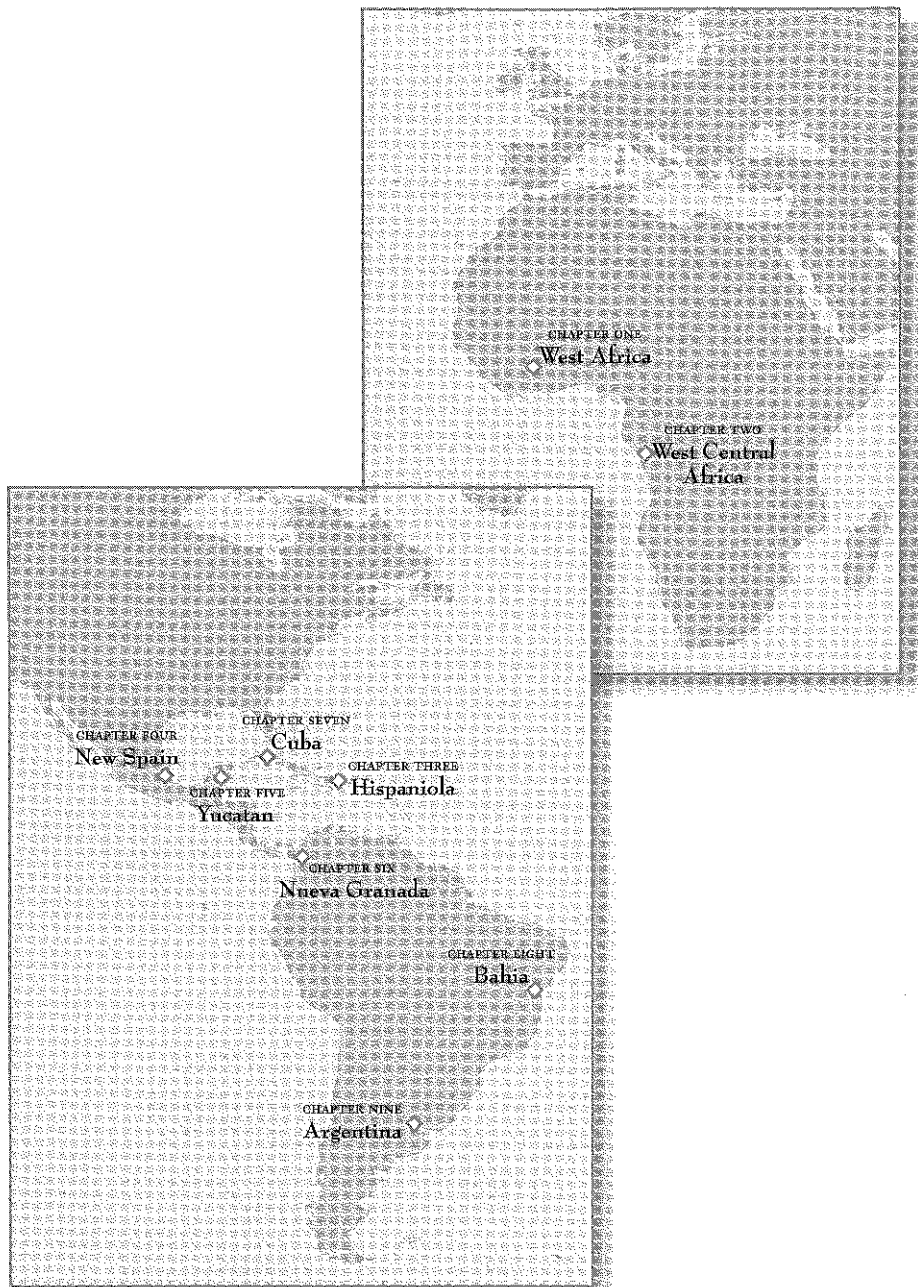


# Slaves, Subjects, and Subversives


## Blacks in Colonial Latin America



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*Geographical context for Slaves, Subjects, and Subversives.*

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- 1804–1837,” in *The Desert Shore: Literatures of the African Sabel*, ed. Christopher Wise (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2000).
23. Patrick Manning has argued convincingly that most of the enslaved population leaving the Bight of Benin in the late seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries came from near the coast, and this pattern appears to have applied to all of West Africa; see *Slavery and African Life: Occidental, Oriental, and African Slave Trades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
24. Bühnen, “Ethnic Origins of Peruvian Slaves”; Paul E. Lovejoy and Renée Soulodre-La France, “Nueces de cola en Cartagena: Intercambios transatlánticos en el siglo XVII,” in *Afrodescendientes en las Américas: Trayectorias sociales e identitarias*, ed. Claudia Mosquera, Mauricio Pardo, and Odile Hoffmann (Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia), 195–212; Sylviane Diouf, “Devils or Sorcerers, Muslims or Studs: Manding in the Americas,” in Lovejoy and Trotman, *Trans-Atlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the African Diaspora*, 139–57; Gwendlyn Midlo Hall, ed., *Afro-Louisiana History and Genealogy, 1699–1860* [electronic resource] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000).
25. Robin Law, “Between the Sea and Lagoons: The Interaction of Maritime and Inland Navigation on the Precolonial Slave Coast,” *Cahiers d’études africaines* 29 (1980): 209–37.
26. See Hall, “Meanings of ‘Mina.’”
27. Renée Soulodre-La France, “‘I, Francisco Castañeda, Negro Esclavo Caravalí’: Caravalí Ethnicity in Colonial New Granada,” in Lovejoy and Trotman, *Trans-Atlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the African Diaspora*, 96–114; Michael A. Gomez, “The Quality of Anguish: The Igbo Response to Enslavement in the Americas,” in Lovejoy and Trotman, *ibid.*, 82–95; Rina Cáceres Gómez, *Negros, mulatos, esclavos y libertos en la Costa Rica del siglo XVII* (Mexico, DF: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 2000).
28. See Paul E. Lovejoy, “Jihad e escravidão: As origens dos escravos muçulmanos de Bahia,” *Topoi* 1 (2000): 11–44. Also see Pierre Verger, *Trade Relations between the Bight of Benin and Bahia, 17th–19th centuries* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1976).
29. P. E. H. Hair, “Ethnolinguistic Continuity on the Guinea Coast,” *Journal of African History* 8, no. 2 (1967): 247–68.
30. Robin Law, “Ethnicity and the Slave Trade: ‘Lucumi’ and ‘Nago’ as Ethnonyms in West Africa,” *History in Africa* 24 (1997): 205–19.

## CHAPTER TWO

## Boiling It Down

## Slavery on the First Commercial Sugarcane Ingenios in the Americas (Hispaniola, 1530–45)

LYNNE GUITAR



“It’s almost dawn,” whispered Lemba to Coculi, one of his most trusted lieutenants. “Anbo confirms that the Spanish captain Leguizamán and half his soldiers are seeking us in Azua, and the rest in Yaguana. So there should be little resistance here. We attack in unison the very moment that the sun’s rays first touch the heights of the guard tower.”

“I’ll spread the word, Captain,” said Coculi, adding, as he looked down upon his mangled left hand, “and remember, you promised that the mill itself is mine to burn.” His dark coloring helped him to blend into the tropical forest that bordered the cane sugar ingenio<sup>1</sup> just outside the town of San Juan de la Maguana.

Lemba patted his horse’s forehead, climbed upon its broad back, placed his loaded arquebus across his legs, and made sure that his sword would slide easily out of its cowhide sheath. Ready, he peered into the darkness toward the outlying buildings that he could see silhouetted against the slowly lightening sky. In these last moments of night—the dead time—he prayed to all his ancestors who had gone before him for strength and luck on his soul’s path today.

Lemba raised his arquebus in the air and rode forward as the sun’s rays brushed the tall watchtower’s palm-thatched roof with golden strokes. He looked

to the right and left and thought about how Spaniards always rode to battle shouting, "Santiago!" with the clanging of their steel swords and metal shields adding to the chaos. But the two hundred-plus dark-skinned warriors who accompanied him, more than half of them mounted on horses they had stolen in previous raids, poured silently out of the forest like a black tide, the soft snorting of the horses the only sound out of the ordinary. Silently, they split into five units. Lemba and his forty men headed for the bobios, the woven huts, surrounding the watchtower, for it was here that the few Spaniards on the ingenio were likely to be sleeping with their black or indigenous mistresses. Coculi and his men headed toward the mill, a third group toward the supervisor's house, a stone mansion at the top of the hill beside the church, a fourth to the drying sheds, and the fifth group to the storage barns. Within minutes, all were set afire. A few Spaniards and several hundred indigenous and African slaves came running out of the burning buildings, crying, screaming, confused. . . .

Lemba raised and then lowered his arquebus, a previously arranged signal, and his men fired upon the Spaniards, who never had time to load their own firearms. Lemba shot one square in the chest, then ran down another and beheaded him with his sword. He pulled up his horse, turned back to face the bobios, and watched as the last of the seven Spaniards who had been sleeping peacefully just moments ago was dispatched by his men, who then gathered around him. "Well done," he congratulated them. "Quickly now. Collect all the horses and mules you can find, plus any weapons, clothes, salt, food, and women that you can carry . . . and head back to our encampment when I give the signal."

"Captain Lemba," said Anbo, riding up beside him a few moments later. "I found the blacksmith, just like you said I would," indicating the muscular African mounted behind him. "He was chained up in the wine cellar. He speaks a dialect of Kikongo."

"Good! We can certainly use him to make more lances and horseshoes and to teach some of the younger men his skills." Speaking to the new man in Kikongo, Lemba asked his name, then, grasping the man's right arm with both hands, said, "Welcome, Nzinga. You are no longer a slave."

Less than half an hour after the attack had begun, seeing that all of the horses and mules were loaded and most of the ingenio's buildings were aflame, Lemba gave the signal to leave. As silently as they had come, he and his men left to return to their encampment in the nearby mountains, now reinforced by more than fifty extra men, twenty-some young women, plus more horses, mules, and supplies.



Sebastián Lemba (d. 1547) is the most famous rebel African slave leader in Hispaniola's long history, for he was the very first that we know by name. He was "an extraordinarily cunning Negro and very knowledgeable about things of war, whom all obey and all fear."<sup>2</sup> Lemba, who was probably from the Kongo,<sup>3</sup> appears to have become a *cimarrón* (runaway) sometime in the late 1520s or early 1530s. He probably had been a slave on one of the island's many cane sugar ingenios, for this was the era when the first commercial cane sugar industry in the "New World" was on the rise, and Spaniards were clamoring to bring in more and more African slave laborers. Lemba and his men (up to four hundred were reported) were among the many African cimarrones who joined the rebellion of the Taíno cacique Enriquillo from 1519 to 1534. Although Enriquillo finally negotiated a peace treaty with the Spanish crown for himself and his people, Lemba refused to accept the terms, refused to stop rebelling against the Spaniards. Lemba and his men pillaged and attacked the Spaniards of Hispaniola and their allies, including Enriquillo's men, who had accepted the crown's terms, for more than a decade longer.

Lemba was stabbed with a lance in September of 1547 by an African slave who was part of a Spanish patrol led by Captain Villalpando—that slave's reward was his liberty. Lemba's head was taken back to Santo Domingo and set upon a pike at the main gate leading to the wharves along the Río Ozama as a warning to others not to rebel.<sup>4</sup> It did not work. Just a few months later, there was another huge rebellion on an ingenio in La Vega (perhaps incited by some of Lemba's own men who had escaped the Spanish patrol),<sup>5</sup> and other African slave captains such as Dieguillo de Ocampo and Juan Vaquero remained on the loose, causing havoc across the island. By 1548 African cimarrones had caused so much destruction among the island's cane sugar ingenios that only ten (out of more than thirty) were still in production.<sup>6</sup>

Hispaniola, the "Seasoning Ground" for Slaves in the New World Between 1504 and 1518, fewer than two thousand African slaves were legally shipped to the island of Hispaniola,<sup>7</sup> most as personal servants and the others destined to labor in gold mines and construction. By the 1520s, however, the demand for African slaves mounted to a crescendo,

Lemba  
Enrique  
rebellion



FIGURE 2.1: *First African Slave Rebellion in Hispaniola, on the sugar ingenio of Diego Colón, as depicted in an early 16th-century woodcut by Theodor De Bry. From: De ontdekking van de Nieuwe Wereld (Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, c1979), 4.*

in part because of the diminution of the indigenous population and in part because of the growth of the cane sugar industry, which Spain successfully transplanted from the Canary Islands. Hispaniola's planters shipped two thousand *arrobas* of cane sugar to Spain in 1522—by the 1530s, shipments had risen to ninety thousand *arrobas* annually.<sup>8</sup> The thousands of African slaves forced to labor in the ingenios of Hispaniola were the first of the millions who would eventually make the Middle Passage. It was on Hispaniola that many of the patterns were formed that governed relations between African slaves and their new masters, patterns that spread to the other Spanish colonies across the Americas—patterns that included rebellion.

The Spaniards who left Hispaniola to conquer and found other New World colonies took along some of their commended Indians<sup>9</sup> as well as slaves of indigenous, African, and mixed descent.<sup>10</sup> Hispaniola's royal judges complained in 1528 that this had happened repeatedly. In the settlement of Cuba, for example, they claimed that Diego Velázquez took along with him most of the populace of seven of the island's villages.<sup>11</sup> Peoples of all ethnic backgrounds from Hispaniola—conquerors, commended Indians, and slaves—also went to Jamaica with Juan de Esquivel and with Ponce de León, to Cubagua, “the pearl island” (today's Isla Margarita), and with Hernando Cortés to New Spain, a region that included much of today's U.S. Southwest as well as all of Mexico. They went to San Miguel de Gualdape in today's South Carolina with Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón and Fray Antonio de Montesinos. They went on the expeditions of Diego de Nicuesa, Alonso de Ojeda, Gil González, Alonso Núñez de Balboa, Francisco Pizarro, and others to settle Central and South America.<sup>12</sup>

All of the slaves and servant peoples who accompanied the Spaniards to their new colonies were “seasoned” by their experiences on Hispaniola. That is, on Hispaniola they became accustomed to the climate, foods, and diseases of post-1492 America, where the “weakest” among them died off. They also became accustomed to living with and working for Spaniards—thus they not only provided their labor in the newly conquered regions, they served as models for newly conquered peoples. A letter to the emperor from Hispaniola's governor, Alonso López de Cerrato, dated July 15, 1546, explained these benefits as he described how *negros bozales* were first brought to Hispaniola, where they were “instructed and then sold” as workers for the colonies of the mainland.<sup>13</sup>

Hispaniola's importance as a seasoning ground for the model slaves and other forced laborers of all the other Spanish American colonies makes it imperative to study just what kinds of behavior it was that they were modeling. Many of the forced laborers did not, of course, just learn acquiescent behavior on Hispaniola. They learned how to frustrate the Spaniards' efforts at control—they learned how to rebel. Despite all the problems the Spaniards encountered on Hispaniola in their attempts to control the Indians who were commended to them as well as their slaves, they needed them to build their forts, towns, cities, and roads; to grow and prepare their food; and to work the island's gold mines. As the easily mined gold began to run out—which happened before the 1520s—they also needed their commended Indians and slaves to work the island's cane sugar ingenios.

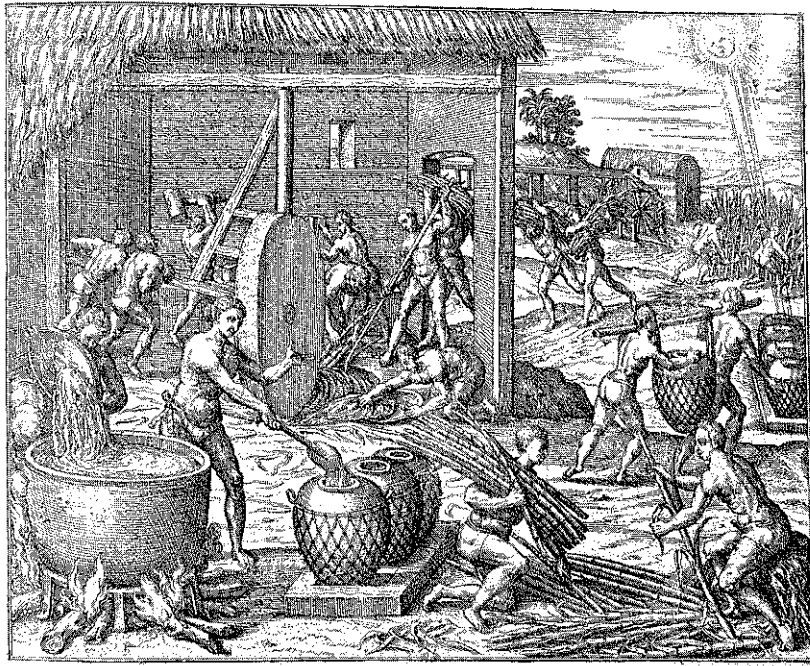


FIGURE 2.2: *Indians and Africans working together in the processing of sugar on Hispaniola. From: De ontdekking van de Nieuwe Wereld (Amsterdam: Van Hooe, c1979), 2.*

**Mixed Labor Force on the First New World Cane Sugar Ingenios**  
Spaniards had quickly discovered that Hispaniola's soil and climate were excellent for growing sugarcane—Columbus brought some along on his second voyage in 1493, and Spaniards began milling cane sugar commercially on the island between 1505 and 1515. By 1522 Hispaniola's planters were shipping significant quantities of sugar to Spain for refining—two thousand arrobas, or fifty thousand pounds annually. By 1530 shipments had risen to more than 2 million pounds, and they continued to rise, albeit sporadically because of slave uprisings, for the next thirty years.<sup>14</sup> To grow and process sugarcane in those quantities required a large labor force, a slave labor force that, at least through the mid-sixteenth century, was comprised of both Africans and Indians.

The Indians, of course, were already in place when Europeans arrived in 1492, though Spaniards quickly began to supplement the postcontact population of the native Taínos of Hispaniola with Taínos brought in from today's Bahamas, which were basically depopulated by 1513.<sup>15</sup> The replacements were needed because of indigenous deaths in battle and because of abuses committed under the *encomienda* system (a grant giving the recipient the labor and/or tribute of commended Indians), but mostly because the Indians had no natural immunities to the diseases inadvertently brought to the Americas by the newcomers and their animals, diseases that were especially virulent in the tropics.<sup>16</sup> Throughout the second and third decades of the sixteenth century, Spaniards sailed all over the Caribbean and circum-Caribbean capturing indigenous “cannibals” and selling them as slaves on Hispaniola.<sup>17</sup> Spanish slavers also raided the coasts of Central America, Mexico, Brazil, and Florida. Except for the Taínos from the Bahamas, all of the indigenous slaves brought to the island spoke different languages, but their customs and beliefs were relatively similar to those of the Taínos, especially in comparison to the customs and beliefs of their Spanish owners. In a variety of ways, the customs and beliefs of many of the Africans who came to the island were similar to those of the Taínos, too, and both peoples were alike in their enslaved condition under the Spaniards.<sup>18</sup>

### The First Africans on Hispaniola

The first Africans on Hispaniola were illegally imported slaves and free *ladinos*.<sup>19</sup> Obviously, they arrived before 1503, the year that Governor Nicolas de Ovando wrote his oft-quoted complaint to the crown asking that no more Africans be allowed in the Indies because “they run away, join up with the Indians, teach them bad customs, and cannot be recaptured.”<sup>20</sup> Despite Ovando's plea, groups of seventeen to one hundred African slaves were shipped in to work the gold mines from 1504 on,<sup>21</sup> and royal licenses were issued to permit the importation of particular slaves (usually acculturated females) or small quantities of slaves by individual Spaniards to whom the crown owed favors. It wasn't until after 1519, however, that African slaves were imported in large quantities, such as the monopoly to import and sell four thousand that was granted by the Spanish crown to the governor of Bresa, Lorenzo de Gorrevod (who promptly sold his monopoly to the Genoese agents Adán de Vivaldo and



Tomás de Forne). Even then, it wasn't until 1527 or 1528 that all four thousand of those African slaves had been delivered, and only half stayed in Hispaniola.<sup>22</sup> The 1519 contract must have been fulfilled by early 1528, however, for the crown issued another bulk permit for four thousand African slaves on April 22 of that year, this time to German factors.<sup>23</sup>

Africans were the slaves of choice because they were adaptable,<sup>24</sup> readily available, and had proven to be good workers on the ingenios established by the Portuguese and Spaniards on the Atlantic islands off the West African coast. Some of the Africans had invaluable technical skills—many were blacksmiths and “sugar masters,” the supervisors who directed the complex process of sugar's heating and crystallization. Africans were also valuable on Hispaniola because they were accustomed to a tropical climate, because they did not know the land or have established kinship networks there like the Indians did, and because they were already immune to most of the diseases to which Indians fell prey. African slaves did not, however, replace Indians on Hispaniola, at least not during the first half of the sixteenth century.

### Analyzing Three Early Censuses

There are not many extant censuses from the first half of the sixteenth century on Hispaniola, but there are three that give us an idea of the ratio of indigenous and African slaves on the island's sugar ingenios. The first of the three censuses resulted from a lawsuit that was initiated on July 19, 1533, between the civil and ecclesiastical *cabildos* in Santo Domingo. The evidence that was gathered included census information taken in 1530 on nineteen of Hispaniola's ingenios, plus a scattering of small estates.<sup>25</sup> The total head count included 1,870 Africans, most of whom were probably slaves, and 427 Spaniards. Although the legal papers pertaining to the case say there were “some” Indians working on the ingenios, the only numerical quantity provided is for five ingenios on the River Nigua that, combined, had 200 Indians (such a round number, too, is suspect—it was probably an approximation). No quantities are provided for the category of Indians on the other ingenios, just question marks. Clearly, no one wanted to release the actual numbers of Indians connected to the estates and/or there was confusion over just how to categorize some of the workers, most likely those who were free Africans or people of mixed blood.<sup>26</sup> None of the censuses included categories for mestizos or mulattos until

1582, despite the fact that the first mixed-blood children were most likely born nine months after Columbus and his men came ashore in 1492.<sup>27</sup> In addition to the question marks, the 1530 census lists a total of 700 unspecified “others.”

In 1533 Archbishop Alonso de Avila of Santo Domingo ordered a census taken to determine the number of chapels and clergymen required to service the twenty-three cane sugar ingenios that there were then on the island of Hispaniola. He reported that there were five ingenios on the Río Nigua alone, plus several cattle ranches. Altogether, Avila wrote that there were “at least” 700 Africans, 200 Indians (note that this is the same quantity claimed in 1530), and 150 Spaniards who lived and worked in the region, which lay six leagues west of Santo Domingo. He noted that the Río Nigua was “the most populous river that there is at present on this island.”<sup>28</sup> In total, Avila gave a specific count, including all twenty-three ingenios, of 1,880 Africans, 412 Spaniards, and 200 Indians. That is the kind of ratio that other historians have cited and, in fact, the quantities are almost exactly the same given for these categories of people in 1530. Avila, however, also accounted for 1,525 persons of unspecified category in his report, 825 more than in the 1530 count. He wrote that these unspecified persons included Spaniards, Africans, Indians, and “some” uncounted others; however, most of the latter he identified elsewhere in his report as Indians. Again, the implication is that there was confusion over categories on Hispaniola, just as there was elsewhere throughout the Spanish American colonies.

Six years after Avila's census, in a report that the island's governor Licenciado don Alonso de Fuenmayor sent to Emperor Charles, there was only one more ingenio listed on the Río Nigua, but the head count along that river alone had risen to 962 Africans from 700, and to 1,212 Indians from 200.<sup>29</sup> Fuenmayor reported a total of twenty-nine ingenios and *trapiches* (horse-powered mills) across the island. It is notable that Africans outnumbered the indigenous workforce on only nine of the twenty-nine ingenios in Fuenmayor's 1545 census. His total count was 8,952+ workers, 3,827+ of whom he identified as Africans (43 percent), and 5,125+ of whom he identified as Indians (57 percent). The quantities listed in Fuenmayor's report are suspect, of course, because there is such a dramatic increase in Indians over the 1530 and 1533 counts. We do not know what the criteria were that the census takers used for categorization. Unlike the other two censuses, Fuenmayor's did not mention any “others,” nor use

TABLE 2.1.  
Comparison of Three Censuses of Ingenios on Hispaniola

YEAR	SPANIARDS	INDIANS	AFRICANS	OTHERS	TOTAL	NO. OF INGENIOS
1530	427	200+	1,870	700	3,197+	14
1533	412	200+	1,880	1,525	4,017+	23
1545	—	5,125+	3,827+	—	8,952+	29

Sources: 1530 census data from a law suit between the civil and ecclesiastical cabildos of Santo Domingo in AGI, Justicia 12, N1, R2, as cited in Esteban Mira Caballos, *El indio Antillano: Repartimiento, encomienda y esclavitud (1492-1542)* (Seville: Ediciones ALFIL, July 1997), 155. 1533 census data from AGI, Justicia 12, 149, ffrov-15; full text in José Luis Saez, *La iglesia y el esclavo negro en Santo Domingo: Una historia de tres siglos* (Santo Domingo: Patronato de la Ciudad Colonial de Santo Domingo, Colección Quinto Centenario, 1994), 267-72. 1545 census data cited in Luis Joseph Peguero, *Historia de la Conquista de la Isla Española de Santo Domingo trasumptada el año de 1762: Traducida de la Historia General de las Indias escrita por Antonio de Herrera coronista mayor de su Magestad, y de las Indias, y de Castilla; y de otros autores que han escrito sobre el particular* (Santo Domingo: Publicaciones del Museo de Las Casas Reales, 1975; originally published 1763), 217-21.

question marks, nor list workers of unspecified category—everybody was placed into the category of “African” or “Indian.”<sup>30</sup> His report appears to include among the “slaves” of the nearby ingenios all of the independent small farmers that the other two reports mentioned separately. Nonetheless, the quantity of “more than 5,000 Indian slaves” on the island was repeated in a May 23, 1545, letter to the emperor from another royal official, Alonso López de Cerrato.<sup>31</sup> (López was president of the Audiencia Real and became governor of Hispaniola after Fuenmayor.)

Lack of standardization among categories of people throughout this era makes exact demographic studies impossible, but the important thing to note is that both indigenous and African slaves were working together on Hispaniola’s ingenios throughout the first half of the sixteenth century. And the numbers of workers is astounding: seven of the ingenios in 1545 had more than 100 workers, five more than 200, eight more than 300, four more than 400, three more than 500, and Yamán, founded by the royal factor Juan de Ampies, had 610 workers.

### First African Slave Rebellion on Hispaniola, Christmas Day of 1521

Until the 1520s, the Spaniards of Hispaniola requested of the crown that all slaves sent to the region be bozales. Bozales were thought to be “more pacific” than acculturated African ladinos.<sup>32</sup> This changed dramatically on Christmas Day of 1521, when a group of approximately twenty bozales on the ingenio La Isabela, owned by the island’s governor, Viceroy Diego Colón (Christopher Columbus’s elder son), planned and executed the first major African slave rebellion in the Americas.<sup>33</sup>

Just thirteen days after the 1521 rebellion began, Colón promulgated a set of slave ordinances in an attempt to prevent any further rebellions. The ordinances, signed in Santo Domingo and dated January 6, 1522, are the first laws formulated for control of African slaves in the New World.<sup>34</sup> As Carlos Esteban Deive notes in his analysis of the 1522 slave ordinances, their promulgation so promptly after the Christmas Day rebellion is evidence of how frightened the Spaniards on Hispaniola were of more insurrections.<sup>35</sup> No doubt aware of their dwindling numbers in comparison to the rapidly growing non-Spanish population on the island,<sup>36</sup> Spaniards particularly feared the fact that there appeared to have been communication and organization not only among slaves on Colón’s ingenio but among those of other ingenios as well. The new ordinances attempted to keep all future communication among slaves to a minimum; to restrict slave movement, even when the slave had the owner’s or overseer’s permission to leave the estate; to prohibit slaves, even loyal *criados*,<sup>37</sup> from bearing arms; and to eliminate all independent slave action, specifically such actions as coming and going at will and selling products or services. The new ordinances also required all ingenio supervisors, henceforth, to maintain strict slave registers.

Clearly, the Spanish authorities believed that the slaves on Hispaniola were living too well, too freely, and with too few controls. The extent to which the 1522 ordinances required slave masters to keep track of their slaves and to “control” them are the first indications of a new concept about slavery that would spread across the New World. King Alfonso the Wise’s centuries’-old “just laws” for slaves in Spain (based upon Roman law) recognized slaves as human beings, though with limited rights. Not so the control-oriented slave laws that would become symbolic of the “plantation complex” that evolved in different forms across the Americas.<sup>38</sup> Despite all the attention to control, however, the ordinances and the

various chronicles, taken together, indicate that Spaniards in 1521 were seeking some basis other than lack of control to explain the 1521 rebellion. The blame fell on the Wolof people.

Perhaps the Spaniards made the Wolofs the scapegoats for the 1521 rebellion because they were mostly Muslim; therefore, they were considered to be anti-Christian. They may also have targeted the Wolofs, despite the probability that there were relatively few of them, because many Wolofs were literate (Muslims were encouraged to read the Koran), and hence had more potential for communication than other slaves. Consider, too, that Wolofs were astute traders and merchants back in their homeland, experienced in maintaining relations with a wide variety of peoples from different regions and different backgrounds. From the moment of the 1521 rebellion, all the fears and accusations of "bad habits" that had formerly been attributed to acculturated Africans were transferred to Wolofs, who were stereotyped as having "an excitable and rebellious spirit."<sup>39</sup>

#### Laws to Protect the Indians

New royal *cédulas* (writs), ordinances, and provisions were promulgated on Hispaniola beginning in 1526, although they mainly focused on the regulation of Indians, not Africans. This was in part because Indians still outnumbered Africans on Hispaniola and in part because the most famous Taíno rebellion, led by the cacique Enriquillo, was escalating—it began in 1519 but was not officially declared a war until October 19, 1523.<sup>40</sup> The so-called Laws of Granada, dated November 17, 1526, were aimed at preventing insurrections like Enriquillo's and at protecting the new indigenous peoples who were being discovered in other parts of the Americas from enslavement and exploitation. Primarily, however, the 1526 laws were aimed at propitiating clergymen like Bartolomé de las Casas, whose pleas on behalf of American indigenes were gaining support, most notably in Rome.

Because of papal pressure, cédula after cédula in the 1530s attempted to stop the fraudulent trade in indigenous Caribe slaves, who were all designated as cannibals,<sup>41</sup> and to stop "the excesses being committed" against both free and enslaved indigenous females.<sup>42</sup> The pope issued a bull on June 2, 1537, declaring that all Indians were free and could not be coerced in any way except by preaching and good example. The Spanish crown

1542 new law to regulate -  
eventually complied with the pressure from Rome by promulgating the New Laws of 1542 to regulate the encomienda system and protect Indians from being illegally enslaved. (The New Laws were not applied equally throughout the Spanish colonies, however, so that the encomienda system actually existed for several more centuries.)

#### African Slaves Laws

Unfortunately, the Catholic Church was not opposed to African slavery as it was to indigenous slavery; however, in the early sixteenth century, it consistently appealed to slave owners to remember the humanity of their charges. A royal *cédula* dated November 9, 1526, contains the church's recommendation that Africans would be more complacent if allowed to marry and to work for wages so that they could eventually buy their freedom.<sup>43</sup> A year later the Spanish crown itself recommended that each male African slave sent to the Indies be accompanied by his wife. In the provision, the crown recognized "the love that they have for their women and children," but this was not a recommendation arising out of compassion for the Africans. The crown clearly stated that the orders were issued in the hopes that "it would keep slaves from rebelling and from fleeing to the mountains."<sup>44</sup>

Spanish slave laws were far more liberal than "chattel" slave laws. The royal officials on Hispaniola (who owned the island's largest ingenios and the most slaves) begged the crown to rescind some centuries-old slave privileges. Bowing under the pressure, Emperor Charles and his mother, Queen Juana, cosigned a 1526 provision that African slaves were *not* to be set free when they married, nor were their children born free, even though this went "against the laws of our Reigns."<sup>45</sup> The *cédula* had to be reaffirmed on July 10, 1538, demonstrating that, twelve years after the modification went into effect, Africans were still pushing for their rights under the ancient Spanish laws.<sup>46</sup> African slave rebellions were on the rise across Hispaniola in the 1520s and 1530s as well.

Slaves consistently resisted Spanish controls, especially new ones, and the Spaniards on Hispaniola consistently tried to resolve problems of slave control with new ordinances. On October 9, 1528, a new thirty-item set of ordinances signed by four royal judges on Hispaniola was issued to replace those that Colón and his advisors had hastily put together six years earlier. The new ordinances were directed not only toward Africans



but to "all the slaves, Negroes and whites, of whatever caliber they are, who are at present on this island of Hispaniola or who may come here in future."<sup>47</sup> (The "whites" were mostly enslaved Moors and Canarians.)

The 1528 ordinances, the same as those in 1522, required slave owners and supervisors to maintain strict records of their slaves and to know their whereabouts at all times. Repetition of the order suggests that these records were not being kept. The new ordinances appear to have been less concerned with organized rebellion than those of 1522.<sup>48</sup> Their focus was on keeping individual slaves from "fleeing to the mountains" and from "continually walking about this island" and making "unlicensed visits away from their homes," confirming that the Spaniards actually had little control over their slaves' comings and goings. The penalty for leaving the ingenios without permission became stronger and stronger, starting out with monetary fines (which supports the documents reporting that slaves on Hispaniola were earning money selling their technical skills, arts and crafts, and produce), escalating to whippings and the wearing of heavy metal collars, and culminating in the death penalty for repeated offenses. The new ordinances recognized that sometimes slaves rebelled or ran away because they were mistreated or because they were not given enough food or drink. In these cases (theoretically, of course), the owners would be investigated and punished if found guilty. Inspectors were appointed to travel to the ingenios to check up on how the slaves were being fed and clothed and to ensure that they were not being made to work on Sundays, were given enough time to sleep, and so on. Despite the humane-sounding wording of some of the provisions of the new slave ordinances, another provision specified an ominous new requirement—for every four African slaves owned, the *señor* (supervisor of the ingenio) was to have readily at hand one set of stocks and one chain.

The 1528 Spanish slave ordinances were modified in 1535, 1542, and 1544, with the restrictions and punishments remaining comparatively mild in relation to the chattel slave laws in Dutch, English, and French colonies, until the late eighteenth century. The modifications continued to emphasize control of the growing slave population, with special emphasis on keeping slaves from "walking about" the countryside unsupervised, and especially from joining "gangs" of slaves—the penalty for being at large more than thirty days was increased to a death sentence "regardless of whether it is their first or second offense."<sup>49</sup>

### Thousands of Africans outside Spanish Control

It is obvious that the Spaniards on Hispaniola were losing valuable slaves who simply walked off at will. Once away from the principal Spanish population areas clustered around Santo Domingo and on the south coast, runaway slaves could join up with cimarrón groups of Africans and Indians who had established colonies in peripheral regions of the island. The Spaniards must also have been painfully aware that they were outnumbered by the people they supposedly dominated and that they could easily be overpowered as well. While only the 1521 rebellion is well documented, there are indications that African slave revolts continued to take place on Hispaniola from 1520 on, but that they were being covered up by Spanish officials. For example, three royal judges reported in 1532 that "a favored slave" at the Colón family's ingenio killed the supervisor there, which set the other slaves off on a killing spree. The report continues, "but nothing was done or said about it and the guilty were not punished . . . because no one wanted to admit that there was an uprising."<sup>50</sup>

Africans, whose numbers had constantly been growing since the island's initial settlement, were reported as comprising the majority of the population on Hispaniola by the 1540s. On March 26, 1542, Archdeacon Alonso de Castro reported to the crown that there were upwards of 25–30,000 Africans on the island and only 1,200 Spaniards. He complained that thousands of rebel Africans lived "in the countryside"—meaning free of Spanish control—in Cape San Nicolás, Samaná, Higüey, and other remote regions, where "they mine gold . . . and conduct a vast trade and commerce," most of which would have been the contraband sale of beef, hides, and produce to the enemies of Spain. The archdeacon also complained about the growing number of robberies committed by "well dressed and shod" Africans throughout the countryside as well as in the capital.<sup>51</sup> Despite Archdeacon de Castro's exaggerations of the African cimarrones' living conditions, some of his complaints had a legitimate basis, for many slaves did run away, and once outside the Spaniards' control, they were under no obligation to follow Spanish laws.

### Slave Life on the Early Sugar Ingenios

What was life like for the slaves who were under Spanish control? A few documents exist that give behind-the-scenes glimpses of slave life on Hispaniola's early sugar ingenios. One such is the 1538 petition to the

Spanish crown by Diego Caballero de la Rosa, secretary of Hispaniola's Royal Audiencia, for more sugar land adjacent to that which he already had. Caballero owned one of the largest of the ingenios on the Río Nigua (west of Santo Domingo) where it empties into the Caribbean Sea. In his petition, Caballero stressed that he had spent more than fifteen thousand *ducados* of his own money to make improvements to the ingenio, improvements that included the construction and maintenance of a church, which he described as "very adorned with ornaments of silk and linen, with a cross and chalice, candelabra and silver wine containers." Caballero obviously chose to describe how richly appointed the church was as a demonstration to the crown of his devotion to Christianity and his efforts to convert the slaves under his care. (His responsibility was to provide an appropriate atmosphere where Christianity could be taught and practiced; it was a clerical responsibility to catechize, baptize, and the like.) Caballero also bragged that his ingenio had "more than seventy houses built of stone and straw," presumably of stone with straw-thatched roofs. Throughout the documents of the era, it is clear that Spaniards equated stone houses with progress and civilized customs, so Caballero was bragging here about how well his slaves lived. It would also appear that living quarters were ample (though we have no archaeological evidence yet at this ingenio), for he only claimed a population at that time of "more than twenty Spaniards and 150 Africans and Indians." That would mean an average of only two and a half people per house, so it could be that he was counting only workers. The actual population, including children, may have been higher.<sup>52</sup>

Caballero's descriptions make his ingenio and his intentions seem very pleasant for all, yet he gives us little idea of what the working conditions were like for the slaves. One indication that things weren't as rosy as Caballero portrayed them is that one of the witnesses who testified to the veracity of Caballero's statements in his petition for more land noted that it had taken Caballero five to six years to build his ingenio, that many Indians and Spaniards had died in the process (Africans were not mentioned), and that no cane had been milled in all that time.<sup>53</sup>

Unfortunately, archaeological evidence of slaves' conditions on Hispaniola, information that could fill gaps in the documents, is sparse, and what investigations have been made do not always focus on answering the questions that today's investigators are asking. The ingenio of Sanate on the Río Chavón in southeastern Hispaniola, for example, was investigated by a

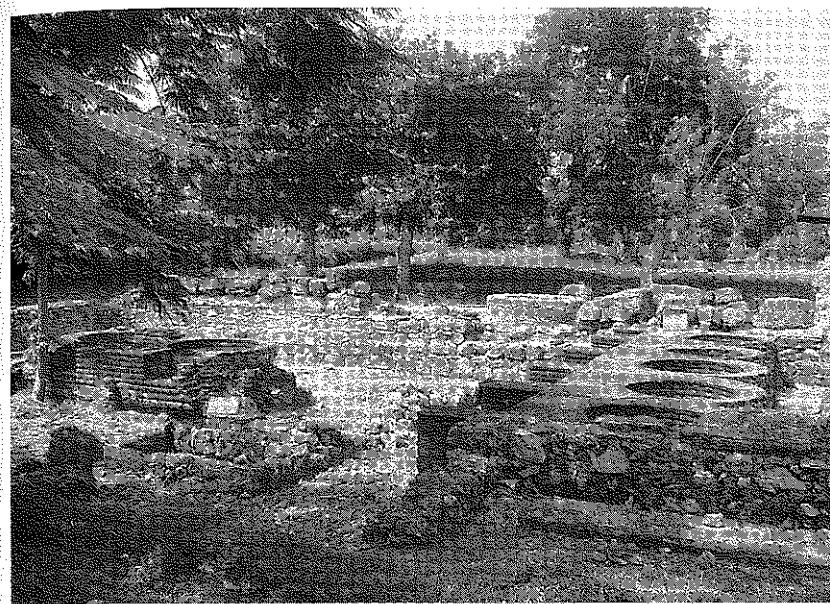


FIGURE 2.3: *Remains of the Caballero Ingenio. Photograph by Lynne Guitar.*

team of archaeologists led by José Cruxent and Luis Chanlatte Baik in 1976. The completed analyses of Sanate focus on environmental changes from the pre-Taíno through early colonial eras, on indigenous ceramics and burials, and on general layout of the major ingenio structures, including the stone aqueduct that carried water from the nearby river to the mill. Little is said about the slaves' living and working conditions in the archaeological analyses, except that Indians and Africans both worked there together.<sup>54</sup>

### Ingenio Santiago de la Paz, Azua

The most informative materials about the actual conditions of slavery that we have from any sixteenth-century ingenio on Hispaniola pertain to Santiago de la Paz in Azua, which belonged to Hernando Gorjón. A large variety of documents survives for Santiago de la Paz because the ingenio was auctioned off by the crown after its owner's death on January 25, 1547, to fund the Colegio Gorjón, the second university created in the Americas.<sup>55</sup> Gorjón received innumerable royal favors

while he lived because of his promise to the crown to construct a university, hospital, and church (but the auction raised enough money only for the university).

It is difficult to determine how many slaves Gorjón actually had over the years. In 1514 he received a small *encomienda* of fifty Indians in Azua.<sup>56</sup> In 1537, in a document giving Pedro de Villanueva authority to represent him in court, Gorjón informed the crown that he had “one hundred Negros and Negras that are on and serve and reside on the said ingenio [of Santiago de la Paz].”<sup>57</sup> The year 1537 was also when Pope Paul III issued his brief and bull forbidding indigenous slavery, so if Gorjón did have any Indians still under his control, it behooved him not to mention them. In 1539 Gorjón was one of the *señores de ingenio* who was sued by the church for nonpayment of the tithes on his produce and profits. At that time he testified that he had “more than 150 persons, including Spaniards, Negroes and other persons” on his ingenio. In 1540 he repeated that he had “more than 150 persons [who were] Spaniards and Negroes”—note the omission of “others.”<sup>58</sup>

Royal officials on Hispaniola seized Gorjón’s ingenio immediately after his death in early 1547 and prepared to auction it off. One of the first things they did was to conduct an inventory that included a detailed list of all his lands, plantings, buildings, equipment, cattle . . . and slaves.<sup>59</sup> They found only seventy-three adult Africans at Santiago de la Paz and seventeen children. Their inventory also listed one female and one male “in the city” (perhaps in Gorjón’s urban residence), one male “serving in the war” (by which was probably meant that he was assigned to a military patrol hunting down cimarrones), one male “in jail,” one male “who has been absent for two years,” and one “*negra criolla*” who was “attached to the estate” but not resident there—a total of ninety-six African slaves.

The entire Gorjón estate was sold in 1548 for ten annual payments of 2,360 pesos—a total of only 23,600 pesos.<sup>60</sup> What had happened to the estate that was “worth a lot,” in Fuenmayor’s words, and which was supposed to have had 254 African laborers in 1545, in addition to 170 Indians?

If, in fact, he had four and a half times more slaves in 1545 than two years later, he might have been quietly selling off his slaves. The prices of Africans were on the rise, and Gorjón would have known that he did not have long to live (he was approximately fifty-eight in 1540). Of course, either or both of the two counts may have been off, slaves may have run away, his ingenio might have been attacked by cimarrones and

some of its slaves stolen, and/or there may have been fraud involved on the part of the ingenio’s overseer or officials auctioning Gorjón’s estate for the crown in 1547.

There are hints of fraud for personal gain in at least two documents connected to the sale of Santiago de la Paz. The first is a letter dated December 18, 1547, from Governor Alonso López de Cerrato to the emperor that contradicts the supposedly high value of the holdings in land, buildings, and equipment detailed in the ingenio’s inventory: “He [Gorjón] left his ingenio very lost and pawned,” wrote López, “without even one cane, nor one steer to eat, nor one tool. The Negroes, with their flesh exposed [*en carnes*], had been given neither shirt nor breeches in four years.” López claimed responsibility “for having repaired everything,” having bought 230 steers, planted four plots in sugarcane, built a house with defense tower, and “provided all that the ingenio needed so its laborers could mill *maquilas*”<sup>61</sup>—one hopes he also provided the slaves with adequate clothing and food.

On December 19, 1550, two years after the Gorjón estate was sold, a letter from the emperor to the president and royal judges of Santo Domingo and to Captain Alonso de Peña, the royal treasurer, reports that the new owners clearly demonstrated that the estate had been overvalued in earlier appraisals, which is the reason they were now losing money on it. The new owners were willing to take out a royal loan at 12 percent interest to back out of their contract for the purchase of Santiago de la Paz.<sup>62</sup> This, in an era when anything over 4 percent was considered usury, is a clear sign that the estate property had been manipulated so that its worth, in fact, had been highly overvalued.

### Where Did Hispaniola’s Earliest African Slaves Come From?

The documents connected to the inventory and sale of Gorjón’s ingenio suggest how slave numbers could be manipulated for personal gain. Added to confusion over categories, this type of manipulation exacerbates the uncertainty that historians and demographers encounter when dealing with early censuses. The documents connected with Santiago de la Paz, however, are valuable tools for understanding better which African peoples were brought to Hispaniola during this early period. Many academics have written that the *bozales* brought directly from Africa to Hispaniola as slaves in the early sixteenth century were shipped mainly

from the Cape Verde Islands. These slaves had been gathered there from all over the West African region called Upper Guinea, encompassing a multitude of different African peoples who lived between today's Senegal and Sierra Leone.<sup>63</sup> Although the ingenio's records do not positively prove where the African slaves on the inventory of 1547 came from, the provenance of many can be inferred from their names. This helps to confirm scholars' hypotheses, and it also shows that one of the planters' fears was correct—there were Muslims among the African slaves. The slaves on Santiago de Paz's inventory were:

- ✦ Anbo, an adult male—Ambos or Ambozi were from the Gulf of Biafra.
- ✦ Banón, adult male—perhaps a Bañol from the region of Upper Guinea between the Gambia and Cazamancia rivers.
- ✦ Barva, adult male—the Barva or Barba occupied territory to the north of Dahomey in the Central Sudan.
- ✦ Juan Bran, Gonçalo Bran, Pero Bran, Sona Bran, Cristóval Bran, and the females María Bran and Leonor Bran all appear on the inventory of adults—Brams were from the Gold Coast region between the Cazamancia and Cacheo rivers (also known as Cacheos); many were shipped from the Portuguese *feitoria* (factory) at São Jorge de Mina.
- ✦ Francisco Caluar and Domingo Carabi, two adult males—on later censuses, peoples from the region called Calabar, between the Niger Delta and Rey River; were most frequently called *carabalies* or *ibos*.
- ✦ Pedro Çape, Sebastián Çape, Juan Çape (two of them with the same name), and Francisco Çape, all adult males—most likely Sapis (Zapes) from Sierra Leon.
- ✦ Ganbu, adult male—perhaps he was from the Gambia River region.
- ✦ Cristóval Lucume, Hernando Lucume, and perhaps Ana Luque, all adults, were of the same people—the Lucumies were Yorubas.
- ✦ Perico Maga, adult male—the Magas were a Sudanese people.
- ✦ Gonçalo Mandinga and Mandinga, adult males—Mandingas were Mande speakers, mostly Muslims, from the Senegal and Niger valleys.

- ✦ Diego Olofe and María Olofa, adults—the Wolofs were from a region that extended from the Senegal River along the coast to Gambia (today's Senegambia); most were Muslims.
- ✦ Gonçalo Tierranova, adult male—Tierranova (or Porto Novo) was the capital of Dahomey; many slaves from Tierranova, who were actually Lucumies or Yorubas, were shipped from the Portuguese *feitoria* on the island of São Tomé.
- ✦ The males listed as Canguey, Coculi, Culi, Javja (Hausa?),<sup>64</sup> and Roque on the inventory may also have been Spanish attempts to reproduce the slaves' own names for their people, village, region, or language.
- ✦ One of the males was named Canpecho, which might indicate he was from Campeche in the Yucatán. Perhaps he was first a slave in the Yucatán, then brought to Hispaniola, or perhaps he was not an African at all, but an Indian or of Indo-African descent.

#### Further Analysis of the Santiago de la Paz Documents

The documents connected to Santiago de la Paz also shed light on working conditions on the early ingenios. Surprisingly, except for the position of overseer, which was held by a Spaniard named Francisco García, all of the other important positions on the ingenio of Santiago de la Paz appear to have been held by African slaves. This includes positions that would have permitted extensive freedom and mobility, such as shepherd and vaquero, for the ingenio's pastures were located in a different part of Azua, distant from the main ingenio lands.<sup>65</sup> The positions of *mandador* (in charge of the cane fields and, perhaps, some of the work in the mill), *estanciero* (in charge of all crops other than sugarcane), *purgador* (normally a literate person responsible for issuing supplies and maintaining production records), sugar master (responsible for processing and crystallizing the cane, which required extensive technical knowledge, precision, and the ability to make snap judgments), master brick maker, cartwright, and blacksmith—all positions that required highly specialized technical skills—were held by African slaves on Santiago de la Paz.<sup>66</sup>

Continuing with an analysis of the slave inventory at Santiago de la Paz, there were forty-seven adult males listed (one of whom was in jail, another away at war, and another listed as absent for two years), and

twenty-seven adult females (one of whom was living on another estate)—a gender ratio of a little under two to one, which is not as uneven as might have been expected. Eleven male children and six female children are also listed, which is approximately the same ratio. The ages of the adult slaves are obviously approximations, for they are nearly all given in even numbers of twenty, thirty, forty, and so on. There is only one male listed as over age seventy, however, two females were ages eighty and ninety, respectively, and six were in their sixties and seventies. This would suggest that males were doing the most dangerous work, the work in the mill and with the pots and fires for crystallization, while the women no doubt helped in the fields but were mainly given “domestic” jobs like cooking. The slave woman named Catalina, however, was listed as a strainer, which indicates that she worked in the crystallization process. Children appear to have been relatively well treated, considering that males aged seventeen and even eighteen were included on the inventory of children. Two eighteen-year-old males on the inventory of children appear to have been apprentice cartwrights and, as such, may have had to work the same hard and long hours as adults. Juanica, who was only seventeen, was included on the adult list; the assumption is that she had borne a child. Unfortunately, there are no family groupings given except that one woman, Juana, is listed as the wife of Pedro Çape, who was only a “kettle tender,” which was not an important position. Among the five recently deceased slaves listed, one died during childbirth, two in “war,” and two of unspecified causes; one of the latter was a seven-year-old boy. The numbers of recently dead are too few to arrive at any general conclusions.

As Robert S. Haskett notes, the fact that no slave houses were included in the inventory of Santiago de la Paz is an indication that “[t]hey were probably huts of little regard or commercial value.”<sup>67</sup> There is also no mention of slaves’ kitchen gardens, but they no doubt kept them to supplement the cattle, sheep, yucca, corn, sweet potatoes, and oranges that were raised on the estate as well as the salted fish that was stored in one of the ingenio’s stone towers.

The three fortified stone towers, which appear to have been the most prominent buildings on the ingenio, held a wide variety of tools and replacement parts for mill equipment. They also held two pairs of handcuffs and six “Negro collars.” The combination of the inventory’s counts of physical restraints and descriptions of slaves with wooden feet and legs (cutting off a leg was a recommended punishment for running away),

missing eyes, and skin ulcers, are grim reminders of how harsh slave life could be on a sugar ingenio.

### Resistance to Slavery

The slaves on Hispaniola’s sugar ingenios responded to the harshness of their lives in many creative ways, some of which have not been recognized until recently as acts of resistance. Catherine C. LeGrand conducted a study of the Dominican Republic’s twentieth-century cane workers and resistance that sheds light on slaves’ responses on sugar ingenios in the sixteenth century. She found that workers feigned illness, worked slowly, engaged in malicious gossip, broke tools and equipment, “choked” the sugar presses by overloading them with cane (which then required several hours to clean up before processing could continue), maimed animals needed to haul or mill the cane, or lost or ruined materials and supplies.<sup>68</sup>

Normally, it was in the best interests of a smooth-running sugar ingenio for the supervisor to ignore daily acts of sabotage and resistance that could be attributed to accident or illness. If a slave were caught in a purposeful act of insubordination or rebellion, however, what James C. Scott calls “public breaches,” the masters and overseers were forced to make a public example of the perpetrator in order to discourage others from rebelling. Scott explains that public breaches happened frequently because slaves were constantly “testing the limits” of their subjugation.<sup>69</sup>

One public breach that was virtually impossible for masters and overseers to ignore was when a slave ran away. Often, however, a slave’s absence was only temporary—perhaps a visit to a wife, friend, or relative on another plantation. Punishment for temporary absence was often light. But when did “temporary absences” turn into insubordination? Although the legal definition was fifteen days as of 1528, the inventory from Santiago de la Paz illustrates that slave owners continued to be lenient with their slaves, stretching temporary absences into years—a male slave named Lorençillo was listed on Santiago de la Paz’s inventory as “a *vaquero* who it is said has been absent for two years.” Another male slave, Jorge Tuerto, is listed as “serving in the war,” referring most likely to one of the many ongoing battles in the 1530s and 1540s against *cimarrones*. Tuerto could quite easily have changed sides, however, to join the *cimarrones* in their fight against the Spaniards (the same way it is supposed that Sebastián Lemba, mentioned in the beginning of this study, joined the



war in Bahoruco). If Tuerto had become a cimarrón, both the ingenio's overseer and the census taker would, no doubt, have been reluctant to say so in an official document. Juan Grande and "another old Negro" were listed on the inventory as having been killed in the war, but they, too, could have simply changed sides and run away.<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, when slaves did desert, their owners might not even have known. There are clear hints in the documents that captains exaggerated the number of deaths in their squadrons because they were held less culpable for deaths than for desertions.<sup>71</sup>

### Runaways and Other Rebels

The archival records of 1540s' Hispaniola are peppered with reports of African cimarrón "captains," some of whom the Spaniards claimed had "thousands of rebellious Negroes" among their ranks. Archdeacon Alonso de Castro, in a report to the crown dated March 26, 1542, claimed that there were two thousand to three thousand African cimarrones in the eastern part of the island alone, "hurting and robbing by night and by day everything that there is [to steal] in the country, including gold."<sup>72</sup> Two and a half years later, on September 12, 1544, Governor López de Cerrato did his best to convince the emperor that he had cleaned up the rebellions. He reported that, in place of the former thousands of African cimarrones, "there remain only fifteen" on the entire island, although two years later, he admitted to between twenty-five and thirty.<sup>73</sup>

Other Spaniards concurred with Archdeacon de Castro's high numerical assessment of African cimarrones, not with Governor López's lower figure. Melchor de Castro, for example, who was the royal scribe in charge of the island's mines, justified the fact that less gold had been mined than normal and that fewer Spaniards had gone in search of new mines by explaining to the crown on July 25, 1543: "[P]eople are afraid . . . of all the Negroes who have rebelled." As was the case with the Indians who had found refuge in the regions outside Spanish control, he explained to the crown, "The island is large and filled with cows, wild pigs and other food-stuffs, and in this way rebel Africans have security and food."<sup>74</sup>

Castro was not the only one writing this type of report. Later that year, a royal cédula dated October 31, 1543, attempted to force the island's administrators to control the "many Negroes" who had been reported running free "in the mountains of Santiago and Yacera and in all the cordillera

up to Monte Cristi."<sup>75</sup> There were so many African cimarrones, several of the crown's administrators jointly reported on February 10, 1545, that "it is an embarrassment how the rebellious Negroes go about the roads killing and robbing Spaniards up to three leagues from the city [of Santo Domingo]." Ironically, in the same letter, they requested that the emperor send five thousand to six thousand more Negro slaves to the island.<sup>76</sup>

The Spaniards who remained on Hispaniola in the middle of the sixteenth century were caught in the grip of a painful conflict—on the one hand they needed more African slaves if they were to continue increasing sugar production and profits, but they did not know how to deal with the rebellions. The more slaves they imported, the more rebels there were. The slaves were increasingly willing to use violence to resist the Spaniards' efforts to control them, their lives, and their labors. In 1546 one frightened colonist informed the Spanish authorities that there were "squadrons of armed Negro slaves" running amok in Bahoruco and La Vega. "No man walks alone anymore," he wrote. "The island is in terror that the other twelve thousand Negroes . . . will rise up too."<sup>77</sup>

The fears that he expressed were not, of course, unique to Hispaniola. All across the Americas, first Spaniards and then Portuguese, Dutch, French, and British entrants in the race to colonize and reap financial benefit from the New World using African slave labor on the sugar, rice, tobacco, cacao, and cotton plantations, and in the gold and silver mines, would encounter the same painful conflict. Forced labor and oppression always end in rebellion—and the more force and oppression one uses, the more rebellion results. The patterns of slave control and rebellion that were set on Hispaniola were replicated in the other Caribbean islands and across both the American continents, where they multiplied a millionfold with the millions of Africans who survived the Middle Passage and were forced into slave labor in the New World.



## APPENDIX

## Three Hacienda Censuses

*Writing colonial era history, especially history focused on those who left behind no documents of their own, like African slaves on the sixteenth-century Spanish sugarcane ingenios of Hispaniola, requires great effort. Only after gathering extensive material, comparing the information gathered, and trying to "fill in the gaps" can one begin to approach what life must have been like for these people who were torn from their homeland and forced to work in one of the most perilous of industries, an ocean away from all that they knew and cherished. Below are three rare documents, censuses of workers on Hispaniola's sugarcane ingenios in the first half of the sixteenth century. The first of the three censuses is from 1530, although it is to be found only among the files that pertain to a lawsuit initiated on July 19, 1533, between the civil and ecclesiastical councils of Santo Domingo. Its information is sparse but can be filled in by comparing it to what is revealed in the census taken three years later by Archbishop Alonso de Avila, whose goal was to determine how many clerics were needed for the island's growing number of ingenios. The third census, taken in 1545, was ordered by the island's incoming governor Alonso de Fuenmayor and sent along with a report to the Spanish emperor, according to historian Luis Joseph Peguero. Peguero published the census in 1763 in his history of Hispaniola (reprinted in 1975). Unfortunately, the document does not appear anywhere else to verify its data, which is very detailed—perhaps Peguero had access to a document that has since disintegrated or disappeared. The information about the island's ingenios at this time in Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdez's Historia general y natural de las Indias is almost the same, however, so Oviedo appears to have had access to the same document or spoke to someone who did—perhaps to Avila himself.*

*Hispaniola Ingenio Census of 1530*

- ✧ Ingenio belonging to Juan de Villoria (probably Sanate—see item 1 in the next census), with 100 Africans, 60 Spaniards, and "some" Indians.
- ✧ Ingenio called Los Trejos (see item 2), with 80 Africans, 40 Spaniards, and "some" Indians.
- ✧ Along the River Cocaymaguay, a total of 700 people, but not broken down into any categories (see item 3).
- ✧ The ingenio Santi Spiritus (see item 4), with 90 Africans and 12 Spaniards. In lieu of a quantity of Indians there is a question mark.

- ✧ The ingenio of the admiral (La Isabela, see item 6), with 80 Africans, 20 Spaniards, and ? Indians.
- ✧ An ingenio belonging to Benito de Astorga, with 60 Africans, 15 Spaniards, and ? Indians.
- ✧ Diego Caballero's ingenio (see item 6), with 70 Africans, 10 Spaniards, and ? Indians.
- ✧ Pero Vázquez's ingenio, with 120 Africans, 20 Spaniards, and ? Indians.
- ✧ Francisco de Tapia's ingenio (probably item 8), with 80 Africans, 12 Spaniards, and ? Indians.
- ✧ Licenciado Lebrón's ingenio (see item 9), probably Arbol Gordo, with 70 Africans, 6 Spaniards, and ? Indians.
- ✧ The ingenios of Juan de Ampies, Esteban Pasamonte, Francisco Tostado, Diego Caballero, and the heirs of Francisco de Tapia (see item 10), with a total of 700 Africans, 150 Spaniards, and 200 Indians.
- ✧ The ingenios of Lope de Bardeci, Alonso de Avila, and the heirs of Miguel de Pasamonte (see item 11), with 250 Africans, 60 Spaniards, and "some" Indians.
- ✧ Zuazo's ingenio, with 90 Africans, 12 Spaniards, and "some" Indians.
- ✧ Diego Caballero's ingenio called Cipecipi (see item 12), with 80 Africans, 10 Spaniards, and "some" Indians.

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Data from a lawsuit between the civil and ecclesiastical cabildos of Santo Domingo, in AGI, Justicia 12, N1, R2, as cited in Esteban Mira Caballos, *El indio antillano: Repartimiento, encomienda y esclavitud (1492-1542)* (Seville: Ediciones ALFIL, July 1997), 155.

*Alonso de Avila's Census of 1533*

1. On the ingenio called Sanate, which belonged to Juan de Villoria and was located five leagues from the village of Higüey, there were 100 Africans and 20 Spaniards, some of whom were married (but Avila did not specify if he meant that some of the Africans, the Spaniards, or both were married). In the general vicinity of Sanate, there were about 40 Spaniards with smaller estates, "without much abundance of Negroes and Indians."

2. The ingenio called Las Trejos, on the Río Quiabón (today called the Chavón), only two leagues away from Sanate, had 15 Spaniards and 80 Africans. The houses of another 25 workers were nearby, along the riverbank, some of whom had Africans and Indians with them (unspecified quantities).
3. On the Cocomagua and Cacay rivers, in a region about four leagues square that was fifteen leagues from Santo Domingo, "a large quantity of people lived" on small estates with cattle herds. Avila estimated that there were more than 700 people altogether, including Spaniards, Africans, and Indians.
4. The ingenio of Sancti Espíritus, on the Río Cacay, twelve leagues from Santo Domingo, had 12 Spaniards, some of whom were married, plus there were 90 Africans. There were estates "both small and large all around this ingenio, herds of cattle, and the haciendas of laborers." A clergyman already resided there.
5. The ingenio of La Isabela, which belonged to the (third) Admiral Luis Colón, was on the Río Ibuca, five leagues from Santo Domingo. It had 20 Spaniards and 80 Africans. One league away was the ingenio belonging to Benito de Astorga, which had 15 Spaniards and 70 Africans. Nearby haciendas accounted for another 200 persons.
6. The ingenio of the *contador* (royal accountant) Diego Caballero was on the Río Yuca, two leagues from Santo Domingo. It had 10 Spaniards and 70 Africans, with another 200 persons living nearby. It, too, already had a resident clergyman.
7. The ingenio belonging to Pedro Vázquez, on the Río Haina, three leagues from Santo Domingo, had 20 Spaniards and 120 Africans, with "at least" another 400 persons living along the river on their own small farms and haciendas.
8. The ingenio of de Tapia (possibly Cristóbal, for Francisco was already dead), one league from that of Vázquez, had 12 Spaniards and 80 Africans.
9. The ingenio of Arbol Gordo, which belonged to the heirs of Licenciado Lebrón and which was one and one-half leagues from the pueblo of Buenaventura, had 6 Spaniards and 70 Africans.

10. There were several ingenios and haciendas at the head of the Río Nigua, where it joined the Río Yamán, six leagues from Santo Domingo. They belonged to the royal treasurer Esteban Pasamonte, Francisco Tostado, the heirs of Francisco de Tapia, and to secretary Diego Caballero. Additionally, there were "at least" 700 Africans, 200 Indians, and 150 Spaniards living together in this region, "for it is the most populous river that there is at present on this island." Altogether, there were five ingenios on the Río Nigua, with clerics residing on the two main ones.
11. There were three other ingenios on the Río Nigua that were approximately ten leagues from Santo Domingo. They belonged to Lope de Bardecí, Alonso de Avila, and the heirs of Miguel de Pasamonte. The rivers of Paya, Baní, and Iguare were also nearby, "all of which is very heavily populated," with 70 Spaniards, 250 Africans, and "some Indians." The people there raised cattle and sheep in addition to cultivating sugarcane.
12. The ingenios called Orcia and Capecipi were both on the Río Ocoa, sixteen leagues from Santo Domingo. The first belonged to Licenciado Alonso Orcia, who was an oidor on the audiencia. It had 12 Spaniards, 90 Africans, and "some Indians." Capecipi, which belonged to Secretary Diego Caballero, had 10 Spaniards and 80 Africans. No other haciendas or populations were nearby.

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Data from AGI, Justicia 12, 149, fols. 10v-15; full text in José Luis Sáez, *La iglesia y el esclavo negro en Santo Domingo: Una historia de tres siglos* (Santo Domingo: Patronato de la Ciudad Colonial de Santo Domingo, Colección Quinto Centenario, 1994), 267-72.

#### *Alonso de Fuenmayor's Census of 1545*

- ✦ Sanate, founded by Juan de Villoria, twenty-four leagues east of Santo Domingo at the edge of the village of Higüey, had 27 Africans and 30 Indians. (Oviedo wrote that Sanate was owned in 1536 by Villoria's widow, doña Aldonza de Acevedo. Probably the same ingenio as item 1 in the census above.)

- ✧ An ingenio named Quiabón on the Río Quiabón, twenty-four leagues east of Santo Domingo in the jurisdiction of Seybo (which is quite likely the ingenio in item 2, which Avila called Las Trejos), was founded by Melchor de Castro and Hernando de Caraval. It was “well built, has good profits, and is well situated,” and had “more than 200 Negroes and 200 Indians.”
- ✧ A “powerful” ingenio named Casuy on the river of the same name, in the province of Seybo, eleven leagues north of Santo Domingo, was founded by Juan de Villoria and was now owned by his brother-in-law Gerónimo de Agüero. Casuy had “50 Negroes but more than 200 Indians.” (Probably built in the region that Avila called the rivers Cocomagua and Cacay, where there were no ingenios in 1533, but a large mixed population of over 700 persons, or this is the ingenio called Sancti Espíritus in 1533—see items 3 and 4.)
- ✧ The ingenio Cañaboba, on the Río Hayna just three leagues from Santo Domingo, owned by Admiral Luis Colón, had 215 Africans and 300 Indians. It had been moved from a site that was four leagues from the capital, where the ingenio had been called Nueva Isabela. (In Davila’s day, the admiral’s ingenio was called La Isabela—item 5—and was on the Río Ibuca, five leagues from the capital. The family, therefore, kept moving it closer and closer to Santo Domingo.)
- ✧ The unnamed ingenio owned by the *veedor* (supervisor) Pedro Vázquez de Mella and Estevan Justinian Ginovés on the Río Hayna, four and one-half leagues from Santo Domingo, had 100 Africans and 80 Indians. (Vázquez may have taken Ginoves on as a partner after the 1533 census and may have relocated the ingenio in item 7 one and one-half leagues farther upriver.)
- ✧ An ingenio in Itabo, four leagues from Santo Domingo, owned by *veedor* Francisco de Tapia, had 93 Africans and 210 Indians. (This may be the ingenio in item 10 that belonged to the heirs of Franciso, but it is more likely to be item 8, the ingenio founded by Cristóbal de Tapia.)
- ✧ An ingenio on the Río Nigua, near where it emptied into the sea, four and one-half leagues from Santo Domingo, was “one of the biggest and richest on the island.” It belonged to Diego Caballero de la Rosa (regidor, contador, and secretary

- of the audiencia) and had 310 Africans and 50 Indians. (Probably the ingenio in item 10.)
- ✧ Santa Isabel, also on the Río Nigua, upriver from Caballero’s and five leagues from Santo Domingo, was owned by the scribe Francisco Tostado. It had 70 Africans and 130 Indians. (Probably one of the ingenios in item 10.)
- ✧ Seven leagues from Santo Domingo on the Río Nigua was an ingenio named San Cristóbal for the father of the founders, the brothers Miguel and Esteban Pasamonte. It had 207 Africans and 300 Indians. (Could be one of the ingenios in either item 10 or item 11.)
- ✧ An ingenio owned by the heirs of Miguel de Pasamonte on the Río Nigua eight leagues from Santo Domingo, “which is one of the best ever built on this island,” had 80 Africans and 300 Indians. (Could be one of those listed in item 10 or item 11 but most likely the former.)
- ✧ Eight and one-half leagues from Santo Domingo on the Río Nigua was an ingenio owned by the contador Alonso de Avila with 200 Africans and 352 Indians. (Oviedo wrote that in 1536, it was owned by Avila’s heirs, his sister, and Esteban Davila. Probably one of the ingenios in item 11.)
- ✧ Nine leagues from Santo Domingo on the Río Nigua was an ingenio owned by Lope de Baldesia, who boxed his sugar using a kind of balsa wood called *champanes* that grew at the river’s mouth. It had 95 Africans and 80 Indians. (Possibly the ingenio listed in item 11 as belonging to Lope de Bardecí.)
- ✧ An ingenio belonging to the oidor Alonzo de Zuazo on the Río Ocoa, sixteen leagues from Santo Domingo. He bought it from Diego Basán. It had 150 Africans and 200 Indians. (Oviedo wrote that in 1536 it belonged to Zuazo’s heirs, his widow doña Felipa, and his two daughters, Leonor and Emerenciana. Possibly the ingenio in item 12 listed as belonging to Orcia.)
- ✧ The ingenio Cepi Cepin on the river of the same name, twenty leagues from Santo Domingo, belonged to Diego Caballero de Rosas. It had “no more than” 70 Africans and 365 Indians.<sup>78</sup> (The ingenio is most likely the same one in item 12 called Capecipi by Avila.)

- ✧ An ingenio that was “very useful and well made,” ten leagues from Santo Domingo, was founded by the oidor don Cristóval Lebron. Called Arbolgordo, it had 193 Africans and 208 Indians. (See item 9.)

Data from Luis Joseph Peguero, *Historia de la conquista de la Isla Española de Santo Domingo trasumptada el año de 1762: Traducida de la historia general de las Indias escrita por Antonio de Herrera coronista mayor de su magestad, y de las Indias, y de Castilla; y de otros autores que han escrito sobre el particular* (Santo Domingo: Publicaciones del Museo de Las Casas Reales, 1975; orig. pub. 1763), 217–21.

*The following ingenios appear on the 1545 census, but not on the 1533 census:*

- ✧ Eight leagues from Santo Domingo on the Río Nigua was an ingenio founded by the royal factor Juan Ampíes called Yamán (Oviedo said it was owned in 1536 by Ampíes’s widow, doña Florencia de Avila Yamán). It also produced cacao and had 110 Africans and 500 Indians. (Either it was right next to the ingenio owned by the heirs of Miguel de Pasamonte, above, and the ingenio called Pedergal, below, or the distance given from Santo Domingo was in error—all three are listed as being eight leagues from Santo Domingo on the Río Nigua.)
- ✧ Eight leagues from Santo Domingo on the Río Nigua was an ingenio called Pedergal owned by Bachiller Antonio de Fuenmayor. It had 114 Africans and 218 Indians.
- ✧ Jacomé de Castellon had an ingenio with “one of the best rents on the island,” twenty-three leagues from Santo Domingo on the outskirts of Azua. It had 83 Africans and 98 Indians. (Oviedo wrote that it was owned in 1536 by Castellon’s widow doña Francisca de Isásaga, and his sons.)
- ✧ Also in Azua, twenty-four leagues from Santo Domingo, was an ingenio belonging to Hernando Gorjón, which was “worth a lot.” It had 214 Africans and 170 Indians, “plus 40 more” Africans “in the capital,” working in the manufacturing shop called La casa y estudio general.
- ✧ The clergyman don Alonso de Peralta, a vecino of the village of Azua who was at the Cathedral of Santo Domingo in 1545, founded a trapiche there that was now owned by Bachiller

- Gonzalo de Velloso (the surgeon who had been in partnership with the Tapia brothers). It had 136 Africans and 28 Indians.
- ✧ Another trapiche in Azua was owned by Martín García, “a very honorable man and one of the richest on the island.” It had 97 Africans and 110 Indians.
- ✧ “A powerful ingenio” forty leagues from Santo Domingo, in the village of San Juan de la Maguana, was owned by the heirs of a vecino from there named Juan de León, who had been “in the company of the Belgian Germans.” It had 92 Africans and 25 Indians.
- ✧ Another ingenio in San Juan de la Maguana, on the Río Neiba, was called La Compañía. It was founded by Pedro de Vadillo, royal secretary Pedro de Ledesma, and Bachiller Moreno, who were “rich, putting a large force of 300” Africans “and some few Indians” to work on it. La Compañía also had “a herd of 3,000 cows to maintain it.”
- ✧ An ingenio on the Río Yuca, two leagues north of Santo Domingo, was founded by the licenciados Antonio Serrano and Francisco de Prados and was now owned by contador Diego Savallo. It “paid good rents” and had 80 Africans and 40 Indians.
- ✧ A “large ingenio” founded by the oidor Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón and Francisco de Savallos in the city of Puerta Plata, forty-five leagues north of Santo Domingo, was “a very beautiful hacienda,” with 225 Africans and 200 Indians.
- ✧ Another ingenio “with good rents” was founded in Puerto Plata by don Diego de Morales and Pedro de Barrionuevo. It had 114 Africans and 138 Indians.
- ✧ A horse-driven trapiche in Puerto Plata was founded by Francisco de Barrionuevo (who by 1545 was governor of Castilla del Oro, in today’s Panama). It had 70 Africans and 300 Indians.
- ✧ Another trapiche in Puerto Plata, “the largest milled by horses,” was “very well provided for.” It was founded by Sancho Monasterio and Juan de Aguilar and had 60 Africans and 110 Indians.
- ✧ An ingenio in Bonaó, nineteen leagues from Santo Domingo, also grew cacao. It was founded by Miguel Jover, Sebastián de Fonte, and Hernando Carrion and had 32 Africans and 183 Indians.





## NOTES

1. The Spanish word *ingenio*, which literally means “ingenious,” initially referred to the water-powered or animal-powered machinery that was used to press the juice from the sugarcane. By the time the processes were imported to Hispaniola, however, the phrase *ingenio azucarero*, or the word *ingenio* alone, had come to encompass not only the mill but the entire complex of lands, buildings, equipment, and workers devoted to sugar’s growth, harvest, and production.
2. Letter from *oidores* (judges on the high court) Grajeda and Zorita to the Spanish Emperor, October 16, 1547, transcribed in Fray Cipriano de Utrera, *Polémica de Enriqueillo* (Santo Domingo: Editora del Caribe, 1973), 483; originally from Archivo General de India (AGI), Audiencia de Santo Domingo 49.
3. Jane Landers, “Maroon Ethnicity and Identity in Ecuador, Colombia, and Hispaniola” (paper presented at the annual Latin American Studies Association conference, Miami, March 2000. <<http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/Lasa2000/Landers.PDF>>
4. Utrera, *Polémica de Enriqueillo*, 483; originally AGI, Justicia 76.
5. José Antonio Saco, *Historia de la esclavitud de la raza africana en el nuevo mundo y en especial en los países américo-hispánicos* (Havana: Cultural, 1932), 2: 14–15.
6. Report to the Spanish Crown, March 7, 1548, from Hispaniola’s governor Alonso López de Cerrato, in Roberto Martí, ed., *Santo Domingo en los manuscritos de Juan Bautista Muñoz* (Santo Domingo: Ediciones Fundación García-Arévalo, 1981), 420–21.
7. See app. 5 of Esteban Mira Caballos, *El Indio Antillano: Repartimiento, encomienda y esclavitud (1492–1542)* (Seville, ALFIL, 1997), 400–401.
8. One arroba is equivalent to 25 pounds or approximately 11.5 kilograms. Lorenzo E. López and Sebastián Justo L. del Río Moreno, “Comercio y transporte en la economía del azúcar Antillano durante el siglo XVI,” *Anuario de estudios hispanoamericanos* 49 (1992): 83–84.
9. As the closest approximation to the Spanish racial category of *indio*, the term *Indian* is employed here and elsewhere when appropriate. The encomienda system arose in Spain and was brought to the Americas with Christopher Columbus in the 1490s (emanating out of Hispaniola as the conquest spread), where it was first known as *repartimiento*, from the Spanish verb meaning “to divide up.” Queen Isabella wrote in a royal *cédula* (writ) dated December 20, 1503, in Medina del Campo, that the

- system prevented the Taíno Indians from “going about as vagabonds without wanting to be indoctrinated [into the Catholic faith] nor to work on the land nor in the mines.” AGI, Indiferente General 418, L1, fols. 121v–22; full text available in Martí, *Manuscritos de Juan Bautista Muñoz*, 52–53. In theory, the encomienda system was mutually beneficial. Groups of people like the Taíno, who were considered to be too naïve to make important decisions on their own, were commended to the care of a Spanish male, their *encomendero*. In exchange for taking care of them and making sure that they learned how to live as proper Christians, the commended Indians were forced to give tribute or to labor for their *encomendero* in the mines, construction, agriculture, and any other work he required of them. Many scholars equate the encomienda system with slavery, but *encomenderos* did not purchase their Indians—the Spanish crown commended the Indians to their care—and could not sell them, though the crown could take them away and commend them to another Spaniard at will. For the initial development of the encomienda system, see Robert S. Chamberlain, *Castilian Background of the Repartimiento-Encomienda System* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institute, 1939). See also Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* and *The First Social Experiments in America: A Study in the Development of Spanish Indian Policy in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935); José Antonio Saco, *Historia de la esclavitud de los indios en el nuevo mundo* (Havana: Cultural, 1932); Lesley Byrd Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain: The Beginning of Spanish Mexico* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966); Luis Arranz Márquez, *Repartimientos y encomiendas en la isla Española (El repartimiento de Albuquerque de 1514)* (Santo Domingo: Fundación García-Arévalo, 1991); Carlos Esteban Deive, *La Española y la esclavitud del Indio* (Santo Domingo: Fundación García-Arévalo, 1995); Esteban Mira Caballos, *El indio antillano: Repartimiento, encomienda y esclavitud (1492–1542)* (Seville: Ediciones ALFIL, July 1997); Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi, *Los Dominicos y las encomiendas de indios de la Isla Española* (Santo Domingo: Editora del Caribe, 1971).
10. Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereafter AGI), Indiferente General 421, L12, fol. 116v; Indiferente General 195, L1, fol. 9. See also Indiferente General 421, L11, fols. 300–303. Text published in *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas en Ultramar* (hereafter CDIU) (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico, 1885–1932), 5(9):248–56.
  11. Martí, *Manuscritos de Juan Bautista Muñoz*, 331–32.

12. See *CDIU*, 17:23–31. This document is a long list of many of the licenses for “discovery and conquest” in the Indies that were issued by the Spanish crown through the 1560s.
13. Martí, *Manuscritos de Juan Bautista Muñoz*, 413–14.
14. López and del Río Moreno, “Comercio y transporte en la economía del azúcar Antillano durante el siglo XVI,” 83–84. The best summary of the origins of the sugar industry on Hispaniola is Mervyn Ratekin, “The Early Sugar Industry in Española,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 34, no. 1 (1954): 1–19.
15. William F. Keegan estimates nearly twenty-six thousand Taínos were carried to Hispaniola from the Bahamas in 1510, which was depopulated by 1513. *The People Who Discovered Columbus: The Prehistory of the Bahamas* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1992), 221–23.
16. The Spaniards labeled the Indians “weak” because of their susceptibility to disease. For more details, see Noble David Cook, “Disease and the Depopulation of Hispaniola, 1492–1518,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 2, nos. 1–2 (1993): 213–45; see N. David Cook and W. George Lovell, “Unraveling the Web of Disease,” in *Secret Judgements of God: Old World Disease in Colonial Spanish America*, ed. N. David Cook and W. George Lovell (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 213–42; Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) and *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1972); William M. Denevan, ed., *Native Population of the Americas in 1492* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1976); John W. Verano and Douglas H. Ubelaker, “Health and Disease in the Pre-Columbian World,” in *Seeds of Change*, ed. Herman Viola and Carolyn Margolis (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 209–23.
17. Indians who were designated as cannibals were subject to enslavement, which included all of those of the Lesser Antilles and most of the Central and South American coasts. Any Indians who resisted Spanish dominion were also subject to enslavement. In an attempt to appease those who opposed the enslavement of the Indians, in 1513 a new legal document and procedure called *El requerimiento* (The Requirement) was created by a committee of scholars, theologians, and jurists led by Dr. Juan López de Palacios Rubios. See Lynne Guitar, “The Requirement,” in *Historical Encyclopedia of World Slavery*, ed. Junius P. Rodriguez (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 1997), 2:545; Lewis Hanke, “The ‘Requerimiento’ and its Interpreters,” *Revista de historia de América* 1 (1938): 25–34;

- Patricia Seed, “The Requirement,” in *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe’s Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995). For Caribbean and circum-Caribbean permits to enslave “cannibals,” see, for example, AGI, Indiferente General 418, L3, fol. 211v and fols. 213–14v, dated December 23, 1511 and December 24, 1511, respectively; AGI, Indiferente General 41, L1, fols. 131v–32, December 24, 1511. For Indian slave permits relating to Central America, see AGI, Indiferente General 420, L10, fols. 243r–v. For Mexico, see Roberto Cassá, *Historia social y económica de la República Dominicana*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Santo Domingo: Editora Alfa y Omega, 1992), 1:54. For Brazil, see AGI, Indiferente General 420, L8, fols. 177r–78r. For Florida, see AGI, Indiferente General 419, fols. 245r–v.
18. In the appendixes to her study of Haitian culture, the late anthropologist Maya Deren used the concept of “cultural convergence” to explain the similarities among the many different African and Indian peoples, noting that it was precisely those points of their customs and beliefs that were most alike that have survived in strong measure on the island through the present day. Maya Deren, *Divine Horsemen: The Living Gods of Haiti* (New York: McPherson, 1991; orig. pub 1953).
19. Ladinos were acculturated Africans, or people of African descent, who had been baptized, had Spanish names, and had adapted to Spanish customs. They are often indistinguishable from Spaniards in the historical records.
20. José Antonio Saco, *Historia de la esclavitud de la raza africana en el nuevo mundo y en especial en los países américo-hispánicos*, 2 vols. (Havana: Cultural, 1938), 1:97; *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Ibero-América* (hereafter *CDIA*) (Madrid: Compañía Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, 1925–37), 5:43–45. See also royal response to Ovando in Martí, *Manuscritos de Juan Bautista Muñoz*, 48–50.
21. Royal letter dated March 10, 1504, to the officials of the Casa de Contratación. Martí, *Manuscritos de Juan Bautista Muñoz*, 54. Carlos Esteban Deive found documentation indicating that the first *bozales* (slaves brought directly from Africa) who were sent to Hispaniola to work the royal gold mines arrived in early 1505. They were a group of seventeen, he says, purchased in Lisbon but brought directly there from Guinea by the Portuguese. Carlos Esteban Deive, *Los guerrilleros negros: Esclavos fugitivos y cimarrones en Santo Domingo* (Santo Domingo: Fundación Cultural Dominicana, 1997). Mira Caballos has listed information about all royal licenses issued for slaves going to Hispaniola and Puerto Rico in *El Indio antillano*, app. 5, 400–401. See also *CDIA*,

- 6:129–33, in which the crown suggested that the African slaves be offered the incentive of a percentage of the gold they mined, with which they could eventually purchase their freedom. There are no extant documents, however, to indicate that any slaves on Hispaniola achieved their freedom in this manner. Mira Caballos has listed all licenses for slaves that are on file in the AGI.
22. In a series of *interrogatories* in Santo Domingo in June of 1521, dozens of witnesses testified about the monopoly and how the slaves were being shipped “little by little, to gain time so as to sell them at a higher price.” *CDIA*, 1:366–467, question no. 21. Evidence that the full four thousand slaves were not delivered until 1527 or 1528 is the multitude of new licenses that were issued to ship slaves contingent upon the fulfillment of the earlier contract. See cédulas dated February 10, 1526—AGI, Indiferente General 420, L10, fols. 260r–v for one hundred slaves, fols. 260v–61r for fifty, and fols. 261r–v for one hundred; also fols. 290r–v dated March 24, 1526, for one hundred slaves; fols. 297r–98r dated April 12, 1526, for one hundred; fols. 323r–v dated May 5, 1526 (this license is for a woman, María de Vilda, royal seamstress, who was permitted to bring twenty slaves to Hispaniola after Bresa fulfilled his contract); and Indiferente General 421, L11, fols. 5v–6v dated May 16, 1526, for fifty slaves, and fols. 63v–64r dated June 20, 1526, for one thousand slaves.
23. AGI, Indiferente General 421, L13, fols. 98r–100v.
24. Jane Landers noted that even before African slaves left Africa, most had already experienced extensive cultural and ethnic “intermingling.” Jane Landers, “*Cimarrón* Ethnicity and Cultural Adaptation in the Spanish Domains of the Circum-Caribbean, 1503–1763,” in *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy (London and New York: Continuum, 2000), 30.
25. Information from AGI, Justicia 12, N1, R2, as cited in Mira Caballos, *El indio antillano*, 155.
26. An excellent exploration of how differently “ethnicity” was conceptualized in the sixteenth century than it is today is David Eltis, “Ethnicity in the Early Modern Atlantic World,” chapter 9 of *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 224–306.
27. The first census in America with a category for “mestizos” was in Cuba in 1582—ninety years after the Europeans’ arrival. Franklin W. Knight, *The Caribbean: The Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 44–45.

28. AGI, Justicia 12, 149, fols. 10v–15; full text of the census available in José Luis Sáez, ed., *La iglesia y el esclavo negro en Santo Domingo* (Santo Domingo: Patronato de la Ciudad Colonial de Santo Domingo, Colección Quinto Centenario, 1994), 267–72.
29. The data is from Luis Joseph Peguero, *Historia de la conquista de la Isla Española de Santo Domingo Herrera coronista mayor de su magestad, y de las Indias, y de Castilla; y de otros autores que han escrito sobre el particular* (Santo Domingo: Publicaciones del Museo de Las Casas Reales, 1975; orig. pub. 1763), 217–21. Peguero claims to have had access to the document written by Fuenmayor, who began compiling the information when he arrived on Hispaniola for his second term in office on August 3, 1545; but Peguero does not say how or where he encountered the document, which may have been in a private collection. I have not been able to locate it, nor a copy, in the AGI in Seville, Archivo General de la Nación in Santo Domingo, nor in other collections or published sources. Peguero noted that Fuenmayor’s report took the ingenios’ locations and their owners from the 1536 description in Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdez’s *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (originally published in 1535), book 4, chap. 8. Oviedo, however, did not list quantities of workers and he had one additional ingenio listed, called Yaguata, owned by Francisco de Tapia, that Peguero/Fuenmayor did not mention.
30. Fuenmayor, who came to his office directly from Spain, may have been counting everyone on Hispaniola with the least bit of Indian heritage as “Indian,” a precursor of the distinctions that would later be made in all the Spanish American possessions between *peninsulares*, Spaniards born in the Iberian Peninsula, and *criollos*, Spaniards born in the Americas. The implication was that peninsulars were superior because they were “pure” Spanish, whereas all criollos were suspected of having some Indian blood.
31. López, who was in charge of enforcing compliance to the New Laws, informed the emperor that “of the more than five thousand Indian slaves” on the island, none were “the original natives . . . all were brought from elsewhere.” The letter has been cited by other historians as evidence that the native Taínos were extinct by then, but López more likely meant that, to the best of his knowledge, none of the Taínos (who were protected by the New Laws) were among the island’s documented slaves, only those who had been taken legally, in which case the letter was an indication to the crown that López was doing his job. AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo 49, R16, N101; cited in Mira Caballos, *El indio antillano*, 290.
32. See, for example, AGI, Patronato 174, R6 (January 18, 1518) and Patronato 177, N1, R2 (1518, unspecified date).

33. For more details on the 1521 rebellion, see Roberto Cassá and Genaro Rodríguez Morel, "Consideraciones alternativas acerca de las rebeliones de esclavos en Santo Domingo," *Anuario de estudios hispanoamericanos* 51 (1993): 101–31; Deive, *Los guerrilleros negros*, 31–36; Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdéz, *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (Madrid: Gráfica Orbe, 1959; orig. pub. 1535), Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vols. 117–21, book 6, chap. 51.
34. AGI, Patronato 295, no. 104; full text of the ordinances, which were for both the island of Hispaniola and the island of Puerto Rico, where the Colón family also had property and held slaves, can be found in Deive, *Los guerrilleros negros*, 281–89. Note that many historians cite 1528 as the year that the first slave laws were promulgated in the Americas, but Deive has proven them wrong.
35. Deive, "Las ordenanzas sobre esclavos cimarrones de 1522," *Boletín Museo del Hombre Dominicano* 19, no. 25 (1992): 135.
36. See Fray Cipriano de Utrera, "La condición social de los negros en la época colonial," *Eme Eme: Estudios dominicanos* 3, no. 17 (1975): 50–51.
37. Criados were "trusted men," who were frequently servants or slaves of the Spaniard they served. Henceforth, it would take special royal permission, such as the cédula issued in 1536 to Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdéz, *alcalde* of the fortress in Santo Domingo, "to carry with him two Negroes armed with offensive and defensive weapons to accompany him and to go on foot and by horse . . . to guard and to defend his person." AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo 868, L1, fol. 14v.
38. See Philip D. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex: Essays in Atlantic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
39. On September 28, 1532, the crown issued a general prohibition "that no one can bring to the Indies slaves from the island of Gelofe [*sic*] because of their excitable and rebellious spirit." AGI, Indiferente General 1961, L2, fols. 223r–v. The royal order was reinforced April 18, 1534 (L3, fol. 138v), wherein the Casa de Contratación was reminded to enforce compliance to the 1532 cédula prohibiting the passage of Wolofs to the Indies.
40. Carlos Esteban Deive, *La Española y la esclavitud del indio* (Santo Domingo: Fundación García-Arévalo, 1995), 290. Enrique's rebellion lasted until 1534, when the Spanish crown negotiated a treaty with him and his followers. Meanwhile, however, he served as a model for others—many African slaves ran away and joined him, and by 1526, the Taínos had also risen up on Cuba (see AGI, Indiferente General 421, L11, fols. 304v–5r),

- and the Spaniards were at full-blown war on and around Puerto Rico with both Caribes and Taínos, who had formed an alliance (AGI, Indiferente General 421, L13, fols. 31v–32v).
41. See CDIU, 5(9):368–71 and 386–99; 10:55–56, 38–43, and 72–73; AGI, Patronato 231, N4, R2; AGI, Indiferente General 422, L16, fols. 61v–66v (text in CDIU, 10:192–203); Ricardo Konetzke, ed. *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1910* (hereafter *CDHFS*) (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953–62), 138–39.
42. AGI, Indiferente General 1962, L4, fols. 27r–v.
43. Neither idea was original. The recommendations appear over and over in the sixteenth-century documents, but there is little evidence that they were acted upon.
44. Sáez, *La iglesia y el negro esclavo en Santo Domingo*, 230–31.
45. AGI, Indiferente General 420, L10, fol. 350; text in *CDHFS*, 1:81–82; CDIU, 5(9):239–42.
46. CDIU, 10:430–31.
47. The 1528 slave ordinances are detailed in Sáez, *La iglesia y el esclavo negro en Santo Domingo*, 236–49; initially from Archivo Nacional de Cuba, doc. 243, file 3, no. 97a, fols. 24–33. See also Franklin J. Franco, *Los negros, los mulatos y la nación dominicana* (Santo Domingo: Editora Valle, 1989), 20–21; Javier Malagón Barceló, *El código negro o código negro español (Santo Domingo, 1784)* (Santo Domingo: Ediciones de Taller, 1974), 128–37.
48. This despite the fact that in 1526 a joint uprising of native Guales and African slaves imported from Santo Domingo destroyed the Spaniards' first settlement in what would later become the United States of America, San Miguel de Gualdape. Only 150 of the original 500–600 settlers who had left Hispaniola returned, no doubt with horror stories of the Indo-African rebellion. See Paul E. Hoffman, *A New Andalusia and a Way to the Orient: The American Southeast during the Sixteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: University of Louisiana Press, 1990), 76–83.
49. Franco, *Los negros, los mulatos y la nación dominicana*, 19.
50. Fray Cipriano de Utrera, *Historia militar de Santo Domingo (documento y noticias)* (Ciudad Trujillo: n.p., 1950), 1:138.
51. Archdeacon de Castro noted in his report that he had traveled all over the island in his religious capacity, visiting Indians, Spaniards and, presumably, Africans. Martí, *Manuscritos de Juan Bautista Muñoz*, 396–97.

52. Diego Caballero de la Rosato to the Crown, December 5, 1538, in César Cabral Herrera, *Colección César Herrera*, vol. 1, *Junta de procuradores, 1518-1545* (Santo Domingo: Patronato de la Ciudad de Santo Domingo, Talles Isabell la Católica, 1995), 105-28.
53. *Ibid.*
54. See *Boletín del Museo del Hombre Dominicano* 7, no. 10 (1978). Most of the first 160 pages are dedicated to the 1976 excavation at Sanate, which was the first of a planned series to locate and catalog sugar ingenios that were established on Hispaniola through the mid-sixteenth century. The project was organized by the Museo del Hombre Dominicano and funded by the Gulf and Western Americas Corporation; however, funding ran out before the end of the first year. Archaeological investigations were begun at Caballero's ingenio on the Río Nigua, too, investigations that might have shed more light on the living and working conditions there, had there been enough funding. Neither the supervisor's mansion nor the workers' housing area has been studied except to trace some of the foundations. What is even more unfortunate is that the skeletons and other material remains uncovered during the ingenio's brief period of excavation were marked and bagged, but never cataloged nor even sorted, and have since "disappeared," as one of the leading investigators explained in a private interview, March 2000. During a recent visit to the ruins of Caballero's ingenio (June 2001), I photographed evidence that some funding has now been made available—the mill, crystallization buildings, and aqueducts have been partially reconstructed.
55. The oldest university is today's Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo, founded by Dominican friars in 1538 as the Universidad de Santo Tomás de Aquino. Note that many other historians have used the Santiago de la Paz documents over the years. See Robert S. Haskett, "Santiago de la Paz: Anatomy of a Sixteenth-Century Caribbean Sugar Estate," *UCLA Historical Journal* 1 (1980): 51-79—this article contains translations of several of the most important documents related to African slaves on the ingenio; Ursula Lamb, "Cristóbal de Tapia vs. Nicolás de Ovando": *Un fragmento de residencia de 1509*, trans. Eduardo Villanueva, which is included in Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi, *El Pleito Ovando-Tapia: Comienzos de la vida urbana en América* (Santo Domingo: Editora de Caribe, 1978), 20-30; Genaro Rodríguez Morel, "Cartas privadas de Hernando Gorjón," *Anuario de estudios americanos* 52 (1995): 203-33.
56. CDIA, 1:156.

57. AGI, Patronato 173, N1, R8; text in J. Marino Incháustegui, *Reales cédulas y correspondencia de gobernadores de Santo Domingo de la regencia del Cardenal Cisneros en adelante* (Madrid: Colección Histórico-Documental Trujilloniana, 1958), 1:225.
58. AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo 868, L1, fol. 246v, cédula dated June 18, 1540.
59. Incháustegui, *Reales cédulas y correspondencia*, 1:233-58.
60. Marté, *Manuscritos de Juan Bautista Muñoz*, 420-21.
61. *Ibid.*, 418. A *maquila* is a measure of weight (about 125 pounds), used today for corn.
62. Incháustegui, *Reales cédulas y correspondencia*, 1:258-60.
63. For more detail on the "nations" of Africans who were brought to Hispaniola, see Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census and Economic Change in Precolonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975); Carlos Esteban Deive, *Vodú y Magia en Santo Domingo* (Santo Domingo: Fundación Cultural Dominicana, 1972), 88-101; Herbert S. Klein, *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Martin A. Klein, ed., *Peasants in Africa: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1980); Martin A. Klein and G. Wesley Johnson, eds., *Perspectives of the African Past* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972); Carlos Larrazabal Blanco, *Los negros y la esclavitud en Santo Domingo* (Santo Domingo: Julio D. Postigo e Hijos, 1967); Walter Rodney, "Upper Guinea and the Significance of the Origins of Africans Enslaved in the New World," *Journal of Negro History* 54, no. 4 (1969): 327-45 (particularly 328-34); John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
64. Thanks to Jonathan Reynolds, who suggested that the name Javja may have referred to the Hausa language. Open discussion, July 31, 1997, at the SSHRC/UNESCO Identifying Enslaved Africans workshop, York University.
65. Lolita Gutiérrez Brockington found Africans in similar positions of authority on the ranches of New Spain in the 1580s. See her chapter on "Hacienda Slave Labor," in *The Leverage of Labor: Managing the Cortés Hacienda in Tebauntepac, 1588-1688* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1989), 126-42.



66. For more detail, see Haskett, "Santiago de la Paz," 64–68. Stuart B. Schwartz found that in Brazil, African slaves also held most of the positions requiring skill and technical ability, whereas the Indians did mainly fieldwork. He notes this was due, in part, "to Portuguese perceptions of the relative abilities of Africans and Indians." See his "Indian Labor and New World Plantations: European Demands and Indian Responses in Northeastern Brazil," *American Historical Review* 83, no. 1 (1978): 58.
67. Haskett, "Santiago de la Paz," 61.
68. See Catherine C. LeGrand, "Informal Resistance on a Dominican Sugar Plantation during the Trujillo Dictatorship," *ECOS—Organó del Instituto de Historia de la Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo* 4, no. 5 (1996): 141–98.
69. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 49–50, 197.
70. Santiago de la Paz inventory, AGI, Patronato Real 173, no. 1, R8; also in Incháustegui, *Reales cédulas y correspondencia*, 1:233–58.
71. In a similar way, supervisors of sugar ingenios overstated the ages of their slaves so that more deaths could be attributed to natural causes, not abuse or mismanagement. Haskett, "Santiago de la Paz," 70.
72. Martí, *Manuscritos de Juan Bautista Muñoz*, 396–98.
73. AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo 868, L2, fols. 246–47; letter dated November 16, 1546, Martí, *Manuscritos de Juan Bautista Muñoz*, 416–17.
74. Martí, *Manuscritos de Juan Bautista Muñoz*, 401–4; also in Herrera, *Colección César Herrera, Junta de Procuradores*, 129–32. The quantities of gold that Castro reported were 5,087 pesos and three tomines in 1537; 3,568 pesos and two tomines in 1538; 5,425 pesos and one tomin in 1539; 3,943 pesos and four tomines in 1540; 4,947 pesos and six tomines in 1541; and 3,046 pesos in 1542. He also reported that 110,000 arrobas of sugar had been shipped in 1542 and "a small quantity" of *cañafistola*.
75. AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo 868, L2, fol. 204.
76. Martí, *Manuscritos de Juan Bautista Muñoz*, 406–7; also in Utrera, *Historia militar*, 1:384. See also the letter of March 26, 1542, in Martí, *Manuscritos de Juan Bautista Muñoz*, 396–98.
77. July 17, 1546. Martí, *Manuscritos de Juan Bautista Muñoz*, 301.
78. Peguero/Fuenmayor identified these 365 Indians as *indígenas* using the feminine form of the noun, whereas in all the other instances he used the masculine or neutral form. The feminine ending may have been a printing error.

## CHAPTER THREE

Central Africa in the  
Era of the Slave Trade

JOHN K. THORNTON



✚ IN 1604 THE KONGOLESE DIPLOMAT ANTONIO MANUEL STOPPED IN BRAZIL on his way to represent Kongo before the Holy See in Rome. He was a man steeped in European culture: literate, deeply Christian (though he had studied and worshipped for his whole life in Kongo), a diplomat and formerly the head of a church, secretary to various officials, and most recently Marquis of Funta. When he stopped in Spain he would correspond with a wide range of Europeans, Spanish, and Belgian priests, Portuguese nuns, the pope and various kings, all of whom were impressed by him. Although we do not know for sure, he almost certainly crossed the Atlantic on the first leg of his journey on a slave ship. He must have appreciated the horrors of slavery, for among his personal papers is the certificate of freedom of Dom Pedro Manibala, a Kongoles noble whose freedom from slavery he probably arranged while in Brazil. It is quite likely that Dom Pedro was someone much like him, educated in the European sense, probably literate, and perhaps as comfortable as Antonio Manuel in upper-class European society. Both men represent what made Central Africa an unusual contributor to the culture and history of Latin