew too much risked implicating themselves.

Of the four confessions presented in this selection, two come from the first Bahian visitation of 1591–1593 and two from the second in 1618. The Tribunal heard all four during periods of grace. To know the fates of the latter two men requires further research in Lisbon to discover if indeed they were tried, as seems likely, and what sentences they faced. Of the first two, we know that Domingos Fernandes Nobre was tried by Mendonça, contrary to instructions, and severely reprimanded by members of the Tribunal. Yet the punishments were mild: besides spiritual penitence and a moderate fine, Nobre was forbidden ever to return to the wilderness. He apparently disobeyed this order, for years later he was awarded a royal land grant precisely for his valor in exploring the wilderness. Dona Ana Alcoforada, her goods sequestered, was sent to Lisbon and imprisoned until 1605. She narrowly escaped conviction through a general papal pardon, which had been bought with an extravagant donation to the Crown by New Christians.

These testimonies, as a sample of those heard by Mendonça and his successor, help to illuminate the preoccupations of the Brazilian inspections, the visitador's methods of questioning, and some of the varied motivations that impelled men and women from all social ranks to risk confessing. They provide glimpses of how a range of Portuguese and Brazilians understood the Inquisition and its role in the moral and religious reform of society.

Confession of Domingos Fernandes Nobre

February 11, 1592, Salvador, Bahia

He said he is Old Christian, a native of Pernambuco on the coast of this Brazil, *Mameluco*, [or Mestizo], son of Miguel Fernandes, a White man and stonemason, and Joana, a native and heathen of this Brazil, both deceased; he is forty-six years old, married to Isabel Beliaga, a White woman, Old Christian; he is a resident of this city and has no trade.

Confessing his offenses, he said that from the age of eighteen until the age of thirty-six years he lived as a heathen, neither praying nor commending himself to God, [nor] taking care that he would die not having knowledge of God as a true Christian, and although he confessed at Lent it was [only] in order to fulfill an obligation. His life during this time was more heathen than Christian, although he never left the Christian faith, which he had always in his heart.

He confessed that twenty-two years ago, more or less, in Pernambuco he sinned the sin of the flesh with two young women, his goddaughters to whom he became godfather when they, being heathens, were baptized and made Christians. It seems to him that it was as much a sin to sleep with them whether or not they were his goddaughters.

He confessed that twenty years ago, more or less, he went to the wilderness of Porto Seguro in the company of Antônio Dias Adorno to search for gold and there he practiced the customs of the heathens, staining his legs with a paint called *urucu* [*uru'ku* in Tupi; a reddish dye made from seeds of the annatto or *achiote* tree] and another [called] *jenipapo* [from the fruit of the genipap evergreen tree that produces a reddish-brown juice or dye], and covering his head with feathers and playing heathen tambourines which are gourds with stones inside, and playing their drums and instruments, dancing with them, singing their heathen songs in the heathen language, which he knows well. He did these things in order to make the heathens of that wilderness understand that he was brave and did not fear them even though they were always at war.

He confessed that sixteen years ago, more or less, he was ordered by João de Brito d'Almeida, who was governor of this captaincy in the absence of the governor, his father, Luis de Brito [governor 1573–1578], to go to Paraíba. He, the confessant, went to the wilderness of Arabo as captain of a company to bring heathens downriver to be settled. On this expedition he spent four or five months, and there, in the heathen way, he had two women who were daughters of heathens given to him as wives. And he painted his body in the heathen way and danced and sang and played [musical instruments] with the heathens in their way. And he scarred his thighs, buttocks, and arms according to the heathen practice, using a tooth from an animal called the paca. After lightly scarring the flesh, they rub some black powder on their skin, and after the skin heals the black markings remain forever impressed on the arms or buttocks, or wherever they are put, like brands forever.

This scarring the heathens customarily do to themselves when they want to show that they are brave and that they have just killed men. The confessant, finding himself surrounded by heathens who rose up against him, had a non-Christian Indian scar him in the said way in order to show he was brave, and in this way he escaped, because, seeing this, the heathens fled from him. Francisco Affonso Capara, resident in the Pirajá neighborhood of this city, then scarred himself in the same way.

He confessed that fifteen years ago, more or less, he returned to the same wilderness of Arabo in this captaincy at the order of the governor, Luis de Brito, and by the captain of another captaincy to bring heathens downriver for settlement, an expedition which lasted some six months. In the wilderness the heathens again gave

him their daughters for wives, and he had two or three wives simultaneously, like any heathen. He drank their tobacco with them, which is the leaf from an herb that in Portugual is called holy herb. He drank their wines with them, and danced and played and sang with them in the heathen style; he went about nude like them, and he wept and lamented appropriately, in their way. All these things he did to the disgrace of God's law because the heathens, seeing him do these things, took him also to be a heathen and called him nephew. He did these things (while having the faith of Christ in his heart) so the heathens would treat him well.

He confessed that thirteen or fourteen years ago, by order of the same governor, he returned to the wilderness of Ilhéus where he spent fourteen months. There he stuck feathers to his face with mastic, and painted himself with the red paint of the urucu in the heathen style, and had seven heathen women, whom the heathens gave him, and he had them in the heathen way. He dealt with them, drank their wines, did their dances and played and sang—everything like a heathen.

And because they rose up against him and his companions, they—the confessant and João de Remirão, owner of his own sugar mill where he lives near Tasuapina in this captaincy—pretended to be shamans in the way to which the heathens are accustomed, saying they would cast death upon them so all of them would die, and inventing and pretending so the heathens would take care and not kill them, and so they could escape. And indeed they did escape.

He confessed that twenty years ago, in the wilderness of Pernambuco on the river São Francisco, he gave a sword, shields, daggers, German knives, and other arms to the heathens who are enemies of Christians and who kill and make war against them whenever they have the chance.

He confessed that five or six years ago, more or less, in the wilderness [near] this city there arose among the heathens a heresy and superstition which they called Santidade. They called one heathen Pope, whom they said was God, and others they called saints, and a heathen woman they called Mother of God and other women they called saints. They performed baptisms among themselves with burning candles, sprinkling water on the heads of the baptized. Those whom the so-called Pope baptized received heathen names. The one called Pope, author and inventor of the heresy and superstition, used to be called Antônio and was a heathen of this Brazil and was raised in the house of the priests of the Society of Jesus during the time when they had villages in Tinharé, captaincy of Ilhéus, from whence he fled into the wilderness.

And the heresy set itself up, parodying and falsifying the practices of the Christian Church, performing baptisms and making churches with altars, holy water fonts, confraternity boards, candlesticks, prayer beads, and a sacristy. They had an idol on the altar, the figure of an animal that represented neither a human nor a bird nor a fish nor a worm, but was like a chimera, which they worshipped. The non-Christian Indian woman called Mother of God was the wife of the one called Pope, according to the heathen practice.

And this false belief having arisen, the confessant, made captain by the governor, Manoel Telles Barreto [governor 1583–1587], and on his order led a company of soldiers to destroy the heresy, to arrest and bring its supporters, the

majority of whom were Christians who, after becoming so, fled to the one called Pope who also was Christian.

The confessant, being already in the wilderness, found that the supporters of the heresy fled because they feared his troop going against them. He encountered a detachment of Indians of this Brazil, some heathens, some Christians, who carried with them the idol and he, the confessant, seeing the idol, removed his hat and feigned reverence for it to deceive those who brought it into thinking that he believed in their superstition.

And the Indians asked him to allow them to have a procession with the idol. He gave permission and ordered his Indians whom he had taken with him to help them make the procession. He sang their heathen songs with them, drank their tobacco, which they called sacred, and played their heathen instruments according to their practice of that heresy called Santidade.

And then the confessant ordered some of his companions to take the idol to Fernão Cabral de Taide at his *fazenda* Jaguaripe from where he, the confessant, had left for the wilderness. These companions were Domingos Camacho, native of the Algarve and who now is in the Indies of Toqumão [Tucumán?], and Pantaliam Ribeiro, farmer and resident on the fazenda of Diogo Correa. And along with the idol, he wrote a letter to Fernão Cabral in which he said that he sent the idol there with those people, followers of the said heresy who might [number] some sixty souls, and that it would be good company to them while he, the confessant, went into the wilderness so that he would not run into danger.

And after thus bidding farewell to his companions, those who took the said people and idol, he, the confessant, went ahead, already taking with him new help from companions whom the governor Manoel Telles sent him.

And arriving at a pass called Palmeiras Compridas, the headman of the supporters of that heresy, the one called Pope, sent word to the confessant that he should not pass through that place under threat of punishment because he would soon come there. Soon the one called Pope came dressed in some trousers of coarse black cotton, a green cassock, and a red beret on his head, bringing with him many of his followers in orderly rows of three, all the women and children at the back with their hands raised.

The one called Pope came in the lead, and the others, who followed him in rows, came shaking and making movements with their feet and hands and necks, and speaking a certain new language; everything [they did] was the invention and ceremony of that heresy called Santidade.

And he, the confessant, worshipped the one called Pope and knelt before him, saying these words: "I worship you, *odre* [billy-goat], because you will be a goatskin." [As late as the eighteenth century, *odre* meant a container for wine or vinegar made of goatskin.]

Soon he, the confessant, also wept to the one called Pope according to the heathen custom and jumped and celebrated with him in his heathen way, and drank tobacco with him, tobacco which the followers of the heresy called sacred. He played their instruments and sang their songs with them in their languages. And the confessant allowed them to worship him, and call him the Son of God, and also Saint Louis.

All these things he did and agreed to without the intention or the spirit of the heathens, but pretending in order to deceive the people of that heresy and to bring them with him to the fazenda of Fernão Cabral.

And to the one called Pope he, the confessant, gave a horseman's sword, and had already given him a short sword, and the clothes in which he came dressed.

He further confessed that before this case of heresy, he went to the wilderness of this captaincy in the company of Luis Lopes Pessoa with permission from the governor, Lourenço da Veiga [1578–1581], who then governed this State, to bring heathens downriver with him to settle. On that expedition he spent one year, and during that time he practiced with the heathens their heathen customs, playing and singing in the manner described above; he accepted four women given to him as wives, according to their heathen style.

He further confessed that two and a half years ago he went with permission from the governing board [1587–1591] to the wilderness in the company of Cristovão da Rocha to bring heathens downriver, from where now they come to the wilderness of Pernambuco, where he also consented to and ordered a dance of swords and festivities for the heathens of the wilderness of Pernambuco. He also gave two muskets to the heathens and they gave him six women whom he had as wives.

And he confessed that in all the time he traveled in the wilderness, he always ate meat during Lent and on other days on which the Church forbids meat. Many times he said that he never wanted to come out of the wilderness because he had many women there and ate meat on forbidden days and did what he wanted without having to account to anybody.

And he said that for all these things and offenses that he has confessed, he asks forgiveness in this time of grace.

Soon he was questioned as to how he has been married to his legitimate wife, Isabel Beliaga, and the manner in which he had the women in the wilderness. He responded that it was twenty-three years ago, more or less, that he married, and that in the wilderness he did not receive the women who were given to him by any words of the Church. He only took them as is the custom among the heathens to keep women for immoral conversation.

Asked if he could excuse himself from eating meat at forbidden times, he responded that he always ate it out of necessity, having no other provisions, and when he had provisions, he stopped eating meat.

He declared that at the time he worshipped the one called Pope, he said to his companions that they should dissemble [their] worship of him, even if he was in front of everybody and did not see if [in fact] they worshipped. The one called Pope said that he was called Antonio, he was Christian, and came from the priests of the Society of Jesus in Tinharé, in the captaincy of Ilhéus.

And being asked which persons in his company did he see do the same that he did or similar things, he responded that he saw Captain Cristovão da Rocha give the heathens, who are enemies of the Whites and make war on them and kill them when they can, a weapon of war, a silk banner, a drum, a horse, a mare, a musket, a sword, and it was said that he gave them a flask of gunpowder. He saw him blackened around the neck with the jenipapo dye according to the heathen custom,

and that he had five or six wives in the way of the heathens. He saw Pedro Álvares, Mameluco, now resident in New Ceregipe, order that a sword be given to the heathens for three *peças* [pieces, or three Indian slaves]. He saw Fernão Sanches Carilho, a White man from the Alentejo [the central region of Portugal], who now is at the São Francisco river, previously give to the heathens a leather warrior's jacket. He saw Domingos Diaz, mameluco, who it now seems to him is in Paraguaçú, scarred on one arm in the heathen way.

And saying nothing more, he was ordered to secrecy and so he promised. As to his impediments as a witness he said he has a hatred for Cristovão da Rocha.

Confession of Dona Ana Alcoforada

February 11, 1592, Salvador, Bahia

She said she is half Old Christian and half New Christian, a native of Matoím in this captaincy, daughter of Antonio Alcoforado, Old Christian, and his wife Isabel Antunes, New Christian, both deceased; she is twenty-seven years old, married to Nicolao Faleiro de Vasconcelos, farmer and resident on his *fazenda* at Matoím.

And confessing herself, she said that four years ago she had in her house a servant by the name of Balthesar Dias Azambujo, an Old Christian according to what he said, native of Santo Antonio do Tojal, who will now be a man of thirty years, a little more or less, who now is married and resides in the captaincy of Ilhéus with Caterina Cordeira, his wife, and they live by their labor. Before living with her, the confessant, he also lived some days with her aunt, Dona Lianor, wife of Anrique Monis Telex.

And at that time when one of her slaves died at home, her servant, Balthesar Dias Azambujo, asked her why people threw out the water when someone died at home, was it out of repugnance or why?

And she, the confessant, never until then had heard nor known that at the death of someone, water was thrown out. She asked him then why he had said that, and he replied to her that he said it because he had seen that in his land water was emptied out of houses when someone had died, but he did not know why, nor did he say anything more.

Then she, the confessant, simply taking care that it would be something good, ordered that the water that was in the house should be thrown out. And it happened that at various times seven or eight slaves died, and when they died she ordered that the water that was in the house should always be emptied out. She did this without having heard or learned from any other person, in any other place, and without having seen any other person do it, only from hearing her servant say it.

Further, she said that she heard her grandmother, Ana Rodrigues, a New Christian, swear when she wanted to affirm something in this way: "by the world that has the soul of Heitor Antunes," who was her husband, the grandfather of the confessant.

And so she heard the same oath from many other persons whom she does not remember, and for this reason she also simply, without any bad intention, many

times used the same oath, and when she wanted to affirm something she said, "by the world that has the soul of my father and my mother."

Asked which world this is that has the soul of her father and her mother, she responded that she does not understand nor know how to say what the oath means to say, but that she utters this oath simply for having heard it, and has sworn it many times, before her relatives and other persons, and she does not remember how long ago [she first heard it].

She was quickly admonished by the Senhor Visitador, with great charity, that she should confess fully and truly because these rituals she performed of throwing out water are very well known to be from the Jews, who usually swear by "*Orlon de mi padre*," which means the same as "by the world that has the soul of my father." And because she is a New Christian, it can only be presumed that she does these ceremonies and oaths with the intention of a Jew, and that she is a Jew and lives by the law of Moses and has left the faith of Jesus Christ. "Therefore speak the truth and open your heart, because this will benefit you greatly in achieving grace because you are within the period of grace."

She responded that she is a good Christian and never knew of, nor had anything [to do with], the law of Moses, but that she did these things without understanding that they were Jewish. Later when the Holy Inquisition announced itself in this city and she heard told of the things declared in the Proclamation of the Faith, she understood that what she had said, and would never say again, was Jewish, and that her guilt was in having done them externally, without having any error of the Catholic faith in her heart. She asks forgiveness and mercy.

Confession of Francisco Nugueira

September 18, 1618, Salvador, Bahia

On the eighteenth day of the month of September of one thousand six hundred and eighteen in the city of Salvador da Bahia de Todos os Santos, in the church of the Jesuit College at an afternoon hearing during the period of grace, being present Senhor Inquisitor Marcos Teixeira, there appeared before him without being summoned Francisco Nugueira, Old Christian, between twenty-nine and thirty years of age, a barber, born in Lisbon, married, resident in this city on the Rua Direita do Colégio. And being present, he was charged to tell the truth in everything, was pledged to secrecy, and was given the Oath on the Holy Gospels on which he put his hand, charged with so promising.

He said he confesses before this Tribunal that about a year and a half ago in this city a Black slave woman of his was missing from his household for a period of three months. Learning that an old Black man who belonged to the Franciscan Monastery in this city was a sorcerer and diviner, he searched him out and told him about the flight of the slave woman, asking him to say how he, the confessant, could find her. He, the confessant, did this both times that the slave woman fled (for between one flight and another there were not more than fifteen days). The Black man replied right away that she would return to the house on a certain day

which he then specified. And the other time he answered that she would come home and would bring [her] godfather and also specified the day. And everything thus happened both times.

And because he said he had nothing else to confess, he was asked for the name of the Black man by the Senhor Inquisitor, whether he was well known as a sorcerer, whether he [the confessant] had seen some spells, what witnesses there were to this case, and whether it provoked a scandal.

He answered that he did not know the name of the Black man but that he was well known and was the oldest Black serving the said priests. It was because he was famous as a sorcerer that he, the confessant, had sought him out. He, the confessant, had not seen him practice any other things on the two occasions, aside from, the first time, pouring wine into a dish and, the second time, water, then speaking a little to himself, and then divining as described above.

It was also true that he had recounted the event to Pero de Moura, married, resident in this city, a native of Lisbon, and to his brother, Paulo Correa, also resident in this city. It was because they told him that if they had to accuse [him] they would do it; he asked forgiveness and mercy, being ready for whatever penance was imposed. He thus spoke, and said he did not know of any other witnesses regarding the case nor did he think those mentioned above were scandalized by his [action].

He was asked whether, when it happened, he understood and believed that the Devil could divine future things and that the Black man divined through him; and whether he knew that future contingencies are reserved only to God and that the Holy Mother Catholic Church so believes and orders it believed; and if he knew that the Black man had made a pact with the Devil, tacitly or explicitly, to divine, or [whether] he, the confessant, had done it to know what [God] intended; and whether he knew that the Holy Mother Church forbade practicing or using sorcery and benefitting from it.

He replied that he, the confessant, moved by a desire to find the said Black woman, consulted the sorcerer, as he has said, and as things happened he understood that [the Black man] had divined by the action of the Devil and that this was forbidden by the Holy Mother Church, but that he, the confessant, had not made any pact with the Devil nor did he know whether the Black man had done so, nor did he know what such a thing would be. He believes what the Holy Mother Church believes. After he learned that this was a case for the Holy Office [of the Inquisition], he repented, so much so that, when another Black woman fled from him, he had not wished to benefit from similar acts of sorcery.

And he was told by the Senhor Inquisitor that he was well advised to come and so acknowledge [it] to this Tribunal, for the sake of unburdening his conscience and seeking mercy. And he was asked whether he knew of others who were guilty of cases for the Holy Office, and what motive did he have for coming and confessing. He replied that he knew nothing other than that it was generally said in this city that a wall-eyed Black man belonging to André de Freitas, Field Captain, married, resident of this city, divined by sorcery. He [the confessant] had come to acknowledge [this] in order to benefit from the mercy of this Tribunal.

And he was asked to whom he had confessed this case and whether he had been absolved. He replied that before the Edict of Grace he had not thought to confess it, but that after his confession was taken in writing, he had confessed sacramentally to Canon Manoel Viegas and that, having said that he had made a statement to the Holy Office, he [the canon] had absolved him.

Asked whether he had any [connections to the other witnesses that would discredit his testimony], he said no. And he signed along with the Senhor Inquisitor. Manoel Marinho wrote this. [signed] Marcos Teixeira, [signed] Francisco Nugueira.

Confession of Pero de Moura

September 18, 1618, Salvador, Bahia

On the eighteenth day of the month of September of one thousand six hundred and eighteen in the city of Salvador da Bahia de Todos os Santos, in the church of the Jesuit College at an afternoon hearing during the period of grace, being present Senhor Inquisitor Marcos Teixeira, there appeared before him without being summoned Pero de Moura, Old Christian, born in Lisbon, thirty years old, married, and resident in this city. And being present, he was charged to tell the truth in everything, pledged to secrecy, and given the Oath on the Holy Gospels on which he put his hand, charged with so promising.

He said that he came before this Board to accuse himself and confess his guilt so as to receive the promised mercy and grace; that he was repentant and ready to do any penance that was assigned him for such guilt. A year and a half ago more or less, when his brother Paulo Correa was very sick in this city, he, distrusting doctors, had summoned a Black man from São Thome called Francisco Cucana, a freedman, who lives in Pirajá in the hinterland of this city near the Diogo Monis Telles plantation. This Black man was famous as a sorcerer and had been jailed for this in the [ecclesiastical] jail of this city. And this Black man came to the confessant's house and in the presence of his wife Hieronima Dias, his brother, and a young man called Francisco, the confessant's servant, practiced sorcery ceremonies with an egg, calling the name of the sick man while telling him not to answer. The confessant declared that the sick man, his brother, had been healed with the cure that the Black man had made for him, but that it did not seem to him that the application of herbs and other small things with which he had healed him was the work of sorcery.

And he further said that, with the intention simply of unburdening his conscience, he declared well and truly that two or three months ago more or less when he was going to Mass in the company of Paulo Antunes Freire, they entered a basement-level store of Andre Lopes de Carvalho, a Jew, a widower, born in Europe, a shopkeeper, resident in this city, and, as all three of them chatted, Andre Lopes de Carvalho said, "The Devil take anyone who wishes to be an Old Christian," which he, the confessant, heard him say and witnessed, having been present. And the bystanders threw up their hands and told him that he should watch what he said, because not even when teasing could one say such a thing. The

denounced replied, "If they accuse a New Christian, why should I want to be an Old Christian?" And [the confessant] said he had nothing else about which to testify or denounce.

The Senhor Inquisitor told him he had done well to testify before the Board, both to relieve his conscience and to receive much mercy. Then he asked him if he had heard any scandal regarding his confession, if he had heard other witnesses, if he knew whether the Black man had made a pact with the Devil, either tacitly or explicitly, and if he knew that the Holy Mother Church forbade the use of such sorcery.

He replied that he knew nothing more than that the Holy Mother Church forbade the above, but that he, the confessant, to remedy his brother's need, had had few scruples regarding this, because of the little that is made of such matters in this land.

And he was asked if the words of Andre Lopes de Carvalho had provoked a scandal, whether after they had thrown up their hands he insisted on what he had said, why had he, the witness, entered the shop of the accused, what provoked him [the accused] to say the said words, and what other witnesses were there to the occurrence.

He said that there were no other witnesses besides himself and Paulo Antunes Freire, a single man, born in Lisbon, a stock-clerk in this city. The reason both of them had gone into the store of the denounced was, as far as he can remember, to inquire about some gunpowder. What provoked the denounced to utter those words was that they were speaking of similar words that were said in this city and that Antonio Mendes, nicknamed Beijú, had said at the beach not long before. And it was true that he, the denouncer, and the said Paulo Antunes Freire were scandalized by the words of the denounced.

And he was asked if the denounced was a man who often lost his wits, whether he had been imprisoned and punished by the Holy Office, and if he was infamous for Judaism. And [he was asked] if he knew of other cases related to the Holy Office and what motive did he have in denouncing this one.

He replied that the denounced was a man of reason and proud of it, that he had heard it said that the denounced had been imprisoned by the Holy Office in Portugal, and that he denounced the occurrence [because he was] zealous to unburden his conscience, and that he knew of no others.

Asked whether he had any [connections to the other witnesses that would discredit his testimony], he said no. And he signed along with the Senhor Inquisitor. Manoel Marinho wrote this. [signed] Marcos Teixeira, [signed] Pero de Moura.

Robert Edgar Conrad, ed., *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1983).

1.1. The Beginnings of the Portuguese-African Slave Trade in the Fifteenth Century, as Described by the Chronicler Gomes Eannes de Azurara

The following excerpt from the chronicle of African discovery and conquest by the official Portuguese historian, Gomes Eannes de Azurara, is probably the first and certainly one of the best descriptions of the onset of the Portuguese-African slave trade in the fifteenth century. It vividly reveals that, while early Portuguese slave traders were motivated in part by a desire to serve God and the Portuguese Kingdom, their alleged higher intentions did not prevent them from employing unscrupulous methods in the capture of slaves, or from later treating them with the brutality that became characteristic of the international slave trade. As Azurara shows, for example, the captured "Moors" arrived in Portugal in a miserable state, and little respect was shown for their personal feelings when, in the presence of Prince Henry the Navigator, they were divided up among their new owners. Similarly, although Prince Henry is described here as pleased by the slaves' opportunity to save their souls in a Christian land, his quick partition of the forty-six persons who made up his royal share was also apparently carried out with little regard for any wish the slaves might have had to remain with friends or loved ones. From the very beginning of the traffic, making profits and saving souls were more important than the welfare and happiness of human beings.

Source: *Chronica do descobrimento e conquista de Guiné, escrita por mandada de Elrei D. Affonso V, sob a direcção scientifica e segundo as instrucções do Illustre D. Henrique pelo chronista Gomes Eannes de Azurara* (Paris: J. P. Aillaud, 1841), pp. 103-135.

❧ Since Prince [Henry the Navigator] was normally to be found in the Kingdom of the Algarve after his return from Tangier because of the town he was having built there, and since the prisoners whom [his captains] brought back were landed at Lagos [the town where Henry established his headquarters], it was the people of this place who first persuaded the Prince to grant them permission to go to that land from which the Moorish captives came. . . .

The most important captain was Lançarote, and the second Gil Eannes, who, as we have written, was the first to round Cape Bojador. Aside from these, there were Stevam Affonso, a nobleman who died later in the Canary Islands, Rodrigo Alvarez, Joham Dyaz, a shipowner, and Joham Bernaldez, all of whom were very well qualified. Setting out on their voyage, they arrived at the Island of Herons [Ilha das Garças] on

the eve of Corpus Christi, where they rested for a time, living mainly from the many young birds they found there, since it was the breeding season. . . .

And so these two captains [Martim Vicente and Gil Vasquez] made preparations, and they took five boats manned by thirty men, six in each boat, and set out at about sunset. Rowing the entire night, they arrived about daybreak at the island they were looking for. And when they recognized it by signs the Moors had mentioned, they rowed for awhile close to the shore until, as it was getting light, they reached a Moorish village near the beach where all the island's inhabitants were gathered together. Seeing this, our men stopped for a time to discuss what they should do. . . . And after giving their opinions, they looked toward the village where they saw that the Moors, with their women and children, were leaving their houses as fast as they could, for they had seen their enemies. The latter, crying the names of St. James, St. George, and Portugal, attacked them, killing and seizing as many as they could. There you could have seen mothers forsaking their children, husbands abandoning their wives, each person trying to escape as best he could. And some drowned themsleves in the water; others tried to hide in their huts; others, hoping they would escape, hid their children among the sea grasses where they were later discovered. And in the end our Lord God, who rewards every good deed, decided that, for their labors undertaken in His service, they should gain a victory over their enemies on that day, and a reward and payment for all their efforts and expenses. For on that day they captured 165 [Moors], including men, women, and children, not counting those who died or were killed. When the battle was over, they praised God for the great favor He had shown them, in wishing to grant them such a victory, and with so little harm to themselves. After their captives had been put in the boats, with others securely tied up on land, since the boats were small and could not hold so many people, they ordered a man to go as far as he could along the coast to see if he could sight the caravels. He set out at once, and, going more than a league from where the others were waiting, he saw the caravels arriving, because, as he had promised, Lançarote had sailed at dawn.

And when Lançarote, with those squires and highborn men who accompanied him, heard of the good fortune which God had granted to that handful of men who had gone to the island, and saw that they had accomplished such a great deal, it pleasing God to bring the affair to such a conclusion, they were all very happy, praising God for wishing to aid those few Christians in this manner. . . .

On the next day, which was a Friday, they prepared their boats, since the caravels had to remain where they were, and loaded into them all

the supplies needed for two days only, since they did not intend to stay away from their ships any longer than that. Some thirty men departed in the boats, namely Lançarote and the other captains of the caravels, and with them squires and highborn men who were there. And they took with them two of those Moors whom they had captured, because they had told them that on the island of Tiger, which was five leagues distant, there was a Moorish village of about 150 persons. And as soon as it was morning, they set out, all very devoutly commending themselves to God, and asking His help in guiding them so that He might be served and His Holy Catholic Faith exalted. And they rowed until they reached the said island of Tiger; and as soon as they had leaped upon the shore the Moor who was with them led them to a village, where all the Moors, or at least most of those on the island, had earlier assembled . . . ; and Lançarote, with fourteen or fifteen men, went toward the place where the Moor led them. And walking half a league . . . they saw nine Moors, both men and women, with ten or twelve asses loaded with turtles, who hoped to cross over to the island of Tiger, which would be a league from there, it being possible to cross from one island to the other on foot. And as soon as they saw them, they pursued them, and, offering no effective defense, they were all captured except one, who fled to inform the others in the village. And as soon as they had captured them, they sent them to the place where Gil Eannes was, Lançarote ordering him to place a guard over the Moors, and then to set out after them, using all the men he had, because he believed that they would find someone to fight with.

And as soon as the captives reached them, they bound them securely and put them in the boats, and leaving only one man with them, they set out at once behind Lançarote, following constantly in his footsteps until they reached the place where Lançarote and his followers were. After capturing the Moors whom they had sent to the boats, they followed the Moor to a village that its inhabitants had abandoned, having been warned by the Moor who had escaped when the others were taken prisoner.

And then they saw all the people of the island on a smaller island where they had gone in their canoes; and the Christians could not reach them except by swimming, nor did they dare to retreat for fear of encouraging their enemies, who were much more numerous than they were. And thus they remained until all the other men had reached them; and seeing that even when they were all together they could not do them any harm, because of the water that lay between them, they decided to return to their boats which were a good two leagues away.

And, upon their return, they entered the village and searched every-

thing to see if they might find something in the houses. And, while searching, they found seven or eight Moorish women, whom they took with them, thanking God for their good fortune which they had received through His grace; and thus they returned to their boats, which they reached at about sunset, and they rested and enjoyed themselves that night like men who had toiled hard throughout the day. . . .

The needs of the night forced them to spend it mainly in sleep, but their minds were so fixed upon the tasks that lay before them that they could think of nothing else. And so they discussed what they would do the next day, and, after hearing many arguments, which I will omit in order not to make my story too long, they decided to go in their boats to attack the settlement before daybreak. . . . Having reached this decision, they set out in the dark, rowing their boats along the shore. And as the sun began to rise, they landed and attacked the village, but found no one in it, because the Moors, having seen their enemies leaving, had returned to the village, but, not wanting to sleep in it, they had gone to stay a quarter of a league away near a crossing point by which they went over to Tiger. And when the Christians recognized that they could find nothing in the village, they returned to their boats and coasted along that island on the other side of Tiger, and they sent fifteen men overland to see if they could find any Moors or any trace of them. And on their way they saw the Moors fleeing as fast as they could, for they had already observed them, and then all our men leaped out on land and began to pursue them. They were not able to reach the men, but they took seventeen or eighteen of the women and small children who could not run so fast. And one of the boats, in which Joham Bernaldez was traveling, one of the smallest, went along the coast of the island; and the men in the boat saw some twenty canoes which were moving toward Tiger, in which Moors of both sexes were traveling, both adults and children, four or five in each boat. And they were very pleased when they first saw this, but later greatly saddened. Their pleasure came from seeing the profit and honor that lay before them, which was their reason for going there; their sadness came when they recognized that their boat was so small that they could put only a very few aboard. And with their few oars, they pursued them as well as they could, until they were among the canoes; and, stirred by pity, even though the people in the canoes were heathens, they wished to kill very few of them. However, there is no reason not to believe that many of them, who in their terror abandoned the boats, did not perish in the sea.

And some of them were on the left and some on the right, and, going in among them, they selected the smallest, because this way they could load more into their boats, of which they took fourteen, so that those

who were captured in those two days, not including some who died, totaled forty-eight. . . .

The caravels arrived at Lagos, from where they had set out, enjoying fine weather on the voyage, since fortune was no less generous in the mildness of the weather than it had been to them in the taking of their prizes. And from Lagos the news reached the Prince, who just hours before had arrived there from other places where he had spent some days. . . . And the next day, Lançarote, as the man who had had the main responsibility, said to the Prince: "Sir! Your Grace knows full well that you must accept the fifth of these Moors, and of everything which we took in that land, where you sent us in the service of God and yourself. And now these Moors, because of the long time we have been at sea, and because of the obvious sorrow in their hearts at finding themselves far from their birthplace and held in captivity, without possessing any knowledge of what their future will be; as well as because they are not used to sailing on ships; for all these reasons they are in a rather poor condition and sickly; and so it seems to me that it will be useful for you to order them removed from the caravels in the morning and taken to that field that lies outside the city gate, and there divided up into five parts, according to custom, and that Your Grace should go there and select one of the parts which best suits you." The Prince said that he was well pleased, and very early the next day Lançarote ordered the masters of the caravels to bring them outside and to take them to that field, where they were to be divided up, as stated before; but, before doing anything else, they took the best of the Moors as an offering to the church of that place, and another little one who later became a friar of St. Francis they sent to São Vicente do Cabo, where he always lived as a Catholic Christian, without any knowledge or feeling for any other law but the holy and true doctrine, in which all Christians await our salvation. And the Moors of that conquest numbered 235. . . .

On the next day, which was August 8, the seamen began to prepare their boats very early in the morning, because of the heat, and to bring out those captives so that they could be transferred as ordered. And the latter, placed together in that field, were a marvelous thing to behold, because among them there were some who were reasonably white, handsome, and genteel; others, not so white, who were like mulattoes; others as black as Ethiopians, so deformed both in their faces and bodies, that it seemed to those who guarded them that they were gazing upon images of the lowest hemisphere. But what human heart, no matter how hard, would not be stabbed by pious feelings when gazing upon such a company of people? For some had their heads held low and their faces bathed in tears, as they looked upon one another. Others were moaning most

bitterly, gazing toward heaven, fixing their eyes upon it, as if they were asking for help from the father of nature. Others struck their faces with the palms of their hands, throwing themselves prostrate upon the ground; others performed their lamentations in the form of a chant, according to the custom of their country, and, although our people could not understand the words of their language, they were fully appropriate to the level of their sorrow. But to increase their suffering even more, those responsible for dividing them up arrived on the scene and began to separate one from another, in order to make an equal division of the fifths; from which arose the need to separate children from their parents, wives from their husbands, and brothers from their brothers. Neither friendship nor kinship was respected, but instead each one fell where fortune placed him! Oh powerful destiny, doing and undoing with your turning wheels, arranging the things of this world as you please! do you even disclose to those miserable people some knowledge of what is to become of them, so that they may receive some consolation in the midst of their tremendous sorrow? And you who labor so hard to divide them up, look with pity upon so much misery, and see how they cling to each other, so that you can hardly separate them! Who could accomplish that division without the greatest toil; because as soon as they had put the children in one place, seeing their parents in another, they rose up energetically and went over to them; mothers clasped their other children in their arms, and threw themselves face down upon the ground with them, receiving blows with little regard for their own flesh, if only they might not be parted from them!

And so with great effort they finished the dividing up, because, aside from the trouble they had with the captives, the field was quite full of people, both from the town and from the surrounding villages and districts, who for that day were taking time off from their work, which was the source of their earnings, for the sole purpose of observing this novelty. And seeing these things, while some wept, others took part in the separating, and they made such a commotion that they greatly confused those who were in charge of dividing them up.

The Prince was there mounted upon a powerful horse, accompanied by his retinue, distributing his favors, like a man who wished to derive little material advantage from his share; for of the forty-six souls who belonged to his fifth, he quickly divided them up among the rest, since his main source of wealth lay in his own purpose; for he reflected with great pleasure upon the salvation of those souls that before were lost.

And his thoughts were certainly not in vain, because, as we have said, as soon as they gained a knowledge of our language, they turned Christian without much difficulty; and I who have brought this history to-

gether in this volume saw boys and girls in the town of Lagos, the children and grandchildren of those people, born in this land, Christians as good and true as though they were descended from the beginnings of Christ's law, through the generation of those who were first baptized.

2.1. An Italian Jesuit Advises Sugar Planters on the Treatment of Their Slaves (1711)

Despite the great importance of sugar to the history of colonial Brazil, few accounts of slave conditions on colonial sugar plantations exist. Among those that do is the following excerpt from an eighteenth-century analysis of Brazil's sugar, tobacco, gold, and cattle industries which was published in Lisbon in 1711 by João Antônio Andreoni, a Jesuit father who employed the pseudonym André João Antonil. Writing as a Catholic clergyman, Andreoni revealed concern for the spiritual life of the slaves as well as their treatment at the hands of their owners. Thus his account contains his views on the religious training of slaves, their marriages or lack of them, their family life, food, clothing, recreation, and punishments. Andreoni was also a practical man, however, and his essay was in fact a series of suggestions to sugar planters on the management of their workers. Thus it also includes businesslike advice on the African origins of slaves, their alleged attributes, weaknesses, qualifications for plantation occupations, and practical advice on master-slave relationships. Andreoni's generalizations on the various racial groups in Brazil, especially the mulattoes, undoubtedly echo the beliefs and attitudes of many of his white contemporaries.

Source: André João Antonil, *Cultura e opulência do Brasil por suas drogas e minas* (São Paulo: Companhia Melhoramentos, 1922), pp. 91-97.

❧ *How the Sugar-Mill Owner Ought to Treat His Slaves*

The slaves are the hands and the feet of the sugar-mill owner [*senhor de engenho*], because without them it is not possible in Brazil to set up, maintain, and develop a plantation, nor to have a functioning mill. And whether they are available for labor in good condition or not depends on how they are treated. To maintain permanent service, it is necessary to purchase some pieces [peças] each year and to distribute them over the property: some to the mill, others to field work, woodcutting, and boat service. And since they are usually of various nations and some are ruder than others and of different physical development, this sorting out of personnel ought to be done carefully and not blindly. Those who come to Brazil are of the Ardas [Adras or Dahomeans], Minas [persons said to have been shipped from São Jorge da Mina or Elmina, a Gold Coast port], and Congo nations. Others are from São Tomé, Angola, Cape Verde, and Mozambique, the latter arriving on ships from India. The Ardas and Minas slaves are robust, whereas those from Cape Verde and

São Tomé are weaker. Slaves from Angola who grow up in Luanda are more capable of learning mechanical trades than those from the other places mentioned. Among the Congos, there are also some who are rather industrious and useful not only for field service, but also for the various crafts and for household management.

Many reach Brazil in a very rude condition and quite unable to communicate, and so they remain for the rest of their lives. Others in a few years grow skillfull and learn to find their way about. They learn Christian doctrine and how to make the best of their situation: how to take command of a boat, for example, how to receive orders and to apply themselves in all the ways that are usually required of them. The women handle the scythe and the hoe, like the men, but only the male slaves make use of the axe to cut down the forests. Boilermen, carpenters, and caulkers are chosen from among the acculturated slaves, as well as the keepers of the vats, boatmen, and sailors, since these occupations require more careful attention. Newly arrived slaves who have been established on a plantation should not be sent elsewhere against their will, because they can easily succumb to grief and die. Those who are born in Brazil or are brought up from childhood in the home of the white people take on the qualities of their masters and turn themselves to good account; and any one of them is worth four new slaves.

Mulattoes serve even better in the various crafts. However, many of them take too much advantage of their masters' favors, and thus are proud and vicious, boast of their bravery, and are prone to insolent behavior. Nevertheless, they and the women of the same color usually have the greatest opportunities in Brazil, because with the blood of the whites flowing in their veins (the blood perhaps of their own masters), they charm them to the point that some masters will put up with anything they may do and pardon them every act; and it appears that, unless they are brave enough to correct them, these mulattoes can engage in every kind of pleasure and indulgence. And it is hard to decide whether the masters or the mistresses are more at fault in this regard. Whatever the case, there are some owners among both sexes who allow themselves to be dominated by mulattoes of the worst kind, so that we find confirmed the proverb which states that Brazil is a hell for blacks, purgatory for whites, and paradise for mulattoes of both sexes—except when, as a result of some suspicion or jealousy, love is transformed into hatred and armed with every type of brutality. It is useful to take advantage of the talents that the mulattoes possess, as some people do. However, no one ought to bestow as much as a hand upon them, for in that case they will take an arm, and will then transform themselves from slaves into masters. To liberate troublesome *mulatas* is obviously harmful, because the

money that they pay to free themselves rarely comes from any source other than their own bodies, as a result of constant sins; and once they are liberated they continue to be the downfall of many people.

Some masters oppose marriage among their slaves, and not only are they not much bothered by their loose sex life, but they even clearly consent to it. In fact, they even initiate their irregular relationships, saying to them: "You, So-and-So, someday you will marry So-and-So," and from then on they are permitted to live together as though they were husband and wife. Masters claim that they do not arrange marriages among their slaves because they fear that once they have grown tired of the relationship they will murder each other with poisons or witchcraft, and there are some among them, in fact, who are well-known masters of this art. Other slaveholders, after arranging marriages for their slaves, separate them for years, so that they live in fact as if they were single, and masters cannot do this in good conscience. Others exercise so little care concerning their slaves' salvation that they keep them in the cane fields or in the mills for long periods of time without having them baptized. And among those who are baptized, many do not even know who their Creator is, what they ought to believe in, what law they should keep, how they should surrender themselves to God, why Christians go to church, why they adore the Church, what they should say to the priest when they kneel before him and he asks if they have a soul, or whether or not the soul dies, and where it goes when it leaves the body. What even the most recent arrivals learn, however, is the name and identity of their masters. And they know how many holes of manioc they must plant each day, how many bundles of sugar cane they must cut, how many loads of firewood they must collect, and other matters concerning their masters' service. And they also learn to ask his pardon when they make mistakes, to beg his mercy when he threatens them with punishment, and how to promise that they will better their ways. Their masters say that they are incapable of learning to confess, of asking God's pardon, of saying their beads, or of learning the Ten Commandments. All this is due to lack of education among the masters, and to their failure to think about the great reckoning regarding these questions which they must make with God. As St. Paul says, being Christians and failing to take care of their slaves, it will be worse for them than if they were infidels. Nor do they order them to attend mass on holy days; instead they keep them so busy that they have no time for mass. Nor do they order the chaplain to indoctrinate them, granting him if necessary a larger stipend for his efforts.

Concerning food, clothing, and moderate labor, these obviously should not be denied to them, because it is nothing more than right for a master

to give his servants adequate food, medication when they are sick, and the means to cover themselves decently as their condition requires, so that they do not go about nearly naked in the streets. Work should also be kept to a reasonable amount so that it is not more than their strength can bear.

It is customary to say in Brazil that three "p's" are required for slaves, that is: *pão, páo*, and *pano* [bread, a stick, and a piece of cloth]. Even when they start out with the stick, which means, of course, punishment, they should also offer proof to God that their food and clothing are as abundant as their punishment often is. Slaves are often falsely accused, and punishment is often inflicted without much proof of guilt. And even when crimes are proved, the instruments they use to punish them with are too harsh, for they would not employ such devices against brute animals. Masters, in fact, sometimes give more care and attention to a single horse than they do to half a dozen slaves. The horse receives careful grooming; he has someone to bring him hay; he has a blanket when he perspires, a saddle, and a gilded bridle.

The new slaves should receive special care because, unlike those older slaves who plant their own gardens or acquire goods through their own efforts, new slaves lack ways to make their own living. It is not right that they should be noticed only when work is assigned, and that they should be forgotten when sick or when clothes are passed out. Sundays and holy days should belong to them, and when masters deprive them of those days and make them work as on ordinary days, they suffer greatly, and call down a thousand plagues upon them. Some masters customarily grant their slaves one day a week to plant food for themselves, sometimes ordering the overseer to accompany them so that they will not neglect this work. This is done so that they will not go hungry, or so that they will not go each day to their master's house to beg for a portion of manioc flour. Not to give them flour or a day to plant it, and to require that they work from sunup to sundown in the fields, and day and night in the mill with little rest—how can a master who treats them in this way be admitted to God's tribunal without suffering His retribution? If to deny alms to the needy person who requests it is to deny it to Christ Himself, as Our Lord Himself says in the Gospel, what shall we say about a person who denies food and clothing to his slave? And what account can he give of himself who bestows fine wool and silk and other splendid garments upon those women who are the cause of his downfall, and then denies four or five yards of cotton and a few yards of rough cloth to the person who sweats away his life in his service, and has only enough time left to himself to hunt a few roots or crabs for his food? And if in addition to all this their punishment is frequent and

excessive, they will either run away into the forests or take their own lives by stopping their breath or hanging themselves, which they commonly do. Or they will try to take the life of the person who has brought so much evil upon them, resorting if necessary to the arts of the devil. Or they will cry out so loud to God that He will hear them, and will do to these masters what He did to the Egyptians when they subjected the Hebrews to such extraordinary toil, sending terrible plagues upon their plantations and upon their children, as we read in Holy Scripture. As He allowed the Hebrews to be taken captive into Babylonia as punishment for the harsh captivity that they imposed upon their slaves, in the same way might He allow some brutal enemy to carry these masters to their own country where they will experience the kind of wretched existence that they impose upon their slaves.

Not to punish the excesses that slaves commit would be most offensive. However, the charges against them must be looked into so that the innocent are not punished. Once their guilt has been established, they should be whipped moderately, or locked for a time in irons or in the stocks. But to punish with violence and a vengeful spirit, with one's own hand and with terrible instruments, and to go at these poor people with fire or hot wax, or to brand them on the face, would not be tolerated among barbarians, much less among Catholic Christians. Obviously if a master treats his slaves as a father would his children, giving them what they need for their sustenance and dress, and some respite from their labors, they will also respond generously to him. Aware as they are of their own guilt, they will not be so surprised when they receive the punishment they deserve, if it is administered with compassion and justice. If after they have made some mistake, as weak people are apt to do, they go voluntarily to their master to ask his pardon, or if they seek a protector to accompany them, it is the custom in Brazil in such cases to forgive them. They are aware that here at least they possess some advantage, because otherwise they might flee to some runaway settlement in the forest, and, if recaptured, might take their own lives before their master can whip them. Or some relative might take revenge upon them, using either witchcraft or poison. To totally deny them their amusements, their sole relief in their slavery, is to wish them miserable and melancholy, apathetic and sick in body. For this reason masters should not object when on a few days each year they appoint their kings and sing and dance decently for a few hours, or when they seek some honest pleasure in the afternoon after they have passed the morning celebrating the feasts of Our Lady of the Rosary, of St. Benedict, and of the patron saint of the plantation chapel. And these festivals should be without cost to the slaves, the master himself supporting the festival

officials with his generosity, giving them some reward for their continuing efforts. Because if the men and women who organize the festivals have to spend their own money, this will cause much inconvenience and will be offensive to God, since they cannot lawfully accumulate much money of their own.

What ought to be particularly avoided on plantations is that the slaves intoxicate themselves with sour cane wine or brandy. Sweet wine, which does them no harm, is adequate, and this they can use to trade for flour, beans, sweet manioc, and potatoes.

If masters take the trouble to give leftovers from their tables to their slaves' small children, this will be enough to make them serve with good will, and to take pleasure in increasing the number of slaves, both male and female. Otherwise slave women deliberately attempt to abort themselves so that the children inside their bodies will not be made to suffer what they have suffered.

4.2. "Children of God's Fire": A Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Finds Benefits in Slavery but Chastizes Masters for Their Brutality in a Sermon to the Black Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary

The conflicting roles of the Church in regard to slavery are demonstrated in the following sermon by the noted Jesuit writer, diplomat, and adviser to the court of Portugal, Father Antônio Vieira. Speaking to both slaves and masters at the church of the black brotherhood of the Rosary in Bahia (for information on such brotherhoods, see Document 4.4), Vieira fashioned the Church's discordant doctrines on slavery into a complex baroque "harmony." Justifying slavery through scripture, especially the example of the Babylonian Captivity, he urged the slaves to submit willingly to their earthly chains. Only their bodies could be enslaved on earth, he told his black listeners, but their souls were free unless, by their own sins, they sold themselves to the devil. Lifelong slavery was hard, but when they served their masters with a good will, slaves were in reality serving God and making a place for themselves in heaven.

Himself a descendant of black Africans and a former protector of enslaved Indians, Vieira seems to have been convinced of what he preached, especially when he spoke of the cruel treatment that masters inflicted upon their slaves. He scolded them for their greed, their un-Christian behavior, their brutal punishments, and more than hinted at the likelihood that they would spend eternity in hell.

Source: *Obras completas do Padre Antonio Vieira, Sermões*, 15 vols. (Porto: Livraria Chardon, 1907-1909), XII, 301-334.

❧ One of the remarkable things witnessed in the world today, and which we, because of our daily habits, do not see as strange, is the immense transmigration of Ethiopian peoples and nations who are constantly crossing over from Africa to this America. The fleet of Aeneas, said the Prince of Poets, brought Troy to Italy . . . ; and with greater reason can we say that the ships which one after the other are entering our ports are carrying Africa to Brazil. . . . A ship enters from Angola and on a single day unloads 500, 600, or perhaps 1,000 slaves. The Israelites crossed the Red Sea and passed from Africa to Asia, fleeing captivity; these slaves have crossed the Ocean at its widest point, passing from that same Africa to America to live and die as slaves. . . .

Now if we look at these miserable people after their arrival and at those who call themselves their masters, what was observed in Job's two conditions is what fate presents here, happiness and misery meeting on the same stage. The masters few, the slaves many; the masters decked out in courtly dress, the slaves ragged and naked; the masters feasting, the slaves dying of hunger; the masters swimming in gold and silver, the slaves weighted down with irons; the masters treating them like brutes, the slaves adoring and fearing them as gods; the masters standing erect, waving their whips, like statues of pride and tyranny, the slaves prostrate with their hands tied behind them like the vilest images of servitude, spectacles of extraordinary misery. Oh God! What divine influence we owe to the Faith You gave us, for it alone captures our understanding, so that, although in full view of such inequalities, we may nevertheless recognize Your justice and providence! Are not these people the children of Adam and Eve? Were not these souls redeemed by the blood of Christ? Are not these bodies born and do they not die as ours do? Do they not breathe the same air? Are they not covered by the same sky? Are they not warmed by the same sun? What star is it, so sad, so hostile, so cruel, that decides their fate? . . .

There is not a slave in Brazil—and especially when I gaze upon the most miserable among them—who for me is not an object of profound meditation. When I compare the present with the future, time with eternity, that which I see with that which I believe, I cannot accept the idea that God, who created these people as much in His own image as He did the rest of us, would have predestined them for two hells, one in this life and another in the next. But when today I see them so devout and festive before the altars of Our Lady of the Rosary, all brothers together and the children of that same Lady. I am convinced beyond any doubt that the captivity of the first transmigration is ordained by her compassion so that they may be granted freedom in the second.

Our Gospel mentions two transmigrations, one in which the children

of Israel were driven from their country "in the transmigration of Babylon" [Matt. 1:11] . . . ; and the other in which they were brought back to their country "after the transmigration of Babylon" [Matt. 1:12]. . . . The first transmigration, that of captivity, lasted for seven years; the second, that of freedom, had no end, because it lasted until Christ's coming.

Behold in the following, black brothers of the Rosary, . . . your present condition and the hope it gives you for the future: "and Josias begot Jechonias and his brethren" [Matt. 1:11]. Your are the brothers of God's preparation and the children of God's fire. The children of God's fire of the present transmigration of slavery, because in this condition God's fire impressed the mark of slavery upon you; and, granted that this is the mark of oppression, it has also, like fire, illuminated you, because it has brought you the light of the Faith and the knowledge of Christ's mysteries, which are those which you solemnly profess on the rosary. But in this same condition of the first transmigration, which is that of temporal slavery, God and His Most Holy Mother are preparing you for the second transmigration, that of eternal freedom.

It is this which I must preach to you today for your consolation. Reduced to a few words, this will be my topic: that your brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary promises all of you a Certificate of Freedom, with which you will not only enjoy eternal liberation in the second transmigration of the other life, but with which you will also free yourselves in this life from the most terrible captivity of the first transmigration. . . .

Although banished Children of Eve, we all possess or all expect a universal transmigration, which is that from Babylon to Jerusalem, from this world's exile to our true home in heaven. You, however, came or were brought from your homelands to these places of exile; aside from the second and universal transmigration, you have another, that of Babylon, in which, more or less moderated, you remain in captivity. And so you may know how you should conduct yourselves in it, and so that you will not yourselves make it worse, I want first to explain to you what it consists of. I will try to say it so clearly that you will all understand me. But if this does not happen (because the topic requires a greater ability than all of you can have), at least, as St. Augustine said in your own Africa, I will be satisfied if your masters and mistresses understand me, so that they may more slowly teach you what for you and for them is very important to know.

Let it be known, all of you who are slaves, that not all of what you are is a slave. Every man is composed of a body and a soul, but that which is a slave and is known as one is not the whole person, but only

half of him. Even the Pagans, who had little knowledge of souls, knew this truth and made this distinction. Homer . . . stated as follows . . . : "those men whom Jupiter made slaves divided them in half and did not leave them more than half as their own"; because the other half belongs to the master whom they serve. And which is the enslaved half that has a master whom it is forced to serve? There is no doubt that it is the more abject half—the body. . . .

Speaking of slaves, and with slaves, St. Paul said: "be obedient to them that are your lords according to the flesh" [Eph. 6:5]. And who are these "lords according to the flesh"? All interpreters declare that they are the temporal masters, such as yours whom you serve during your entire life; and the Apostle calls them "lords according to the flesh" because the slave, like any other person, is made up of flesh and spirit, and the master's control over the slave is only over the flesh, that is, the body, and does not include the spirit, which is the soul.

This is why among the Greeks the slaves were called *bodies*. Thus reports St. Epiphanius, who says that their normal way of speaking was not that this or that master had so many slaves, but that he had so many bodies. The same, according to Seneca, was the Roman custom. . . .

But we do not have to go as far back as Rome and Greece. I ask you this: in your own Brazil, when you want to say that so-and-so has many or few slaves, why do you say that he has this many or that many *pieces* [*peças*]? Because the first persons who named them this way intended to signify, wisely and in a Christian manner, that the slave's subjection to the master, and the master's control over the slave, consist only in the body. Men are not made of one piece only, like the angels and the beasts. The angels and the beasts are whole, the angel because he is all spirit, the beast because he is all body. But not man. Man is composed of two pieces: the soul and the body. And because the slaveowner is the master of only one of these pieces, that which can be dominated, that is, the body, for this reason you call your slaves *pieces*. And if this derivation does not satisfy you, let us say that you call your slaves pieces just as we say *a piece of gold, a piece of silver, a piece of silk*, or of any other thing among those which do not possess a soul. And in this way it is even more proven that the name *peça* does not include the slave's soul, and is only meant to mean his body. This is the only thing that is enslaved, the only thing that is bought and sold, the only thing that you [masters] have under your jurisdiction and as part of your fortune, and this, finally, is what was taken in the transmigration of the children of Israel from Jerusalem to Babylon, and was brought from Ethiopia to Brazil in the transmigration of those who are here called slaves and here remain in captivity.

Therefore, black brothers, the slavery you suffer, however hard and grinding it may be, or seems to be to you, is not total slavery, or the enslavement of everything you are, but rather only half slavery. You are slaves in your exterior part, which is the body; however, in the other interior and nobler half, the soul, . . . you are not a slave, but free. This first point accepted, it follows that you should know a second and more important point, which I now put to you: whether that free part or half, the soul, can also in some way be enslaved, and who can enslave it. I say to you that your soul too, like anybody's, can be enslaved; and he who can enslave it is not your master, not the king himself, not any other human power, but only you yourself, and this only by your own free will. Fortunate are those of you who can so adapt yourself to the condition of your half slavery that you can take advantage of your own servitude and may know how to make use of it to gain that which you deserve! . . .

And if you ask me, as you should—in what way are souls enslaved, who are those who sell them, and to whom do they sell them, and for what price?—I respond that each person sells his own; it is the devil to whom they are sold; the price for which they are sold is sin. And because the soul is invisible, and the devil also invisible, these sales are not seen; and so that you will believe that these are not exaggerations or mere forms of speech, but rather truths of the Faith, let it be known that it is thus defined by God, and often repeated throughout the Holy Scriptures. . . .

Tell me, white people and black, do we not all condemn Adam and Eve? Do we not know that they were ignorant and more than ignorant, mad and more than mad, blind and more than blind? Are we not the same people who curse them for what they did? Then why do we do the same and sell our souls, as they sold theirs? Let the white people listen first to an example, so that they may recognize their dishonor, and then we will demonstrate others to the black people, so that they may recognize theirs. . . . Is it necessary that, in order to add another fathom of land to your cane fields, and another day's work each week on your plantation, you must sell your soul to the devil? Your own soul, however, since it is yours, you may go ahead and sell and resell. But those of your slaves, why must you sell them too, putting your lust for gold and your damned and always ill-acquired possessions ahead of their salvation? Because of this your slaves lack Christian Doctrine; because of this they live and die without the Sacraments; and because of this, even if you do not altogether prohibit the Faith to them with a level of greed which only the devil might invent (to express this in popular language), you do not wish them to come near the door of the Church. You allow

the slave men and women to go about in sin, and do not permit them to marry, because you say that married slaves do not serve you as well. Oh reason (if such it is) so unworthy of your intelligence and Christianity!

Let us turn to the example most appropriate to the slaves, who for no reason at all should sell their souls, even if this might cost them their lives. . . . If the master orders a slave to do something, or wants from a slave anything that gravely harms his soul and conscience, the slave is obliged not to obey. I have told you repeatedly that you must not offend God; and if [the masters] threaten you because of this, and punish you, suffer it bravely and with a Christian spirit, even if this lasts your entire life, since these punishments are martyrdoms.

We have seen that, just as man is made up of two halves, the body and the soul, slavery is of two kinds: the first, the captivity of the body in which the bodies are the involuntary captives and slaves of men; the other, the slavery of the soul, in which the souls, by their own will, sell themselves and make themselves slaves and captives of the devil. And because I promised you that the Virgin, Our Lady of the Rosary, will free you, as one might say, from the greater form of slavery, . . . it is important that you first understand which of these two types of slavery is the better one. The soul is better than the body, the devil is a worse master than a man, however tyrannical the latter may be; enslavement by men is temporal, but that of the devil eternal; thus there can be no mind so coarse and blind who does not understand that the greater and worse captivity is that of the soul. But since the soul, the devil, and this type of slavery are, as I said, things that cannot be seen by the eyes, where shall I find a way fitting your ability to make this lesson clear? Let us base it on your own slavery, which to you is a more understandable thing. I ask you: if at this moment God freed all of you from your present slavery and you suddenly found yourselves liberated, would this not be a remarkable and admirable blessing which God would grant you? Well, the grace which the Lady of the Rosary will grant you, freeing your souls from the slavery of the devil and of sin, is . . . of a greater and higher value. We find this in the Gospel. . . .

And if we look for the basic reason why Christ, mankind's Redeemer, came only to redeem and liberate men from the slavery of the soul, and not from the slavery of the body, the clear and manifest reason is that mere men would be sufficient to liberate men from the slavery of men; [however,] to free from the enslavement of the devil and from sin, all God's power is required. These same children of Israel of whom we spoke were often enslaved by various nations; very early [they were] slaves of the Egyptians; later slaves of the Mesopotamians; slaves of the Ammonites; slaves of the Canaanites; slaves of the Midianites; slaves of the Philistines. And from all these captivities God always freed them through the power of men. . . . For the slavery of souls, to free them from the devil's yoke and from sin, only God himself had the power, and this with both His arms extended on a cross. . . . To redeem from the slavery of the body, it is enough to pay as much gold or silver as the slave costs. But to redeem from the slavery of the soul, how much gold or silver would be enough? Would a million be enough? Would two million be enough? Would all the gold of Sofala [a Mozambique seaport identified with Solomon's Ophir] and all the silver of Postosí [a rich source of silver in Upper Peru] be enough? Oh the baseness and ignorance of human conception! If the whole ocean were changed to silver, and the whole earth into gold; if God had created another world and a thousand worlds of a material more precious than gold and more desirable than diamonds, this entire price would not be enough to free a single soul for a single moment from the devil's slavery and from sin. For this it was necessary that God's son become man and die on a cross, so that with the infinite price of his blood he could redeem and did redeem the souls from the devil's captivity and from sin. And it is from this slavery, so harsh, fearsome and immense, that I offer you your Certificate of Freedom, through the devotion of the rosary of God's mother. . . .

Thus freed from the greatest and hardest slavery, that of the soul, you remain slaves of the second kind, that of the body. But you should not therefore suppose that the compassion which Our Lady of the Rosary feels for you is less complete. That Our Lady of the Rosary is able to free people from the slavery of the body has been seen in the countless examples of those who, finding themselves captives in an infidel land, were freed through devotion to the rosary, and after offering to the altars of the same Lady the broken chains and fetters of their captivity, as trophies to her power and charity, they hung them in the temples. When God descended to free His people from slavery in Egypt, why do you suppose that he appeared to Moses in a burning bush? Because the burning bush, as the saints tell us, was the figure of the Virgin, Our Lady; and already at that time God wished to make known to the world that the same Most Holy Virgin was not only the most appropriate and able instrument of Divine Omnipotence to free men from the slavery of the souls (for which reason he chose Her as His Mother when he came to redeem mankind), but also to liberate them from the slavery of the body. . . . Thus the Redeemer's Mother is also capable of freeing you from this second and lesser slavery. However, the fact that you now live as slaves and captives is by a special providence of God and of Our Lady,

so that through that same temporal captivity you may more easily acquire eternal freedom.

We have arrived at the second part of the liberation which I promised you, and at a point where you lack only the knowledge of how to make good use of your condition to become this world's most fortunate people. Regarding this topic, I have only to quote the two princely Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, who quite deliberately dealt with it in various places, speaking with slaves as seriously as if they had spoken with emperors of Rome. . . . The Apostle Paul spoke to the slaves in two places as follows: "Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh; not serving to the eye, as pleasing men, but in simplicity of heart, fearing God. Whatsoever you do, do it from the heart, as to the Lord, and not to men. Knowing that you shall receive of the Lord the reward of inheritance. Serve ye the Lord Christ" [Col. 3:22, 23, 24; Eph. 6:5, 6, 7, 8, 9].

When you serve your masters, you are neither their heirs, nor do they pay you for your labor. You are not their heirs because the inheritance belongs to the sons and not to the slaves; and they do not pay you for your labor, because the slave serves through an obligation and not for wages. A sad and miserable condition, to serve throughout life without hope of reward, and to work without hope of rest except in the grave! But there is a good remedy, says the Apostle (and this is not exaggeration, but Catholic Faith). The remedy is that when you serve your masters, you do not serve them as someone who serves men, but rather as someone who serves God; . . . because then you do not serve as captives, but rather as free persons, nor do you obey as slaves, but as sons and daughters [of God]. You do not serve as captives, but as free men, because God will pay you for your labor; . . . and you do not obey as slaves, but rather as sons and daughters [of God], because God, to whom you are similar in that fate which He gave you, will make you his heirs. . . .

Thus far according to St. Paul. And what does St. Peter say? . . . "Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle but also to the froward" [1 Pet. 2:18]. This is the . . . advice which the Prince of Apostles gives you, and later he adds reasons worthy of being given to the noblest and most generous spirits. Firstly, because it is the glory of patience to suffer without guilt. "For what glory is it, if committing sin, and being buffeted for it, you endure?" Secondly, because this is the way in which men make themselves more acceptable to God. "But if doing well you suffer patiently; this is thankworthy before God." Thirdly, and truly stupendous: because in that condition in which God has placed you, your vocation is similar to that of His

Son, who suffered for us, providing you the example which you are to imitate. "For unto this are you called; because Christ also suffered for us, leaving you an example that you should follow his steps" [1 Pet. 2:20, 21].

I most justly called this reason "stupendous" because who will not be amazed by the low condition of the subjects with whom St. Peter speaks, and by the highness of the most lofty comparison to which he raises them? He does not compare the slaves' vocation to another grade or condition of the Church, but to Christ Himself. "For unto this are you called; because Christ also suffered." More still: the Apostle does not stop here, but adds another new and greater prerogative of the slaves, declaring for whom Christ suffered, and why: "leaving you an example that you should follow his steps." . . .

Do you know what the condition of your servitude is if you make good use of the means it contains? It is a state not just of religion, but of one of the most austere religious orders of the entire Church. It is a religious order according to the apostolic and divine purpose, because if you do what you are obliged to do, you do not serve men, but rather God, and with the express title of servants of Christ: "as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart. With a good will serving, as to the Lord, and not to men" [Eph. 6:6, 7].

Carefully observe the wording: "With a good will serving." If you serve through force and ill will, you are apostates to your religious order, but if you serve with a good will, you are true servants of Christ. . . . Thus, just as in the Church there are two religious orders dedicated to the redemption of slaves, yours is an order of slaves without redemption, so that it will not be without perpetuity, which is a perfection of your condition. Some religious are barefoot, others wear shoes; yours is one of bare feet and rags. Your habit is of your own color; because you do not wear the skins of sheep and camels, as did Elias, but rather those which nature covered you with, or with which she left you naked, exposed to the sun's rays and the cold rain. Your poverty is poorer than that of the poorest and your obedience more complete than that of those we call the Minims [a religious order instituted by Saint Francis de Paula near the end of the fifteenth century]. Your abstinences better deserve to be called hunger than fasting, and your vigils are not from one o'clock until midnight, but the whole night without relief. Your Rule is one of many, because it is the decision or decisions of your masters. You are obligated to them because you cannot abandon your slavery, and they are not obligated to you, because they can sell you to someone else when they wish to do so. Finally, every religious order has a purpose and vocation and a special grace. The grace of yours is whips and punishments. . . .

Your vocation is the imitation of Christ's patience . . . ; and its purpose is the eternal inheritance as a reward. . . .

Believe everything I have told you, because everything, as I said before, belongs to the Faith, and upon this Faith raise up your hopes, not only for Heaven, but for what you will now hear, that preparations are being made there for you. Oh what a change of fortune will be yours at that time, and what astonishment and confusion for those who have so little humanity today, and so little understanding that they do not desire it. Tell me this: if as you serve your masters in this life, they in the other life would have to serve you, would this not be a most remarkable change and a glory for you never imagined? Then, understand that it will not happen that way, because this would be very insignificant. Does God not tell you that when you serve your masters you do not serve men, but rather God? . . . Those who will serve you in Heaven will not be your masters, many of whom will probably not be going there, but instead the one who will serve you is God Himself. It is God who will serve you in Heaven, because you served Him here on earth. . . . In this way you will be twice liberated and free: freed from the slavery of the devil, through the liberation of the souls, and free from temporal slavery, through the liberation of all eternity. . . .

This was my lesson for the slaves. And will the masters also gain something from this Babylonian Captivity? It seems not. [You may say] I, by the grace of God, am white and not black; I am free and not a captive; I am a master and not a slave; in fact I possess many slaves. And those who went as captives to Babylon, were they black or white? Were they captives or free? Were they slaves or masters? Neither in color nor in freedom nor in lordliness were they less than you. Well, if they could be lowered into slavery, having to drop so far for this to occur, you who by taking a single step could find yourselves in this condition, why do you not fear your peril? . . . Look to the two poles of Brazil, that of the North and that of the South, and see if there was ever a greater Babylon or a greater Egypt in the world, in which so many thousands of captives have been made, seizing those who were free in nature, with no more right than violence, and with no greater cause than greed, and selling them as slaves. When Joseph's brothers sold him to the Ismaelites to be taken to Egypt, they seized only one free man, but, as punishment for this one act of enslavement, God enslaved in Egypt the whole generation and descendants of those who enslaved Joseph to the number of six hundred thousand, and for a period of forty years. But why should we search for examples far from home and so long ago, if we have them in all our Conquests? Because of the existence of slavery in Africa, God subdued Mina, Santo Tomé, Angola, and Benguela; because of slavery in Asia, God subdued Malacca, Ceylon, Armuz, Muscat, and Cochin; because of slavery in America, He conquered Bahia, Maranhão, and, under the name of Pernambuco, four hundred leagues of coastline over a period of twenty-four years [a reference to the Dutch conquest of northeast Brazil during Vieira's own lifetime]. And because our own acts of enslavement began on Africa's shores, God allowed there the loss of King Sebastian, after which came the sixty-year captivity of the Kingdom itself [a reference to the death of King Sebastian of Portugal in Morocco in 1578 and the subsequent domination of Portugal by the Spanish Hapsburgs (1580-1640), sometimes called the Babylonian Captivity].

I understand full well that some of these acts of enslavement are just: those which the laws permit, and supposedly also those slaves bought and sold in Brazil, not the natives, but those brought from other places. But what theology could justify the inhumanity and brutality of the exorbitant punishments with which these same slaves are mistreated? "Mistreated," I said, but this word is totally inadequate. . . . Tyrannized, one might say, or martyrized; because they injure these miserable people, drop hot fat or wax on them, slash them, cudgel them, and inflict many other kinds of excesses upon them, of which I will not speak, these deserving more the name of martyrdoms than of punishments. Well, be certain that you should not fear such injustice less than the slaves themselves; I say rather that you should fear them more, because God feels them much more. As long as the Egyptians only enslaved the children of Israel, God accepted their captivity; but in the end Divine Justice cannot abide its own dissimulation, and after the ten plagues with which the Egyptians themselves were punished, he totally finished with them, and he destroyed them and laid them waste. And why? God Himself says it: "I have seen," says God, "the affliction of my people in Egypt, and I have heard their cry; because of the rigor of them that are over the works" [Exod. 3:7].

Observe two things: first, that God does not complain about the Pharaoh, but rather about his overseers; . . . because the overseers are often those who cruelly oppress the slaves. Secondly, that he does not give slavery as the reason for his act of justice, but rather the oppression and hardship which they inflicted upon the slaves. . . . "I have seen the affliction of my people." And God adds that he had heard their cries, which for me is a cause for great pity, and for God must be a circumstance that greatly arouses His anger. The miserable slave is being whipped, and with every lash he cries out: "Jesus! Maria! Jesus! Maria!"—and the reverence that these two names deserve is not enough to arouse pity in a man who calls himself a Christian. And how do you expect these two

names to respond to you when you call upon them at the hour of your death? Know full well that God hears these cries for help which you do not hear; and though they do not touch your heart, you should know that they make your own punishment certain. . . .

names to respond to you when you call upon them at the hour of your death? Know full well that God hears these cries for help which you do not hear; and though they do not touch your heart, you should know that they make your own punishment certain. . . .

4.3. A Jesuit Friar Writes on Slave Marriage and Immoral Acts Forced by Masters upon Their Slaves (1700)

Disturbed by slave conditions seen in Brazil, an Italian Jesuit, Jorge Benci, asked his Order's permission late in the seventeenth century to publish a sermon on "The Obligations of Masters to Their Slaves." The result was a small volume from which the following admonitions on slave marriages and abuse of slave women are taken. Father Benci revealed a situation that remained essentially unchanged as long as Brazilian slavery lasted. Slaveholders took advantage of their power over black slave women both to profit financially from them and to satisfy their personal desires. Benci also reveals that masters were often neglectful of their slaves' marriages, or denied them altogether, despite the Church's unchanging view, confirmed by the *Constituições do Arcebispado da Bahia* in 1707, that slave marriages were sacred and could not morally be prevented or terminated by their masters (see Document 4.1, Paragraph 303 ff). As Benci hints, there was some disagreement between Church and state on this question, and in fact as late as 1874 the Brazilian government decided that a slave wishing to marry needed his master's permission (see Augusto Texeira de Freitas, *Consolidação das leis civis*, 3rd ed. [Rio de Janeiro, 1876], p. 106).

Source: Jorge Benci, S.I., *Economia cristã dos senhores no governo dos escravos (livro brasileiro de 1700)*, 2nd ed., edited by Serafim Leite, S.I. (Porto: Livraria Apostolado da Imprensa, 1954), pp. 82-86, 90, 98-101.

❧ 89. [The Holy Eucharist] is not the only sacrament that masters deny to their slaves; they also prevent them from marrying. The state of matrimony ought to be freely available to the captives, so that no power on earth (says the most learned Father Sánchez) can impede it (Sánchez, Lib. 7, de Matrim, disp. 21, no. 3). And if it is supposed that according to Imperial Law the right to contract marriage is allowed only to free persons, Canon Law in fact revokes this provision of civil law as contrary to the holy and natural law which grants human beings the right to multiply their species, and declares that the marriage of slaves should not be prevented, that their marriages are valid when entered into against the will of their masters. Can that which Emperors are not allowed to prohibit be prohibited by slavemasters of Brazil?

90. I ask you this: For what purpose was Holy Matrimony instituted? Not only for the propagation of the human species, but also (according to the same Sánchez previously cited) as a remedy against lust and as a means of avoiding sin. Is there perhaps a master in existence who has the power to restrain the lust of his slaves so that its effects do not appear, and so that they are not tempted and driven to sin? Certainly not. Therefore, if you cannot suppress your slaves' lust and its results, why must you deny them the remedy that God gave them against it? And do you not see that, aside from subjecting yourself to the excommunication which the Sacred Council of Trent pronounced against those who prevent matrimony, in this way you also make yourselves participants in all the sins which your slaves commit against the Sixth Commandment?

91. You will tell me that marriage is not intended for such brutish people, since as soon as the wedding ceremonies are performed both men and women abandon each other and commit the greatest sins. But if this cause seems reasonable to you, answer the following question: How many masters are there who are married to women gifted with honor and beauty who leave them, perhaps for some enormous, wicked, and vile slave woman? Should we conclude from this that it is also improper for white men and slavemasters to marry? Nobody will say that this rightly follows; because although such licentiousness does exist among the masters after they marry, they should not for this reason be deprived of marriage. Therefore, even if there are individuals among the slaves and blacks, both men and women, who overstep the bounds after they are married, it does not follow that they are therefore not suited for marriage. Allow them to marry, if they wish, because in this way you will meet your obligation. And if, once they are joined in matrimony, they turn to vice, it will be their responsibility, and not yours, to give an account to God of the sins which they have committed.

92. And since it is not right for masters to prevent marriage among their slaves, it is also wrong for them to impede the normal practices of marriage once they have entered into matrimony, separating husband from wife and leaving the one at home and ordering the sale of the other, or forcing him to live in a place so far away that the couple cannot maintain a conjugal relationship. Because, even if by depriving the slave of that which belongs to him according to natural law, you do not sin against justice, as Father Sánchez teaches, it cannot be denied that you sin at least against charity, because by separating married slaves from

each other, you deprive them of what is good in marriage, in which case you cause them very serious harm, which charity forbids you to do to another person without a very good cause.

93. And this being the case, it is quite amazing how easily some masters, for insignificant reasons, order the sale to other places of either the slave man or woman, or in some other way separate married couples from each other. Who gave you the power to order these divorces, if the Church, which alone possesses this power, is so careful in this matter that it does not permit a divorce between a man and his wife without quite justifiable and urgent reasons?

94. I know quite well that a case can exist in which masters may, and perhaps should, order their slaves to be sold or to live in very distant places, even when married, especially if serious damage can be done to the souls of the slaves or to those of their masters if they keep them under their control; however, in this case the master should not act suddenly and passionately, but rather with great maturity and much consideration, consulting with the learned and pious theologians so that they may investigate and judge whether or not there are adequate reasons for this. And when it is decided that there is a sufficient cause, and it is the husband who deserves to be banished, you should ask the wife if she wishes to follow him. And if she wishes to accompany her husband, she should go with him and meet the same fate which he meets; and if she does not wish to follow him because of the serious inconveniences which she must suffer if she does, then go ahead and sell the husband alone. And if the wife is the offender, the husband should be dealt with in the same way as we have just said in regard to the wife. . . .

95. Finally, in order to bestow upon slaves their spiritual nourishment, masters ought to provide them with an example of virtue and good habits: *Bonorum omnium operum exemplo pascere*. The good doctrine which masters give their slaves is of little value when the master's good example is lacking. The best way to teach doctrine is not with words but with deeds. Deeds are seen, words are heard: and what is heard perhaps goes in one ear and out the other; and what is seen enters through the eyes and, since it lacks a door through which to leave, it penetrates to the heart. For this reason the teacher who is a teacher should teach more through what he does than what he says. . . . From which it follows that the masters who hope to lead their slaves toward an exact observance of the divine precepts should live in such a way that the slaves may see in them the model and image of a true Christian. . . .

101. From this we may surmise the main reason for the scandalous life which slave men and women normally lead in Brazil. But how can it be otherwise, if in masters and mistresses they do not see Christian models, but rather outrageous behavior suitable for pagans? . . . However often the master may teach them that God wants them to remain chaste, how should they be persuaded to lead an honest and pure life when they see the master himself keeping a concubine in his own house. . . .

115. . . . That there should be masters who give no thought or consideration to the great offense which they commit against their slave women, permitting them to leave the house at all hours, night or day, knowing that so many offenses against God will result! Oh! If the streets and alleys of the cities and towns of Brazil could talk! How many sins would they reveal, which night conceals and day does not discover! But I will not concern myself with particulars, nor reveal what results when slave women go out on their own; because even my pen itself trembles and grows faint from writing about them.

116. That there should be masters who give no thought to the great harm they do to their slave women, either praising them as industrious when they see them dressed in fine clothes, which they have acquired by offending God; or scolding them for their lack of industry and vitality when they do not do what they see the others doing who are corrupted and damned! That there should be masters, I say, who do not ponder over this, aware that they excuse guilt in this way so that they may more easily commit it; and that they approve that which under any name is bad, as if it were good; and condemn that which under any name is good, as if it were evil. . . . "Woe to you," God threatened through the Prophet Isaiah, "that call evil good, and good evil." And against whom is this threat uttered more directly than against you, oh masters, and, with more reason, against you, oh mistresses, who approve of the elegant apparel of your slave girls, earned by sin, and who condemn them if, unwilling to offend God, they are reluctant to go out and earn.

117. That there should be masters who give no thought to the great harm they do to their slave girls, dividing up among them the provisioning of the house, and imposing a share upon each one! To one the flour or bread for the table; to another the meat or fish for the plate; this one must pay the rent on the houses; that one must provide the oil for the lamps; and each must contribute that which she is responsible for. And that this should happen among Christians! That there should be so little fear of God, that no thought is given to the consequences of these tributes which are so unworthy of a Catholic! Tell me, masters, or tell me, mistresses (and it is mainly to the latter that I speak); where should your slave girls go to satisfy these payments? Do they perhaps have some income from which to acquire that which you order them to pay? Certainly not. Thus, where should it come from, except from sin and the

wanton use of their bodies? And in supporting yourselves with this tainted money and from these sins, what are you yourself but a living, walking sin? The Philosopher said it: that each person is nothing more than that which sustains him. And since you are sustained by nothing more than sin, what must you be other than sin itself?

118. But the scandals of the masters of Brazil do not stop here; because you are not satisfied to urge, counsel, consent, and even order your slaves to sin; you go much further, forcing them with punishment and threats of punishment to offend God, and to fail in the keeping of His precepts. . . .

120. Is it not a scandal, and the most hateful in the eyes of God, for the master to establish a friendship with his slave girl? And is it not much worse yet, and more abominable, to compel her by the use of force to consent to her master's sin, and to punish her when she resists and seeks to avoid this offense against God? No Catholic will deny it. And should the master who does this expect to be saved? Such things happen in Mauritania or Barbary, where Mohammed in his sixth commandment expounded on ungodly people and produced some reasons for pardoning masters who committed such impure crimes. But that this should happen in a Christian land and to Christians who are as Christian as the Portuguese! What can we say except that, aside from the eternal suffering with which masters who thus violate and compel their slaves to sin should be punished, they also deserve the temporal death which is imposed by common law and the special laws of Portugal upon all persons who through violence or some other means compel and force women of any quality to sin, even those whom we commonly refer to as worldly.

4.4. The Black Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary in Recife in the Eighteenth Century

The Church encouraged some slaves in Brazil, especially those residing in towns, to progress well beyond the basic Christianity which is implied by the catechism contained in Document 4.1. In fact, in Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, Recife, Ouro Prêto, and other major cities, slaves and free descendants of Africans were encouraged to organize their own religious brotherhoods (*irmandades*) and to construct their own churches, which were normally dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary (Nossa Senhora do Rosario), protectress of blacks. These lay organizations played a vital role in the lives of many urban blacks and mulattoes. They gave them opportunities to assemble legally, to communicate, to worship, and to express themselves creatively, not only as builders but also as active communicants. Dedicated as they were to saints identified with their own race, the *irmandades* gave slaves opportunities to further their own dignity and self-respect. At the same time they served the dominant society as a means of diverting the energies of blacks away from rebellious behavior. The following account of the religious activities of the black brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary in Recife was written about 1757 by the Dominican friar, D. Domingos de Loreto Couto.

Source: D. Domingos de Loreto Couto, *Desagravos do Brasil e glorias de Pernambuco. Discursos brasilicos, dogmaticos, belicos, apologeticos, moraes, e historicos*, in *Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, Vol. 25 (1903), pp. 158-159.

❧ The black people, and captives, have proved themselves so devoted to the service of the Mother of God, Our Lady of the Rosary, that they themselves, although poor, resolved to establish a beautiful church, in which they alone are the founders and administrators. This temple has an outstanding and sumptuous structure; its façade is a splendid edifice of white stone, an admirable example of inspirational architecture. Our Lady of the Rosary is the comfort, the consolation of these people, because all of them have recourse after their labors to the sovereign Empress of Glory. And it is with such faith and devotion that they go in quest of her and experience her favors that they are reluctant to take leave of her presence, offering up their prayers to her. It is certainly highly inspiring and touching to witness the fervor, zeal, and expense with which they serve Our Lady. Every day of the year, if some event does not prevent it, they chant in liturgy the third part of the rosary. On Saturdays at five o'clock in the afternoon they chant a recital, and at seven at night again the third part of the rosary. On holy days they all attend the mass of their chaplain, which they enrich with their singing, their recital of the rosary, and the minor office. At three o'clock in the afternoon they chant another rosary and at night at the door of the church yet another. On the second Sunday of October they worship Our Lady with great solemnity, and to increase the fervor of their devotion, they engage in dances and other licit entertainments with which they devoutly gladden the hearts of the population.

In the five chapels of the church are the images of Our Lady of the Rosary, who is the patron of the house; and those of Our Lady of Boa Hora, and Saint Dominic, as well as those of the black saints, Estebão, Moíses, Benedito, Antonio de Catalagirona, Efigenia, and His Holiness King Balthasar. Everyone is gladdened by the solemn festivities devoted to our Lord, the chanted mass and sermon. These ceremonies are pre-

5.1. "The Fact Remains that They Are Black": Racial Attitudes in Eighteenth-Century Portugal and Brazil

The following selection is the full text of an anonymous pamphlet which the British historian, Charles R. Boxer, purchased from a Lisbon bookseller in 1962 and two years later published in English translation in the British scholarly journal, *Race*. Originally published in Lisbon in 1764 under the title *Nova e Curiosa Relação*, this pamphlet might best be evaluated by its modern discoverer. "One of the few works printed in the eighteenth century which criticize the mistreatment of Negro slaves in Brazil," wrote Boxer in his introduction, ". . . this little pamphlet accurately reflects the climate of opinion in the Portuguese-speaking world at the time that it was written. It shows that there were a number of people (here represented by the Lawyer) who were aware of the evils inherent in any system of slavery. It also shows that the views of these enlightened people were not shared by the great majority of their contemporaries (here represented by the Miner), with whom it was an article of faith that the black man was born to serve the white, and that the latter could do what he liked with his own. The allegations made by the anonymous author concerning the ill-treatment of Negro slaves in colonial Bahia are amply borne out by the testimony of reliable and contemporary observers, as I have shown elsewhere." All of the brief insertions contained in the text in brackets, except the final one, have been adopted from Professor Boxer's original footnotes.

Source: C. R. Boxer, "Negro Slavery in Brazil: A Portuguese Pamphlet (1764)," *Race: The Journal of the Institute of Race Relations* 5 (1964), 38-47.

❧ *New and Curious Relation of a Grievance Redressed, or Evidences of the Right Adduced in Favour of the Black Men in a Dialogue between a Lawyer and a Miner*

Miner: Learned Sir, I come here to sit at your feet and seek your advice concerning a most important matter.

Lawyer: Sit down, dear Sir. The problem is whether my scanty qualifications will be sufficient to advise you as wisely as I hope to do.

Miner: The fact is that I have a Negro whom I suppose must have been sent into this world for my Purgatory.

Lawyer: Well, let us continue; for it is always true that whoever deals with youths and with slaves needs patience.

Miner: Slowly, learned Sir. That patience is necessary in dealing with youths, I agree; for after all they are somebody's children, and they are

white like ourselves. But I cannot endure to hear it said that patience is necessary in dealing with slaves; for after all they are Negroes, and as their owner has bought them for money he can do whatever he likes with them.

Lawyer: You seem to be very offended with the Negroes; but, withal, however, one cannot deny the truth.

Miner: I am going to deny everything.

Lawyer: Whew, Sir! That is crazy! How can you deny that which is right?

Miner: Yes, Sir. If it is anything in favor of Negroes or slaves, I deny it absolutely.

Lawyer: Truly you seem to be of a terrible disposition. But I presume that the ill behavior of one of your slaves has annoyed you so much that you feel compelled to give vent to this great excess. However, I hope that, all passion spent, you will be prepared to agree with me, if perchance you should understand and realize that what I am going to say is the truth.

Miner: Agreed. You have your say, and we will see if I can agree with it.

Lawyer: Now, Sir. One of the reasons which you give me for being patient with youths is that they are somebody's children?

Miner: Yes, Sir.

Lawyer: Well, then. This reason is equally applicable to our being patient with slaves, as they are also somebody's children.

Miner: But with a difference. For we whites are descended from Adam, and the Negroes are descended from Cain, who was black, and who died cursed by God himself, as the Scripture relates.

Lawyer: It is certain that all the whites are descended from Adam, and it is equally certain that all rational beings are likewise descended from him, whether they are black, or dark, or swarthy, or red, or green, or blue etc. Whatever color a man may have, it is certain that he is a son of Adam. Even according to what you yourself say, the blacks are descended from Adam. For if the blacks are descended from Cain, and Cain was the son of Adam, it follows that they likewise descend from and are sons of Adam. Now that Cain was accursed is scriptural truth; but that he was a Negro, and the Negroes are his descendants—I would like to know where you found this information?

Miner: It is something which I have always heard ever since I was a boy.

Lawyer: Ah, well, in that case you are bound to believe in a lot of foolish things! If you are one of those people who implicitly believe

whatever they have heard tell since boyhood, then there will hardly be anything so ridiculous but that you will believe it.

Miner: But this is something which is staring one straight in the face.

Lawyer: What, Sir! Since you quoted the Bible at me, listen to this. It is certain, and a scriptural truth, that all men, women, and children were drowned in the universal flood, with the exception of only eight persons who were left alive: Noah, his wife, their three sons, and three women who were wives of the said sons. It is also certain that the Bible does not state that any of them were black. Therefore, the blacks are not black because they are descendants of Cain.

Miner: Well then; why have they got that color, and not we?

Lawyer: That problem, my good Sir, is a very intricate one and hard to resolve. Very learned men have exhausted themselves in trying to find the reason for it, and up to now we still do not know.

Miner: I have heard say that the blackness of the blacks is due to their being born in a very hot climate, and much nearer the sun.

Lawyer: That is a boys' tale. If that was really so, then anybody who was born in the country of the blacks would be black, while on the other hand everybody born in the country of the whites would be white. However, this is not so, since we see that black parents always give birth to black children, whereas white parents always give birth to white children. This is something which we can see at every turn. In Ethiopia itself, where nearly all the natives of the country are black, there are villages of very white people, and the climate is the same all over. So we have not yet been able to ascertain the reason for the blackness of the black people.

Miner: Whatever the reason may be, the fact remains that they are black.

Lawyer: And what do you deduce from that?

Miner: I deduce that the Negroes are not people like ourselves.

Lawyer: Sir, the blackest man in all Africa, because he is a man, is just as much a man as is the whitest German in all Germany. There have been very famous black men and women, of whom we read in History. From the Bible, we learn of the wisdom and greatness of the Queen of Sheba. One of the Magi, who worshipped the Babe born in Bethlehem, was a black. Saint Elesbaan, the Emperor, and his daughter, the Princess Saint Ephigenia, were both Ethiopes and both black. Saint Benedict was black, and so were many others who could be named. What does not Portugal owe to the blacks in its conquests in Brazil! They were the ones who threw the Dutch out of Pernambuco and Rio de Janeiro [the Dutch occupation was confined to northeast Brazil and did not include Rio de Janeiro]; and Lord the King Dom Pedro II granted

a habit of the Order of Christ to a black, who on that occasion successfully led the others [it was King John IV, not Pedro II, who knighted the black military leader, Henrique Dias]; for that great king did not wish that the accident of color should deprive him of the honor to which his merits entitled him. And what have you got to say in view of these facts?

Miner: In this way you are arguing that a black is just as good as white.

Lawyer: Undoubtedly he is, in the sense in which I am speaking.

Miner: Well, if the blacks are just as good as we are, what is the reason that they are our slaves, and we whites are not their slaves?

Lawyer: I now see that you are very far from perceiving the truth. Sir, the blacks are not our slaves just because they are black. The Moors can likewise be enslaved, and what is more they are not black. Mulattoes, Kanarese, Chinese, and others can be enslaved, and they are not black. Once upon a time the Tapuyas of Pará were reputed as slaves, and what is more they are not black. I have seen in this city a boy who was about ten years old, with all the features of his face and the shape of his hair just as if he was a black, but his hair was very blond and his body exceedingly white, yet this boy [an albino] was a slave. So that it is not owing to their color that the blacks are enslaved. There are other lawful and political reasons why they can be enslaved. Once upon a time the Romans enslaved all their prisoners of war, and this custom formerly prevailed among some of the European nations; but this abuse is now extinct. Only the Moors still treat the Europeans whom they capture as slaves.

Miner: I am amazed at what you have told me about this matter, but I have always observed that in Brazil the Negroes are treated worse than animals, being punished very severely, and called by very insulting names, yet withal the blacks endure this.

Lawyer: From what I can see, you must be a miner, and have lived in Brazil. However, you must now have the patience to listen to me. All those punishments and insulting, or rather, scandalous names, if they exceed the limits of needful correction are all sinful, criminal and unjust.

Miner: Oh now, you must be joking! On a certain plantation in Bahia, I saw two Negroes killed in one day, their master standing by and ordering them to be flogged to death by other slaves. And on a farm in Rio de Janeiro, I saw a master kill a Negro with his own hands. Moreover, none of these men were punished for killing their slaves, nor did anybody take the slightest notice of it. For after all, if they killed the Negroes, they were the ones who lost their money thereby, and a man can do what he likes with his own.

Lawyer: Excuse me, Sir, because I simply must tell you that I cannot believe everything you say. I do not doubt but that those sugar-planters killed their slaves, in fact I can very readily believe it. But what I cannot believe is that they went unpunished for those crimes, save only if the crime was not known; and in that case, what you have told me proves nothing to the point. It is also quite true, as you say, that these men lost their money when they killed their slaves. But what do you mean by this? Do you mean to imply that they did not commit murder? That they should not be severely punished? That they were not cruel? That they did not commit mortal sin? Ah, Sir! how badly do they treat the wretched slaves in Brazil! But who treats them thus? Avaricious people! Godless people! People with the hearts of wild beasts!

Miner: How I would like, learned Sir, to see *you* trying to cope with 100 or 200 disobedient, treacherous, lazy, and thieving slaves, and to see how you would treat them then.

Lawyer: I would probably treat them worse than does anybody else there. But what each one of us ought to do, is to treat his servants with charity, with zeal, and for the love of God. Whoever does not have the patience to take trouble with slaves should seek some other way of life. For it is more important not to offend God than to gain profit from any worldly concern whatsoever.

Miner: I see that you have become a missionary in favor of the Negroes; but this is because you have no experience of what they are really like. In short, Sir, let us drop this futile argument and come to the point of the purpose for which I came; although I can see from our preliminary discussion that you will decide against me.

Lawyer: I can assure you, and if necessary on oath, that I will never advise you to do anything that will go against my conscience, nor have I done so in anything that I have told you hitherto.

Miner: Learned Sir, the fact of the matter is that I have a Negro whom I bought about ten or eleven years ago. At first he served me as he ought, and in view of this I promised him that if he would continue to serve me well, I would give him his freedom at the end of ten years.

Lawyer: So far you did, if not what you were obliged to do, at any rate something just and praiseworthy. For I assure you that I cannot help feeling sorry for the wretched slaves who have to toil all their life in perpetual bondage.

Miner: What would you do, Sir, if you saw the Negroes in Brazil working almost continually day and night, and this while going naked? As a rule, they are only given a little bit of manioc flour to eat; and they have Sundays and some Saints' days off, so that they can earn something to keep themselves from starving.

Lawyer: Although I have never actually seen such, I am reasonably well informed about the hardships that those wretches endure. But let us come to the principal point of your visit.

Miner: As I was saying, seeing that the Negro served me loyally and readily in everything, and that even after my promise his zeal was still greater, I secretly resolved never to give him his certificate of manumission.

Lawyer: This was quite contrary to all justice. The very reason that you were the more obliged to keep your word to free him, you used as an excuse to go back on your word.

Miner: Even so, am I obliged to keep a promise which I made to my own Negro?

Lawyer: If your promise, or your word, was given for a just cause, who can doubt it?

Miner: But surely there is no reason why I should not deceive my own black?

Lawyer: On the contrary, Sir! We are always obliged to keep faith with everyone without exception.

Miner: Oh, nobody can tell me that! For in this way, I would be placed on a level with a Negro.

Lawyer: Then do you think that the privilege of being white gives you the right to lie as much as you like? But let us leave this matter and come to the point of your visit.

Miner: The Negro, seeing that I was not performing what I had promised, began to cool off in his zeal to serve me; and he displeased me so much that I resolved to sell him as a slave in Brazil, with the sole object of getting him killed by the harsh punishments in vogue there. The Negro, perceiving this, and having been so advised by others, went and enrolled as a Brother in one of their Brotherhoods, which they say has the privilege that the blacks belonging to this Brotherhood cannot be sold as slaves for overseas [probably the Brotherhood of the Most Holy Rosary of Our Lady of the Black Men of São Salvador da Matta of Lisbon]. However, I, as soon as I heard of this, gave him a severe beating; and notwithstanding this, I resolved to sell him secretly and send him to Minas Gerais. However, last Sunday I went to confession and telling this to the confessor, he raised objections to it, telling me that I could not in conscience do such a thing. I now come to sit at your feet, so that you may reassure me on this point.

Lawyer: Sir, your confessor, like a wise and prudent man, has already told you what you ought to do. I can only add two words in confirmation of what he has already said. It is certain that anyone who disobeys the laws which the sovereigns lay on their vassals commits a mortal sin. The

privilege, which our lord kings granted to the blacks of that Brotherhood is a law by which our monarchs order that such Brothers cannot be sold as slaves for overseas. It therefore follows that whoever violates this privilege commits a mortal sin. This is most certain; and thus it seems to me that this is a case of restitution, both to the said Brotherhood, in so far as it is concerned with that Brother, as with the said Brother, in so far as he is concerned as a member of the said Brotherhood.

Miner: Well, learned Sir, does this mean that I am not master of what is mine?

Lawyer: You can be, yes Sir, and you are; but with those restrictions and conditions stipulated by just laws.

Miner: I have a friend, who has done the same thing, and nothing of all this happened to him.

Lawyer: Of all this what?

Miner: There was no talk of sinning nor of restitutions.

Lawyer: I confess and believe that it is likely that your friend did not make restitution. But I would like you to tell me how you know that he was under no obligation to make restitution, nor did he sin?

Miner: Because in that case there would be many sins and much to be restituted.

Lawyer: And who doubts it? Sir, what I feel is that you want to find someone who will approve of all your desires, or rather all your excesses. However, I will say what I believe: what you ought to do, is to fulfill your promise; or, at the very least, inflict no further affliction on your slave, who is sufficiently unfortunate in being one. It is a very common error to believe that the blacks were born solely in order to serve as slaves, but Nature itself loves men of all races without distinction. The way in which many masters treat their slaves is unjust. The latter ought to be punished when they do wrong, but the punishment should be in proportion to the fault. Children are likewise punished by their parents, but in moderation. I do not argue from this that slaves who disobey their masters should not be punished at all, but I only affirm that the punishment ought not to degenerate into cruelty. A conditional promise has the force of law. You promised to free your slave if he continued to serve you well; he not only continued to serve you well, but better still. You are, therefore, obviously bound to free him. You are likewise bound to respect the privilege which he enjoys as a member of his Brotherhood. Hence, if you take my advice, you should either give your slave a certificate of manumission, or else you should treat him kindly, so that he does not lead a dog's life. In this way you will avoid sinning before God, and do what you ought to do.

Miner: Tell me, learned Sir, won't it be enough if I give this Negro his freedom in fifteen or twenty years time?

Lawyer: Better late than never. But tell me, how old is this Negro?

Miner: When I bought him he would have been about twenty-eight years old. I have had him about fourteen or fifteen years [earlier he said ten or eleven], so he must be over forty years old now.

Lawyer: And you want to give him his certificate of manumission fifteen or twenty years hence? In other words, when he will no longer be able to work at all! In this way you are not doing a favor to your black, but merely trying to escape the responsibility of feeding him when he can no longer work. And in that case you are not only very far from keeping your promise but you are rather behaving in a tyrannical way. Now tell me, what can be more contrary to reason, than to make use of a man as a slave for so long as he can work, and then when he can no longer do so, dismiss him and let him die of hunger! In short, I have told you what I think, and now you can go and do what you like.

Miner: I soon saw at the beginning that you would give your decision in favor of the Negro. How is it possible that you, being a white man and a learned one, should favor Negroes rather than white men! I cannot conceive what ground or reason you have for this.

Lawyer: The reason on which I ground myself is following the truth. For I look more to my conscience than to my convenience; and for this reason I have always disabused those persons who come to seek my advice.

Miner: I have heard what you say and I will do what I think best. Excuse me, Sir, here are eight testoons, which may serve to buy a watermelon as a dessert for your dinner.

Lawyer: Thank you kindly, Sir. I remain ready to serve you in any way I can be of use.

LISBON
In the office of Francisco Borges de Sousa
Anno MDCCLXIV
With all the necessary licenses.

9.2. A Runaway Bookbinder, Fortunato (1854)

Similar in style to the previous advertisements, the following runaway-slave notice was printed as a small poster for distribution in Rio de Janeiro. In addition to the text, the original advertisement included an elaborate picture of a runaway black man carrying the traditional sack on a stick over his right shoulder. (See Fig. 28.) Interestingly, this poster was distributed by Eduardo von Laemmert, a noted publisher in Rio and author of a popular guide to the city which appeared in 1857. The "lazy" and "surly" slave in question seems to have worked as a bookbinder in Laemmert's establishment, and so the typesetter of this advertisement was probably one of Fortunato's fellow workers, perhaps himself a slave.

Source: Seção de Manuscritos, Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

❧ *RUNAWAY CREOLE RS. 50$000 REWARD*

A runway since October 18, 1854, the creole slave named

FORTUNATO

of twenty years of age, lacking teeth in front, with little or no beard, short, strong, marked by the pox which he had a few years ago, he is very lazy, surly, speaks fast and with his mouth full, looking toward the ground; he is in the habit at times of going about wearing shoes, claiming to be free and saying that his name is Fortunato Lopes da Silva. He knows how to cook, to work as a bookbinder, and he understands labor in the country, where he was born. Whoever captures him, takes him to jail, and advises his master, Mr. Eduardo Laemmert, in the court, Rua da Quitanda No. 77, will receive a gratification of 50$000.

9.3. The Great Seventeenth-Century *Quilombo* of Palmares: A Chronicle of War and Peace

As stated in the introduction to this part, throughout the history of Brazilian slavery countless slaves sought release from servitude in runaway-slave settlements known as *quilombos* or *mocambos*. Certain features were common to these *quilombos*, whether they were tiny isolated clusters of huts or larger more permanent villages and towns. African culture, evident wherever slaves existed, could flourish freely in such places, although European, Christian, and Indian cultural influences were often strong. Safety from slave hunters was normally more dependent upon

28. Leaflet Advertising a Runaway Slave

favorable geography than upon weapons or tactics, but defense systems, sometimes elaborate and usually African in nature, were characteristic. Leaders were often chosen from among the bravest, wisest persons, some of whom were reputed to have been kings or queens in Africa, and in long-surviving *quilombos* leadership could become hereditary. Domestic animals, notably chickens and pigs, well-tended gardens, stores of food, and fishing and hunting equipment were common adjuncts, supplying fugitives with diets probably far better than those they had known on their masters' plantations. Often located near towns or plantations, *quilombos* at times maintained trade contacts with local merchants and other persons wishing to aid them or to profit from their plight. *Quilombolas* (the inhabitants of *quilombos*) often attacked nearby settlements or plantations to acquire supplies or women. Both to re-enslave them and to eliminate the danger they represented, government forces, bush captains (*capitães-do-mato*), or bands of volunteers often carried out raids against them, resulting in numerous reports of expeditions which are the principal source of information about them.

The following selection is an account of a network of runaway settlements and strongholds which together were known as Palmares, literally "palm groves." These settlements were established in the backlands of northeastern Brazil in the early seventeenth century, and during the long wars against Holland grew and thrived. This narrative is particularly fascinating for the account it gives of a peace treaty entered into in 1678 by one Gangasuma (Ganga-Zumba), the king of Palmares, with the Portuguese governor of Pernambuco. This pact, which recognized the freedom of blacks born in Palmares, was similar to treaties of metropolitan governments made with black fugitives in Mexico, Venezuela, St. Domingue, Jamaica, and elsewhere in the Americas. Unfortunately, peace between the Portuguese and the runaways was not permanent. In 1690 a new campaign was begun against the settlements, the principal stronghold was surrounded and captured in 1694, and resistance ended the following year with the capture of the *zumbi* or war chief, who was later executed.

Published in the *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* in 1876, this chronicle of war and peace was written in the late seventeenth century by an unnamed writer. The original manuscript (Codex CXVI-2-13) was found in the Biblioteca Pública in Evora, Portugal.

Source: Pedro Paulino da Fonseca, "Memoria dos feitos que se deram durante os primeiros annos da guerra com os negros quilombolas dos Palmares, seu destroço e paz aceita em Junho de 1678," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 39 (1876), Part 1, 293-321.

❧ In a palm forest sixteen leagues northeast of Porto Calvo existed the *mocambo* of the Zambi (a general or god of arms in their language), and five leagues farther north that of Acainene (this was the name of the king's mother, who lived in this fortified *mocambo* about twenty-five leagues northeast of Porto Calvo, and which they called the Acainene Compound, since it was fortified by a wall of earth and sticks).

To the east of these was the *mocambo* of the Wild Canes [Tabocas], and northeast of this one that of Bambiabonga. Eight leagues north of Bambiabonga was the compound called Sucupira; six leagues northward from this the Royal Compound of the Macaco [monkey], and five leagues to the west of this the *mocambo* of Osenga. Nine leagues northwest of the town of Serinhaem was the compound of Amaro, and twenty-five leagues northwest of Alagôas the palm forest of Andolaquituxe, the Zambi's brother.

Among all these places, which were the largest and best-fortified, there were others of less importance and with fewer people. It is widely believed that when blacks were first brought into the captaincies of Brazil they began to live in these Palmares, and it is certain that during the period of Dutch rule their numbers greatly increased.

They called their king Gangasuma (a hybrid term meaning "great lord" composed of the Angolan or Bunda word "ganga" and the Tupí [Indian] word "assú"). This king lived in a royal city which they called Macaco. This was the main city among the other towns or *mocambos*, and it was completely surrounded by a wall of earth and sticks.

The second city was that known as Sucupira (later the camp of Good Jesus and the Cross founded by Fernão Carrilho). Here lived the Gangasona, the king's brother. Like the latter, all the cities were under the command of rulers and powerful chiefs, who lived in them and governed them.

Sucupira, the war command center where the confederation's defense forces and sentinels were trained, was also fortified, but with stone and wood. Nearly a league in length, it contained within its boundaries three lofty mountains and a river called Cachingi, meaning "an abundance of water."

Before the restoration of Pernambuco from Dutch rule, twenty-five probing expeditions were sent into the area, suffering great losses but failing to uncover the secrets of those brave people. . . . The first was that of Captain Braz da Rocha Cardoso with six hundred men. Little was accomplished by this expedition because of the difficulties of the terrain, the roughness of the trails, and the impossibility of transporting equipment over unknown country. It merely served to show what would have to be overcome in future attempts.

Later came the expedition of Colonel Antonio Jacomo Bezerra, which did them some damage, and those of various other leaders. . . . Outstanding among them, not only for the bravery they exhibited during encounters and skirmishes but because they served at their own expense, were Tibaldo Lins, Christovão Lins, Clemente de Rocha, and José de Barros, all residents of Porto Calvo.

All this occurred during the governorship of Francisco Barreto, who, recovering the captaincy from Dutch rule with the surrender of Recife in January, 1654, immediately undertook a campaign against Palmares, since for him these internal enemies were just as harmful and more barbaric and dreadful than the former. . . .

From March, 1657, to January, 1674, the date that Captain D. Pedro de Almeida assumed the governorship of the captaincy, it was for no lack of effort that victory was not achieved, because all the governors until that time more or less dealt with the problem. However, the obstacles encountered by the governors made unbeatable those whose bravery alone would not have sufficed to protect them. The army's best fighters, the most experienced leaders of the war against the Dutch, were at once employed for this purpose, with immense effort and suffering, but very little achieved.

The inhabitants of Alagôas, Porto Calvo, and Penedo were constantly under attack, and their houses and plantations robbed by the blacks of Palmares. The blacks killed their cattle and carried away their slaves to enlarge their *quilombos* and increase the number of their defenders, forcing the inhabitants and natives of those towns to engage in fighting at a distance of forty leagues or more, at great cost to their plantations and risk to their own lives, without which the blacks would have become masters of the captaincy because of their huge and ever-increasing numbers.

This was the situation in January, 1674, when D. Pedro de Almeida took possession of the captaincy and at once attempted to pursue the conquest. . . . He prudently made all the necessary preparations for the first undertaking, assigning the expedition to Major Manoel Lopes Galvão, whose valor, enthusiasm, and experience offered the greatest promise of success.

By September 23, 1675, Major Manoel Lopes was in Porto Calvo with 280 men, including whites, mestizos, and Indians, to attempt the action, and on November 21, after two months of preparation, they entered the wilderness where their labors and dangers were enormous and constant.

On January 22, 1676, they reached a well-garrisoned and populous city of more than two thousand houses, and after more than two hours

of bitter fighting, with bravery displayed on both sides, our men set fire to some houses, which, being of wood and straw, quickly burned, turning the place into an inferno. The great fear which then possessed the blacks forced them to flee, and regrettably they abandoned the city. The next day, gathered at another place and with terror still reigning among them, they were again attacked, suffering considerable losses. . . . Many were killed or wounded in those two encounters, the others seeking refuge in the forests.

The nearby towns and villages immediately experienced the effects of these great victories; the terrible lesson forced many of the *quilombolas* to go in search of their old masters, since they no longer felt safe in that wilderness. . . .

D. Pedro de Almeida, satisfied with the results obtained, and wishing to take advantage of the experience acquired and the demoralization in which Major Manoel Lopes had left them, decided to commit new forces to the enterprise. To accomplish this he sent an invitation to Commander Fernão Carrilho, who was then in Sergipe and had become famous for the work he had accomplished in destroying the *mocambos* of the blacks and the villages of the Tapuia Indians who infested the backlands of Bahia. Accepting the honorable invitation, the latter left for Pernambuco with some of his relatives and dependents. . . .

D. Pedro, active and enterprising and gifted with intelligence, wisdom, and shrewdness, had given very careful attention to how this war was to be carried out, certain mistakes of past efforts serving him as correctives to assure success in future ones. . . . Taking great precautions, he told Fernão Carrilho that his most successful strategy would be to establish and maintain a fortified camp inside Palmares; and since it appeared impossible to inhabit that dense and nearly impenetrable forest because of the climate and the great lack of provisions which could not be supplied from the surrounding area, he took every necessary precaution, ordering the needed provisions to be supplied from nearby towns, so that nothing would be lacking to those who would be stationed in the projected camp.

Without delay Fernão Carrilho left for Porto Calvo where he was expected by the people who had assembled from the other parishes, which, according to orders, should have been 400 men; but only 185 were there, including whites, mestizos, and Indians of the people of Camarão [famous Indian commander in the war against the Dutch]. . . . Despite the dangers and the known and expected problems, on September 21, 1677, the expedition set out on its march from the town of Porto Calvo for the interior forests of Palmares. Accompanying it until it entered the forests were Commander Christovão Lins and his brother Tibaldo Lins,

along with those who were most experienced in those marches and those most interested in its success.

Commander Fernão Carrilho then spoke to the troops, telling them the following: "that numbers neither added to nor reduced the courage of valiant men; that only bravery itself made a soldier determined; that, while the multitude of the enemy was large, it was a multitude of slaves whom nature had created more to obey than to resist; that the blacks fought as fugitives, and they were hunting them down as lords and masters; that their honor was endangered by the disobedience of the black slaves; their plantations insecure because of their robberies; their lives placed in great jeopardy by their impudence; that no one among them fought for another man's property, and all defended their own; it being a great disgrace for every Pernambucan to be whipped by those whom they had themselves so many times whipped; . . . that if they destroyed Palmares they would have land for their farms, blacks for their service, and honor and esteem for themselves; and that, if he had taken this great task upon his shoulders, not being a resident of those captaincies, it was for the service of His Highness alone, and for the sake of obedience to the governor, D. Pedro de Almeida. . . .

Having thus spoken, his reasoning being accepted with a good spirit by everyone, Carrilho entered the forest in search of the Acainene Compound, a fortified *mocambo* 25 leagues northwest of Porto Calvo, where the king's mother lived, for whom the *mocambo* had been named. So impressed were the men by the magic words of Carrilho that each one thought of himself as invincible.

As soon as the blacks knew of their presence, they quickly abandoned the city, still in the state of terror inspired by Major Manoel Lopes. On October 4 our men attacked the fugitives with such force that they killed many and captured nine, but the king's mother was not found among them either dead or alive.

Not only did they gain advantages from the enemy's losses of a strong city and a large number of men; this victory also served to furnish our side with guides and information. From the prisoners it was learned that the king, Gangasuma, with his brother, Gangasona, and all the other rulers and main chiefs were at the compound called Sucupira, which was then serving as a stronghold where the king waited to engage us in battle. This *mocambo* was 45 leagues from Porto Calvo.

It appeared to Carrilho that to establish his camp under the best conditions it would be desirable to capture a more centralized position, and so Sucupira became his objective. . . . Intending to take advantage of the latest successes, on October 9, equipped with the needed supplies, Carrilho set out toward the Sucupira Compound over open forest trails.

After a great expenditure of effort, our men found the *mocambo*, and when they spotted it from a distance they moved silently and with great caution to avoid being discovered. Eighty men then went out again to explore the site and to verify the existence of a stockade, and they returned with news that the terrorized blacks had set fire to the city, which even in ashes revealed its greatness. When Gangasuma had received the news carried by the fugitives from Acainene that Fernão Carrilho was about to pursue them there, he found it preferable to sacrifice the city to fire rather than place his own people in danger.

As soon as this occurred . . . our men took possession of the site, and there Carrilho established his camp, giving it the name "Bom Jesus e a Cruz" [Good Jesus and the Cross], fortifying it in the best possible way with batteries of cannon. [After some successes on the part of the fugitives, the reinforced expedition achieved another important victory, killing and capturing many blacks, including the field commander, General Gangamuiza, whom they executed along with other male prisoners.] The king, who had also been present at the beginning of the battle, had fled with the few people he could rescue from the carnage. . . .

News of such a fortunate and magnificent action brought elation to the camp. Wisely taking advantage of this and prudently ignoring the deed practiced against the prisoners in order to keep the unanimous support of his men, Commander Carrilho sent Captains Estevão Gonçalves and Manoel da Silveira Cardoso with a new levy of fifty fresh soldiers in pursuit of the king and the other fugitives.

After 22 days of hard campaigning in that wilderness, on November 11 they received news that the king, Gangasuma, was with Amaro in his *mocambo* nine leagues northwest of Serinhaem. This same Amaro, celebrated for his bravery, impudence, and insulting behavior, was also greatly feared by our men, and he had made himself known by his incursions into the surrounding towns. He lived separated from the others as an independent ruler. His *mocambo*, which was known by his name, was fortified by high, thick palisades extending the length of a league and containing more than a thousand inhabited houses.

In this *mocambo* the fugitive king believed himself to be safe, but even there he could not escape the vigilance and tenacity of our men who were ambitious for glory and motivated by their comrades' example. Divided into two groups, they marched with the intention of besieging the site by closing up the single entrance to the *mocambo*. Fortunately or unfortunately, however, before the entrance area could be occupied, the blacks, aware of our men's intentions, began to evacuate the compound, but not before our men attacked. Many of them were killed and wounded on the ground, and 47 were captured, among whom were two free black women

and a little mulatto girl, the daughter of a noble resident of Serinhaem who had been seized at that place. Also captured were Anajuba, two of the king's children named Zambi and Jacainêne, the former a man and the other a woman, and others numbering about twenty, among them children and grandchildren of the king. Among the dead were Tucúlo, a son of the king, Pacasâ and Baûbi, powerful chiefs among them. So greatly frightened was the king that he fled from our furious attack, and so badly disorganized that he left behind a gilded pistol and a sword, and he was also reported wounded. . . .

This great event brought total disorganization to the blacks, who had lost any hope that they could remain any longer in those places, since they had lost their principal leaders, including the most capable and feared among them, and found themselves weakened and surrounded on all sides. . . .

D. Pedro received news of all this at exactly the moment that Commander Carrilho and Major Manoel Lopes reached Recife; and taking this news into consideration as well as the views of the two distinguished leaders, whose judgment was highly regarded, he concluded reasonably that the *quilombos* of Palmares had been destroyed, and the remaining blacks were wandering about aimlessly, scattered in disorder. He therefore devised a plan to summon them to him and to offer them peace as a way to achieve complete pacification.

From conception of this plan to its realization, little time was lost. The governor selected a young ensign who was accustomed to those marches and completely familiar with those backlands to search for the leaders and tell them that Commander Carrilho was prepared to return and destroy what was left of them and would not leave a single enemy alive; that if they wanted to live in peace with whites he would promise them, in the name of the king, total peace and good treatment, and he would grant them a specified place for their dwellings and land for their gardens; and their women, children, and grandchildren who were prisoners and slaves would be returned to them, and they would remain in their positions of leadership. The one whom they referred to as king would remain commander of all those who had been born in Palmares, and these would be granted the privileges pertaining to the vassals of the king of Portugal, to come under the protection of our arms, and to serve our colors, when conditions might require this, all those who were born in freedom to remain exempt from slavery. . . .

King Gangasuma, having been informed of this or having judged by his own experience that he could no longer resist, or fearing further setbacks, or for other reasons which we cannot determine, accepted D. Pedro's offer; and on June 18, on a Saturday afternoon, on the eve of

the day on which the parish church of Recife celebrated the feast of St. Anthony of Lisbon, the ensign who had undertaken the assignment entered the plaza accompanied by two of the king's sons and ten more of the most important blacks of those *quilombos*, who had come, in conformity with the offer made to them, to prostrate themselves at the feet of D. Pedro. They had been sent by King Gangasuma to render vassalage in his name, to ask for peace and friendship, and to tell him that only he had been able to achieve that which so many other governors and so many principal chiefs had attempted and never achieved: their conquest; that they would submit to him and subject themselves to his rule; that they did not desire any more war, and were only trying to save the lives of those who remained; that they were without cities, without sources of food, and, worse yet, without their wives and children; and that D. Pedro might do with them what he wished. . . .

The appearance of those barbarians caused amazement, because they came naked, and with their natural parts alone covered. Some wore their beards in braids, others wore false beards and mustaches, and others were shaved, and nothing more. All were husky and powerful, armed with bows and arrows, and carrying only one firearm. One of the king's sons rode a horse, because he still bore an open bullet wound which he had received during the fighting.

All prostrated themselves at D. Pedro's feet, striking their palms together as a sign of surrender and to acknowledge his victory. They asked for peace with the whites, as their king had ordered them to do, which was his decision and that of all the other rulers who had thus far escaped our resolute fury.

D. Pedro de Almeida received them with great pleasure, and not wishing the glory for such an outstanding achievement for himself alone, he entrusted them to the new governor, Ayres de Sousa, so that he would also have a part to play in the realization of this great event. They also prostrated themselves at his feet, telling him that they wanted no more war; that their king had sent them there to ask for peace and harmony with the whites; that they had come humbly to submit to his will and command. They wanted commerce and trade with the Portuguese residents, and aspired to be vassals of the king and to serve him in every way which he required, asking only freedom for those born in Palmares, promising that they would return all those who had fled from our towns and plantations, that they would themselves abandon Palmares and go to live in a place designated for their gardens and dwelling places.

Great was the pleasure with which Governor Ayres de Sousa received them, and extraordinary was his delight at being so highly esteemed by those enemies. He treated them with great courtesy, spoke to them

gently, and promised to do everything for them. He ordered them to be dressed and adorned with yellow ribbons, which pleased them greatly. All the people applauded the success of D. Pedro and the benevolence of Ayres de Sousa. . . .

The governor then wished to have them baptized so that they might begin to enjoy the benefits of peace under divine influence; and since the blacks themselves wished to receive baptism, it was wisely decided to take advantage of this opportune occasion so that they might pledge themselves with utmost seriousness to the purpose for which they had come. A solemn mass was sung, and the vicar of the parish church rose to the pulpit and gave deserved thanks to God, repeated praise to St. Anthony, and to the governors the compliments they had earned. . . .

The blacks greatly admired everything they saw, were very pleased with the sumptuousness of the church and impressed with the greatness of the governors, with the multitude of people, and with their friendliness.

The next day Governor Ayres de Sousa convoked a council of all the leading men to decide how they might best guarantee the peace which they hoped to establish. In the presence of D. Pedro, the members of the city council, of the high judge, Lino Camello, the royal treasury officer, João do Rego Barros, and Commanders Manoel Lopes and Jorge Lopes Alonso, the governor asked them to advise him concerning the petition of the king of Palmares in which he asked for peace, freedom, land for settlement, and the return of their wives and children. D. Pedro de Almeida, who had originated and directed this entire business, who had investigated and weighed all the problems and advantages of that acquisition, delivered a speech on the question, skilfully outlining his opinions. The others eagerly supported his views, which were the following: that they agree to make peace with the king of Palmares, acknowledging his obedience; that they [the blacks] be granted the site where they would choose to settle, a place suitable for their dwellings and their farms; that they must begin to live there within three months; that those born in Palmares would be free; that they were to return all the runaways who had come from our populated places; that they would have commerce and friendly trade with the whites; that they would acquire the privileges of the king's vassals; that they would remain obedient to the orders of the government; that their king would continue as commander of all his people; and that the wives of the king and all the other rulers would be returned to them. There being some doubt among the members of the council that King Gangasuma would have sufficient power to dominate another rebellious runaway who lived at a distance from his *mocambos*, his son responded that the king would be able to manage all of them, and if some of them were insubordinate and insolent and resisted their subjection, he would conquer them, and he would provide guides to our forces so that they might be overcome. And he immediately indicated the place which they regarded as most suitable for their settlement, which was an extensive forest situated in the headwaters of the Rivers Serinhaem and Formoso, which they called "Cacaú," where there was no lack of palm trees to provide them with food. With these matters clarified, the peace was agreed upon, the desired site was granted, and the council ended its meeting. And Governor Ayres de Sousa ordered that everything be recorded, so that the blacks could take with them in writing what the council had decided, and thus they were sent away in the company of a regimental major.

These are the happy events which took place in the immense region of Palmares, which would have had a great impact upon the entire country if the wisdom and good will of the new governor of the captaincy had been equal to those of his predecessor.

9.4. "White Man Won't Come Here": A Twentieth-Century Folk Memory of Palmares

As stated in the introduction to 9.3, the peace treaty between the blacks of Palmares and the Portuguese government was soon violated, and the struggle resumed. Despite eventual defeat, however, the Palmares legend survived into modern times, not only among historians, but even among the backland descendants of the runaways themselves.

The following account of a black folk festival of Alagôas was written by a local scholar, Alfredo Brandão, early in this century and reprinted by the noted student of black history and culture, Arthur Ramos. This festival, variations of which were widespread in the part of Alagôas where the Palmares settlements had once existed, is an indication of the powerful impression which they had upon the local conscience, and evidence too that the Palmares communities were not totally eradicated in the late seventeenth century, as history would have it. According to Ramos, who witnessed a similar festival in the Alagôan town of Pilar, none of the participants with whom he spoke had any knowledge of the historical Palmares, and yet they had just impressively reenacted life in the *mocambos* along with the battles that had led to their collapse. In the process, they had revealed a strong sympathy for their unknown ancestors and a healthy contempt for their ancestors' enemies, both of which, remarkably, had survived in local tradition for two and a half centuries.

Source: Arthur Ramos, "O auto dos quilombos," *Revista do Instituto Arqueológico, Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano* 37 (1941-1942), 202-207.