

THE AFRICAN IN COLONIAL SPANISH AMERICA: REFLECTIONS ON RESEARCH ACHIEVEMENTS AND PRIORITIES

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IN THE LAST FOUR DECADES, FORCES AND EVENTS TOO OBVIOUS AND TOO MENACING for restatement here have prompted a dramatic increase in scholarly investigation of all facets of the African experience in the Western Hemisphere. The study of the black man in colonial Spanish America, which dates from the early seventeenth century, has profited as a matter of course from this development.¹ The bibliography for the colonial period increases with every passing year, and virtually every region of Spanish America, from Hispaniola and Mexico to Argentina and Chile, is represented by at least one scholarly work. Further, continuing scholarly endeavor is certain to increase both the depth and breadth of our knowledge in the immediate future.²

It is clear now, as (surprisingly enough) it was not to many scholars as recently as twenty-five years ago, that slavery was not a monolithic, static institution.³ Rather, within the immense area of Spanish America, marked by sharp variations in climate and topography, and subjected to changing socioeconomic conditions, the servile institution evolved in quite different ways from colony to colony, with profound effects on the way slaves were treated and their chances for freedom. The lot of the urban slave in eighteenth-century Havana was quite different from that of his counterpart in the gold fields of Colombia, and a plantation black in the latter colony viewed the world in yet another light.⁴ Economic and demographic trends interacted to alter radically the tone and importance of slavery through time from area to area. The exuberant economy of eighteenth-century Mexico relied upon a growing Indian and mestizo population, and slavery had been abolished in fact long before its legal death knell sounded.⁵ In Cuba, on the other hand, the somnolence of centuries gave way in the 1790s to an explosive sugar boom, the massive importation of blacks, and a servile institution of unparalleled rigor.⁶ Even the degree of economic decline seems to have been an important determinant of relations between master and slave. For example, the suspension of the galleon trade between Spain and America in the eighteenth century greatly lessened the economic importance of Panama, and forced that colony to rely on agriculture and lumbering for survival, but slavery during the same period declined to insignificance.⁷ In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, New Granada likewise experienced economic difficulties, and international conflicts made slaves hard to come by, but here slaveholders seem to have clung to the institution all the more tightly, exacerbating relationships with their black charges.⁸

A handful of Latin American regions await the student of slavery (*e.g.*, coastal Ecuador), and other areas that have yet to be examined for certain time periods, such

as eighteenth-century Peru,⁹ but recent research accomplishments in general deserve applause and appreciation. However, various accounts of the black man in colonial Spanish America are still being written by authors who have never seen the portals of an archive, and whose efforts consist largely of quotations from travel accounts, ceremonial references to the useful but dated work of José Antonio Saco,¹⁰ and detailed summaries of the *Siete Partidas*, the *Recopilación*, and the Spanish slave code of 1789, all topped off by local legislation framed by governors and town councils.¹¹ To a certain extent, this legalistic repetitiveness is inevitable. Every student of Spanish American slavery must necessarily set his findings against the background of relevant legislation, but there are concomitant obligations. First, the scholar must make clear to the reader that the thirteenth-century *Partidas*, while influential in the formulation of colonial legislation, were a compilation of legal and moral principles rather than a body of living law.¹² Ostensibly, the legislation contained in the *Recopilación* had the force of law, but in fact this compilation was a faltering and desperate attempt to make some sense out of the Spanish crown's penchant for casuistic, particularistic, and therefore often contradictory decrees. It must further be observed that the *Recopilación* was completed in 1680, and thus does not reflect legislation issued after that date.¹³ As for the widely-admired 1789 slave code, the most recent study of this decree indicates that its promulgation was dictated as much by economic considerations as by humanitarianism. Further, even the moderately humane aspects of the code were so bitterly opposed by American slaveholders as to make the document a dead letter.¹⁴ This is not to say that legislation concerning the black population cannot be analyzed with profit. For example, the slave code projected in 1784 for Hispaniola by Don Agustín de Emparán y Orbe, so competently discussed by Juan B. de Quiroz, probably offers a more frank insight into the enlightened thinking of Bourbon bureaucrats than the decree of 1789.¹⁵ Similarly, crown attorneys (*fiscales*) who appeared before the high judicial tribunals (*audiencias*) were accustomed to justify their legal opinions in *libros de pareceres*. It is not known how many of the books have survived, and their employment may not have been mandatory. The present writer's researches for Peru have discovered only one,¹⁶ but if a sufficient number exist, an analysis of the arguments they contain in cases concerning the black population might prove most instructive with regard to the evolution of Spanish legal thought as applied to slavery. A profitable alternative would be close scrutiny on an extensive scale of the arguments employed by the various lawyers, and the judicial decisions rendered, in cases where slaves were involved. Norman A. Meiklejohn has completed a study of this sort for eighteenth-century New Granada which indicates that in that colony much Spanish slave legislation, far from being a mere expression of pious intent, was slowly and steadily amplified in favor of the black population.¹⁷ In short, we still have much to learn from legal research, but the standard codifications, while they must be mastered and employed by the historian where appropriate, can no longer be used as the equivalent of archival investigation.

The comparative study of American slave systems has also attracted much scholarly attention in recent decades. The late Frank Tannenbaum began this trend in 1947 with the publication of his book, *Slave and Citizen*.¹⁸ Comparing the unhappy relations between the races in his own country with the racial harmony of Latin

America (especially Brazil), Tannenbaum sought an explanation for these different legacies in the experience of slavery. He concluded that the Iberian slave had been better treated than his Anglo-Saxon counterpart, that the "moral personality" of the former had been recognized, thereby facilitating manumission and assimilation, while the latter had been reduced almost to a chattel. He assigned these divergent developments to long Iberian acquaintance with slavery and to the institutional presence of state and church, which encouraged liberal treatment through moral suasion and efficient enforcement of legislation, much of it protective. The Anglo-Saxons, on the other hand, were strangers to slavery prior to the age of colonization, and institutional arrangements were weak; thus the slaveholders called the tune. What legislation existed concerning the slaves was repressive, and manumission was frowned upon. The black man was trapped at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder, and assimilation was slow and painful at best.

These provocative conclusions were not long in stimulating heated and frequently enlightening debate. The controversy has been ably summarized elsewhere,¹⁹ and here we need only indicate its broad outlines. Writing at a time when research concerning Latin American slave systems was in its infancy, Tannenbaum's documentation was somewhat sparse and legalistic in nature, thereby presenting, as David Brion Davis observes, a static picture of the servile institution, which has subsequently been disproved.²⁰ Stanley M. Elkins has provocatively used Tannenbaum's assertions for Latin America as a sort of foil-in-reverse in his discussion of slavery in the South, and those who have rejected the contentions of the former author tend to be critical of the latter as well.²¹ Marvin Harris, in his *Patterns of Race in the Americas*, criticizes Tannenbaum for his lack of attention to the economic underpinnings of the various American slave societies, but Genovese, while admitting the defect, has skillfully argued that Tannenbaum's recognition of "the ideological and psychological elements in the formation of social classes" can be fused with Marxian economics to explain the differences in American slave systems and their legacies. In Genovese's words, Tannenbaum intended "to open, not close, the discussion of an enormously complicated subject,"²² and in that intention he brilliantly succeeded.

This scholarly debate depends for its continued vitality upon fresh infusions of data and concepts; these, given the current surge of interest, will almost certainly be forthcoming. The controversy could also benefit from a greater admixture of Spanish American evidence. To date, much of the discussion has centered around the United States, Brazil, and (less frequently) Cuba, and so it should be; these were the three most important centers of slavery, and they have properly received the most attention in terms of research and generalization. However, slavery was an important institution elsewhere in Spanish America, and it cannot be presumed that the Cuban example was typical. Further, there has been a general tendency to regard Spanish American and Brazilian practices and attitudes as more or less identical, but this assumption may also have its blind spots. With a view toward forwarding the comparative debate while simultaneously advancing monographic research concerning the African in colonial Spanish America, let us explore some of the major problems deserving more attention.

Few fields of inquiry ever proceed along the lines which their practitioners

would consider logical. In the first place, agreement among experts is difficult to attain, and the progress of research can never be divorced from practical difficulties, such as financing and released time from teaching, especially for investigation and travel abroad. It is one thing to exhort one's colleagues to efforts in a certain direction, but often quite another to suggest the means by which to implement the goals. Ideally, the African in colonial Spanish America could best be studied by a two-pronged approach which, in accordance with the problem at hand, would alternate or combine broad synthesis with minute archival research. In addition, one would hope for a growing appreciation of masters, slaves, and free "blacks"²³ as individuals, for a recognition of the element of free will which both Tannenbaum and his critics have largely ignored in favor of the anonymous workings of institutions.²⁴ The three emphases cannot, of course, be given equal weight in the approach to every specific problem, but, where appropriate, each might considerably enlarge our knowledge.

Taking up first the question of the ethnic origins of African slaves, it has been known for centuries that the Spanish favored slaves of Western Sudanese stock, the so-called "negros de Guinea," over their counterparts from the Congo and Angola regions.²⁵ Modern scholars have also concerned themselves with the question of ethnic origin, but little effort has been made to go beyond recording the proportions of the various groups.²⁶ We also know that many African ethnic groups, at least in the urban areas of Spanish America, maintained a considerable degree of cohesion and identification, and organized, with official sanction, religious confraternities and more secular mutual-aid societies.²⁷ With the growth of an American-born black population, it became progressively more difficult for these organizations to stress ethnicity, and they slowly disappeared. During their heyday, we know most about the public side of these *cofradías* and *cabildos*, which played a prominent part in most colonial religious festivals, joined in the processions, and performed various charitable activities to help both their members and the poor in general. It would be interesting to know the extent to which such organizations attempted to secure, if slowly, the freedom of their members through purchase. In any event, they were no doubt instrumental for a time in preserving certain features of African culture and even language, but at the same time more or less closely tied to the Church, these groups operated as a force for assimilation. Additional research in ecclesiastical and notarial records might serve to delineate further the ceremonial and charitable functions of these organizations and provide a truer notion of their importance. Whatever the result, the investigations of Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán and Manuel Tejado Fernández in the voluminous documentation of the Holy Office indicate that the influence of the Church, both within the *cofradía* and without, was insufficient to prevent the superstitions of the African from mingling with those of the Spaniard and the Indian in patterns which deserve further study.²⁸

Investigation into the significance of ethnicity at the individual level would be potentially of even greater value, but it is also time-consuming, expensive, of uncertain reward, and perhaps best attempted with the assistance of an African ethnographer. We begin with the proposition that the Spanish favored certain African ethnic groups for real or supposed skills and characteristics, both physical and mental.

Did the *bozal*, as a slave fresh off the boat from Africa was called, know how to weave, how to work metals and woods, how to herd livestock? Was the female slave attractive, presumably an important consideration in an age noted for Afro-Spanish concubinage?²⁹ Was the black of a "nation" considered docile or rebellious, healthy or prone to sickness? It may never be possible to establish the accuracy of these value judgments as they applied to the African ethnic groups, but they were vivid realities in the minds of many Spaniards, who did not hesitate to put their money where their mouths were and pay considerably more money for preferred "Guinea" blacks.³⁰ Bills of sale scrupulously recorded the origins of the purchased slaves, and if occasionally these references are too vague to be useful (for example, only the name of a port of embarkation on the African coast), most are specific, and there seems to be little reason to doubt their general accuracy.³¹ The difficult question to answer is: could the African slave in the fullness of time turn the presumed advantages of his ethnic origin to his *own* account? To what extent, for example, did skills acquired in Africa translate into apprenticeship and eventual artisan status in Spanish America, with perhaps the subsequent opportunity for the individual to purchase his own freedom with a portion of his wages?³² Female slaves of ethnic groups who were physically attractive to the Spanish sometimes profited from their allure to secure better treatment and even freedom, and the process of race mixture between these slaves and the whites undoubtedly produced physical types of such attractiveness that their fathers could not withhold freedom and favor.³³ As yet, however, we have no firm idea of the relative frequency of such actions.

Only archival research of the most massive and painstaking nature will ever resolve these questions, and, indeed, the answers may never be had. Since urban blacks seem to have had greatest access to opportunity,³⁴ an investigation along these lines would be most feasible for such centers as Havana and Lima, with their large slave populations. Letters of manumission, wills, and apprenticeship contracts would have to be examined for a period of (say) fifty years at five-year intervals, or even less if possible, on a scale presumed to be representative of the total slave population. To be meaningful, the sample would have to be taken for a period when the slave trade was bringing a wide variety of African ethnic groups to the area, and this fact would have to be established through bills of sale or other importation data. A formidable obstacle to the success of such an investigation is the fact that the Spanish applied a limited number of Christian first names to an equally limited number of ethnic groups.³⁵ As a result, the investigator will encounter many "Juan Angolas" and "María Bifararás" in his sample. To remedy this difficulty, particular attention will have to be paid to the names of the Spanish masters who figure in these documents, to be sure that the Juan Angola who is mentioned in an apprenticeship contract in one year is the same black who purchases his freedom ten years later. The investigator who attempts such painstaking research may well be rewarded with inconclusive results; but if it could be demonstrated that particular skills or characteristics were rewarded in the Americas, then the word "African" would lose some of its present anonymity, and our knowledge of slavery and the assimilative process would be enriched.

It is generally recognized that the lot of the urban slave was considered better

Latin American Research Review

than that of his rural counterpart. Urban slavery above all else meant household service or employment as a skilled laborer, the opportunity to ingratiate oneself with the master and thereby perhaps eventually gain freedom through generosity or self-purchase. The slave artisans in particular, in the words of James Lockhart, "were at the top of the ladder in the slave world . . . with a certain measure of intrinsic freedom."³⁶ A skilled urban slave might move about almost at will, living and hiring himself out as he chose as long as he remitted the agreed-upon portion of his wages to the master. Only in the urban areas did the slave population possess both the leisure and the economic advantages necessary to form *cabildos* and *cofradías*. In short, urban slaves were in a position to learn of the Spanish world and its ways, and to use their knowledge to advantage.

If, in general, the urban slave led a more favored life than his rural brother, we may acknowledge some exceptions. One of these would seem to have been the conditions that prevailed in the placer mines of Colombia. There, if life was rude, the slaves were at least permitted to work the mines on their own account on Sundays and other religious holidays. In this fashion, many slaves were able to accumulate enough money to purchase their freedom, and by the end of the colonial period a sizeable percentage of the black labor force were free men. Similarly, blacks on the Venezuelan cacao plantations were allowed in their spare time to cultivate small stands of the trees, apply the money toward their liberty, and retain the plot after manumission.³⁷ Nevertheless, the treatment accorded plantation slaves remains something of an enigma.³⁸ Generalizations concerning day-to-day living conditions, the opportunities for marriage and family, and the influence of organized religion are difficult to formulate. We know that the crown's intentions in these regards were relatively benign, but the blunt fact is that the Spanish government was never willing to spend the money necessary to effectively govern the countryside. Administration there remained in the hands of men variously titled *alcaldes mayores*, *corregidores*, and *subdelegados*, and these officials were miserably paid and therefore venal of necessity.³⁹ It is highly unlikely that men of this quality were tempted to challenge the will of powerful slaveholders except in the most extreme circumstances. Consequently, there is every reason to believe that the master called the tune in the countryside, and thus, in accordance with his benevolence, miserliness, or sadism, did the slaves live. Some rural blacks were no doubt decently fed, clothed, and housed, while others were not; all were perhaps harshly disciplined by our standards, and some sadistically so. Many rural slaves were, in all probability, permitted to marry and maintain the sanctity of the family; others were doubtless allowed no more than the precarious pleasures of concubinage, and saw their offspring sold at the master's convenience. In any event, male opportunities for marriage, as perhaps distinct from sexual gratification, were limited by the preponderance of males over females.⁴⁰ With regard to the spiritual welfare of the rural slave (as the Spanish would have defined the term), the picture seems equally mixed. In some areas, where the slave population was heavy, masters seem to have pooled their resources to employ circuit priests; in others, blacks no doubt made do with what fragments of their African traditions had survived the Atlantic crossing. In a population of mixed ethnic origins, these

traditions necessarily fused, supplemented here and there by Catholic influences.⁴¹

There are other aspects of the Spanish American plantation system and its relation to the slave population which await exploration. Indeed, detailed studies of the Spanish American plantation are in their infancy, and the several fine monographs which have appeared concern holdings belonging to institutions.⁴² As interesting as these accounts are, what we really need are studies of plantations that belonged to individual masters. Until now, it has been generally assumed that the findings of such diverse scholars as Gilberto Freyre and Stanley Stein for Brazil held true for Spanish America as well: the planter, whether a benevolent patriarch or a withdrawn figure glimpsed on his verandah and occasionally witnessed at closer range on horseback, did at least reside on his estate.⁴³ It remains to be seen, however, if this assumption holds true for Spanish America. The Spanish preferred to live in towns, and the agriculturists among them shared this propensity. Fragmentary evidence indicates that landholders took an active interest in their estates and in the affairs of the surrounding region, but they did not live on the lands they worked. Some Spanish American "big houses" may have been palatial, but many more seem to have been rude affairs at best, and often in the most alarming state of disrepair. Landholders visited their estates from time to time, but employed majordomos to handle routine administration.⁴⁴ This is not the same type of absenteeism which prevailed in British Jamaica,⁴⁵ for example, and many planters of modest means may have been forced to live on their estates.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, if the pattern of absenteeism outlined above holds true in the main, then the lot of the rural slave was indeed unfortunate. Spanish American majordomos and overseers appear to have been a rather unsavory lot who, at best, took a dim view of their charges and rarely praised their work to the master.⁴⁷ Perhaps in consequence, landholders, who could not under the circumstances have known many of their slaves well, seem to have granted voluntary manumission to few of them.⁴⁸

In any event, much more research needs to be accomplished before this pattern of absenteeism, and its effects on the slave population, can be confidently asserted for Spanish America as a whole. Plantation inventories and the wills of their owners should prove particularly useful in this connection. The former were routinely taken by Spanish officials on the death of a landholder if it appeared that the estate would have to be divided among several heirs, and are frequently to be located in the litigation which often accompanied the division.⁴⁹ These inventories usually indicate the presence or absence of a majordomo and give some idea of the size and condition of the plantation "big house," a vital clue with regard to absenteeism. Wills of landholders, which abound in notarial archives, are more useful still. These documents often mention the majordomo, usually indicate where the planter actually lived, and provided information concerning any slaves to be voluntarily manumitted in accordance with the wishes of the owner.

A desperate awareness of the treadmill existence promised the rural slave by plantation life may have prompted many of the insurrections and the constant run-away problems which plagued Spanish America during the days of slavery, but the supposedly favored urban slave likewise expressed his discontent on numerous occa-

sions. A considerable literature exists concerning the problem,⁵⁰ and the time has come for a thoughtful synthesis, combined if possible with at least a modest amount of archival research. The runaway problem appears more susceptible to analysis, at least on the surface. Herbert Klein's description of the Cuban situation seems reasonable: rural slaves, especially the *bozales* and the unskilled, formed the basis of the runaway settlements which sprang up in remote and inaccessible parts of Spanish America, particularly in tropical areas. Skilled rural slaves may have been tempted to flee to the towns, and urban slaves, as Klein claims, may have fled as frequently as their country counterparts.⁵¹ Nevertheless, many questions remain to be answered. The flight of urban slaves may well have been in many cases little more than an elaborate game, almost a *pro forma* affair, since so many of these blacks who had reportedly fled many times nevertheless commanded high prices when sold. In addition, Klein's contention that runaway slaves in the cities could simply melt away into the black background of their fellows seems unreasonable. Spanish American towns during the colonial period were far too small for this purpose. This leads us to yet another issue: however widespread and serious the runaway problem was, its importance has obviously been exaggerated, otherwise the institution of slavery would have collapsed under the strain. Further attention must also be given to motivation. Did black slaves, whether rural or urban, flee because of mistreatment, or did their flight come in response to a desire to live as they had done in their homeland, to be reunited with relatives, husbands, and lovers, or for still other reasons? Careful investigation of surviving testimony offered by the culprits, their associates, and their masters should help to supply the answer.

The problem of so-called slave insurrections must be still more rigorously analyzed. The rulers of all slave societies were naturally fearful of their black underpinnings, and it seems likely that both the authorities and the citizenry in general exaggerated the dangers of servile disturbances. Some of this undue alarm has seeped into the work of historians. There is the further problem of definition. In a strict sense, the very act of running away was a rising up against civil authority, and, by extension, so too were the occasional robberies and petty thefts engaged in by the runaways to supply themselves with needed items. But a more realistic view is required if we are to understand the problem of black resistance to the constraints of slavery. Specifically, how many instances of armed aggression by rebellious slaves against the master and the state can be found, and what is the proportion of these in relation to defensive acts committed by runaways to save themselves and their communities? Closer scrutiny should also be given to the attitudes and actions of the free black population. Spanish authorities were traditionally suspicious that free blacks gave aid and comfort to runaway slaves, and perhaps rightly so, but alliances between the two groups in armed insurrection appear to have been rare.⁵² In other instances, blacks both free and slave took part in disturbances whose root causes concerned social inequality more than bondage or race.⁵³ At least one person of African descent initiated disturbances in eighteenth-century Venezuela which centered around the issue of contraband rather than liberation.⁵⁴ Indeed, Miguel Acosta Saignes claims that the free blacks were concerned primarily with furthering their

own interests within the dominant white society, and that most of them in the process became more conservative than their social superiors, so much so that they cannot be thought of as a "class."⁵⁵ If this be true, one would expect little sympathy for the slave population, although after the uprising on Haiti in the late eighteenth century, some free blacks may have come to view the slaves as potential allies in furthering their interests.⁵⁶

The free black population of colonial Spanish America also deserves much more study because, according to Harry Hoetink, it was the acceptance by society of the mulatto, however grudging and partial, which gave the Iberian world its reputation for racial liberality.⁵⁷

Most works concerning slavery in Spanish America also deal with the free black population, but there is still a great deal to be learned.⁵⁸ Among the most fundamental gaps is our ignorance of precisely how the free black group came into being; and its growth is also poorly understood. Clearly, two main avenues to liberty existed: voluntary manumission by the master, usually in return for long and faithful service, and self-purchase. The latter customarily involved the payment by the slave of his assessed value, and once this valuation had been made, the black could not be resold for a higher price. The self-purchase concept probably reached its most refined state in the *coartación* system of Cuba.⁵⁹ Obviously, there were many variations in the process of liberation. The voluntary manumission of a slave might be hedged about with various conditions—perhaps a period of additional service to a relative, a friend, or a religious institution. Slaves who purchased their freedom frequently received the money from relatives or benefactors. Race mixture also played a powerful role since Spanish fathers of mulatto children by slave mothers could not resist freeing their offspring and often provided for them handsomely. In other cases, manumission was a cruel illusion. For example, the slave code of 1789 found it necessary to forbid masters to liberate aged or infirm slaves unless provisions had been made for their support. In other instances, masters liberated their slaves only to turn them into tenant farmers, thereby assuring themselves of a steady income from their lands with freedom from the obligations imposed by slavery.

What we do not yet know with any certainty are the proportions of these various types of manumission and, of equal or greater importance, the sex and age of those manumitted. It seems reasonably clear that most slaves probably purchased their freedom, either with their own resources or with the assistance of relatives and benefactors, and this form of manumission may have been particularly favored by masters in times of economic depression when surplus slave labor could not be profitably sold. But self-purchase, perhaps as a result of its growing institutionalization in the late colonial period, also predominated in periods of economic boom.⁶⁰ The question remains: purchase for whom? My own data for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Peru argue for an overwhelming preponderance of women and small children (many of the latter the products of race mixture and purchased by their white fathers), but Klein asserts that the *coartación* system in late colonial-period Cuba operated to free successive waves of skilled adult males. On the other hand, Harth-terré and Márquez Abanto, who have studied the question in greater detail than other scholars, are of

the opinion that in eighteenth-century Peru a free black artisan class had largely frozen out their slave competitors.⁶¹ Both views may be correct, although Klein is short on specifics, since the Cuban economy during this period was more exuberant than its counterpart for Peru, but no firm generalizations may be made at this time. If the manumission process in whatever form favored females and children, then the resultant free black population may have had a peculiar, but as yet unexplored, structure during the early colonial period which was only gradually overcome as successive generations of free black adults reached maturity. By the eighteenth century, however, if the self-purchase system began to favor adult males, then the tone of the free black population was clearly different, but if slaves were frozen out of the artisan class by the former, the net result may have operated to the detriment of free blacks as a whole. A privileged minority within this group may have used their power to move up in society, to "whiten" generation after generation, while keeping their newly-freed brothers in a position little better than their former servile status. Further research is clearly needed in notarial documentation, and the answer may be different from colony to colony in response to economic and demographic variables.

Finally, there remains to be investigated the slow process whereby the free black population was assimilated into "white" Spanish society, and the reactions of the latter to this development. It seems reasonably clear that by the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries free persons of African descent, generation by generation, pushed ever more aggressively for advancement and favor. Solidly entrenched in the artisan class, they acquired prestige through militia service, and used one or both wedges to begin penetration of the professions and the imperial bureaucracy.⁶² The free blacks were aided in their fight by the willingness of the crown to sell patents of legal whiteness to wealthy mulattoes of impeccable credentials. James F. King argues persuasively that the government sold these *cédulas de gracias al sacar* not merely to produce additional revenue but also to keep the white creole aristocracy off balance by leavening its ranks with presumably grateful free blacks, and thereby at the same time allaying potential discontent among the latter and depriving that group of its leaders.⁶³ However, the practical value of such documents is open to dispute, and Mörner's call in 1966 for systematic investigation of the subject has yet to evoke scholarly response.⁶⁴ It seems clear that the dominant whites, themselves divided into two warring camps of the American-born and the Peninsula-born over a limited number of positions, quite naturally resented any competition from those still officially regarded as inferior.⁶⁵ The result seems to have been a sharp increase in publicly-voiced expressions of prejudice against persons of African descent,⁶⁶ but it is questionable whether these slowed the ascent of the free black population. At any rate, by the end of the colonial period, the free blacks of Spanish America probably equalled or exceeded their slave counterparts in number, and the lot of the former was steadily improving.

Ironically, the shock of the struggles of political independence, which witnessed rebels and loyalists competing for the support of the slave population, and the resulting turmoil which necessarily weakened the economic props of slavery, probably served to undermine the position of the blacks in general. The American elites who

spearheaded the struggle for independence, and who profited most from its success, had necessarily to embrace an ideology which doomed slavery to extinction. However, the socioeconomic system of Spanish America, so admirably suited to absorb a limited number of free blacks in any given year, faltered in response to the mass emancipation of the slave population, thereby assuring their entrance into society at the lowest level and increasing socioracial prejudice.⁶⁷ Indeed, the laborious assimilative process of centuries was no doubt interrupted by the dramatic, but perhaps ultimately destructive, process of abolition. We have here another subject worthy of investigation.

The past several decades have witnessed a significant increase in our knowledge of the black man in colonial Spanish America. If this rate of progress can be sustained, historians interested in this subject, along with their colleagues in other disciplines, may find themselves debating significant and subtle points whose outlines are only dimly perceived at present.

NOTES

1. Such writers as Domingo de Soto, Tomás de Mercado, and Bartolomé de Albornoz criticized the slave trade as early as the sixteenth century, and David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* 187ff., (Ithaca, N. Y., 1966), admirably summarizes their views. Also useful in this connection is A.-J. Saraiva, "Le Pere Antonio Vieira S. J. et l'esclavage des noirs au XVII^e siècle," *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, XXII: 1289–1309 (1967). However, the first serious study of the African in Spanish America was probably that published in Seville by the Jesuit missionary Alonso de Sandoval in 1627. His work, edited by Ángel Valtierra, has recently been republished under the title *De instauranda Aethiopia salute: El mundo de la esclavitud negra en América* (Bogotá, 1956). In the early seventeenth century, Sandoval was not only instrumental in organizing the missionary effort among the newly-arrived slaves in the port of Cartagena, but he also carefully noted their ethnic origins and customs, and strenuously condemned the hypocrisy and heartlessness of slaver and slaveholder alike. However, Sandoval stopped short of advocacy of abolition. For additional detail, see the review of this work by James F. King, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXXVII, 358–360 (1957), and Juan Manuel Pacheco, S.J., "El maestro de Claver: P. Alonso de Sandoval," *Revista Javeriana*, XLII, 80–89, 146–155 (1954).
2. Good bibliographies concerning the African in colonial Spanish America will be found in Magnus Mörner, "The History of Race Relations in Latin America: Some Comments on the State of Research," published in LARR, 1: 17–44 (1966), and in his *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston, 1967). See also Miguel Acosta Saignes, "Introducción al estudio de los repositorios documentales sobre los africanos y sus descendientes en América," *América Indígena*, XXIX, 727–786 (1969). In view of Mörner's 1966 bibliographical survey, the present writer has chosen in this article to concentrate on problems, and methods for their solution.
3. This assumption flaws the brilliant and influential essay by Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas* (N.Y., 1947).
4. Contrast, for example, the treatment of slavery in the following works: Herbert S. Klein, *Slavery in the Americas: A Comparative Study of Virginia and Cuba* (Chicago, 1967); Robert C. West, *Colonial Placer Mining in Colombia* (Baton Rouge, 1952); and Jaime Jaramillo Uribe, "Esclavos y señores en la sociedad colombiana del siglo XVIII," *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, I, 3–62 (1963).

Latin American Research Review

5. Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *La población negra de México, 1519–1810* (México, 1946). Even in the sugar-growing areas of Mexico, which had long placed heavy reliance on slave labor, there is some evidence that by the middle of the eighteenth century little effort was made to apprehend runaway blacks. See Ward Barrett, *The Sugar Hacienda of the Marqueses del Valle*, 80 (Minneapolis, 1970). For accounts of the interaction of economic and demographic trends in Mexico, see Woodrow Borah, *New Spain's Century of Depression* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951); J. H. Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire*, 213–228 (N.Y., 1966); and the appropriate sections of Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519–1810* (Stanford, 1964).
6. See Franklin W. Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba During the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, 1970), and the same author's "Slavery and Race Relations in Nineteenth-Century Cuba," in Frederick P. Bowser and Robert Brent Toplin, eds., *Latin America and the African: New Historical Perspectives* (to be published in 1971; the title is tentative). Knight's picture of slavery may be contrasted with that of Klein, *Slavery in the Americas*.
7. Alfredo Castillero C., *La sociedad panameña: Historia de su formación e integración*, 90–106 (Panamá, 1970).
8. Jaramillo Uribe, "Esclavos y señores," 50–55.
9. However, Paul B. Ganster, a graduate student at UCLA, is currently engaged in research on the social history of Lima for that period, and his work may go a long way to fill this gap.
10. *Historia de la esclavitud de la raza africana en el Nuevo Mundo y en especial en los países americano-hispanos* (first printed in 1879, and reissued in four vols., Havana, 1938). Saco's work is enormously learned and can still be read with profit, but it is legalistic, based upon what today is considered an insufficient amount of archival research, and concentrates upon the Caribbean islands.
11. Among various editions: *Las Siete Partidas del Rey Don Alfonso el Sabio cotejadas con varios códices antiguos por la Real Academia de la Historia*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1807); *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias: Edición facsimilar de la cuarta impresión hecha en Madrid el año 1791*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1943). The 1789 slave code is printed in Richard Konetzke, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica, 1493–1810*, 3 vols. in 5, III: 643–652 (Madrid, 1953–62). The latter work contains much of the legislation framed by the Spanish crown for the American slave population.
12. Davis, *Problem of Slavery*, 103. The Spanish American servile institution may be usefully contrasted with its peninsular counterpart, both before and after the discovery of the New World, in the following works: Vicenta Cortés, *La esclavitud en Valencia durante el reinado de los Reyes Católicos* (Valencia, 1964); Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, "La esclavitud en Castilla durante la edad moderna," In: *Estudios de historia social de España*, Carmelo Viñas y Mey, ed. II, 367–428 (Madrid, 1949–52); Ruth Pike, "Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century: Slaves and Freedmen," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XLVII, 344–359 (1957); Charles Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*, I (Brussels, 1955).
13. See the comments of Mörner, *Race Mixture*, 35–36. C. H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America*, 110–114 (N.Y., 1947), traces the efforts to bring the *Recopilación* into print, and the frustrated attempts at revision.
14. Howard Prince, "The Spanish Slave Code of 1789," In: *Columbia Essays in International Affairs, II: The Dean's Papers*, 1966, Andrew W. Cordier, ed. (N.Y., 1967).
15. "El contenido laboral en los códigos negros americanos," *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, V, 473–510 *passim* (1943).

THE AFRICAN IN SPANISH AMERICA

16. For the year 1647, in Archivo Nacional del Perú, Procedimientos Civiles 121 (1647–48); but such *libros* may be more numerous for the later colonial period, particularly in countries such as Mexico, where documentation is more complete.
17. "The Implementation of Slave Legislation in Eighteenth-Century New Granada," in Bowser and Toplin, eds., *Latin America and the African*.
18. As Eugene Genovese observes, Tannenbaum had precursors, but *Slave and Citizen* was particularly useful in leading United States historians away from a preoccupation with Southern slavery studied in isolation. The employment of Tannenbaum's conclusions by Stanley M. Elkins in his provocative *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (Chicago & London, 1959), was influential in this connection; cf. Genovese, "Materialism and Idealism in the History of Negro Slavery in the Americas," In: *Slavery in the New World: A Reader in Comparative History*, Laura Foner and Eugene Genovese, eds. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969), 238–239.
19. Genovese, *A Reader*, 238–255.
20. Davis, *Problem of Slavery*, 224, n. 1.
21. See n. 18.
22. Genovese, "Materialism and Idealism," *passim*, offers a critique of Harris, and an attempt to relate his own ideas to those of Tannenbaum and Gilberto Freyre. See also his *The World the Slaveholders Made* (New York, 1969). Two articles by Arnold A. Sio are also useful concerning the debate over American slave systems: "Interpretations of Slavery: The Slave Status in the Americas," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 7: 289–308 (1964–65), and "Society, Slavery, and the Slave," *Social and Economic Studies*, 16: 330–344 (1967).
23. The term "black" is used loosely in this essay to refer not only to the "pure" African, but to all persons recognized by society to be of African descent. During the colonial period, racial terminology based upon distinctions of color and physical features became so ludicrously complex as to lose most of its meaning. See the discussion in Mörner, *Race Mixture*, 56–60, 68–70, and Ángel Rosenblat, *La población indígena y el mestizaje en América*, 2: 133–178 (Buenos Aires, 1954).
24. Perhaps Gilberto Freyre has been the most sensitive in his recognition of the individual's capacity, even under slavery, to influence his own destiny. See especially *The Masters and the Slaves [Casa grande & senzala]: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*, Samuel Putnam, trans. (2nd ed., N.Y., 1956). (The same awareness is often explicit in Mörner, *Race Mixture*.)
25. For example, Sandoval, *De instauranda*, 64–97, sets forth his opinions of the merits of the various African tribes, gained through his own experience and doubtless also through many conversations with slave traders and buyers, at great length and with much precision. Fernando Ortiz Fernández, *Hampa afro-cubana: Los negros esclavos* (Havana, 1916), 57–62, also details the alleged characteristics and traits associated with African ethnic groups.
26. See, for example, Aguirre Beltrán, *La población negra de México, passim*; Barrett, *Sugar Hacienda*, 133; James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1532–1560: A Colonial Society*, 173 (Madison, 1968); Robert C. West, *The Pacific Lowlands of Colombia: A Negroid Area of the American Tropics*, 102–103 (Baton Rouge, 1957).
27. Roger Bastide, *Les américaines noires*, 15–18 (Paris, 1967); Fernando Ortiz Fernández, "Los cabildos afro-cubanos," *Revista Bimestre Cubana*, 16: 5–39 (1921); Emilio Harth-terré and

Latin American Research Review

Alberto Márquez Abanto, "El artesano negro en la arquitectura virreinal limeña," *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú*, 25: 32–36 (1961); Klein, *Slavery in the Americas*, 100–103.

28. Aguirre Beltrán, *Medicina y magia: El proceso de aculturación en la estructura colonial* (México, 1963); Tejado Fernández, *Aspectos de la vida social en Cartagena de Indias durante el seiscientos* (Sevilla, 1954).
29. Mörner, *Race Mixture, passim*.
30. I demonstrate this assertion in my forthcoming book concerning the African slave in Peru during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
31. See James F. King, "Descriptive Data on Negro Slaves in Spanish Importation Records and Bills of Sale," *Journal of Negro History*, 28: 204–230 (1943); and Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, 1969), *passim*. In general, African slaves in Spanish America were given a Christian first name (Juan, Pablo, etc.) and assigned their ethnic origin as a surname (Bran, Biafara, Casanga). American-born blacks more often than not were given *Criollo* (Creole) as a surname in acknowledgement of the fact, while others of similar status, along with African-born slaves of long residence in America, and ex-slaves, frequently used their masters' (or former masters') surnames.
An extended discussion of the slave trade is beyond the scope of this paper, but it should be mentioned that Curtin's careful estimates of the volume of the African slave trade to Spanish America supersede those of the authors discussed by Mörner, "History of Race Relations," 20–21.
32. This problem will be discussed below in connection with other issues.
33. H. Hoetink, *The Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations: A Contribution to the Sociology of Segmented Societies*, trans. Eva M. Hooykaas (London, 1967), 167–190, provides indirect affirmation concerning this point, although he does not discuss the physical characteristics of the various African groups. The present writer is also inclined to answer this question in the affirmative. See my essay in Jack P. Greene, ed., *The Role of the Black and Free Mulatto in Societies of the New World* (to be published by the Johns Hopkins Press in 1971), but at this stage any attempt to relate ethnicity, physical attractiveness, race mixture, and resultant manumission of the offspring is premature. With regard to the Hoetink thesis, see also the critique by Peter Dodge, "Comparative Racial Systems in the Greater Caribbean," *Social and Economic Studies*, 16: 249–261 (1967).
34. This point will be discussed below.
35. For example, Aguirre Beltrán, *La población negra de México*, 244–245, lists 26 ethnic groups and shipping points used as surnames.
36. Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 182. The most detailed study of the black artisan is that of Harth-terré and Márquez Abanto, "El artesano negro," based almost entirely upon notary records. For affirmations of the better lot of the urban slave, among others, see Ortiz Fernández, *Hampa afro-cubana: Los negros esclavos*, 307–320; Klein, *Slavery in the Americas*, 145–147, 158–162, 197–199; Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, "The Integration of the Negro into the National Society of Mexico," In: *Race and Class in Latin America*, Magnus Mörner, ed., 15 (New York & London, 1970).
37. West, *Colonial Placer Mining*, 88–89; Federico Brito Figueroa, "La investigación sobre historia de la formación de la propiedad territorial agraria en Venezuela" (and supporting documents), In: *La obra pía de Chuao, 1568–1825*, Eduardo Arcila Fariás, et al., eds., 125, 152–153, 159–161, 342–343, 369–401 (Caracas, 1968). In this paper I do not employ the strict definitions of "hacienda" and "plantation" suggested by Eric R. Wolf and Sidney W.

- Mintz, "Haciendas and Plantations in Middle America and the Antilles," *Social and Economic Studies*, 6: 380–412 (1957). Useful though these definitions are, they are based on evidence for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and are difficult to apply to colonial-period Spanish America. I agree with the observation of Marvin Harris, *Patterns of Race*, 45, that "plantations and haciendas should probably be thought of as the polar extremes of a taxonomic continuum;" even the colonial sugar plantation does not quite fit the definition of Wolf and Mintz. For further discussion see Harris, *Patterns*, esp. 44 ff.
38. I follow here the three very useful definitions of "treatment" proposed by Eugene D. Genovese, "The Treatment of Slaves in Different Countries: Problems in the Applications of the Comparative Method," In: Foner and Genovese, eds., 203, *Slavery in the New World*. Genovese finds three basic meanings: (1) day-to-day living conditions; (2) conditions of life, including family security, opportunities for some form of social and religious life, and the presence or absence of numbing and virulent prejudice against the slave, and (3) access to freedom and citizenship.
39. Haring, *Spanish Empire*, 138–148; Parry, *Spanish Seaborne Empire*, 190, 278–279, 322–324, 336.
40. For example, my sample of 6,884 blacks identifiable by sex sold in the Lima slave market between 1560–1650 yields a total of 2,726 women (39.5 per cent). Among the bozales imported fresh from Africa, 34.5 per cent were women. An examination of various Peruvian plantation inventories reveals that the proportion of women was frequently even lower. However, by the eighteenth century, there is some evidence that the ratio between the sexes in the rural areas became more nearly equal. See the various plantation inventories in Arcila Farías, et al., eds., *La obra pía de Chuao*, and Ceferino Garzón Maceda and José Walter Dorflinger, "Esclavos y mulatos en un dominio rural del siglo XVIII en Córdoba: Contribución a la demografía histórica," *Revista de la Universidad Nacional de Córdoba*, 2: 627–40 (1961). It should be noted that both of these estates were in ecclesiastical hands, and may therefore be atypical with regard to the proportion of women to men.
41. Bastide, *Les amériques noires*, 15–18.
42. In addition to Barrett, *Sugar Hacienda*, see: Horacio Aranguiz Donoso, "Notas para el estudio de la hacienda de Calera de Tango, 1685–1783," *Historia*, 6: 221–262 (Santiago de Chile, 1967); Arcila Farías, et al., eds., *La obra pía de Chuao*; Germán Colmenares, *Haciendas de los jesuitas en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, siglo XVIII* (Bogotá, 1969); Colmenares, "El trabajo en las haciendas jesuitas en el siglo XVIII," *UN: Revista de la Dirección de Divulgación Cultural, Universidad Nacional de Colombia*, 1: 175–190 (1968); Pablo Macera, ed., *Instrucciones para el manejo de las haciendas jesuitas del Perú (XVII–XVIII)* (Lima, 1966); Magnus Mörner, "Los jesuitas y la esclavitud de los negros," *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, 135: 92–109 (1967); Manuel Montt, "La hacienda de San Jerónimo," *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, 114 (1949). Barrett's work does not, in a strict sense, concern holdings owned by an institution, but after the death of the famed conqueror-founder in 1547, the Cortés family became first absentee landlords and then lessors of the estate. The arrangements with regard to the latter, as Barrett indicates, quickly became quasi-institutional. Students of plantation slavery in Spanish America would do well to read the remarks of Stanley J. Stein, "Latin American Historiography: Status and Research Opportunities," In: *Social Science Research on Latin America*, Charles Wagley, ed., p. 100 (New York & London, 1964).
43. Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves*; Stein, *Vassouras: A Brazilian Coffee County, 1850–1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957).
44. I base these assertions on my own research in Peruvian archives, and upon a general lack of

Latin American Research Review

- evidence to the contrary in the literature. According to West, *Colonial Placer Mining*, 86, a similar pattern of absenteeism prevailed among the rich miners of Colombia.
45. See Orlando Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery: An Analysis of the Origins, Development, and Structure of Negro Slave Society in Jamaica, passim* (London, 1967).
 46. This pattern of life is implicit in the description provided by Klein, *Slavery in the Americas*, 148, of tobacco cultivation in Cuba.
 47. See, for example, the savage 1791 satire of the conduct of sugar plantation overseers reprinted in Ortiz Fernández, *Hampa afro-cubana: Los negros esclavos*, 221–226. According to Barrett, *Sugar Hacienda*, 85, majordomos on the Cortés estate “never praised any of the workers, Negro, Indian, mulatto, or Spanish, for the quality or amount of work done.”
 48. I base this assertion on my own research in Peruvian archives and upon the fragmentary evidence assembled in my article in Greene, ed., *The Free Black and Mulatto*. In their study of the hacienda called Estancia de Caroya in Córdoba, owned first by the Jesuits and then by the Franciscans in the eighteenth century, Garzón Maceda and Dorfinger find that it was worked by a fairly evenly matched group of slaves and free laborers, the latter presumably mulattoes. The authors provide no information, however, concerning the provenance of the free group nor of the means by which this freedom was obtained. Indeed, even the fact that they were mulattoes can only be inferred by the title of the monograph: “Esclavos y mulatos en un dominio rural del siglo XVIII en Córdoba,” 627–640.
 49. It may well be that inheritance laws, which tended to fragment the founder's estate among the immediate family, were instrumental in furthering absenteeism. In such situations, it was no doubt frequently more efficient for the heirs to agree upon an administrator for the property and content themselves with a share of the profits. For an analysis of the legal concepts, see José María Ots Capedequí, *Instituciones*, 311 ff. (Barcelona, 1959). For a demonstration of these precepts in practice, see David A. Brading, *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico, 1763–1810* (Cambridge, 1971).
 50. Nearly all major works concerning colonial-period Spanish American slavery discuss the problems of slave insurrections and runaways. In addition, consult: Miguel Acosta Saignes, “Los negros cimarrones de Venezuela,” III, *El movimiento emancipador de Hispanoamérica: Actas y ponencias* (Caracas, 1961); Pedro M. Arcaya, *Insurrección de los negros de la serranía de Coro* (Caracas, 1949); Federico Brito Figueroa, *Las insurrecciones de los esclavos negros en la sociedad colonial venezolana* (Caracas, 1961); Octaviano Corro, *Los cimarrones en Veracruz y la fundación de Amapa* (México, 1951); D. M. Davidson, “Negro Slave Control and Resistance in Colonial Mexico, 1519–1650,” *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 46: 235–253 (1966); Aquiles Escalante, “Notes sobre el palenque de San Basilio: Una comunidad negra en Colombia,” Instituto de Investigación Etnológica (Barranquilla), III, *Divulgaciones Etnológicas* (1954); Carlos Felice Cardot, *La rebelión de Andresote* (2nd ed., Bogotá, 1957); Felice Cardot, *Rebeliones, motines y movimientos de masas en el siglo XVIII venezolano, 1730–1781* (Madrid, 1961); Armando Fortune, “Estudio sobre la insurrección de los negros esclavos, los cimarrones de Panamá,” *Lotería* (Panama), I (1956), nos. 5, 6, 9; Carlos Federico Guillot, *Negros rebeldes y negros cimarrones: Perfil afroamericano en la historia del Nuevo Mundo durante el siglo XVI* (Buenos Aires, 1961); Héctor García Chuecos, “Una insurrección de negros en los días de la colonia,” *Revista de Historia de América*, XXIX (1950); Manuel Lucena Salmoral, “Levantamiento de esclavos en Remedios,” *Boletín Cultural Bibliográfico*, 5: 9 (Bogotá, 1962); Francisco Pérez de la Riva, “El negro y la tierra: El conuco y el palenque,” *Revista Bimestre Cubana*, 58: 97–139 (1946); Luis Querol y Roso, “Negros y mulatos de Nueva España: Historia de su alzamiento en México en 1612,” *Anales de la Universidad de Valencia*, Año XII, cuaderno 90

- (1935), 18–20; William B. Taylor, "The Foundation of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Morenos de Amapa," *The Americas*, 26: 439–446 (1970).
51. *Slavery in the Americas*, 69–73, 155–157, 160–162.
 52. For one example, consult the work of Arcaya cited in n. 50.
 53. See, for example, Chester L. Guthrie, "Riots in Seventeenth-Century Mexico City: A Study of Social and Economic Conditions," In: *Greater America: Essays in Honor of Herbert Eugene Bolton* (Berkeley, 1945). Clearly, as Guthrie indicates, racial distinctions were at the bottom of much of the social inequality against which the masses protested, but the grievances themselves were not specifically racial, and it is doubtful if the participants thought of themselves as victims of race prejudice.
 54. See the works by Felice Cardot cited in n. 50.
 55. *Vida de los esclavos negros en Venezuela* (Caracas, n.d.), 336–337.
 56. This notion seems to have inspired the rebellion studied by Arcaya (see n. 50).
 57. *Two Variants*, 167–190. (The reader is again reminded that "black" is used in this essay as a shorthand reference to all persons of African descent.)
 58. I have tried to pull together much of the existing information in my essay in Greene, ed., *The Free Black and Mulatto*. Except where noted, I rely upon that essay for what follows here.
 59. For the details, see Klein, *Slavery in the Americas*, *passim*, and Hubert H. S. Aimes, "Coartación: A Spanish Institution for the Advancement of Slaves into Freedmen," 17: 412–431, *The Yale Review* (1908–09).
 60. For example, José L. Franco, *Afroamérica*, 129 (Havana, 1961), reports that of 954 cases of manumission in Havana during 1810–11, 755 were by purchase. A similar situation seems to have prevailed in Argentina during this period. See José Luis Masini, *La esclavitud negra en Mendoza: Epoca independiente*, 40 (Mendoza, 1962).
 61. "El artesano negro," 32–33.
 62. Concerning this point, see especially Klein, *Slavery in the Americas*, 206–210; James F. King, "The Case of José Ponciano de Ayarza: A Document on *Gracias al Sacar*," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 31: 640–647 (1951); and John Tate Lanning, "Legitimacy and Limpieza de Sangre in the Practice of Medicine in the Spanish Empire," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas*, 4: 39–60 (1967).
 63. King, "Case of José Ponciano de Ayarza," 644.
 64. "History of Race Relations," 26. As Mörner also indicates, the suspicion of illegitimacy clung to persons of racially-mixed backgrounds, and in the early colonial period the charge was more often than not true. By the eighteenth century, however, the incidence of stable marital unions may have become much more frequent among the so-called "*castas*," another subject worthy of investigation. The available evidence concerning the utility of the *cédulas de gracias al sacar* is summarized by Mörner, *Race Mixture*, 45, 63–64, 84.
 65. For a general view of Creole-Peninsular rivalry for office, see Parry, *Spanish Seaborne Empire*, 335–337.
 66. Mörner, *Race Mixture*, 57, claims that socioracial prejudice increased during the eighteenth century. This is a dubious proposition since little was said during that period which had not been stated during the preceding two centuries; the remarks were merely given greater

Latin American Research Review

currency, in large part because published travelers' accounts increased in volume during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. See also Jaime Jaramillo Uribe, "Mestizaje y diferenciación social en el Nuevo Reino de Granada en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII," *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 3: 21–48 (1965).

Literature is perhaps as precise a way as any other to determine the attitudes held by racial groups toward each other, but for Spanish America very little systematic investigation has been done in this regard. See, however, the following: José A. Fernández de Castro, "El aporte negro en las letras de Cuba en el siglo XIX," *Revista Bimestre Cubana*, 38: 46–66 (1936); Max Henríquez Ureña, *Panorama histórico de la literatura cubana*, 1: 166–169, 183–185 (2 vols., San Juan, 1963); Nicolás León, *El negrito poeta mexicano y sus populares versos* (México, 1912); John F. Matheus, "African Footprints in Hispanic American Literature," *Journal of Negro History*, 23: 265–289 (1938); Ildefonso Pereda Valdés, *Antología de la poesía negra americana* (Santiago de Chile, 1936); Pereda Valdés, *El negro rioplatense y otros ensayos*, 7–20 (Montevideo, 1937); Fernando Romero, "José Manuel Valdés, Great Peruvian Mulatto," *Phylon*, 3: 297–319 (1942); Carter G. Woodson, "Attitudes of the Iberian Peninsula," *Journal of Negro History*, 20: 190–243 (1935).

67. The best summary is that of Mörner, *Race Mixture*, 75ff. See also several of the essays in Bowser and Toplin, eds., *Latin America and the African*.